

**Formulaic sequences in Early Modern English:  
A corpus-assisted historical pragmatic study**

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# Dissertation

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## List of Abbreviations

ADJ	adjective
AdjP	adjective phrase
ADV	adverb
AdvP	adverb phrase
<i>appx.</i>	approximately
CED	<i>Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760</i>
CEEC	<i>Corpus of Early English Correspondence</i>
CEEM	<i>Corpus of Early English Medical Writing</i>
CHELAR	<i>Corpus of Historical English Law Reports 1535-1999</i>
CoER	<i>Corpus of Early English Recipes</i>
COERP	<i>Corpus of English Religious Prose</i>
COMP	complement
CoRD	<i>Corpus Resource Database</i>
D	dialogues
DET	determiner
<i>D<sub>fixd.</sub></i>	degree of fixedness
<i>D<sub>fixd.Text</sub></i>	degree of fixedness of a text type
DNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
EModE	Early Modern English
<i>freq.</i>	frequency
FS(s)	formulaic sequence(s)
HC	<i>Helsinki Corpus</i>
L	letters
LB(s)	lexical bundle(s)
LC	<i>Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts</i>
M	mean
MD	modal verb
<i>M<sub>freq.</sub></i>	mean frequency
<i>M<sub>nml.freq.</sub></i>	mean of normalised frequency
N	noun
NEG	negative/negation
<i>nml.freq.</i>	normalised frequency
NP	noun phrase
<i>N<sub>type</sub></i>	the number/count of formulaic sequence types
NS	normalised spelling
NUM	number
OBC	<i>Old Bailey Corpus</i>
OBJ	object
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PCEEC	<i>Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence</i>
PDE	Present-Day English
<i>pl.</i>	plural
<i>pmw.</i>	per million words

POS	part-of-speech
POSS. PRON	possessive pronoun
PP	prepositional phrase
PREP	preposition
PRON	pronoun
<i>sg.</i>	singular
SUBJ	subjective
<i>Tp.</i>	Type
V	verb
V-inf	verb (infinitive)
VP	verb phrase

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## 1. Introduction

Creativity is an essential feature of language, reflected partially by the fact that regardless of being native or non-native, speakers are consistently producing new sentences that have never been said before and can understand them without difficulty. The opposite of creativity is formulaicity/fixedness. Briefly, formulaicity/fixedness concerns both the form and function of language. It is reflected by the existence and use of recurring word sequences, prefabricated sentences, sayings, routines and the like in various linguistic interactions, either spoken or written. Anyone who pays attention to language would have noticed that people use specific linguistic routines in different situations, for example, *How are you?* in greetings, *I'm sorry* in apologising, *I'd love to, but ...* in rejecting an invitation, *On the one hand ... on the other hand ...* in giving two contradictory statements, etc. Speakers do not create new expressions for such situations or speech events; instead, they use the same expressions over and over again. One can also easily observe that the form of these recurring multi-word items is often not freely transformable. Some of them have a fixed structure, such as *What's up?*; others allow inserting optional lexical items, such as *I'm (very/so/terribly/etc.) sorry, I'd love to, but ...*, and *a cup of ...*, etc.

Multi-word items like these have been thoroughly studied in phraseology regarding their form and function and in other fields such as psycholinguistics regarding their learning and processing (see a summary of studies in Wray and Perkins 2000). A variety of labels is used in studies from various perspectives, for example, “prefabs”, “idioms”, “clichés”, etc. (see summaries of terms describing the linguistic phenomenon in, e.g., Wray and Perkins 2000, 3; Wood 2015, 35–37). In the present doctoral project, the terms “formulaic sequence” and “formulaic language” are selected to refer to the linguistic phenomenon under investigation. More precisely, the term “formulaic language” describes the linguistic phenomenon as a whole, while “formulaic sequence” is an individual representation of such items (Wood 2015, 2). The present study re-defines formulaic sequences and treats them as constructions, following the theoretical framework of the Construction Grammar (e.g., Goldberg 2003; 2006; 2013a; 2013b; etc.). Chapter 2 discusses in detail the definition and interpretation of formulaic sequences as well as how they are distinguished from other word sequences.

This doctoral project identifies formulaic sequences (hereinafter FS and the plural form FSs) in Early Modern English (hereinafter EModE) and intends to investigate the functions they serve in communication and different text types for both theoretical and practical rationales. Theoretically, as mentioned above, FSs have been widely investigated but inconsistently defined based on individual research interests and methods, hence the present study emphasises the necessity of an inclusive, descriptive, and methodological neutral definition. Moreover, there is a lack of research that systematically investigates the use of FSs in EModE. Therefore, the present study aims to contribute a comprehensive and systematic account of the form and function of FSs in EModE spoken and written communication. Practically, the identification of FSs in EModE always has to compromise between representativeness and precision. On the one hand, manual identification can only process a small number of texts. Although such a method can exhaustively identify all FSs and allows a thorough qualitative analysis of their form and function, the results are by no means representative. On the other hand, computationally and automatically identified sequences such as lexical bundles and n-grams provide statistical evidence that the English language, including EModE, is highly recursive and prefabricated on a much larger scale. However, many lexical bundles and n-grams differ from FSs identified with a manual approach in many ways in semantics and syntax. Therefore, the present study aims to propose an improved methodology that takes both representativeness and precision into consideration.

In the following sections of this introductory chapter, I first discuss the rationale behind this project. Then I move on to introduce the research scope, goals, and research questions. Ultimately, this chapter outlines the structure of this dissertation.

### **1.1. Rationale**

The initial interest in FSs arises from their non-negligible proportion in language use. In Present-Day English (hereinafter PDE), FSs make up a sizeable proportion of both spoken and written discourse. For example, Altenberg (1990) suggested that as much as 70 per cent of our adult native language could be formulaic. As indicated in Erman and Warren (2000), FSs of various types account for 58.60 per cent and 52.30 per cent in spoken and written discourse,

respectively. There are also studies, however, estimating the proportion of FSs to be as low as 32 per cent (Foster 2001). Such observations raise the question of whether FSs prevalently existed in the English of earlier periods.

The present study specifies the scope of research and investigates FSs in EModE for both theoretical and practical reasons. Theoretically, although FSs have been investigated from various perspectives, either within the field of linguistics or cross-disciplinarily, definitions of FSs so far only work for studies from their own specific perspectives. Another theoretical rationale behind the focus on FSs in EModE is that despite research done on multi-word units in specific forms and functions, there is no systematic account of FSs regarding their distribution across various EModE text types, forms, and functions yet. The lack of systematic study on FSs in EModE is partially caused by a series of practical issues, such as the source of data, research methods, and procedures for the identification of FSs. Therefore, the practical rationale behind the present study is to suggest an approach that identifies FSs as exhaustively as possible from EModE texts.

### **1.1.1. Formulaic sequences: widely investigated but inconsistently described**

A strong theoretical rationale behind the study concerns the understanding of FSs. Most studies on formulaic language have been conducted with PDE. Despite collective efforts to investigate formulaic language from various perspectives, individual studies only provide a partial description of the linguistic phenomenon. Wray (2013) summarises six general themes in the research of formulaic language, including theoretical accounts of the form, meaning, and function of formulaic language, the resilience of formulaic language in some language disorders, formulaic language in first language acquisition, formulaic language in second language learning and teaching, the relation between formulaic language and culture, and the examination of formulaic language in corpora (318–319). Each general theme covers more specific topics and relevant studies have produced impressive findings; for example, Pawley and Syder (1983), Wray and Perkins (2000), Tabossi et al. (2009), Columbus (2010), Arcara et al. (2012), Paulmann et al. (2015), Hernández et al. (2016), Vilkaite (2016), Wray (2017), Carrol and Conklin

(2020), and so on. All these studies contribute to the understanding of formulaic language.

However, it is often observed that studies as such provide their own definitions and terminology, depending on research questions, focus, and research methods. Earlier efforts only recognise non-compositional and idiomatic word strings as FSs, such as idioms (e.g., Biber et al. 1999; Fillmore et al. 1988; Kay and Fillmore 1999; Fraser 1970; Knappe 2004). Later studies recognise that formulaic language is an umbrella term for diverse linguistic items varying in degrees of compositionality, idiomaticity as well as other syntactic and semantic features (e.g., Wray and Perkins 2000; Read 2004; Culpeper and Kytö 2010; Buerki 2016; Carrol and Conklin 2020; etc.). They also often realise the difficulties in accounting for the entire linguistic phenomenon, hence focusing only on one or a few specific types of FSs. In addition, studies often describe this linguistic phenomenon in many ways. For example, Wray and Perkins (2000) define FSs as word sequences “stored and retrieved whole” (1) in the mental lexicon. The definition is widely adopted in studies on the acquisition and processing of FSs, but the present study holds a strong argument that it is not applicable in studies from a historical pragmatic perspective (see Section 2.1.2, Chapter 2). Moreover, studies using computer-assisted methods define them as frequently recurrent word sequences (e.g., Biber, et al. 1999). Studies following the theory of Construction Grammar define them as the “mapping of form and meaning” (e.g., Buerki 2016). Wray and Perkins (2000) summarised about 40 terms used to describe formulaic language. As noted in Wray (2013),

there is none that is theory- or method-neutral, and there is not even consensus across domains of investigation about how open one should be to other definitions alongside one’s own. (318)

Consequently, one would find it particularly challenging to put together all pieces of findings in existing studies and solve the puzzle of formulaic language. Therefore, one of the goals of this project is to contribute a definition that is inclusive and feasible for identifying FSs from historical texts and not subject to the limitation of research approaches in historical linguistic research.

Moreover, traditional grammar treats FSs as exceptions to rules (Buerki 2016, 15–16), for many of them are syntactically irregular (e.g., *long time no*

*see*); whereas problems arise when syntactically regular word sequences are recognised as FSs (e.g., *I am looking forward to meeting you*). Therefore, FSs are in a rather awkward position in traditional rule-vocabulary grammar. In response to this issue, another aspect of the theoretical rationale is to find a theoretical framework that can explain FSs as a well-defined phenomenon in language use rather than partially as exceptions. In this regard, the present study (see Section 2.2, Chapter 2) takes a convincing argument that FSs are constructions, hence can be explained by the Construction Grammar (e.g., Goldberg 2003; 2006; 2013a; 2013b; etc.).

### **1.1.2. Formulaic sequences: an underestimated facet of EModE**

The rationale behind examining FSs in EModE is that there is a lack of systematic research in this field. Specifically, the role of formulaic language in EModE communication is highly underestimated. During the EModE era, English gradually gained greater importance in various areas of life and became the vernacular in, for instance, politics, religion, the legal system, literature, education, and private communication (e.g., Barber 1997 [1976]; Nurmi 2017). FSs in PDE have been found in active use in these and other scenarios, for instance, defendants' sentencing hearings (Gruber 2009), scientific/academic discourse (Dorgeloh and Wanner 2009; Durrant and Mathews-Aydınli 2011), blogs (Barbieri 2018), personal description for medical purposes (Gómez Burgos 2018), English translations of legal texts (Biel 2018). It is, therefore, naturally an intriguing question to ask if FSs were already used in those similar and/or newly established genres in EModE speaking and writing.

To answer this question, one requires knowledge about the form of FSs in EModE. However, during the EModE era, there were several somewhat parallel changes related to word forms and syntax, such as grammaticalisation, spelling standardisation, and gaining a more fixed word order (e.g., Barber 1997 [1976]; Rissanen 1999; Nevalainen 2006). One of the key features of FSs in PDE, the fixedness of form, seems to be problematic in EModE because the syntax of EModE still reflects great flexibility. For example, the present study found in the corpora of EModE dialogues and letters that several form variants coexisted at the same time, such as *himselſe* and *him ſelſe*. The verb and the particle in phrasal verbs in EModE could be placed in various positions (Blake

2002; Ishizaki 2012). Such observations mean that it will be difficult to determine what “the fixedness of form” means in the context of EModE and to decide why some EModE word sequences are more fixed in form than others. So far, there have been no studies addressing this problem.

Existing studies investigating FSs in EModE either have been conducted with a few word sequences or focus on a specific function; for example, multi-word verbs in Claridge (2000), phrasal verbs in Hiltunen (1994), Blake (2002), and Ishizaki (2012), the *let-me* construction as directives in Kohnen (2004), linguistic patterns of indirect requests in Culpeper and Archer (2008), and politeness of subscription formulae of EModE letters in Oinonen (2012). Sources of data in such studies are limited to only a few types of texts, such as letters (e.g., Oinonen 2012), trials (e.g., Culpeper and Archer 2008; Kryk-Kastovsky 2009), and plays (e.g., Busse, B. 2006; Culpeper and Archer 2008), hence minimally representative of EModE. An overview (see Section 2.4, Chapter 2) reveals the problem that many of these studies do not explicitly consider themselves as part of the formulaic language research.

So far, there have been no studies accounting for how FSs are prevalently used in EModE, nor have there been studies attempting to exhaustively identify FSs from existing textual materials. There has been a minimum effort in examining the role of FSs in EModE communication except for a few recent studies such as Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and Marcus (2018). It seems that this topic is catching more attention from researchers, but more studies are needed. Therefore, the present study aims to provide a systematic insight into this matter and form the basis for further research.

### **1.1.3. A better way to identify formulaic sequences, especially in EModE**

The last rationale concerns several practical issues. Firstly, the identification of FSs in EModE is under the profound influence of the data source and the format of textual materials. There is a limited number of EModE speech and writing being preserved and only a small portion of them is digitised and compiled into digital corpora, often serving specific research purposes. Various editorial conventions might be followed when manuscripts were transcribed by compilers of digital corpora, for instance, the type of files (e.g., XML, plain text, etc.), annotations (e.g., syntactic tagging, semantic tagging, etc.), and treatments to

spelling (e.g., keeping the original spelling or normalising the variants). Therefore, when projects make use of existing corpora for research purposes other than what the corpora are designed for, they may have to sacrifice the representativeness and focus on identifying FSs in a specific text type. It is also a choice to take texts from more than one corpus or other non-digitised materials for the need of a larger and more representative corpus of EModE so that a more complete view of FSs in EModE could be obtained. For the latter choice, editorial inconsistencies of the texts may influence the retrieval of FSs if their identification is achieved via an automatic, computer-assisted approach that relies fully or partially on frequency.

Secondly, how spelling variation in EModE is to be treated determines largely in which procedure FSs are to be identified. On the one hand, working with texts in original spellings means that one can only read through the text and decide if a word sequence is formulaic or not. In this way, only a small portion of texts can be examined within a manageable amount of time. For example, Busse, U. (2008) identified only FSs that function as directives in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Studies adopting such a manual approach may be able to exhaustively identify all FSs from the selected texts, but their results could not be claimed to represent the typical use of FSs in EModE. On the other hand, a (semi-) frequency-based and computer-assisted approach is often adopted to identify FSs from larger corpora containing millions of words. With such an approach, spellings must be normalised so that a corpus processing tool can produce a valid list of frequently recurring word sequences, such as lexical bundles and n-grams (e.g., Culpeper and Kytö 2010; Kopaczyk 2013; Marcus 2018; Lehto 2018). However, spellings in most existing EModE corpora are not normalised, except for a few such as *Standardised-spelling Corpora of Early English Correspondence* (SCEEC). Thanks to software programs (e.g., VARD), massive processing and normalisation of EModE spelling variants can be achieved with guidance (e.g., Archer, et al. 2015; Baron and Rayson 2009). A detailed discussion on why spelling normalisation is important to the present study and instructions on how spellings are normalised can be found in Section 4.1, Chapter 4.

Thirdly, when spellings are normalised, the next practical issue concerns the procedure for the identification of FSs. The methodology is one of the factors

hindering the progress of research on FSs in historical texts. Some methods to identify FSs in PDE cannot be directly applied to identify FSs in EModE, such as those relying on native and non-native speakers' intuition or processing speed (e.g., Jiang and Nekrasova 2007; Siyanova-Chanturia et al. 2017; Xu and Zhang 2015). Moreover, studies with traditional manual methods to identify FSs, such as Busse, U. (2008), look for FSs only in a few works by one author or focus on specific speech events/acts. The intuition of a researcher is also highly dependent, but it is not very reliable since there are no native speakers of EModE alive today. The findings achieved in these studies have built the foundation for further research, but they are not representative. Nevertheless, the introduction of corpus-linguistic approaches into historical linguistic studies has primarily increased the representativeness of research on FSs for the possibility of working with substantial amounts of texts. Computationally generated word strings, especially lexical bundles, are either treated as a type of FSs or as a research method (e.g., Kopaczyk 2012a; Wood 2015). In this regard, although the present study retrieves lexical bundles as part of the process of identifying FSs from the corpora, I argue that the term "lexical bundle" shall not be treated as an alternative to the term "formulaic sequence", neither should the bundles be treated as a type of FSs. Briefly, lexical bundles (hereinafter LB and the plural form LBs) and FSs have various fundamental differences (see Section 2.3.1 and Section 2.3.2, Chapter 2). However, due to several observed connections between the two types of multi-word units, the present study treats LBs as candidates of FSs; hence included in the identification procedure (see Section 2.3.3, Chapter 2).

Lastly, the present study recognises and addresses several common problems regarding criteria for the identification of FSs. One of them concerns the corpus-driven approach, which heavily relies on frequency, risking missing infrequent FSs. This is also one of the main flaws in studies examining LBs as mentioned above. Therefore, the concept of frequency requires further clarification. The present study includes frequency as one of three prerequisites for a multi-word unit to be identified as an FS. The study also further clarifies the interpretation of frequency and stresses that frequency should not simply mean the number of times a sequence occurs in a corpus, but it should also mean how often a form is associated with a function (see Section 2.1.1.1, Chapter 2).



Moreover, criteria for the identification of FSs should be designed based on how they are defined, hence it is crucial to keep in mind that different ways of defining and identifying FSs may heavily influence the results. For example, as mentioned at the beginning of Section 1.1, studies by Altenberg (1990), Erman and Warren (2000), and Foster (2001) provided different estimations on the proportion of FSs in language. Especially in studies with frequency-driven approaches, researchers adopt different frequency thresholds (see a summary of studies in Kopaczyk 2002a), which is always subject to researchers' judgments. Moreover, if a study defines FSs as non-compositional and syntactic irregular word strings, it will retrieve much fewer FSs than a study that only considers frequency as the criterion (e.g., LBs, see discussion in Section 2.3.2, Chapter 2). Differences in results caused by different identification criteria significantly hinder the development of research on FSs. For example, a study on directive FSs in a corpus of Shakespeare's play (e.g., Busse, U. 2008) can hardly be compared with a study on FSs in a larger corpus of play texts during the EModE era (e.g., Culpeper and Kytö 2010) and claim that a particular FS is typical in Shakespeare's plays because the two studies used different identification criteria. To make a valid comparison, a researcher might need to set their own criteria and run the identification with the two corpora all over again, hence a waste of data and results from existing research and a lot of repeating research activities. For this reason, the present study advocates a new procedure for the identification of FSs and a set of criteria that might be easily adopted in future studies by other researchers (see Chapter 4).

## **1.2. Research scope, goals, and research questions**

As discussed in the previous section regarding the rationales behind the study, research on FSs in EModE is highly insufficient. Little is known about the role of FSs in EModE communication, despite the fact that English was increasingly used to fulfil various communication needs during the Early Modern period. Moreover, there are not many suggestions on how FSs could be more efficiently and exhaustively identified from large corpora.

Therefore, the present study has a threefold research scope. Firstly, the study chooses EModE as the source language because EModE was active in syntactic changes and pragmatic enrichment, as discussed in Section 1.1.2.

Secondly, the study focuses on identifying FSs from EModE dialogues and letters. For one thing dialogues and letters represent prototypical spoken and written communication, respectively (see detailed discussion in Section 3.1, Chapter 3). For another, it is found that dialogues and letters in PDE employ different FSs to realise certain communication strategies or purposes; for example, Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) state that some FSs (or “lexical phrases”) perform conversational maintenance functions or function as discourse devices for fluency (60–66). It is expected that FSs in EModE dialogues and letters also play various communicational roles. Lastly, the study focuses on providing an overview of the form and function of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters, as well as their distribution in each text type and function category. The aim is to contribute a pool of FSs which can be the foundation and source of data for further qualitative investigations on particular form and/or function of FSs. Therefore, the study puts more emphasis on quantitative investigations (e.g., Sections 7.1.1 and 7.2.1.1, Chapter 7), while qualitative analysis is resorted when statistics do not reflect how FSs characterise the two examined text types (e.g., Sections 7.1.2 and 7.2.1.2, Chapter 7).

Within this research scope, the study has three goals. Firstly, the study aims to provide a clear and comprehensive account of FSs. To achieve this goal, the study suggests a new working definition of FSs (see Section 2.1, Chapter 2), acknowledges their vital role in the language under the framework of the Construction Grammar (see Section 2.2). and distinguishes FSs against other multi-word units such as LBs (see Section 2.3). Secondly, an enhanced corpus-assisted approach was designed to identify FSs from EModE texts, including a replicable procedure, as well as comprehensible, unambiguous, and precise criteria (see Chapter 4). Lastly, the study aims to contribute to research on formulaic language in EModE by addressing three broad questions, and each question can be broken down into several more specific research questions:

- [1] Are there FSs in spoken and written communication in EModE (i.e., dialogues and letters)?
  - a. How many types of FSs can be identified from EModE dialogues and letters?
  - b. How frequently are FSs used in EModE dialogues and letters?
  - c. What are the lexical-grammatical structures of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters?

- [2] What are the functions of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters?
- a. What functional classification scheme can be used to categorise FSs?
  - b. How are FSs in EModE dialogues distributed across function categories?
  - c. How are FSs in EModE letters distributed across function categories?
  - d. How meaning/function of FSs is mapped to their form? In other words, what are the lexical-grammatical structures of FSs in each primary function category?
- [3] How do FSs characterise EModE dialogues and letters?
- a. Overall, comparing EModE dialogues and letters, which employ more FSs?
  - b. Specifically, comparing EModE dialogues and letters, which employ more FSs to serve a specific function?
  - c. Specifically, are there any FSs dominating or existing exclusively in a particular type of communication?

### **1.3. Structure of the dissertation**

Following the introductory chapter, Chapter 2 starts by introducing a new working definition of FSs (see Section 2.1), with a detailed elaboration and justification for suggesting a new definition despite the fact there have been widely used definitions such as Wray and Perkins's (2000). The second part of this chapter (see Section 2.2) describes FSs within the framework of Construction Grammar (e.g., Goldberg 2003; 2006; 2013a; 2013b; etc.). The present study advocates the statement that FSs are types of constructions (Buerki 2016) instead of being awkwardly treated as exceptions of grammar and vocabulary (see Section 2.2.3). The third part of Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3) distinguishes FSs from LBs, a type of multi-word unit that often occurs in research on formulaic language. This section paves the way for a two-phase, semi-automatic, corpus-assisted approach adopted by the present study (see Chapter 4). The fourth section of Chapter 2 (see Section 2.4) reviews a selection of studies on EModE FSs, focusing on those taking a function-to-form approach and those exploring specific multi-word units. Section 2.4 also reviews studies investigating EModE FSs via LBs, as well as literature that provides general information regarding EModE dialogues and letters. The last part of this chapter reviews several ways of categorising FSs, focusing on Conrad and Biber's (2005) functional taxonomy.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 address the methodology design of the study. Chapter 3 introduces two corpora employed by the present study, including the

text types and sources, periodisation, metadata, and other features of the corpora. Chapter 4 demonstrates a three-step procedure, including preparation (see Section 4.1), identification (see Section 4.2), and generalisation (see Section 4.3). For the second step, in particular, the identification of FSs adopts a two-phase approach, involving an automatic retrieval of LBs from the corpora and manual identification of FSs from the LBs. Chapter 4 concludes by explaining how data is analysed.

Chapter 5 reports results concerning LBs retrieved in the first phase of the identification step. Although LBs are considered only as a middle stage in the process of identifying FSs, it is still worth discussing in order to build a bridge to connect my project to previous studies. The chapter reports on the form and function of three-word and four-word LBs retrieved from both EModE dialogues and letters respectively, as well as long bundles in EModE letters. The chapter finishes by comparing the findings in the present study with two previous studies, Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and Marcus (2018).

Chapter 6, Chapter 7, and Chapter 8 present the main findings of the study and jointly answer the three general research questions (see Section 1.2) from various perspectives. Chapter 6 categorises FSs in EModE dialogues and letters according to their functions. Section 6.1 introduces the final version of the functional classification scheme adopted in the present study and defines each primary function category, subcategory, and function label. Section 6.2 reports general results regarding distribution of FSs across primary function categories and subcategories. Sections 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 provide an in-depth demonstration of FSs in each primary function category and subcategory, in EModE dialogues and letters, respectively. It is found that FSs can be grouped according to a more schematic construction or grammatic-structural pattern, and certain patterns are usually associated with particular subcategories of functions. That is to say, a form-function relationship can be observed.

Chapter 7 discusses how EModE dialogues and letters can be distinguished via FSs. The chapter consists of two parts. Section 7.1 is about the form of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters. The discussion centres on the fixedness of form and abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs. In the present study, an FS consists of a fixed part (continuous or discontinuous) and a maximum of three variable parts (compulsory or optional). The degree of

fixedness is measured by the form of the fixed part and the number of variable parts. The aim is to see if EModE dialogues and letters differ from each other regarding the fixedness of FSs they use, hence determining which text type is more formulaic. The section also briefly discusses the fixedness of FSs in each function category. Section 7.2 then focuses on discussing how FSs characterise EModE dialogues and letters from a function perspective. Analyses was conducted both quantitatively and qualitatively. More specifically, the section examined genre-specific FSs, and common combinations of functions served by multi-functional FSs. The study finds that some multi-functional FSs are genre-specific, and some combinations of functions in a particular text type rely more heavily on FSs than in the other text type.

In order to support the statement that FSs are constructions, Chapter 8 attempts to elaborate on two types of relationships observed among FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters. One kind of relationship is about how FSs of different forms and functions work together in one unit of discourse via embedding, attaching, and joining (see Section 8.1). The other kind of relationship reflects the hierarchic structure of FSs at various levels of abstraction (see Section 8.2). Due to the second kind of relationship, three types of functional deviation are observed, including function extension, shifting, and specification (see Section 8.3). All three sections of Chapter 8 together provide concrete linguistic evidence that FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters inherit major features of constructions, hence supporting the present study's argument that FSs can be explained by the Construction Grammar (e.g., Goldberg 2003; 2006; 2013a; 2013b; etc.).

Lastly, Chapter 9 concludes the study by summarising the main findings and contributions. Suggestions for further studies are made from two perspectives. One is to optimise the methodology design and the treatment of certain non-speech textual materials. The other is about investigating FSs that serve specific functions, comparing FSs in various types of dialogues or letters.

## **2. Formulaic sequences**

This chapter lays the theoretical foundation for the entire PhD study, by addressing the most essential question: what are FSs? To do so, the study takes Goldbergian Construction Grammar (e.g., Goldberg 2006) as the theoretical framework for defining FSs, designing criteria to identify FSs from (historical) texts (see Section 4.2, Chapter 4), and describing the form and function of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8). The present chapter focuses on the first realisation of the theoretical framework (see Section 2.1), proposing and elaborating the working definition of FSs. Section 2.2 discusses how Construction Grammar is chosen as the theoretical framework, especially for the proposed new definition. Section 2.3 distinguishes FSs from LBs and provides strong arguments that why LBs cannot be equalised to FSs in Construction Grammar. Section 2.4 reviews studies on FSs in EModE. Section 2.5 ends the chapter by reviewing schemes used to classify FSs and emphasising the advantages of a functional classification scheme over the others.

### **2.1. Defining formulaic sequences in the context of historical pragmatics and corpus linguistics**

In the present study, I use “formulaic sequence” as an umbrella term for all linguistic items that fulfil the definition below. I also use the uncountable noun “formulaic language” to refer to FSs “as a collective” (Wood 2015, 2). The study proposes the following working definition.

A formulaic sequence is a multi-word unit that forms a semantic unit and serves as a frequent and conventional mapping of form, meaning, and/or function; formulaic language is a collection of different formulaic sequences that vary in degree of fixedness, syntactic (ir)regularity, (non-)compositionality, and idiomaticity.

This section contains two parts. The first part (Section 2.1.1) elaborates on the new definition, which states three prerequisites that make an FS (see Section 2.1.1.1) and describes four syntactic-semantic features that distinguish various types of FSs (see Section 2.1.1.2). The second part of the section justifies the necessity to suggest a new definition, even though many attempts have been made to define FSs (see Section 2.1.2). Briefly speaking, the newly suggested definition is more inclusive, descriptive, and methodologically neutral than previous ones. To support this argument, Section 2.1.2.1 starts by reviewing

terms used inconsistently to label the linguistic phenomenon in question, which leads indirectly to different definitions of FSs. Section 2.1.2.2 explains why “formulaic sequence” is a better umbrella term. Section 2.1.2.3 then points out that even studies adopting the term “formulaic sequence” could have defined it differently and less comprehensively. By reviewing some definitions in previous studies, the section concludes that a new definition is crucial for studies of FSs in historical texts.

### **2.1.1. Definition of formulaic sequences explained**

#### **2.1.1.1. Three prerequisites**

The proposed definition of FSs consists of two parts. The first part states three prerequisites that make an FS. To begin with, the term “multi-word units” refers to word strings of any length, regardless of semantics and syntax, and those not yet thoroughly analysed and identified as FSs. For example, computationally generated “lexical bundles” (Biber et al. 1999) are a type of multi-word units. Section 2.3 distinguishes FSs from LBs.

The second prerequisite for an FS is that a multi-word unit “forms a semantic unit”. The concept comes from the definition suggested by Buerki (2016), in which FSs are “frequent word sequences forming a semantic unit” (22). By “semantic unit”, Buerki means “a word sequence possessing the sort of semantic unity typically found in words and structurally complete phrases” (22), such as **BY AND BY**<sup>1</sup>, and **THE COURT**. He continues that multi-word units not structurally complete can acquire semantic unity by adding one (or several) schematic element(s), namely a slot or a gap to be filled by specific words. There are restrictions regarding what kind of schematic elements are allowed, such as the word class, semantic field, semantic prosody, etc. How some LBs are determined to possess semantic unity while others do not is demonstrated in Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4. As to how many schematic elements are allowed, there is no standard so far, and it is up to the researcher’s decision. Buerki (2016) decides that only one compulsory schematic element is allowed to complete the meaning and structure of a multi-word unit, while there is no limit to the number

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<sup>1</sup> Examples in this dissertation are presented in three formats: LBs are in capital letters, e.g., **I PRAY YOU**; FSs identified in this study are in quotation marks with the fixed part in bold, e.g., “**I pray you**”; normal textual examples such as realisations of an FS, as well as examples of multi-word units in previous studies, are in italic, e.g., *I pray you*.

of optional schematic elements. However, allowing only one schematic element might risk overlooking structures like *not only...but also*. In contrast, according to Buerki, the more schematic elements are allowed, the more schematic and abstract an FS would be. Considering the flexibility of EModE syntax, this study allows a maximum of three variable parts<sup>2</sup>, including both compulsory and optional schematic elements, to form a semantic unit as a compromise.

The third prerequisite is that a multi-word unit “serves as a frequent and conventional mapping of form, meaning, and/or function”. This prerequisite contains two vital pieces of information. Firstly, the present study measures conventionality by frequency, but frequency does not simply mean that FSs occur many times more than non-FSs. For example, the top-ten most frequent three-word LBs in the corpus of EModE dialogues are I PRAY YOU, OUT OF THE, I DO NOT, I WILL NOT, IT IS NOT, AND THE SAID, IT IS A, OF THE SAID, THAT HE SAID, and AND I WILL; in the corpus of EModE letters, they are I PRAY YOU, MY LORD OF, I KNOW NOT, I HAVE NOT, I DO NOT, THA I HAVE, TO YOU AND, IN THE MEAN, MY VERY GOOD, and TO THE RIGHT. Among them, only two bundles from the dialogues are later identified as FSs or their realisations, namely, “**I pray you**” and “**I will not {V-inf} {COMP}**”. By comparison, there are six bundles in letters being identified as FSs or their realisations, namely, “**I pray you**”, “**my Lord of {NP: place name}**”, “**I know not {COMP}**”, “**in the mean {season/space/time/while}**”, “**my very good {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}**”, and “**To the right {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}**”. Twelve of the 20 LBs, despite their high frequency, do not form a semantic unit hence not FSs.

Moreover, frequency should be treated as how commonly a form is associated with meaning and/or function, and it is invalid to talk about frequency without context. On the one hand, Wray (2002) demonstrates that contextual and pragmatic cues are essential to disambiguate a multi-word unit like *keep your hair on*, which could be both non-formulaic with the sense “don’t remove your wig” and formulaic with the meaning “calm down” (31) but frequency is not closely related to such cues. On the other hand, Wray (2017) combines frequency

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<sup>2</sup> The term “variable part”, along with “fixed part”, is defined in Section 2.1.1.2



with familiarity, in which “frequent” does not imply merely having a significant number of occurrences, but it is closely related to the speech community and the meaning, i.e., high frequency now means that an FS is frequently used as “the predominant way of conveying the meaning” that “often needs to be expressed” (572). In a similar account, Bardovi-Harlig (2012) suggests that FSs represent “ways of saying things agreed upon by a speech community” (209). Taking the above LBs and FSs again, for example, the bundle I PRAY YOU is associated with requests in both EMode dialogues and letters (e.g., [1a–b]), hence its corresponding FS “**I pray you**”.

[1] **I pray you**

- a. **I pray you**, let them be brought face to face to me [...]  
(*Duke of Norfolk*, D1TNORFO, p. 98C2)
- b. Bycause **I dowbt of** your spedy repayr hether I pray you send my ij leases, Mr. Secretary, to se what may be donn.  
(LEYCEST,481.095.2916)

The bundle TO THE RIGHT is specifically associated with stating the recipient of letters with respect or politeness, usually occurring at either the beginning of or the end of a letter (e.g., [2a–b]), instead of a more general sense of indicating directions (e.g., TO YOU AND). The bundle is later identified as an FS.

[2] **To the right** {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}

- a. **To the Right Honorable and my singlar good Lorde the Lorde High Tresorer of England** etc. (HART,77.002.21)
- b. **To the right worpf Sr Hamon Le Strange Baronett, my honord friend, these present** (BROWNE,289.052.1031)

To the other extreme, the three-word bundle I PRAISE GOD is among those that barely pass the minimum frequency cut-off in the corpus of EMode letters, but the present study identifies it as an FS “**I praise God**”, which expresses desire or willingness (e.g., [3a–b]).

[3] **I praise God**

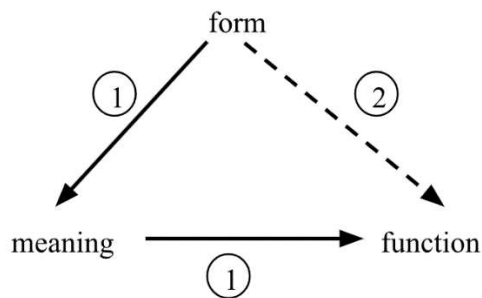
- a. Mr Lambert has been extreme sick (STOCKWE,I,54.034.634)  
but now **I praise god** he is well recovered.  
(STOCKWE,I,54.034.635)
- b. **I praise God** for all your contentedness to bear your crosses  
(BASIRE,110.001.53)

Therefore, FSs of low frequency, such as idioms and proverbs, are also “frequent and familiar” in a particular context. However, the frequency of occurrence shall not be devalued uncritically in formulaic language research. Depending on the

research question, frequency is a helpful tool to measure if a text type is characterised by specific types of FSs.

Secondly, tightly associated with frequency and conventionality, the present study suggests that FSs represent a triadic mapping of form, meaning and/or function, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.1.1. There are two paths of mapping. The dominant one is taken by a meaningful multi-word unit (represented by ①), which further serves a specific function. For example, the FS “**I pray you**” has a non-idiomatic meaning and functions as a request, and “**I praise God**” is idiomatic and non-compositional in meaning and function as an expression of desire. However, a handful of FSs also take the second path and map the form directly to function (represented by ②). According to Goldberg’s (2013a) account on the function of constructions, abstract formal templates such as the VERB PHRASE construction does have a function as predication; meanwhile, fully lexical but meaningless word strings are functional too, for instance, the phrase *fa la la* functions as “an emotive part of a particular Christmas carol” (18). Similar to *fa la la*, the study identified seemingly meaningless FSs “**go to**” and “**how now**” in the corpus of EModE dialogues, which serve as expressions of exclamation.

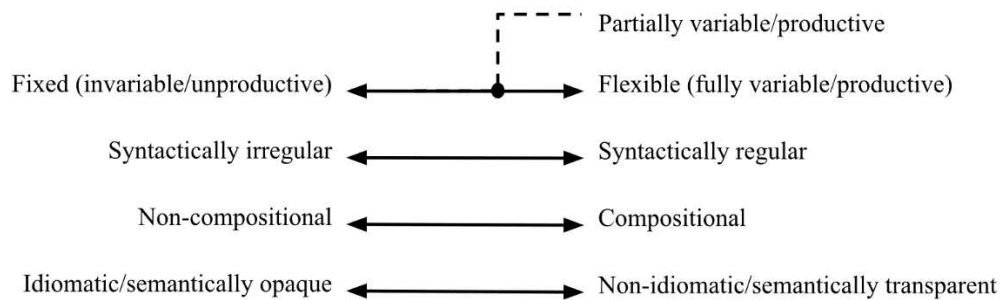
**Figure 2.1.1.1: Triadic mapping of form, meaning and/or function**



### **2.1.1.2. Continuums of four syntactic-semantic features of formulaic sequences**

The second half of the definition suggests various types of FSs. They can be distinguished from each other as well as from non-FSs according to four essential syntactic-semantic features that define formulaicity: fixedness, syntactic (ir)regularity, (non-)compositionality, and idiomaticity. Each feature and its antithesis are not binary categories but two extremes of a continuum, as represented in Figure 2.1.1.2.

**Figure 2.1.1.2: Continuums of fixedness, syntactic (ir)regularity, (non-)compositionality, and idiomaticity**



Firstly, “fixedness” is one of the most significant concepts regarding formulaic language. Wood (2015) reviewed Wray’s (2002) account on fixedness and summarised that fixedness was “the tendency for prefabricated sequences to be of invariable form” (9). The present study extends the definition and interprets it as the variability and productivity of form. In particular, productivity refers to the completeness of syntactic structure and how many schematic elements are required to complete the structure and form a semantic unit. Some FSs occur only in exact form. For example, the FS “**God be thanked**” has a form that is invariable and complete (e.g., [4a–b]), hence unproductive. Other FSs allow limited space for the alternation of their form. For example, the sequence “{ORDINAL NUM} **day of** {NP: month name}” requires two schematic elements to complete the form and meaning and form a semantic unit. Both slots can be filled with only one type of word, ordinal numbers, and month names (e.g., [5a–b]), respectively. Therefore, FSs as such are partially productive.

[4] **God be thanked**

- a. **God be thanked** for your good health, and all our children, (ARUNDEL,94.018.212)
- b. I have gotten such hand over them all, **God be thanked**, that if I get the office also, then I shall do any thing and they will be glad to yield in all reasonable things. (BACON,III,49.332.5765)

[5] {ORDINAL NUM} **day of** {NP: month name} (40)

- a. At Hertfforde **the xv day of November** 1582. (BACON,II,215.260.4604)
- b. **Saturday the 18th day of January**, I was with James Netteville in the Evening [...] (*Papists*, D3WBROOK, p. 3)

Moreover, the form of FSs can be either continuous or discontinuous. For continuous FSs, if schematic elements are required, they can be placed either before or after the sequence; for instance, “**God be thanked**” and “{ORDINAL

NUM} **day of** {NP: month name}”. For discontinuous FSs, they contain at least one schematic element in the middle of the sequence, and it is still possible for other schematic elements to be added before or after the sequence; for instance, “**for** {POSS. PRON} **own part**” in EModE letters and “**the** (MODIFIER) {[law]} **of** {NP: country or authority}” in dialogues. For the convenience of discussion in the rest of the study, the schematic elements and the part of an FS that allows limited variation are together referred to as the “variable part”. As examples of FSs demonstrated so far, a variable part can be compulsory (in curly brackets) and optional (in round brackets). The rest of an FS that is not variable is referred to as the “fixed part” (in bold). The fixed part can be either continuous or discontinuous. Occasionally, squared brackets are used to mark the base form of a word.

In addition, the word order of EModE is more flexible compared with that of PDE; for example, phrasal verbs in PDE fulfil the definition of FSs in the present study, but their EModE counterparts are found to be extremely flexible (Blake 2002). Blake’s (2002) examination of phrasal verbs in Shakespearean language finds that the two components of phrasal verbs, the main verb and the particle, can be separated. The particle can be

separated from the preceding lexical verb by one or more phrasal units, or it could be placed in front of the lexical verb either immediately or within one or more words between it and the lexical verb (36).

A problem arises that such a flexible form of phrasal verbs cannot be detected by the computer-assisted approach adopted by the present study, or at least not all realisations of an EModE phrasal verb. Due to the limits of the computer-assisted approach, i.e., corpus size and computer software, as well as the research focus and capacity, the present study had to compromise. Only phrasal verbs whose particle is placed directly before or after the lexical verb were counted so that the above definition of fixedness was not flouted. Future studies examining only EModE phrasal verbs are, however, still possible and expected.

Secondly, “syntactic (ir)regularity” in this definition refers to how the form of an FS violates grammar. Some FSs are grammatically irregular; for example, “**by and by**”. In some cases, part of an FS is variable following a certain grammatical rule, but the rule is not fully realised; for instance, in the FS

“**I (have) received yours of {DATE}**” identified EModE letters, the main verb, *receive*, can only be realised in two tenses, simple past and present perfect.

Furthermore, it is highly likely for a syntactically regular multi-word unit to be formulaic, if it behaves as a holistic item and is a more “frequent and familiar” way to express meaning and/or to perform a function than the other word strings; for example, *have a nice day* and *at the top of the [...]* (Wray 2017, 572). The present study identified many such FSs. They can be regular noun phrases such as “{ORDINAL NUM} **day of** {NP: month name}” and “**the** (MODIFIER) {[law]} **of** {NP: country or authority}”, prepositional phrases such as “**for** {POSS. PRON} **own part**”, clauses such as “**I suppose** {that-CLAUSE}” and “**as I am informed**”, and full sentences such as “**I (shall/will/can) say no more**”, etc.

Lastly, the third feature “(non-)compositionality” and the fourth feature “idiomaticity” together refer to how transparent/opaque the meaning of an FS could be, but each has its own focus. In the present study, (non-)compositionality focuses on the relationship between whole and part, i.e., whether the holistic meaning of an FS can be deduced from the meaning of its components. The idiomatic meaning, as opposed to the literal meaning, focuses on the state that the holistic meaning of an FS is different from the meaning of its components, be it deducible (compositional) or not deducible (non-compositional). Therefore, an FS could be non-compositional and idiomatic, i.e., its meaning cannot be interpreted through the meaning of its components. For example, components of the FS, “**by and by**”, are so tightly bound together that the sequence behaves more like a word but is orthographically written separately (e.g., [6a–b]).

[6] **by and by**

- a. **By and by**, the bottle is almost off Mistresse, here Master  
(*Bartholmew Fayre*, D2CJONSO, p. 25)
- b. If sum in England red this, they wold **by and by** saye it wer wel doon,  
if this be trewe, to make bishoppes riche, if worldly thinges make  
them pore. (GARDIN,198.014.1108)

An FS could also be compositional but idiomatic, i.e., the meaning of its components contributes indirectly or figuratively to the holistic meaning of the sequence, such as “**your servant**”, which is identified in the corpus of EModE dialogues as an FS of respectful greeting (see example [5] in Section 6.6.1, Chapter 6). Moreover, it is more common for an FS to be compositional and non-

idiomatic (or literal), i.e., its meaning is fully transparent and can be interpreted via the meaning of its component. In this case, the FS as a whole possesses a functional significance. For example, the FS “**I (have) received yours of {DATE}**” is found only in the corpus of EModE letters and is used highly frequently in the earlier part of letters to announce the receipt of a specific letter and/or to denote that the following text is a response to that letter (see a similar FS exemplified in [2] in Section, 6.4.2, Chapter 6). Similarly, the FS “**I suppose {that-CLAUSE}**” is also compositional and non-idiomatic, and it is conventionally used to give a piece of information and to state the speaker’s certainty regarding that information (see example [8] in Section 6.3.1, Chapter 6). In any of these cases, the meaning and/or function of the whole outweighs the meaning of the part.

It is worth emphasising that neither of these syntactic-semantic features is able to independently distinguish FSs from non-FSs without the involvement of the others to some extent. If all four syntactic-semantic features of a multi-word unit are on the left extreme of the scale (Figure 2.1.1.2), this multi-word unit is a prototypical FS. For example, the FSs “**God be thanked**” and “**by and by**” sit on the very left end of the continuum for all four features. However, if a multi-word unit has one or more of the four syntactic-semantic features close to the right extreme, it needs the help of other features to gain formulaicity. For example, being very close to the right extreme, the sequence “**I suppose {that-CLAUSE}**” is syntactically regular, fully compositional, and non-idiomatic, but it is only partially variable and productive because it requires a schematic element to be filled with a clause dependent on the meaning and function of the sequence as a whole. In fact, FSs cannot reach the right extreme of the continuum of fixedness, i.e., they can only be partially variable or productive. This is because when they require schematic elements, the schematic elements are always restricted to factors such as grammatical rules, semantic fields, and semantic prosody; for instance, in FSs “**I (have) received yours of {DATE}**” “**{ORDINAL NUM} day of {NP: month name}**”.

## **2.1.2. Justification for the proposed working definition**

### **2.1.2.1. Background: inconsistent use of terms**

Formulaic language has been investigated in various sub-disciplines of linguistics as well as in several cross-disciplinary studies. The earliest studies with observations of formulaic language might date back to as early as the late 19th century in the field of aphasia, such as Hughlings Jackson (1874), which “form the view that some language was ‘automatic’ and ‘non-propositional’ and was processed by the right hemisphere rather than the linguistically dominant left” (320). However, formulaic language only started to get more attention until the late 20th century (Wray 2013). Early studies on formulaic language developed their own terminology individually for the linguistic phenomenon under investigation. For example, Lord (1960) talked about the role of “formula” in recalling oral epic poetry. Ferguson (1976) also used the term “formula” and examined its structure and use in expressing politeness across different languages. In Gleason and Weintraub (1976), an investigation was conducted on children learning socio-cultural “routines” in first language acquisition. Around the same period, studies began looking for theoretical accounts of the form, meaning, and function of formulaic language and how it is processed and stored. This research area coined the most terminologies to label formulaic language. For example, Bolinger (1976) used the term “prefabs”, Coulmas (1979) used “routine formulae”, and Pawley and Syder (1983) called it “lexicalised sentence stems”. Moreover, in the field of language teaching, Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) suggested the term “lexical phrases”, and Lewis (1993) suggested “chunks”. It was until Wray (1999) examined the growing body of research on formulaic language that the umbrella term “formulaic sequence” “has more or less gained and held traction in the literature” (Wood 2015, 35). Wray and Perkins (2000) summarised over 40 terms used in the literature to describe FSs and formulaicity. Previous investigations on the formulaic language are summarised in, for instance, Wray (1999; 2013) and Wray and Perkins (2000).

In studies conducted with historical texts, FSs have not yet been a unique and widely examined linguistic phenomenon. Culpeper and Kytö (2010) point out that historical studies are more and more interested in “the role of multi-word expressions as conventionalised pragmatic or discoursal markers” (103), but

investigations of linguistic fixedness in early English are not so exhaustive as in PDE. Not many of them adopt the term “formulaic sequence”. Marcus (2018) used “formulaic language” and alternative terms such as “formulaic expressions”, “formulaic structures”, and “formulaic [...] bundles”. Kryk-Kastovsky (2009) used “formulaic language”, “[...] formulae”, and “formulaic expressions”. Culpeper and Kytö (2010) used the terms “recurrent word-combination” and “multi-word expressions” seemingly interchangeably, which are computationally derived, hence equal to the term “lexical bundles”. Other terms used to describe multi-word expressions that could be FSs in historical studies include “patterns” (e.g., Culpeper and Archer 2008), “collocations” (e.g., Merriam 2009), “formula” (e.g., Oinonen 2012), “recurrent multi-word expressions” (e.g., Marcus 2018), and so on. It seems that the choice of terminology in historical studies is either arbitrary or research focus-oriented.

#### **2.1.2.2. Why “formulaic sequence”: inclusive and methodologically neutral**

The above-mentioned terms and many others do not necessarily describe the same thing but have “genuinely deep-seated and significant differences” (Wray and Perkins 2000, 3). Culpeper and Kytö (2010) suggest that these terms can be distinguished based on research focuses and research methods. From the research focus perspective, there are FSs analysed as, for example, “grammatical patterns” and “multi-word lexical units” focusing on structure, “idioms” on semantics, “parenthetical phrases”, and “collocations” on the relationship with other constituents of discourse, “conversational routines” on pragmatics, and “prefabs” on language producing and processing by native speakers. From the research method perspective, some are manually derived, such as “idioms” and “conversational routines”, and others are computationally derived, such as “n-grams”, “concgrams”, and “lexical bundles”.

I argue that most of the time, these terms describe different types of linguistic items, and not all of the linguistic items are FSs; hence choosing any one of them to label the linguistic phenomenon under investigation collectively would result in bias. Meanwhile, the term “formulaic sequence” is inclusive and methodologically neutral; hence its use will not bias research focuses or the selection of research methods. The adjective “formulaic” summarises all possible mappings of form, meaning, and/or function and emphasises that the



mappings are conventional rather than random. By “sequence”, the study means that the linguistic items under investigation contain sequences of words and, sometimes, slots to be filled with words of various types.

To support my argument, I have reviewed definitions of six terms commonly used in formulaic language research: “lexical phrases” (see its definition in Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992, 1), “collocations” (Biber et al. 1999, 59, 988), “idioms” (Fraser 1970, 22; Biber et al. 1999, 988–989), “lexical bundles” (Biber et al. 1999, 990, 992), “multi-word lexical units” (Biber et al. 1999, 59, 992), and “prefabs” (Erman and Warren 2000, 3). Based on the method suggested by Culpeper and Kytö (2010), as mentioned above, I compare these terms with the selected “formulaic sequence” regarding how they cover four syntactic-semantic features (see Section 2.1.1.2) and how they can be investigated. A summary of the comparison is provided in Table 2.1.2.2.

**Table 2.1.2.2: How definitions and descriptions of terms cover four syntactic-semantic features of formulaic language and how linguistic items they represent can be identified**

Terms	Research focus (Four syntactic-semantic features)					Research method	
	Fixedness	Syntactic (ir)regularity	(Non-) compositionality	Idiomatity	Other	Manually	Computer-assisted
Formulaic sequences	+	+	+	+	N/A	+	+
Lexical phrases	+	+	*	+	function, production	+	*
Collocations	*	-	-	-	relation among components	-	+
Idioms	+	-	+	+	acquisition, not necessarily common	+	-
Lexical bundles	*	-	-	-	register-specific	-	+
Multi-word lexical units	+	-	-	-	lexicalisation	*	-
Prefabs	*	-	-	-	intuition	*	-

*Note: +: explicitly featured; -: not featured; \*: implicitly or indirectly featured.*

From the perspective of research focus, the six terms are less inclusive than the selected “formulaic sequence” for two reasons. The first reason is that they do not cover all four essential syntactic-semantic features of formulaic language. On the one hand, all six terms (indirectly) feature fixedness, referring to word strings with a more fixed inner structure or their components having a

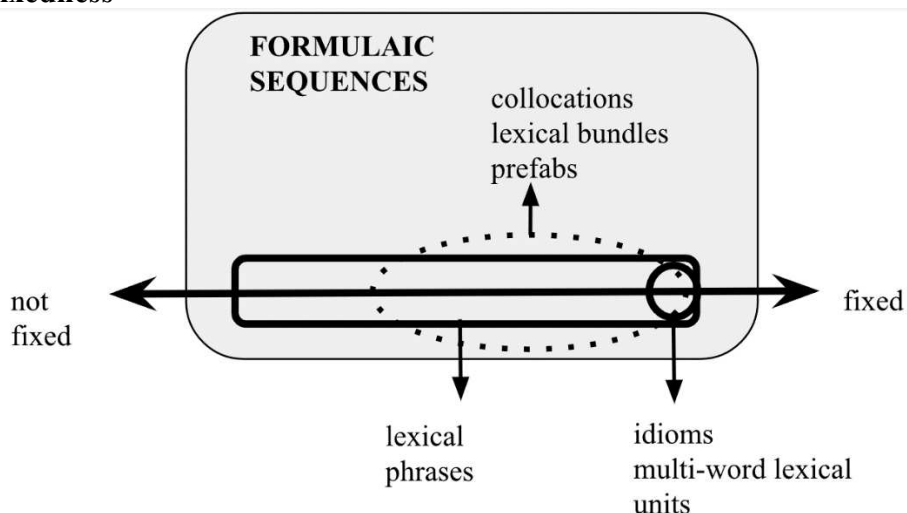
closer relationship than lexical items surrounding them. However, syntactic (ir)regularity is featured only by “lexical phrases”, while idiomaticity is only by “lexical phrases” and “idioms”. On the other hand, “lexical phrases” is the most comprehensive among the six terms, covering all four features. Contrarily, the terms “collocation”, “lexical bundles”, “multi-word lexical units”, and “prefabs” (indirectly) cover only one syntactic-semantic feature, the fixedness. Nonetheless, the term “formulaic sequence” covers all four features, fixedness, syntactic (ir)regularity, (non-)compositionality, and idiomaticity directly.

As discussed in Section 2.1.1.2, types of FSs vary regarding where they sit on the continuums of the four syntactic-semantic features. Thus, the second reason why none of the six terms is preferable compared to “formulaic sequence” is because they do not interpret the four features to the same degrees.

Firstly, interpretations of fixedness vary significantly from one study to another. Lexical phrases have the broadest range of fixedness, as presented in Figure 2.1.2.2a. Fixedness to lexical phrases means the variability and productivity of form. Lexical phrases can be either relatively fixed phrases or phrases that consist of a fixed part and slots for various fillers. Fixedness to lexical phrases also means “conventionalised form/function composites” (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992, 1), i.e., the form of a lexical phrase is conventionally associated with a specific discourse function. Therefore, regarding fixedness, lexical phrases are the closest to FSs. However, fixedness to idioms is interpreted from the perspective of language learning, meaning that they “have to be learned as a whole” (Biber et al. 1999, 988). Idioms are “relatively invariable” (989). Fixedness to multi-word lexical units is the degree of lexicalisation, emphasising that their syntactic behaviour is similar to single words; or as Biber et al. (1999) put it, they have become “lexicalised” (58). Therefore, both idioms and multi-word lexical units sit on the fixed end of the continuum, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.2.2a. So far, all three items interpret fixedness from the perspective of form and reflect different degrees of fixedness. However, fixedness is indirectly featured by collocations, LBs, and prefabs (marked by dotted circles in Figure 2.1.2.2a), and their interpretation of fixedness is from entirely different angles. Fixedness to both collocations and LBs means the tendency of words to occur together Biber et al. (1999), but they are measured differently. For collocations, the co-occurrence of words is

achieved via statistical measures such as logDice and Mutual Information. In contrast, for LBs, it is simply measured by their frequency of co-occurrence. In addition, for prefabs, fixedness means conventionalisation and native speakers' preferences (Erman and Warren 2000). These three terms sit roughly in the middle of the continuum of fixedness and tend to be closer to the fixed end.

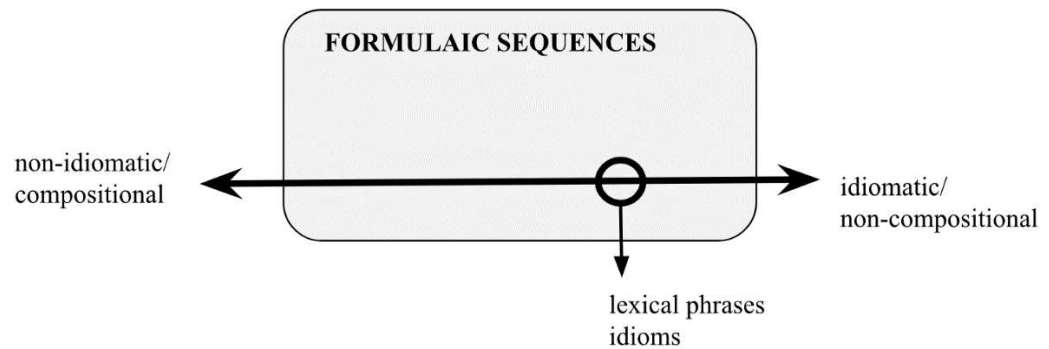
**Figure 2.1.2.2a: Differences between “lexical phrases”, “collocations”, “idioms”, “lexical bundles”, “multi-word lexical units”, and “prefabs”: fixedness**



Secondly, the term “lexical phrase” is the closest to “formulaic sequence”, not only because it covers all four syntactic-semantic features but also because it represents almost the same degree of fixedness (as discussed above) and syntactic (ir)regularity. Lexical phrases “exist somewhere between the traditional poles of lexicon and syntax”; for example, they can be grammatical clauses such as *if I X, then I Y* and *as X would have us believe*, or somewhat grammatical but not usually parsed phrases such as *on the other hand*; they can also be partially or the least grammatical clauses such as *the\_er X, the\_er Y* (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992, 1). However, what differentiates lexical phrases from FSs lies in (non-)compositionality and idiomaticity. Lexical phrases are thought to “have more idiomatically determined meaning than language that is put together each time” (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992, 1). Therefore, Lexical phrases tend to be close to the idiomatic and non-compositional end of the continuum, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.2.2b. By comparison, FSs can be compositional and non-idiomatic items as well, such as “I (have) **received yours of** {DATE}” in the corpus of EModE letters. There are also some FSs sitting in the middle position of the continuum, such as “**your**

**servant**” in the corpus of EModE dialogues. Its holistic meaning can be deduced from its components (i.e., compositional), but different from the meaning of its components combined (i.e., idiomatic). In addition to lexical phrases, idioms also tend to be idiomatic and non-compositional, for they express “a meaning not derivable from the parts” (Biber et al. 1999, 989).

**Figure 2.1.2.2b: Differences between “collocations” and “idioms”: (non-)compositionality and idiomaticity**



Another reason why the term “formulaic sequence” is a better choice of terminology is because it does not restrict the research method with which the linguistic phenomenon is investigated. Collocations and LBs can only be automatically generated using a computer programme since their identification heavily relies on the computation of frequency, Log-Likelihood, Mutual Information, and/or dispersion. However, idioms cannot be identified via a computer-assisted method, since their identification relies on syntax, semantics, and other features. In addition, the identification of prefabs is based on native speakers’ intuition and preference, since they are linguistic items that are favoured “by native speakers in preference to an alternative combination which could have been equivalent, had there been no conventionalization” (Erman and Warren 2000, 31). Both idioms and prefabs can only be identified by reading through the textual materials, and manually deciding if a lexical item fits the definition of idioms or prefabs; hence they are restricted to small-sized corpora. By comparison, FSs do not explicitly restrict the method of their identification. In other words, they can be identified in various ways depending on the research question and corpus size. In the present study, they are identified semi-automatically from two corpora containing millions of words.

### 2.1.2.3. The necessity for a new definition

As mentioned in Section 2.1.2.1, the term “formulaic sequence” has gained in popularity since Wray (1999). Section 2.1.2.2 also argues that the term “formulaic sequence” is an inclusive and method-neutral label for the linguistic phenomenon under examination, and hence adopted by the present study. However, studies adopting this term do not commonly define the linguistic phenomenon in the same way; instead, their definitions of FSs often serve for individual research focus (e.g., Wray and Perkins 2000; Bardovi-Harlig 2012; Buerki 2016). Table 2.1.2.3 lists some of these definitions from perspectives of, for instance, language processing, language teaching and learning, and phraseology.

**Table 2.1.2.3: Definitions of FSs from various perspectives**

Definition	Focus
[1] “A sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar” (Wray and Perkins 2000, 1).	Psycho-linguistics/ language processing
[2] “Multiword expressions that occur as phrases and as coherent semantic units at a relatively high frequency” (Jiang and Nekrasova 2007, 433).	pedagogically-oriented/second language acquisition
[3] “Successions of linguistic entities that are best learned as integral wholes or independent entities, rather than by the process of placing together their component parts, either because (a) they may not be understood or appropriately produced without specific knowledge, or (b) because they occur with sufficient frequency that their independent learning will facilitate fluency” (Durrant and Mathews-Aydinli 2011, 60).	pedagogically-oriented/second language acquisition
[4] “Sequences of words that are in some regards not entirely predictable, whether on account of a meaning that is wildly or subtly different from the words they contain, a function that is only achieved with the whole expression, or features of structure such as morphology or word order that are non-canonical” (Wray 2013, 318).	pedagogically-oriented/second language acquisition
[5] “Stable and reproducible combinations of words, culturally conveyed, socially conditioned, stored in the collective memory of language users and retrieved therefrom as semantic wholes” (Bartmiński 2007, 71, as cited in Forsyth 2015, 514).	ethnolinguistic perspective
[6] “Formulaic sequences are phrases that are conventional pairings of form and unit of meaning in a speech community” (Buerki 2016, 18).	phraseological perspective
[7] “Frequent word sequences forming a semantic unit” (Buerki 2016, 22).	phraseological perspective
[8] “Formulas are then identified as the recurrent patterns associated with each function” (Durrant and Mathews-Aydinli 2011, 58).	“function-first” approach
[9] “The most frequent recurrent forms in a relevant corpus” (Durrant and Mathews-Aydinli 2011, 58).	“form-first” approach

One of the most quoted definitions is the one in [1] suggested by Wray and Perkins (2000). However, I argue that the present study needs a new, more inclusive, and more descriptive definition than the existing ones, for three reasons. The first reason is that FSs are sometimes defined in a way that makes it hard to measure their validity in historical texts empirically. Definition [1] describes FSs from a psycholinguistic perspective. According to this definition, FSs are distinguished from other multi-word units because the former is prefabricated and there is not a rule-based process in terms of their acquisition and processing. Therefore, the definition suggests an approach that involves the speaker's or the researcher's intuition to judge if a multi-word unit is formulaic or not. However, the method cannot be applied to testify FSs in any earlier periods of English for there are no longer native speakers. The same problem exists in the definition [3] suggested from a pedagogical perspective and [5] from an ethnolinguistic perspective. Despite the fact that these definitions also provide some information regarding the form, frequency, and cultural-social status of FSs, they are not suitable for describing FSs in EModE.

The second reason for suggesting a new definition is that existing definitions provide only a vague, sometimes biased, description of FSs, and it is hard to work with them when identifying FSs. Firstly, many definitions mentioning frequency imply that all FSs are frequent, leaving out the infrequent multi-word units that also carry formulaic features. For example, FSs have “a relatively high frequency” in definition [2] (Jiang and Nekrasova 2007, 433), they “occur with sufficient frequency” in definition [3] (Durrant and Mathews-Aydinli 2011, 60), and they have “the most frequent recurrent forms” in definition [9] (Durrant and Mathews-Aydinli 2011, 58). However, as explained in Section 2.1.1.1, high frequency to FSs is associated with conventional form-function mapping, instead of occurrence.

Secondly, most of the definitions in Table 2.1.2.3 directly or indirectly denote fixedness, but with different interpretations. Definitions in [1], [3], and [5] imply that fixedness means the way an FS is learned, stored, retrieved, produced, and understood, which is as a whole or independent syntactic or semantic entity, rather than a sequence of words being put together governed by grammatical rules. Such an interpretation of fixedness from a psycholinguistic perspective cannot be attested in earlier versions of English. Other definitions

associate fixedness with function or meaning, implying that the function of an FS is “achieved with the whole expression” (Wray 2013, 318) as in [4] and [8], and the form is conventionally paired with the unit of meaning as in [6]. This interpretation of fixedness is followed in the present study. In addition, one other noticeable realisation of fixedness is the irregularity of syntax, as noted in the definition [4], “features of structure such as morphology or word order” are “non-canonical” (Wray 2013, 318). This only describes certain types of FSs, while a large number of FSs is syntactically regular and canonical.

Thirdly, the definitions in [3] and [4] suggest that FSs are idiomatic and non-compositional. However, as discussed in Section 2.1.1.2, FSs can also be non-idiomatic and compositional. The others in Table 2.1.2.3 do not mention idiomaticity and (non-)compositionality at all.

Lastly, only definitions in [2], [5], [6], and [7] explicitly suggest that FSs are semantically complete as they are “semantic units” (Jiang and Nekrasova 2007, 433; Buerki 2016, 22) or “semantic wholes” (Bartmiński 2007, 71, as cited in Forsyth and Grabowski 2015, 514). Forming a semantic unit (Buerki 2016) is one of the three prerequisites for a multi-word unit to be an FS (see Section 2.1.1.1). This seems to contradict [1] because the definition in [1] suggests that the syntactic structure of FSs can be either continuous or discontinuous, and a discontinuous sequence of words is highly likely to be structurally incomplete. Moreover, definition in [1] does not reflect Buerki’s (2016) explanation that semantic unity can also be attributed to structurally incomplete multi-word units if they can acquire semantic unity “through the addition of a single, semantically or formally restricted” schematic element (22). For example, a random discontinuous sequence of words extracted from the corpus of EModE letters, such as *I have given [...], to pay me* (BACON, II,89.220.3775), may fulfil the definition in [1], but there are several unpredictable possibilities to fill in the blank, hence it is not a semantic unit and does not fulfil the new definition of FSs proposed at the beginning of Section 2.1.

The third reason why existing definitions are not suitable for the present study concerns the application of a corpus-assisted approach to exhaustively identify EModE FSs in all possible forms. It is especially crucial to have an inclusive and descriptive working definition because, otherwise, it would be difficult to decide which of the multi-word units retrieved from a corpus are

formulaic or not. However, as indicated above, many existing definitions only describe some features of FSs, such as being frequent and idiomatic; with such definitions, only frequent and/or idiomatic FSs can be identified, leaving out non-idiomatic ones like “**I commend** {NP: somebody, e.g., you, you and all yours, etc.} **to** {God/{NP: e.g., God’s protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}” (89) and infrequent ones like “**What is your pleasure?**” (9). Moreover, many existing definitions are not friendly to all research methods. For example, definitions in [1], [3], and [5] are not ideal for studies using a corpus-linguistic approach because empirical evidence provided by Schmitt et al. (2004) suggests that “corpus data on its own is a poor indicator of whether those clusters are actually stored in the mind as wholes” and that “it is unwise to take recurrence of clusters in a corpus as evidence that those clusters are also stored as formulaic sequences in the mind” (147).

In conclusion, even though studies use the umbrella term “formulaic sequences”, the definitions can be different and research focus-oriented. As Wray (2013) points out, none of these definitions is “theory- or method-neutral, and there is not even consensus across domains of investigation about how open one should be to other definitions alongside one’s own” (318). These definitions might work well when investigating a particular type (or types) of FSs with a specific research focus and approach. For a study that intends to analyse the distribution of all possible types of FSs in a type of texts, these definitions are unfortunately not comprehensive. For these reasons, the present study proposes a new definition (see Section 2.1) to enhance the existing ones from three perspectives: inclusivity, descriptiveness, and methodological neutrality.

It is ideal, though quite difficult, to come up with a definition that covers all possible realisations of formulaic language (i.e., inclusive) and states clearly all features that could distinguish them from non-FSs (i.e., descriptive). The proposed definition fulfils this expectation by stating three prerequisites for an FS (see Section 2.1.1.1) and four syntactic-semantic features in the form of continuums (see Section 2.1.1.2). Moreover, the proposed definition does not show obvious restrictions on research methods, for all prerequisites and syntactic-semantic features can be measured manually or with the assistance of computer software. The choice of a specific research method depends on the research questions and focuses of individual studies. For example, for a study



that examines a particular type of FS in a small corpus, a manual identification method could be applied. For the present study, the identification of FSs from corpora of millions of words relies on a semi-automatic corpus-assisted approach.

## **2.2. Profiles of formulaic sequences within the framework of Construction Grammar**

In this section, I argue that FSs should not be treated as exceptions of language use as in the mainstream grammar, namely the Generative Grammar. Instead, because of their prevalent occurrence and significant roles in various aspects of language, such as language learning and processing, communication, and discourse production, FSs deserve to be granted more research values and status as building blocks of discourse. They are as important as words and rules combined. Such research values and importance are obtained under the Construction Grammar. Section 2.2.2 demonstrates the advantages of Construction Grammar in explaining FSs and Section 2.2.3 portrays FSs as (semi-)lexical constructions.

### **2.2.1. Background: Construction Grammar and constructions**

The earliest insights on Construction Grammar date back to the 1980s (e.g., Lakoff 1987; Fillmore et al. 1988), explaining grammatical constructions and suggesting a network of constructions. The main motivation was to tackle the problems in analysing idioms under the traditional grammar system (Croft 2001), which can be seen as one of the earliest attempts at explaining and justifying the existence of FSs, or at least some types of them. Early works such as Fillmore et al. (1988) and Kay and Fillmore (1999) on idioms and idiomatic phrasal patterns (e.g., *let alone* and *What's X doing Y?*) “laid the foundation for many variations of the Construction Grammar” developed after them (Goldberg and Suttle 2010, 473) and for the future examination of formulaic language with a constructionist approach. In particular, according to Fillmore et al. (1988), constructions are some kind of forms at the phrasal level but not necessarily limited to phrase structure rules, constructions may specify information regarding syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, a lexical item may be viewed as constructions themselves, and smaller constructions may be part of a larger, more general and abstract construction, and the larger construction may be non-

compositional and idiomatic in semantics and/or pragmatics (501). These early descriptions of constructions already reveal similar characteristics with FSs defined in the present study (see Section 2.1.1), regarding syntactic (ir)regularity, productivity, and idiomaticity.

Since the first generation of constructionists, Adele E. Goldberg is one of the significant figures that have further developed the Construction Grammar (e.g., Goldberg 1995; 2003; 2006; 2016; 2019; Goldberg and Suttle 2010). Unlike Fillmore and Kay (e.g., Fillmore et al. 1988; Kay and Fillmore 1999), to whom only non-predictable, idiomatic expressions are constructions, Goldberg expands constructions to predictable expressions with high frequency (Hilpert 2014). As Boas (2013) commented, the Goldbergian Construction Grammar, also known as Cognitive Construction Grammar,

takes a strong usage-based view of the role of frequency and the status of item-specific instances, leading to the idea that even fully regular patterns may be stored alongside more abstract schematic constructions when they occur with sufficient frequency (244).

Hoffmann and Trousdale (2013) offer a detailed introduction to the development of Construction Grammar and its many branches and approaches.

The present study follows Goldberg's (2006) approach to Construction Grammar and her definition of constructions, which has been widely adopted in recent construction-related research:

All levels of grammatical analysis involve constructions: learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically filled and fully general phrasal patterns [...] Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency (5).

This definition is a revision based on the first proposal in Goldberg (1995). A detailed discussion regarding how the definition in Goldberg (1995) was developed into the one in Goldberg (2006) can be found in Hilpert (2014, 9–14). The main improvement is that frequent and predictable linguistic patterns can also be constructions.

### 2.2.2. The advantages of Construction Grammar in explaining formulaic sequences

Language is traditionally considered as a system of rules and words, namely, a dictionary-and-grammar model (Taylor 2012), in which “knowledge of vocabulary is neatly separated from knowledge of grammatical rules” (Hilpert 2014, 3). However, in this system, formulaic language holds an awkward position. As described in Section 2.1.1.2, FSs are characterised by their great diversity of form. Many FSs cannot be parsed and function holistically like one word, while a lot of others have a grammatical structure. It is also common that some FSs consist of a grammatically irregular part and the rest can be parsed. For this reason, it seems that formulaic language does not fully belong to either the “dictionary” or the “grammar” in the above model. In fact, one cannot find a chapter particularly about formulaic language nor as a subchapter under vocabulary or syntax in a grammar book. It is more often introduced as exceptions to specific vocabulary uses or grammatical rules. For a long time, formulaic language has been dropped into this “exception basket” and examined in an independent field called “phraseology” (Wood 2015, 2).

Nevertheless, the introduction of Construction Grammar brought light to the confusion about what FSs actually are. The greatest advantage of Construction Grammar is that it normalises the existence of FSs, a linguistic phenomenon that the mainstream Generative Grammar finds problematic to explain. Construction Grammar tries to account for not only “the infinite number of expressions that are allowed by the grammar” but also “an infinite number of other expressions are ruled out or disallowed” (Goldberg 1995, 7). Therefore, the existence of irregular FSs like “**by and by**” is less unusual than that of regular FSs like “**Your very loving friend**” and that of non-formulaic expressions like *I did not discourage him* (*Papists*, D3WBROOK, p. 1). Within the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar, it is then possible to accept FSs as being equal to patterns that can be analysed via traditional grammatical rules, instead of being a marginal phenomenon or exception in traditional grammar.

To be more specific, Construction Grammar is a descriptive approach to understanding language. It does not define what is the right or wrong use of language, nor does it define what form is the norm and what is the exception. Instead, it describes the experience of conventional language use, having

syntactic and semantic information and conditions of use embedded in a specific construction. As Hunston and Su (2017) put it, Construction Grammar is “an approach to the description of language patterning” (3). Hilpert (2014) also points out that Construction Grammar is “a theory of linguistic knowledge” (9), not a theory of linguistic rules. For this reason, within the framework of Construction Grammar, FSs are no more “exceptions” of language.

Moreover, Construction Grammar is inclusive. Constructions at various levels of abstraction form a network and can consist or be part of other constructions. As Goldberg (2006) puts it, “the network of constructions captures our grammatical knowledge of language in toto, i.e., it’s constructions all the way down” (18) and the network of constructions is called a “construct-i-con” (Goldberg 2003, 219). Hunston and Su (2017) comment that the advantage of the multi-level constructionist approach is that “all of lexis and grammar can be described in a single model, without the need for an elaborate system of grammatical levels or ranks” (4). Formulaic language fits perfectly well in this model. As described in Section 2.1.1.2, some FSs require schematic elements to form a semantic unit. The schematic elements could be words, phrases, clauses, and even FSs at a less abstract level. The findings of the present study in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 will show that FSs generally function as the building blocks of discourse, for instance, the ending of an EModE letter could involve several FSs, such as polite routines of greetings and salutations. Particularly, Chapter 8 will demonstrate how Construction Grammar explains the networks of FSs.

Before ending this section, it is worth pointing out that the constructionist approach is not by all means without disadvantages. The network of constructions is both laudable and inconvenient at the same time. Hunston and Su (2017) state that “the number of potential constructions is vast, and a listing of them all seems an impossible task” (4), hence studies tend to examine specific typical constructions but not make a systematic and collective description of constructions in a language. Hoffmann and Trousdale (2013) indexed 118 constructions as examples in their handbook. Most of them are abstract or semi-abstract constructions. Foreseeably, there could be enormous amounts of constructions at phrasal levels or other levels of complexity and abstraction. Studies on formulaic language may face the same problem, possibly because as

a subgroup of construction, the network of FSs could also be complex. Especially, in FSs that require schematic elements to gain semantic unity, the number of schematic elements has to be predefined (see Section 2.1.1.1). However, the prerequisites for being FSs determine that the types of schematic elements are constrained and only multi-word constructions with a lower degree of abstraction and specific syntactic-semantic features could be FSs. Therefore, the number of potential FSs could not be too enormous to handle.

### **2.2.3. Formulaic sequences are (semi-)lexical constructions**

As mentioned in the above sections, Construction Grammar sees language as a collection of constructions at various levels of abstraction and constructions are pairs of form and function. In the meantime, FSs as a frequent and conventional mapping of form, meaning, and/or function (see Section 2.1) are found to be widely used in speech and writing (e.g., Erman and Warren 2000) and serve various pragmatic and discourse functions (e.g., Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992; Wray and Perkins 2000; Dorgeloh and Wanner 2009; and Wray 2017). Therefore, FSs should be constructions too.

The notion that FSs are constructions is supported by empirical evidence in Buerki (2016). Buerki's study also shows that even though only one schematic element is allowed to form a semantic unit, FSs still show "a high degree of schematicity" (28). Only 36 per cent of FS in his sample are fully lexically substantive constructions. The rest that contains one compulsory and/or one optional schematic element is placed in the fuzzy area transiting to where more schematic constructions locate on a continuum of schematicity. Buerki (2016), therefore, concludes that firstly, there is no significant boundary between FSs with other constructions; secondly, FSs are "not sufficiently empirically well-bounded to stand out as a natural group, deserving of special treatment or special interest on account of their distinctiveness as a phenomenon" (28); and thirdly, FSs are more of "a convenient label for a theoretically defined portion of a larger phenomenon" and different from the other realisations of the phenomenon in degree rather than type (29). However, he argues that FSs are theoretically significant and stand out from other constructions in areas such as language processing, first language acquisition, second language acquisition, and communication. The present study takes the same stance with Buerki's

conclusions mentioned above and emphasises the significant roles played by FSs in communication. I reckon that FSs as constructions are worth investigating and would contribute to the understanding of how they facilitate communication in EModE dialogues and letters.

**Table 2.2.3: Examples of constructions, varying in size and complexity, recreated based on Goldberg (2006, 5)**

Morpheme	e.g., <i>pre-</i> , <i>-ing</i>
Word	e.g., <i>avocado</i> , <i>anaconda</i> , <i>and</i>
Complex word	e.g., <i>daredevil</i> , <i>shoo-in</i>
Complex word (partially filled)	e.g., [N-s] (for regular plurals)
Idiom (filled)	e.g., <i>going great guns</i> , <i>give the Devil his due</i>
Idiom (partially filled)	e.g., <i>jog &lt;someone's&gt; memory</i> , <i>send &lt;someone&gt; to the cleaners</i>
Covariational Conditional	The Xer the Yer (e.g., <i>the more you think about it, the less you understand</i> )
Ditransitive (double object)	Subj V Obj <sub>1</sub> Obj <sub>2</sub> (e.g., <i>he gave her a fish taco</i> ; <i>he baked her a muffin</i> )
Passive	Subj aux VPpp (PP <sub>by</sub> ) (e.g., <i>the armadillo was hit by a car</i> )

Therefore, despite empirical evidence that there are no clear boundaries between FSs and other constructions, the present study draws a line in between for the purpose of research convenience and considers FSs as (semi-)lexical constructions above the phrase level, i.e., they tend to locate closer to the lexical end of the continuum of schematicity. To be more specific, by comparing examples of constructions at various levels of abstraction and complexity (see Table 2.2.3) with FSs defined in the present study, it seems that continuous, semantically, and syntactically complete FSs correspond to “idiom (filled)”; FSs that contain open slots, i.e., semantically and syntactically incomplete, correspond to “idiom (partially filled)”.

The present study proposes that FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters would inherit four characteristics from constructions. Firstly, constructions are embedded with information regarding semantic and syntactic features, discourse properties, and conditions of use such as register and genre (Goldberg and Suttle 2010). Such kinds of information are also embedded in FSs, characterising EModE dialogues and letters. Moreover, for FSs that require schematic elements, the choice of schematic elements is subject to such information, as demonstrated by many examples in Chapter 6.

Secondly, each construction is a non-separable whole. The wholeness of constructions is reflected by the fact that the meaning and/or function of a

construction outweighs that of its components. Hunston and Su (2017) comment that “although typical lexis can be identified in each construction”, “meaning belongs to the construction rather than to the lexis” (570). The present study argues that FSs also have this kind of wholeness, regardless of their degrees of fixedness, syntactic (ir)regularity, (non-)compositionality, and idiomaticity. Especially for compositional multi-word units whose form can be parsed, their identification is heavily relying on its holistic meaning and function (see criteria in Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4); for example, “**I have received your letter**” is an FS in EMode letters (see Section 6.4.2 and Section 6.5.2, Chapter 6), but the bundle YOUR LORSHIP’S LETTER is not. Chapter 4 introduces the exact procedure for the identification of the FS in the present study.

Thirdly, the function of constructions can be “concrete” or “abstract” (Goldberg 2013a, 18–19). Function in Construction Grammar has two facets of notions. As discussed previously, in Goldberg’s (2006) definition, a construction pairs form with function, clarifying that the function can be a semantic or discourse function. However, Jackendoff (2013) opposes the idea that constructions generally relate to function. He claims that there are many purely syntactic forms, as well as purely semantic, non-functional forms. In Goldberg’s (2013a) opinion, Jackendoff may assume that functions are necessarily quite concrete. She hence argues that it is often possible for abstract or meaningless word sequences to serve quite abstract/grammatical functions. In the present study, “function” refers to both abstract functions and concrete functions. However, since FSs are (semi-)lexical constructions, it is expected that their functions tend to be more concrete. In addition, this chapter has argued in Section 2.1.1.1 that the form of some FSs can be directly mapped to function without being mapped to meaning first. This path of form-function mapping is often taken by meaningless FSs.

Lastly, the multi-level nature of Construction Grammar means that a construction can consist of other constructions or actual expressions, regardless of their level of complexity and abstraction (e.g., Goldberg 2003; Goldberg and Suttle 2010). FSs in the present study are also as productive as constructions and some of them are found to have a superordinate-subordinate relationship. For this reason, the study introduces the concepts of “superordinate FSs” and “subordinate FSs” (see Section 8.2, Chapter 8). Briefly, superordinate FSs are

normally at a higher level of abstraction containing more than one schematic element, while subordinate FSs are more lexical or sometimes realisations of the superordinate sequences. The following FSs are identified from the corpus of EModE dialogues:

- [1] {I/we} (humbly/etc.) **thank you** (for {NP})
- [2] **I thank you** (for {NP})
- [3] **I thank you for** {NP}

From examples [1] – [3] the degree of abstractness decreases and both [2] and [3] are subordinating sequences of [1]. The superordinate-subordinate relationship is not the only network formed by FSs in EModE letters and dialogues. FSs also form a horizontal network regardless of the degree of abstraction, i.e., some FSs can be combined to build larger FSs. A Construction Grammar explanation for the networks of FSs are provided in Chapter 8.

### **2.3. Formulaic sequences versus lexical bundles**

The methodological design of the present study is partially based on a lexical bundle-approach (hereinafter LB-approach, see Chapter 4), because it is objective, representative, and efficient. Kopaczyk (2012b) claims that the LB-approach ensures objectivity because the retrieval of LBs is automatically computerised, independent of the research question, and hence unbiased (4). Advantages of the frequency-based approach in investigating formulaicity are also recognised in Wray (2013). In addition, many investigations on the formulaicity of PDE were conducted through LBs (e.g., Biber et al. 2003; Biber et al. 2004; Conrad and Biber 2005). Several attempts were made in EModE (see Section 2.4.5). Major findings are, for example, LBs could prove that both PDE and EModE possess a great degree of formulaicity for the large amount of highly frequent and recursive patterns, LBs are functional and the distribution of LBs characterised text types (e.g., Conrad and Biber 2005; Culpeper and Kytö 2010), and so on.

However, despite the contributions of LBs to formulaic language research and their methodological merits, the present study is also aware of several drawbacks of the LB-approach when applied to the identification of FSs. Section 2.3.1 begins with a brief introduction to LBs, followed by Section 2.3.2, a comparison between LBs and FSs. Section 2.3.2 also states the fundamental



differences between LBs and FSs, which are the main cause of problems in applying the LB-approach. Section 2.3.3 elaborates how the present study overcomes the methodological drawbacks and linguistic differences.

### **2.3.1. Lexical bundles: definition and characteristics**

The present study adopts the definition of LBs suggested by Biber et al. (1999).

LBs are

recurrent expressions, regardless of their idiomaticity, and regardless of their structural status. That is, lexical bundles are simply sequences of word forms that commonly go together in natural discourse (990).

Moreover, LBs are “identified empirically, as the combinations of words that in fact recur most commonly in a given register” (992). In Biber (2015), LBs are “the multi-word sequences that recur most frequently and are distributed widely across different texts” (203). Wood (2015) also suggests that LBs have been typically defined as

combinations of three or more words which are identified in a corpus of natural language by means of corpus analysis software programs, identified using a specific cutoff, and present in a particular range of texts within the corpus (46).

According to these definitions and descriptions, the most significant characteristic of LBs is that they are highly frequent and widely distributed. In fact, the retrieval of LBs is solely frequency-based. The second characteristic concerns the length. The definition in Biber et al (1999) does not specify the number of words a LB should contain, but they point out that three-word bundles “can be considered as a kind of extended collocational association” and are “extremely common” (992). Moreover, the longer LBs are, the more phrasal and less common they become. Wood (2015) states that LBs contain at least three words. Many studies like Culpeper and Kytö (2010) look for only three- or four-word bundles, arguing that they are more common than longer ones and more manageable than two-word bundles. The length of LBs also characterises particular types of discourse. It has been observed that longer LBs tend to occur in more formal genres, like legal texts (Kopaczyk 2012a; Kopaczyk 2012b).

The third characteristic is that LBs are functional (e.g., Conrad and Biber 2005; Culpeper and Kytö 2010; Kopaczyk 2012b) and they are “units of function” (Wood 2015, 46). LBs serving different functions distribute differently across text types and registers. For example, Culpeper and Kytö (2010) do not

find three-word bundles that serve interpersonal speech-act-related functions in PDE trials, but there are many three-word bundles serving diverse ideational functions, such as organisational, topical, and circumstantial functions; however, in PDE play-texts, they find LBs that serve four subcategories of interpersonal speech-act-related functions, and there are only four types of LBs serving ideational functions.

### 2.3.2. Lexical bundles are not formulaic sequences

The characteristics of LBs show certain similarities to FSs. For example, a great proportion of FSs are recursive and common, both FSs and LBs characterise different types of discourses, and both are functional. Possibly for this reason, “lexical bundle” is often used as one of the alternatives of “formulaic sequence” in studies where multi-word units are computationally derived (Culpeper and Kytö 2010). More commonly, LBs are treated as a type of formulaic language, characterised by “the means by which they are identified and their purely functional nature” (Wood 2015, 45).

However, the present study argues that LBs are fundamentally different from FSs, which means they cannot be equalised to FSs or even a subgroup of FSs. The first difference is that LBs do not always form a semantic unit, which is one of the three prerequisites for being FSs (see Section 2.1.1.1). LBs are often semantically incomplete and “usually do not represent a complete structural unit” (Biber 2015, 204), and a lot of them cannot be completed with predictable schematic elements regardless. Examples [1] – [4] are retrieved from the corpus of EModE letters in the present study.

- [1] FOR THE (7,643)
- a. [...] to pray **for the appeacing** of the tumult [...] (ALLEN,13.002.59)
  - b. [...] **for the greate care** y=u= have taken in enquiring [...] (ARUNDEL,268.035.457)
  - c. [...] he shall not cease to praye to the mercy seate of almightye God **for the longe, peacefull & healthfull preservation** of your maiestyes reagne. (BENTHAM,134.001.1)
- [2] TO YOU AND (322)
- a. [...] desire of my hart **to you and them.** (BASIRE,138.004.214)
  - b. And so wishing a merry Christmas **to you and your goode Lady I** end in post haste. (CHAMBER,I,278.017.715)
  - c. My humble service remembred **to you and to M=ris=.** Cosin. (COSIN,I,221.039.1297)

- d. [...] and desired me that I schulde sende **to you and** desire you that che myght haue knowleche from you how ye woll that sche schall doo wyth her matre. (PASTON,I,283.096.2765)

[3] I HAVE SENT YOU (131)

- a. so **I have sent you one of soch stuff** as I was enformed to be best, (BACON,II,267.293.5070)  
b. **I have sent you and my sister a box of pills** by Dr. Taylor, [...] (CONWAY,152.028.899)

[4] IN THE MEAN TIME I (83)

- a. **In the mean time I** shal waite with patience (CONWAY,442.083.2465)  
b. **In the mean time, I** have an \$li ready, to pay where you shall direct me, (DUPPA,188.075.1224)

The LB in [1] is an incomplete prepositional phrase containing an incomplete noun phrase. It is not predictable which lexical item is needed after the article, which could be a noun (e.g., [1a]), an adjective and a noun (e.g., [1b]), or a sequence of adjectives and a noun (e.g., [1c]). Similarly, various types of lexical items can follow the conjunction *and* in [2], such as a pronoun (e.g., [2a]), a noun phrase (e.g., [2b]), a prepositional phrase (e.g., [2c]), and a clause (if *to you* belongs to a preceding clause, e.g., [2d]). The bundle in [3] is an incomplete DITRANSITIVE construction with a missing indirect object, which is also unpredictable (e.g., [3a–b]).

For the second difference, LBs do not fulfil the prerequisite that requires them to serve as a frequent and conventional mapping of form, meaning, and/or function. Retrieval of LBs is solely frequency-based, but the meaning of frequency in LBs is different from FSs. Multi-word units only need to reach a certain frequency threshold to be LBs, whereas frequency to FSs, as discussed in Section 2.1.1.1, also refers to how commonly a form is associated with meaning and/or function. Moreover, LBs often have a looser inner semantic-syntactic relationship than FSs and do not have a whole-part representation. Instead, LBs lay emphasis on the statistical possibility of co-occurrence of words. For example, the five-word LB in [4] contains two semantically and syntactically complete parts, i.e., a prepositional phrase *in the mean time* and a pronoun *I*. The prepositional phrase *in the mean time* is identified as an FS, following the procedure in Chapter 4. However, the sequence can hardly be linked to the pronoun *I*. Concordance lines of the LB in [4] show that *in the mean time* precedes a clause in which *I* is the subject (e.g., [4a–b]). Hence, *I* has a

much tighter syntactic relationship with the rest of the clause than with *in the mean time*. The LBs in [1] and [2] also have a loose inner structure. Therefore, none of the examples of LBs discussed so far is frequent and conventional mappings of form, meaning, and/or function.

Furthermore, FSs as constructions, carry various kinds of contextual information, ranging from the syntax and semantics of the components of a multi-word unit and that of its surrounding lexical items to metadata such as the social background of the language users, speech events, types of discourse, etc. However, LBs are not bound to such kinds of information. Semantics and syntax are not considered in the identification of LBs. Numerous LBs retrieved from a corpus are meaningless and syntactically incomplete. As Wood (2015) points out, LBs “are not meaning units per se” (45). For example, in a pilot study of the present project, Huang (2023) retrieved 11,515 LBs from the corpus of Shakespeare’s plays, which consisted of two to five words and repeat at least ten times per million words in at least five different texts. In total, the LBs account for 46.48 per cent of the tokens in the corpus. However, only 1,514 FSs are identified out of the LBs following a stricter set of criteria concerning fixedness, idiomaticity, and completeness, which are three of the six characteristics of FSs suggested by Conrad and Biber (2005, 57). These sequences account for only 4.76 per cent of the tokens. This finding not only shows that the proportion of FSs can vary significantly in the same corpus if different identification criteria are applied, but also provides solid evidence that LBs are not FSs.

Therefore, applying the LB-approach directly to identify FSs would produce undesired results and mistakes. First and foremost, there is a risk of leaving out less frequent FSs. For example, the present study sets the frequency cut-off for generating LBs as at least 20 times per million words. That is at least 29 times in the corpus of EModE letters, hence less frequent multi-word units like [5] – [9] are not retrieved as LBs.

[5] IF IT PLEASE GOD (20)

[6] BY THE GRACE OF GOD (22)

[7] IN GOOD TIME (19)

[8] LORD KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL (9)

[9] OF ALL SORTS (18)

However, they fulfil all three prerequisites for being FSs and reflect the syntactic-semantic features of FSs to various degrees, hence could potentially be identified as FSs (yet not included in analysis in the study, see Section 6.2, Chapter 6). All the above multi-word units have the minimum degree of flexibility in syntax. They have various degrees of idiomaticity and compositionality. The multi-word unit in [5] is partially compositional and used to express desire and willingness. The item in [6] is non-compositional and idiomatic; it is normally used as a topic introduction device, especially for formal statements. The item in [7] is polysemous. It can either be partially compositional and idiomatic, meaning “luckily, at a fortunate moment”, or compositional and transparent, meaning “soon, promptly” (*time*, n., int., and conj. P3, k. (b) *in good time*. In the *OED Online*). It is possible to replace the multi-word unit as a whole with a single word of the same meaning. The item in [8] contains a special name, *the Great Seal*, which is a kind of seal used in England, Scotland, and Ireland for the authentication of formal documents, and the whole item refers to the person or position that keeps the Great Seal (*Great Seal*, n.1. 2. a. (*Lord*) *Keeper of the Great Seal*. In the *OED Online*). The last item in [9] is fully compositional and used as an imprecise referential expression after a noun phrase in the plural form. Therefore, if the identification of FSs stops at the moment when LBs are retrieved, these items will certainly be overlooked due to their low frequency.

Moreover, the length of LBs is pre-defined when retrieved from corpora, whereas the length of FSs can vary depending on how they are realised in discourse. A great number of FSs contain a fixed part and several variable parts. The fixed part has a defined length, but the variable parts do not. The example in [10] presents a LB retrieved from the corpus of EModE letters in the present study, the FS identified from it, and several realisations of the sequence. As shown in the example, realisations of an FS could be as short as four words ([10b]) and as long as eight words ([10d]).

- [10] LB: MY VERY GOOD (315)  
 FS: **my very good** {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.} (315)  
 a. To **my verey good brother and cousin**, the king of Skotz.  
 (ROYAL1,43.012.222)  
 b. To the right honorable **my very good Aunt** the Countesse of Shrewsbury. (STUART,188.026.614)

- c. To the right worshippingfull and **my very good freend Mr Bacon** at Norwich. (BACON,III,52.334.5824)
- d. **My verye good deere Lorde and olde acquaynetance**, I am right gladde to heare from you, [...] (PARKHUR,164.030.539)

In addition, against Kopaczyk's (2012b) claim that the LB-approach ensures objectivity, as mentioned at the beginning of Section 2.3, the objectivity can be easily flouted. The retrieval of LBs requires a frequency cut-off, which is rather arbitrary and subject to a researcher's own judgement. Many factors can influence the decision, such as the research question, i.e., LBs of which length are to be examined, the corpus size, the number of texts in a corpus, and so on. Kopaczyk (2012a) summarises several studies on LBs which show that the frequency cut-offs vary greatly from study to study. Other decisions also influence what LBs would be generated and hence further flout the objectivity; for instance, where to stop processing (i.e., stop when a sentence ends or when there is a punctuation mark) and the choice of computer software. Culpeper and Kytö (2010) points out that different versions of the same software could produce different results even with the same parameter settings. If a corpus is tagged, the ability of a software programme to read and ignore certain tags needs also to be considered. Therefore, with different decisions on the above-mentioned matters, it is highly possible that studies working with the same corpus would produce different lists of LBs, hence different conclusions.

### 2.3.3. From lexical bundles to formulaic sequences

The previous section argues that LBs are not FSs, and it also discusses several problems that the LB-approach may have when being applied to study formulaic language. Nevertheless, it is still a good starting point to retrieve LBs since the target corpora contain hundreds of texts. Moreover, one of the aims of the present study is to identify as many FSs as possible. Manually identifying FSs by reading through all texts is thus heavily time consuming.

More importantly, it is possible to tackle the problems of the LB-approach discussed in the previous section. The present study adopts a two-phase procedure to identify LBs. The first phase retrieves LBs automatically from the corpora, and the second phase manually examines the concordance of each LB and then makes the final decision if a bundle should be identified as an FS. Chapter 4 introduces details regarding the procedure. The critical problem of

identifying infrequent FSs can be solved because shorter and more frequent LBs are often embedded in longer and less frequent ones. By examining the concordance of LBs, it is possible to identify longer lexical patterns that may occur below the frequency cut-off. Moreover, with properly defined criteria for the manual identification of FSs in the second phase, the workload may still be manageable despite the fact there are thousands of LBs to be examined. Such criteria and how to apply them are introduced in Section 4.2.2. In addition, the pilot study mentioned previously (Huang 2023) demonstrates the feasibility of the two-phase procedure and supports the statement that LBs can be upgraded to FSs with manageable workload.

All in all, the present study includes LBs as part of its procedure for the identification of FSs. This study could not put more emphasis on the similarities and differences between LBs and FSs. LBs are not equivalent to FSs nor are they a type of FSs. However, it is possible to upgrade LBs to FSs via contextual information provided by the corpora, such as the concordance and metadata; hence they can be candidates of FSs throughout the process of identification.

#### **2.4. Traces of formulaic sequences in previous EModE research**

Research on formulaic language in EModE is far from systematic and comprehensive, compared to research on the same linguistic phenomenon in PDE. There are only a handful of studies explicitly claiming to investigate recursive multi-word patterns in EModE, such as LBs in Culpeper and Kytö (2010), Marcus (2018), and Lehto (2018), phrasal verbs in Hiltunen (1994) and Blake (2002), multi-word verbs in Claridge (2000), idioms in Selleck (2008), six-word collocations in Merriam (2009), subscription formula in Oinonen (2012), and the functions of *I say* and *I tell (you)* in various types of EModE dialogues in Landert (2017).

Consequently, for most of the time, knowledge of FSs in EModE regarding their form and function can only be obtained indirectly from historical pragmatic studies following the Continental European tradition, which “takes a sociologically-based approach and wants to understand the patterns of human interaction within their social conditions of earlier periods” (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2010, 5). Most of these studies finding patterns of language use centre on fields such as speech acts, politeness, communication, and discourse analysis.

The most popular type of speech acts that have been investigated is directive (see Section 2.4.1), the others are, for instance, apologising (e.g., Jacobsson 2001), thanking (e.g., Jacobsson 2002), affirmatives (e.g., Culpeper 2018), and refusals (e.g., Reichl 2018). They are treated as functional categories of FSs in the present study. The following part of this section reviews the studies with direct or indirect contributions to the present investigation on FSs in EModE dialogues and letters. Their contributions include, for example, cleaning theoretical obstacles, building methodological foundations, and providing references for the identification of FSs.

### 2.4.1. Requests/directives

Requests or directives seem to be one of the most studied topics concerning language use in EModE. Some of them take a function-to-form approach and are open to any form that could be found as requests or directives in the texts; for example, Kryk-Kastovsky (2009), Culpeper and Archer (2008), and Busse, U. (2008). Others have an exact form in mind and investigate its directive use, for example, Kohnen (2004). Studies also vary according to the data source. Studies like Kohnen (2004) make use of a general corpus such as the *Helsinki Corpus* (HC), while it is more common for studies to focus on a specific genre. Due to the limited ways of how EModE is recorded, the most researched text types in investigation of directives are trial proceedings and plays; for instance, Kryk-Kastovsky (2009) and Culpeper and Archer (2008). In addition, few studies have decided to conduct a case study with one particular text; for example, Busse, U. (2008) thoroughly examined directives in Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

Kohnen (2004) examined a particular imperative construction with *let*, also referred to as the *let-me* construction, in the Middle English and EModE sections of the HC. His data suggested that in most examples of the *let-me* construction in EModE texts *let* must be understood as a main verb with the meaning “allow” or “cause”. This construction is still associated with imperatives and directives, but from a perspective of “polite interaction focused mainly on the addressee, not the addressor” (160).

Culpeper and Archer (2008) investigated requests and directness in EModE trial proceedings and play-texts. They found four patterns of indirect requests: *let* [FIRST/THIRD PERSON PRONOUN] [VERB], *will you* VERB,



[If] [SECOND/THIRD PERSON PRONOUN] [will] please [to] [VERB/that], and *you may* VERB (66–69). The two types of texts differ from each other regarding which of these four patterns are used for requests and how often they are used.

Kryk-Kastovsky (2009) noted that EModE trials were characterised by requests, especially for information, in the form of question-answer adjacency pairs. Notably, requests for information are realised in formulae with various degrees of directness. The most common direct requests are imperatives with the verb *tell*; they also employ other verbs like *ask*, *mind*, and *consider*. Indirect requests for information can be realised in many ways, which all involve politeness markers like *pray* and *prithae*. The study found formulae such as *pray* + *wh*-question, a polite question employing *will*, *pray* + Imperative, *be pleased to ask*, and *let me ask* (444). In addition, Kryk-Kastovsky (2009) also found verbs used in general requests such as *charge*, *pity*, *submit*, *beseech*, and *beg*.

The above studies are all conducted in similar ways, i.e., first isolating specific words related to requests or directives, such as *let* and *will*, and then looking for their collocations. Although the findings of these studies provide detailed accounts of the lexical environment in which these directive lexical items are used, the identification of recurrent multi-word units is not guaranteed. Nevertheless, they still provide a valuable reference for my doctoral project when identifying and classifying FSs functioning as requests. In this project, FSs of requests are included in the subcategory “B. attitudinal/modality stance”, under the primary functional category “I. Stance Expressions” (see Section 6.1, Chapter 6 for the introduction to the functional categorisation). However, I do not go further into detail and specify the type of requests, for instance, a request for information. As stated later in Section 2.5.2, it is so easy to get into too many details and results in endless subcategories and sub-subcategories of functions. However, later in Section 8.1.3, Chapter 8, I demonstrate that multiple FSs of different function categories sometimes are joined to serve one discourse function, for example, the request FS “**I pray you**” often proceeds an FS of simple inquiry. This observation corresponds to Kryk-Kastovsky’s (2009) *pray* + *wh*-question formulae.

### 2.4.2. (Im)politeness

Another commonly examined phenomenon in EModE is (im)politeness. The majority of studies in this field take a function-to-form approach; for example, Jucker (2012), Oinonen (2012), and Nakayasu (2013). Among them, Jucker (2012) examined politeness in only one play by Ben Johnson, *Volpone, or the Fox*. The study acknowledges that the analysis only speaks for the use of (im)politeness patterns in a staged reality depicted in this play rather than in real life face-to-face communication during the Early Modern era in general. Despite that, Jucker (2012) points out that “the fictional nature of the data is an advantage because it gives the analyst a privileged insight into the deeper motives of the interactants” (47). In the present study, politeness is one of the functions served by FSs in both EModE dialogues and letters. The “A. politeness routines” is a subcategory of the primary functional category “IV. Special Communicational Functions” (see Section 6.1, Chapter 6 for the introduction to the primary function). Some politeness routine sequences in the present study can already be traced in these studies, for instance, salutations in the subscriptions of EModE letters (Oinonen 2012) and lexical items involving the modal verb *will* in making requests politely in plays (Nakayasu 2013).

Oinonen (2012) investigated politeness in subscriptions of EModE letters. From the *Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (PCEEC), the study automatically retrieved independent infinitive clauses, among which 233 instances were used in subscriptions. The analysis was performed on lexical items indicating politeness. The study found 413 negative politeness items used in various ways, including verbs and adverbials that express subjection (e.g., *to command, to serve, in all dutyful [...] service, in oony suche seruyce as iyith in my lytyll power*), address terms that raise the addressee’s esteem (e.g., *your lordship, your ladyship*), and lexical items that lower the writer (e.g., *servant, poor, most humble, most humbly, in all humbleness, my little/small power*). Oinonen (2012) also found 80 positive politeness lexical items, including identity markers (e.g., *brother, niece, friend*) and items expressing positive affect (e.g., *to love, your (most/truly) affectionate*). These lexical items facilitate the identification of FSs serving as politeness routines from computationally generated LBs in my project. In fact, many of these lexical items are components of such FSs (see Section 6.6, Chapter 6 for examples of FSs identified from the

corpora of EModE letters). Moreover, some of the address terms in Oinonen (2012) used as one negative politeness strategy by raising the addressee's esteem (e.g., *your lordship*) are also identified as FSs, grouped under the same primary functional category as vocative expressions (see Section 6.6, Chapter 6). In addition, findings of Oinonen's (2012) study also revealed that social distance played a significant role in the choice of certain lexical items of which a subscription was composed, which further determined the politeness level of a subscription; for example, the subscription infinitive was favoured by socially inferior authors writing to their superiors and socially inferior authors tended to adopt a combination of both positive and negative politeness items.

Nakayasu (2013) provides a new perspective to account for speech acts and (im)politeness via modals, namely *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, and *'ll*. The study did not identify any recurrent multi-word units that contain these modal verbs, but it listed, for example, a series of cases where these modal verbs were used in positive politeness strategies such as "notice admirable qualities, possessions, etc." and "exaggerate sympathy, approval, etc." (12). Lists as such were also provided to demonstrate the use of modals in negative politeness strategies (14), positive impoliteness strategies (16–17), and negative impoliteness strategies (17–18). Moreover, Nakayasu (2013) demonstrated how modal verbs are distributed in other types of speech acts; for example, *shall* was used most often in prediction, *will* in decision making, and *would* in statement and intention. Although the study used only four of Shakespeare's plays as the data source, which is rather specialised than representative, these findings still help to explain why in the present doctoral project EModE FSs containing these modal verbs are more likely to be multi-functional (see section 7.2.2, Chapter 7).

### **2.4.3. Other studies with a function-to-form approach**

Halliday (e.g., 1994) accounted for the basic functions of language and the relationship between language use and the ecological and social environment in his Systemic Functional Grammar. Language has three metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational metafunction is about certain language use that describes human experiences, such as naming and categorising things. The ideational metafunction can be further distinguished

into “two modes of construing experience: experiential and logical” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 361–362). The former focuses on “meaning as organisation of experience”, while the latter sees “language as the construal of certain very general logical relations” which “defines complex units” (362), for instance, the clause complexes and the phrase complexes. The interpersonal metafunction refers to that language enacting “our personal and social relationships with the other people around us” (30) and reflects the interactive and personal side of language. The textual metafunction is a node of meaning that “relates to the construction of text” (30–31), for instance, building up sequences of discourse, organising the discourse flow, and creating cohesion. The following two studies adopted a function-to-form approach and examined language use of EModE in relation to one or all of the metafunctions.

Fries (1994) searched for text deictic construction in EModE, making use of the *Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus of Texts*. One construction identified in the study is *now + I/we*, along with some common variants of the construction containing *will* and *shall*. The construction and its variants precede 16 different verbs, among which the three most frequent ones are *speak*, *say*, and *proceed* (114). Together, the author/speaker uses the construction to tell the reader/listener what they are going to say. Moreover, four types of constructions are identified as references to earlier passages in a text, which are constructions with *before*, *afore/fore*, *above*, and *the said* (116–124). For example, less than ten per cent of instances of *before* in the corpus are text-deictic, which are commonly used in forms such as *as is seid before*, *before expressed*, *before specyfyed*, *mentioned before* (116). The study also identified constructions with *hereinafter* and *hereafter* as a reference to following texts (126) as well as constructions as a reference to specific chapters (127). The textual deixis, a group of lexical items performing Halliday’s (e.g., 1994) textual metafunction, is one subcategory of the primary functional category “III. Referential Expressions” in the project. Another functional category that contains FSs performing the textual metafunction is “II. Discourse Organiser”.

Busse, B. (2006) conducted a thorough investigation of vocatives in Shakespeare’s plays, which were divided into eight categories (137). Vocative constructions include both single word items (e.g., *sir*, *boy*, and *Marcus*) and multi-word units (e.g., *my lord*, *good lieutenant*, *you cloudy princes*, *thou whose*

*captain I account myself*) (466–487). One of her findings also indicate that categories of vocatives can be used in combination; for example, some epithet vocatives (e.g., *good*, *noble*, *gracious*) are used to modify conventional terms (183–186), resulting in longer vocative constructions such as *good sir*, *good lady*, *good madam*, *my noble lord*, *noble Prince*, *my gracious lord*, *gracious madam*, etc. The most common epithet vocative that is used as a modifier is *good*. It is observed from Busse’s lists of vocatives that multi-word vocative constructions tend to have a rather low frequency. It is hard to say whether these multi-word vocatives are formulaic or not due to the rather small and specialised corpus. However, I have found in the present study that some of them (e.g., *my noble lord*) are FSs or realisations of FSs at a higher level of abstraction (e.g., “**my noble** {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, friend, etc}”), and they are classified as vocative expressions within the primary functional category “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. Furthermore, from the perspective of meaning and function, Busse, B. (2006) provided an insightful account of Shakespearean vocatives from the perspective of Halliday’s (e.g., 1994) three metafunctions. By comparison, FSs of vocatives in the present study are discussed only from the interpersonal perspective.

#### **2.4.4. Multi-word grammatical structures**

Some studies on EModE grammar and grammaticalisation were interested in grammatical structures containing multiple lexical items. One popular structure is multi-word verbs or phrasal verbs (e.g., Hiltunen 1994; Claridge 2000; Blake 2002; Ishizaki 2012). A couple of studies focused on one particular multi-word structure and investigated its grammaticalisation; for example, Dachev and Kytö (1994) examined the *be going to* + infinitive construction.

Claridge (2000) contributed an insightful account of multi-word verbs in EModE. According to her description, multi-word verbs share many features with FSs defined in the present. Firstly, like FSs, multi-word verbs consist of two or more words. Secondly, the form of a multi-word verb can be uninterrupted or discontinuous; for example, *The Parliament was now searching to find out truth* (Claridge 2000, 237) and [...] *the honourable Houses, who upon better reasons both may, and (we hope) will take their Vote into further consideration* (263). Thirdly, a multi-word verb as a whole has a single sense

(28). Moreover, there are three types of multi-word verbs in EModE, including phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs, and “phrasal-prepositional verbs” (96–101); for instance, *fall of*, *congratulate with*, and *make away with*, respectively. It seems that multi-word verbs could be a subgroup of FSs that contain at least one real verb.

Ishizaki (2012) conducted a diachronic study of phrasal verbs in Early and Late Modern English. The analysis is usage-based, focusing on phrasal verbs containing *away* and *out*. The *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* was used as the data source for EModE. In EModE, *away* tends to occur exclusively with motion verbs such as *take*, *go*, and *send*; hence most of the phrasal verbs with *away* “express physical motion of a concrete subject referent” (245). Ishizaki (2012) suggested that the study was not able to clearly distinguish which phrasal verbs with *away* were fully or highly idiomatic in meaning, and which of them had “a purely aspectual function” (246). On the contrary, there is only a small portion of phrasal verbs being formed by motion verbs and *out*; and phrasal verbs with *out* encompass all three types of phrasal verbs (247), namely, free and non-idiomatic constructions, partially idiomatic constructions, and idiomatic constructions (241–242). In some way, these findings help and support the decision in the present study that some multi-word units consisting of a verb and a particle are excluded (see Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4). In contrast, others are identified as FSs and classified into the subcategory “A4. actions” under the primary function “III. Referential Expressions”.

#### **2.4.5. Investigating formulaic language via lexical bundles**

The methodology design of the present investigation on FSs in EModE draws inspiration from studies investigating the formulaicity of language via LBs in general. LBs are computationally and automatically generated word sequences with defined length and frequency cut-off. In particular, efforts made to retrieve LBs from historical corpora prove the frequency-based approach feasible, even though earlier English is infamous for its spelling variation and syntactic flexibility.

Research on LBs in EModE as early as Culpeper and Kytö (2002) provides preliminary findings concerning LBs in EModE trial proceedings and plays. More studies have been conducted since the 2010s. For example,

following their earlier work, Culpeper and Kytö (2010) examined three-word LBs extracted from EModE play-texts and trial proceedings and their PDE counterparts. The study has inspired the present research on FSs in EModE dialogues and letters from perspectives, including terminology, methodology, grammatical, and functional characteristics of LBs, and how LBs characterise different text types. Specifically, the study provides insights on how to distinguish different terms that have been used to describe formulaic language, parameters such as length and frequency cut-off when retrieving LBs, and spelling variation. Culpeper and Kytö's (2010) analysis of the top-20 rank-ordered three-word bundles was conducted mainly from the perspectives of grammatical and functional categorisation. As part of the findings, almost all three-word bundles in EModE trials and plays include a verbal element. The functional categorisation follows Halliday's interpersonal, textual, and ideational metafunctions (e.g., Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). Since their EModE texts were abstracted from the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760* (CED), which is also partially used in my current project with a different text selection strategy (see Section 3.1, Chapter 3), results regarding three-word bundles in the two studies are compared in Section 5.4.1, Chapter 5.

Findings in Marcus (2018) are also compared with the present study, in particular LBs retrieved from the corpus of EModE letters (see Section 5.4.2, Chapter 5). Marcus (2018) used a small and specialised collection of letters by a noblewoman in Early Modern England, which were divided into two groups, namely holograph letters and scribal letters. Part of her study examined three-word bundles and analysed the 20 most frequent ones from the perspective of grammatical characteristics and functional categorisation. The importance of Marcus (2018) to the present study is that it demonstrates the feasibility to apply a functional taxonomy originally designed to classify LBs in PDE (Biber et al. 2004) on bundles in historical texts. To categorise FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters, the present project adopts a functional classification scheme (see Section 6.1, Chapter 6), revised on the basis of the functional taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005). The taxonomy is an update of the one in Biber et al. (2004), which is introduced in Section 2.5.3. It is interesting to see if there are any differences or similarities between LBs in letters by a specific author and in letter collections by various authors and for various purposes.

Kopaczyk (e.g., 2012a; 2012b; 2013) has also shown great interest in LBs in earlier historical texts. Kopaczyk (2012a; 2012b), although she examined LBs in early Scots, providing further methodological support to the application of the LBs approach in historical corpus research. Especially as part of the discussion on applying the LB-approach in historical corpus research, Kopaczyk (2012a) summarised the frequency cut-off points for retrieving LBs in selected studies from 1998 to 2011. She also conducted a preliminary examination of eight-word bundles in early Scots in legal and administrative texts and found that they are quite formulaic and repetitive.

Kopaczyk (2012b) developed the previous study. Firstly, regarding spelling variation, she extracted eight-word bundles repeated more than five times from a corpus of about 450,000 words (i.e., roughly 11 times per million) and then unified their spelling manually. Secondly, Kopaczyk examined the frequency distribution of LBs of various lengths, which indicates that longer bundles are less repetitive than shorter ones. Thirdly, the most important part of the paper is to classify the eight-word bundles according to their functions, following the Hallidayan framework. More specifically, based on the functional categories proposed by Biber et al. (2003) and Culpeper and Kytö (2010), Kopaczyk grouped the eight-word bundles into three major functional categories: referential, interactional, and textual functions. Each of them was further divided into several subcategories. This functional classification provides theoretical foundation for the functional classification in the present study. Lastly, one of the findings suggests that eight-word bundles are repetitive in legal texts, indicating the existence of “formulaic, usual patterns and standardising ways of phrasing some important meanings” (20). Another conclusion drawn from the functional classification is that long bundles of some meanings and functions are text type-specific. The most frequent bundles are found to serve as directives.

Moreover, Kopaczyk (2012b) mentioned the concept of “syntagmatic overlaps”, which refers to the phenomenon that “some part of a given bundle becomes part of another bundle” (21). The concept is distinguished from “paradigmatic overlaps”, i.e., a short bundle is included within a longer one. The overlaps of lexical elements within LBs are discussed in greater detail in Kopaczyk (2013), which investigated three-word LBs in a corpus of EModE



medical texts. The overlaps were not only observed in semantic areas (e.g., quantification, body parts, time and sequence, or ingredients), but also in functional contexts (e.g., in clarification, modality or efficacy expressions). Interestingly, the networks of FSs also reflect relationships similar to Kopaczyk's (2012b) syntagmatic overlaps and paradigmatic overlaps (see Chapter 8), hence suggesting the potential of identifying FSs via LBs (see Section 2.3.3, Chapter 2 and Section 4.2, Chapter 4).

Kopaczyk (2013) also discussed several problems and solutions regarding applying the LB-approach in historical linguistic research. Some of them included spelling variation, the lack of uniformity in digitising conventions and editorial intervention when compiling historical corpora, software used for the extraction of LBs, and the smaller size of historical corpora comparing with their PDE counterparts.

#### **2.4.6. Studies on EModE dialogues and letters: a socio-cultural background**

In fact, in many cases, historical studies that seem to (partially) discuss FSs do not explicitly posit themselves under the framework of formulaic language. Forms investigated in some of these studies could be considered as FSs. Busse, B. (2006) identified vocative constructions from the language of Shakespeare. Many of them are actually in the same lexical-grammatical form; for example, the vocative constructions *my lord of Norfolk* and *my lord of Buckingham* (Busse, B. 2006, 468) would be considered by the present study as realisations of a common FS “**my Lord of** {NP: place name}” in both EModE dialogues and letters (see Section 6.6, Chapter 6).

Lutzky (2012) examined discourse markers in EModE. Some of the multi-word discourse markers in her study can be identified as FSs in the present study, serving a similar function; for example, *well then* (Lutzky 2012, 150) is identified as an FS in the exact form and classified under the primary functional category “II. Discourse Organiser” (see Section 6.4, Chapter 6).

FSs reflect a conventional relationship between the choice of form and the purpose they are used for. Judgement and understanding of the conventions of language use in EModE dialogues and letters rely largely on the socio-cultural knowledge about Early Modern England. Specifically, for EModE dialogues, it is necessary to know how conversations took place during the Early Modern

period, what communication strategies were adopted, how the flow of conversation was kept, and so on. Such information can be found in works such as Taavitsainen (1999), Jucker et al. (1999), and Mazzon and Fodde (2013). It is also useful to know what materials are available for research on spoken communication. The CED is one of few corpora widely used in various studies on EModE speech. Kytö and Walker (2006) provide a detailed introduction to the corpus and guidance on how to use it.

There are also many resources available for a general understanding of the traditions of EModE letter writing. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996b) and Nevala and Nurmi (2013) introduced the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC), on which many studies on EModE have been conducted from various perspectives. For an overview and general information regarding the language of EModE letters, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996a) gathered some of these studies from a sociolinguistic perspective. Markus (2006) introduced abbreviations in EModE correspondence. Fitzmaurice (2002) provided a comprehensive account on language use in familiar letters in EModE. Socio-cultural information regarding EModE correspondence can be found in works such as Dossena and Fitzmaurice (2006) about business and official correspondence, Daybell (2001) on Early Modern women's letter writing, Daybell (2012) on material letters, and Daybell and Gordon (2016a) on practices of letter writing and the postal system in Early Modern England, etc.

## **2.5. Classification schemes of formulaic sequences**

It is well accepted now that there are various types of FSs. Linguists have made many attempts to categorise them (e.g., Makkai 1972; Moon 1998; Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992; Conrad and Biber 2005; Durrant and Mathews-Aydınlı 2011; and Kopaczyk 2013). In general, most of these classification attempts are based on the syntactic and/or semantic features of formulaic language; others are functional. Literature regarding the classification of formulaic language reveals one problem. Early classification schemes and some recent ones were designed individually and independently, resulting in, for instance, ambiguous, incomplete and/or overlapping categories (see Section 2.5.1). The present study prioritises choosing one from existing classification schemes instead of

suggesting a new one for the purpose of not making the subject even more confusing.

By reviewing some of the existing classification schemes (see Section 2.5.1 and Section 2.5.2), the present study argues that a functional classification scheme is preferable to a form-/meaning-oriented one. It is because FSs vary in degrees of certain syntactic and semantic features rather than falling into clear-cut categories. In turn, a functional classification allows an FS to serve more than one function, and such a multi-functional FS is no less typical than a single-functional one in either functional category. For example, the present study found that “({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) **good brother**” was used to reference a person and to show affection towards the person in EModE letters, while the FS “(Lord) **Chief Justice**” is used single-functionally to refer to a person. By comparison, as referential sequences of persons, the former is not less typical than the latter.

Section 2.5.3 advocates the use of a functional classification taxonomy adopted by Conrad and Biber (2005), which is originally designed to classify LBs in PDE. It has been stated that the present study treats LBs as candidates of FSs, i.e., FSs can be classified via LBs (see Section 2.3.3). Hence the application of the selected taxonomy to classify FSs in EModE should be feasible.

### **2.5.1. Form-/meaning-oriented classification schemes: incomplete and overlapping**

At the earlier stage of research on formulaic language, the understanding and focus of the phenomenon were still centred on idiomatic, non-compositional, and/or irregular expressions, for instance, idioms, which now in most studies are considered as simply a type of formulaic language. Therefore, many classifications back then were conducted with idioms such as in Makkai (1972) and Moon (1998), which potentially exclude semantic and/or syntactic categories dominated by non-idiomatic types of formulaic language. However, the problem of an incomplete inventory of syntactic or semantic categories only becomes overt when a study intends to adopt such an existing classification scheme and categorise all possible FSs, or when a study uses a much larger and more general corpus that would potentially contain new types of FSs. Therefore, the choice of a classification scheme is subject to specific research topics.

Categories overlapping with one another is a bigger problem. It is sometimes caused by mixing semantic, syntactic, and even functional features of formulaic language within one classification scheme. For example, Moon (1998) distinguishes three types of idioms (see Table 2.5.1a): “anomalous collocations”, “formulae”, and “metaphors” (as cited in Wood 2015, 43). Although each category is accompanied by descriptions that aim at distinguishing one from another, these three categories overlap with each other to varying extent. In the first category, anomalous collocations are “uniquely formed collocations” (43). The description of this category involves both syntactic and semantic features of this type of idioms; for example, they violate grammatical rules and some component words of a collocation carry meaning only specific and unique to the collocation. On the contrary, the second category contains formulae, which are “grammatical in structure and compositional in meaning” (43). In addition, it is also emphasised that formulae serve specialised pragmatic functions. However, some anomalous collocations are also functional. Among Moon’s (1998) examples of anomalous collocations presented in Table 2.5.1a, *day in and day out* could be used to mark the frequency of a repeating event and *in regard to* to introduce a new topic. Therefore, being pragmatically specialised in function could not be a feature that distinguishes formulae from anomalous collocations.

**Table 2.5.1a: Moon’s (1998) three broad categories of idioms with a more detailed explanation of each category (as cited in Wood 2015, 43)**

<b>1</b>	<p><b>Anomalous collocations</b>—uniquely formed collocations, which may:</p> <p><b>a</b> violate grammatical rules, for example, <i>day in and day out</i></p> <p><b>b</b> contain items specific only to the collocation and with no meaning outside of it, for example, <i>to and fro</i></p> <p><b>c</b> be somehow defective, for example, <i>foot the bill</i>, in which the word <i>foot</i> carries a meaning unique to this collocation</p> <p><b>d</b> be phraseological, or allow variation in structure, for example, <i>with regard to</i> or <i>in regard to</i></p>
<b>2</b>	<p><b>Formulae</b>—grammatical in structure and compositional in meaning, yet pragmatically specialized in function</p> <p><b>a</b> Sayings, for example, <i>an eye for an eye</i></p> <p><b>b</b> Proverbs, for example, <i>every cloud has a silver lining</i></p> <p><b>c</b> Similes, for example, <i>as right as rain</i></p>
<b>3</b>	<p><b>Metaphors</b>—expressions which link the concrete and imaginary or abstract, with three degrees of transparency</p> <p><b>d</b> Transparent—for example, <i>stepping stone</i></p> <p><b>e</b> Semi-transparent—for example, <i>throw in the towel</i></p> <p><b>f</b> Opaque—for example, <i>pull one’s leg</i></p>

A more explicit overlap is between the third category “metaphors” and the other two categories. Idioms as metaphors could be semantically transparent, semi-transparent, and opaque, but there are no restrictions regarding the form. Problems arise then that transparent and semi-transparent metaphors could also be anomalous collocations or formulae. Examples provided by Moon (1998) show that the transparent metaphor *stepping stone* is grammatical in structure and could possibly function as a referential expression of an abstract concept, and its meaning is as compositional as the example of formulae *as right as rain*. The semi-transparent metaphor *throw in the towel* could possibly be anomalous collocations as well because its component words seem to be “specific only to the collocation” and “somehow defective” (43). Therefore, metaphors might not be distinctive enough to be a category of idioms alone.

Another cause of overlapping categories is that the base of categorisation, either semantics or syntax, is a matter of continuums rather than distinguishing categories. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) investigated lexical phrases as a type of formulaic language in language teaching. Lexical phrases were classified into four structural categories, following four criteria: (1) length and grammatical status, (2) having a canonical or non-canonical shape, (3) variability or fixedness, and (4) continuous or discontinuous (37–38). The four large structural categories of lexical phrases are “poly words”, “institutionalised expressions”, “phrasal constraints”, and “sentence builders” (38–45), as presented in Table 2.5.1b.

Boundaries between the categories are somewhat fuzzy. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) acknowledged that the four criteria for the classification shall be treated “in terms of a continuum” (38). For example, some polywords such as *what on earth?* and *as far so good* could also be classified as institutionalised expressions because among the four classification criteria, they could be used as minor sentences, they are not variable, and they are continuous. Moreover, as presented in Table 2.5.1b, polywords and institutionalised expressions are not different from each other regarding whether they are canonical or not. In addition, the only distinguishing feature between phrasal constraints and sentence builders is the length, i.e., the former are phrases while the latter are sentences.

**Table 2.5.1b: Structural classification of lexical phrases recreated based on Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992, 38–45)**

<p>(a) Polywords:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Polywords are short phrases which function very much like individual lexical items.</li> <li>(2) They can be both canonical and non-canonical.</li> <li>(3) They allow no variability</li> <li>(4) They are continuous</li> </ol>
<p>e.g., <i>for the most part</i> (qualifier)  <i>in a nutshell</i> (summarizer)  <i>what on earth?</i> (marker of surprise)  <i>as it were</i> (exemplifier)  <i>as far so good</i> (approval marker)  etc.</p>
<p>(b) Institutionalised expressions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Institutionalised expressions are lexical phrases of sentence length, usually functioning as separate utterances.</li> <li>(2) They are mostly canonical.</li> <li>(3) They are invariable.</li> <li>(4) They are mostly continuous.</li> </ol> <p>e.g., <i>a watched pot never boils</i> (advice)  <i>how do you do?</i> (greeting)  <i>what, we worry?</i> (denial [ironic])  <i>be that as it may</i> (concession)  etc.</p>
<p>(c) Phrasal constraints:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Phrasal constraints are short- to medium-length phrases.</li> <li>(2) They can be both canonical and non-canonical.</li> <li>(3) They allow variation of lexical and phrasal categories.</li> <li>(4) They are mostly continuous.</li> </ol> <p>e.g., <i>a__ ago: a day ago, a year ago, etc.</i> (temporal relator)  <i>to__ this up: to tie this up, etc.</i> (summarizer)  <i>you __: you creep, etc.</i> (disapproval [insult])  <i>oh for __: oh for a good book, etc.</i> (desire [emphatic])  etc.</p>
<p>(d) Sentence builders:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Sentence builders are lexical phrases that provide the framework for whole sentences. They contain slots for parameters or arguments for expressions of an entire idea.</li> <li>(2) These phrases can be both canonical and non-canonical.</li> <li>(3) They allow considerable variation of phrasal and clausal elements.</li> <li>(4) They are both continuous and discontinuous.</li> </ol> <p>e.g., <i>I think (that) X</i> (assertion)  <i>not only X, but also Y</i> (relators)  <i>my point is that X</i> (summarizer)  <i>I'm a great believer in X</i> (evaluator)  etc.</p>

Nevertheless, Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) structural classification scheme provides a valuable reference for future investigations on the form of FSs, either as a classification scheme or identification criteria. It covers almost all possible syntactic features of FSs (see Section 2.1.1.2). As for the difficulty in distinguishing boundaries, Pawley and Syder (1983) suggested accepting it as a fact of language and "in seeking discrete classes we are in danger of misrepresenting the nature of the native speaker's knowledge" (212, as cited in Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992, 38). More than ten years since Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992), however, attempts are still made to seek a controlled and standardised way to classify FSs. For example, Van Lancker-Sidtis and Rallon (2004) classified FSs in screenplays into three categories according to form and function, i.e., formula, idiom, and proverb. Problems remain when FSs "belong to more than one category", "occur in various flexible shapes", and vary in "degrees of decomposability" (220). Since it is now widely accepted that FSs vary in degrees of fixedness, grammatical regularity, compositionality, and idiomaticity, Pawley and Syder's (1983) account is still valid.

### **2.5.2. Functional classification schemes: the risk of being overly specific**

Following the structural classification, Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) continued to offer a function-oriented classification of lexical, which represents "various categories of meaning and pragmatic characteristics of discourse and conversational structure that exist in many different types of situations" (59). Three categories were distinguished, including "social interactions", "necessary topics", and "discourse devices" (60–66). Each category contained several subcategories, and sometimes sub-subcategories phrases (see Table 2.5.2).

Although the present study intends to classify FSs in EModE based on their functions, Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) classification scheme was not selected for three reasons. Firstly, although the three main categories are about general functions of language, the subcategories of the main category "social interactions" focus mainly on the spoken language, especially in the scenario of language teaching. However, FSs in written texts such as letters could also serve the function of "social interactions". By comparison, Wray and Perkins (2000) had a different interpretation of the category "social interactions" and provided a set of subcategories that are not genre-specific: "manipulation of others",

“asserting separate identity”, and “asserting group identity” (13–14). Secondly, the subcategories are not on the same level of specificity. Some of them are divided further into sub-subcategories, such as “conversational maintenance” and “conversational purpose”, while others are too narrow and specific, such as “autobiography”, “time”, and “shopping”. Thirdly, the list of categories, subcategories, and/or sub-subcategories is by no means comprehensive. For example, the subcategories of “necessary topics” could be endless.

**Table 2.5.2: A fragment of functional classification scheme recreated based on Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992, 60–66)**

1.	Social interactions	
	(a) Conversational maintenance	
	• Summoning	e.g., <i>excuse/pardon me</i>
	• Responding to summons	e.g., <i>hi/hello</i>
	• Nominating a topic	e.g., <i>what's X?</i>
	• Clarifying:	
	○ Audience	e.g., <i>excuse/pardon me?</i>
	○ Speaker	e.g., <i>what I mean/I'm trying to say is X</i>
	• Checking comprehension	e.g., <i>all right?</i>
	• Etc.	
	(b) Conversational purpose	
	• Expressing politeness	e.g., <i>thanks (very much)</i>
	• Questioning	e.g., <i>do you X?</i>
	• Offering	e.g., <i>Modal + Pro + VP, i.e., may/can I help (you)?</i>
	• Responding:	
	○ Acknowledging	e.g., <i>(and then) what happened?</i>
	○ Accepting	e.g., <i>(yeah,) I know</i>
	○ Endorsing	e.g., <i>yes, that's so/correct/right</i>
	○ Disagreeing	e.g., <i>yes, but (I think that) X</i>
	• Etc.	
2.	Necessary topics	
	(a) <i>Autobiography</i>	e.g., <i>my name is __</i>
	(b) <i>Language</i>	e.g., <i>do you speak __?</i>
	(c) <i>Time</i>	e.g., <i>when is X?</i>
	(d) <i>Location</i>	e.g., <i>where is __?</i>
	(e) <i>Food</i>	e.g., <i>I'd like (to have) __</i>
	Etc.	
3.	Discourse devices	
	(a) <i>Logical connectors</i>	e.g., <i>as a result (of X)</i>
	(b) <i>Temporal connectors</i>	e.g., <i>the day/week/month/year before/after __</i>
	(c) <i>Spatial connectors</i>	e.g., <i>around here</i>
	(d) <i>Fluency devices</i>	e.g., <i>you know</i>
	(e) <i>Exemplifiers</i>	e.g., <i>in other words</i>
	Etc.	



Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) functional classification scheme shows that although it may not contain ambiguous and overlapping categories, in order to have a complete description of functions, it is easy to be overly specific in terms of sub-functions. Wray and Perkins's (2000) account of the "social interactions" category also has the same problem, for each of its three subcategories contains several "effects" such as "being taken seriously" and "separating from the crowd"; each effect contains several "types" such as "commands", "requests", and "politeness markers" (13–14).

In addition, the risk of being overly specific in the functional classification of FSs also exists in attempts to arrange functional categories and subcategories with a different method. For example, Swales (1990) suggested the notion of "generic moves". A move is "a discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function", which may be realised, at "one extreme, by a clause, and, at the other, by several sentences" (Swales 2004, 228–229, as cited in Durrant and Mathews-Aydınlı 2011, 62). The more specific functions are labelled as "steps" (Swales 1990, 140ff, as cited in Durrant and Mathews-Aydınlı 2011, 64). Durrant and Mathews-Aydınlı (2011) adapted Swales' (1990; 2004) approach and the terms "moves" and "step" in their study on FSs in the introduction sections of academic writing. Three moves were identified: "background information", "justifying research", and "essay focus" (Durrant and Mathews-Aydınlı 2011, 64), which are all related to academic writing. Their subcategories concern only specific kinds of information required to be provided in academic papers such as "defining terms" and "identifying a real-world problem" (64). In addition, both moves and steps are not predetermined, but labelled during the process of manual identification, hence subject to the individual researcher's decision. Therefore, the functional classification approach suggested by Swales (1990; 2004) was not adopted by the study due to the arbitrariness in the use of function or "move" labels and the difficulty in controlling the specificity of categories and subcategories.

### **2.5.3. The functional classification taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005)**

As mentioned previously (see Section 2.3.1), LBs are functional, despite the fact that most of them are meaningless and incomplete in syntax. To investigate the types of functions served by LBs, one of the most current and popular

approaches is the functional classification taxonomy described in Conrad and Biber (2005). Originally proposed by Biber et al. (2003) to classify LBs in PDE conversation and academic prose and developed by Biber et al. (2004) to classify LBs in PDE classroom teaching and textbooks, the final version of the functional classification taxonomy is presented in Conrad and Biber (2005) to classify LBs in texts of the same genres. As presented in Table 2.5.3, there are four primary functional categories: “I. Stance Expressions”, “II. Discourse Organisers”, “III. Referential Expressions”, and “IV. Special Conversational functions” (see their definitions and descriptions in Biber et al. 2004, 384–388; Conrad and Biber 2005, 64–67).

**Table 2.5.3: A functional classification taxonomy recreated based on Table 3 in Biber et. al. (2004, 384–388) and Table 3 in Conrad and Biber (2005, 64–67)**

Categories	Subcategories	Example of LBs in PDE
I. Stance Expressions	A. Epistemic stance (certain, uncertain, probable/possible)	
	Personal	<i>I don't know if</i>
	Impersonal	<i>are more likely to</i>
	B. Attitudinal/modality stance	
	B1. desire	
	Personal	<i>if you want to</i>
	Impersonal	<i>N/V</i>
	B2. Obligation/directive	
	Personal	<i>I want you to</i>
	Impersonal	<i>it is important to</i>
	B3. Intention/prediction	
	Personal	<i>I'm not going to</i>
	Impersonal	<i>it's going to be</i>
	B4. Ability	
	Personal	<i>to be able to</i>
	Impersonal	<i>can be used to</i>
II. Discourse Organisers	A. Topic introduction/focus	<i>what do you think</i>
	B. Topic elaboration/clarification	<i>has to do with</i>
III. Referential Expressions	A. Identification/focus	<i>that's one of the</i>
	B. Imprecision	<i>or something like that</i>
	C. Specification of attributes	
	C1. Quantity specification	<i>there's a lot of</i>
	C2. Tangible framing attributes	<i>the size of the</i>
	C3. Intangible framing attributes	<i>the nature of the</i>
	D. Time/place/text reference	
	D1. Place reference	<i>the United States and</i>
	D2. Time reference	<i>at the same time</i>
	D3. Text deixis	<i>shown in figure N</i>

	D4. Multi-functional reference	<i>the end of the</i>
IV. Special Conversational functions*	A. Politeness	<i>thank you very much</i>
	B. Simple inquiry	<i>what are you doing</i>
	C. Reporting	<i>I said to him</i>

(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \*Only found in the Conversation corpus

The functional classification taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005) is a product of the bottom-up functional classification of LBs; it is possible to directly apply the finished taxonomy in future studies on LBs retrieved from texts of any genre. So far, the taxonomy has been employed mostly by studies on LBs in academic language or language learning, such as Fitriati and Wahyuni (2019), Cortes (2008), and Nesi and Bastrukmen (2006). There are also applications of this taxonomy in studies concerning LBs in other genres and early English, such as Marcus (2018) and Culpeper and Kytö (2010).

It should also be possible to categorise FSs with this taxonomy since the present study considers LBs not fully equal but closely related to FSs. The taxonomy should be able to cover all primary functions in EModE use and most secondary functions. The pilot paper of the present study (Huang 2023) also suggests that it is feasible to classify FSs in EModE play-texts taxonomy, despite minor adjustments. It is noticed that no new primary functions need to be added, but new subcategories of functions may be required due to the change of genre. Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that the taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005) still leaves room for improvement. The main problem is that some subcategories overlap with others, and the distinctions between certain subcategories are sometimes not clearly stated. Another drawback is that some divisions of subcategories follow a different system. Depending on whether personal pronouns or other overt attributes to persons are presented, stance expressions are distinguished to be personal or impersonal. However, this distinction is formal instead of functional, hence abolished by the present study. Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that, although the taxonomy is open for new subcategories, the system of categories and subcategories shall not be too overwhelmingly complicated and specific. The present study suggests three principles when applying Conrad and Biber's (2005) taxonomy and elaborates the definitions and descriptions of function categories, subcategories, and function labels in a modified version in Section 6.1, Chapter 6.

### **3. Methodology (1): sources of data**

To provide a clear and comprehensive account of FSs in EModE speech and writing, the study employed a semi-automatic, corpus-assisted approach. This chapter focuses on the sources of corpus data. The study used a corpus of dialogues representing EModE speech and a corpus of letters representing EModE writing. I also argue that like speech, writing is also a form of communication. Before introducing the two corpora, the present chapter starts by distinguishing spoken and written communication and discussing about available EModE language materials that represent them (see Section 3.1). The following sections of this chapter provide a detailed introduction to text types and sources of texts in the two EModE corpora (see Section 3.2), periodisation (see Section 3.3), and metadata and other features that facilitate the analysis at a later stage (see Section 3.4).

#### **3.1. EModE text types and distinction between spoken and written communication**

My project distinguishes types of language materials that represent spoken and written communication based on three factors: (1) the original physical medium in which communication is conveyed, (2) the original purpose of how communication should be delivered and/or received, and (3) the relationship and direct interaction among participants of communication. Without doubt, dialogues are a type of spoken communication, while letters are a type of written communication. The study saw the need for this clarification because problems arise when searching for materials that represent EModE dialogues, especially when speech and writing are distinguished from the perspective of the physical medium with which communication is conveyed, i.e., the spoken/written “code of communication” (Jucker 2000b, 13) or “the phonic and the graphic medium” (Koch 1999, 399).

All preserved EModE materials are written, hence a lack of faithful representation of natural speech. For example, dialogues in EModE plays and fiction were carefully constructed to mimic real speech, but “the portrayal of speech is always potentially affected by factors such as characterization or the literary style of the writer in question” (Marcus 2018, 14). Busse, U. (2008) also warned that constructed dialogues in plays and fiction “cannot be regarded as a

true representation of authentic spoken Early Modern English” (96) because constructed dialogues may resort to language structures that are common in verse and rhetorical prose. In response to this, Busse, U. (2008) accepted Salmon’s (1987 [1965]) reasoning for using plays, because the language of play texts “was written as a representation of spoken language arising spontaneously from a given situation” (Busse, U. 2008, 97). According to Salmon (1987 [1965]), the ability of play-texts to represent speech depends on the skills of the dramatist, because:

all those features of language which indicate one speaker’s awareness of another, and his linguistic reactions to given situations, will undoubtedly be present. These are the structures which correspond in language to questions, commands and exclamations in the situation [...] (266, as cited in Busse, U. 2008, 97).

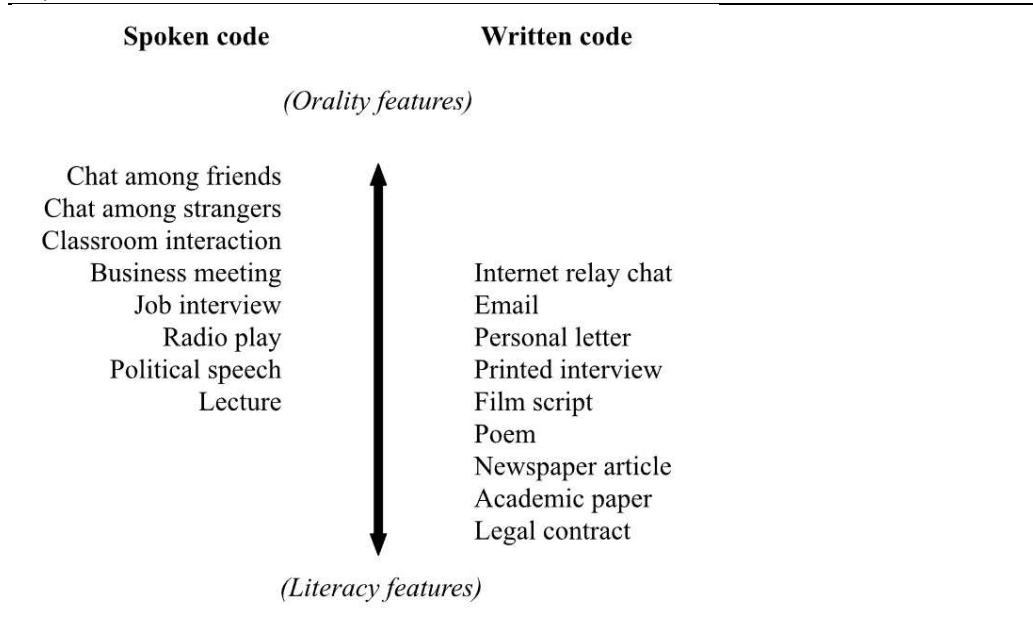
However, the above reasoning seems to be more like a compromise rather than a solid argument. Moreover, transcriptions of court proceedings and sermons contain a lot of editorial information and comments by the scribes. Prose fiction and plays contain large amount of non-speech-related texts such as narratives and stage direction. Therefore, one might also need to determine if non-speech-related texts should be eliminated from analysis, considering that their extraction might result in a huge workload.

The present study accepted the use of constructed dialogues and included non-speech-related texts in the corpora, following the argument in Marcus (2018) that speech and writing, both in PDE and in earlier states of the language, are placed on a grammatical continuum instead of being seen as grammatical dichotomous. In the former view, speech and writing “share a common grammatical framework, and there are certain linguistic features that are prototypically found in each medium”, while according to the second view, “the grammar of speech is notably distinct from the grammar of writing” (Marcus 2018, 10).

Accepting the grammatical continuum view, I would like to emphasise two concepts: one is “features”, the other is “prototype”. The features, on the one hand, can be linguistic as stated above by Marcus (2018). Söll (1985 [1974], 17–25) developed the concept of orality and literacy features, which refer to “specific linguistic features that are typical of—but not restricted to—either the spoken or the written code” of communication (13). Figure 3.1a shows that some

forms of communication with the spoken code and those with the written code do not clearly distinguish from each other; instead, they overlap on the orality-literacy scale. For example, lectures (spoken code) are closer to the end of literacy features than internet relay chat (written code), which is closer to the end of orality features compared with typically written communication such as legal contracts.

**Figure 3.1a: Examples of spoken and written codes of communication and their approximate position on the orality and literacy scale (Jucker 2000b, 13)**



On the other hand, forms of spoken/written communication can vary regarding non-linguistic features too. Koch (1999) introduces two neutral concepts: “communicative immediacy” versus “communicative distance” (399). Jucker (2000a) explains that

the language of immediacy is characterised by features that are typical of language in the phonic code, while the language of distance is characterised by features that are typical of language in the graphic code. However, the language of immediacy also occurs in the graphic code, and the language of distance also occurs in the phonic code. (20)

Communicative immediacy includes a group of parameters that may vary in ratio, and so does communicative distance. Jucker (2000a) provides a summary and interpretation of these parameters based on Koch (1999, 400–401) (see Table 3.1). Briefly, physical immediacy/distance refers to the place and time in which communication happens; privacy/publicness concerns the number of participants in communication; familiarity implies the relationship between

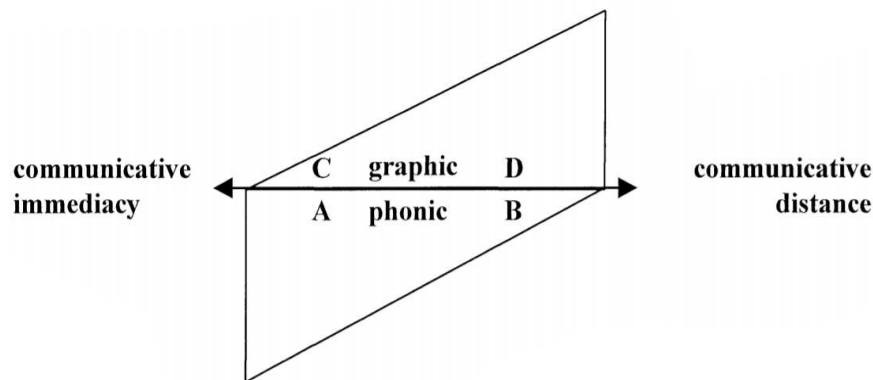
participants, i.e., either they are intimate or lack acquaintance, or somewhere in between; emotionality implies whether participants show their emotions in communication; context embeddedness and referential immediacy/distance both imply to how much common ground must be shared between the participants for the communication to be successfully conveyed; dialogue/monologue indicates how many participants deliver information; communicative cooperation/independence implies how participants interact with each other; and lastly both topic development and spontaneity/formality are about how freely topic(s) of the communication can be planned and switched (Jucker 2000a, 21–23).

**Table 3.1: Parameters of communicative immediacy and communicative distance (based on Koch 1999, 400–401, as cited in Jucker 2000a, 21)**

Communicative immediacy	←—————→	Communicative distance
Physical immediacy		Physical distance
Privacy		Publicness
Intimacy of partners		Lack of acquaintance
High emotionality		Affective distance
Setting in context of action		Independent setting
Referential immediacy		Referential distance
Dialogue		Monologue
Communicative cooperation of the partners		Communicative independence of partners
Free topic development		Prescribed topic development
Spontaneity		Formality

Moreover, the relationship between communicative immediacy/distance and phonic/graphic (or spoken/written) code has a representation similar to that of the relationship between orality/literacy and spoken/written code (see Figure 3.1a). According to Koch (1999), the spontaneous everyday conversation falls into area A (see Figure 3.1b), where communication is conveyed in the phonic medium and characterised by communicative immediacy. To the other extreme, area D represents the types of communication conveyed in the graphic medium and characterised by communicative distance. Koch (1999) continues that areas B and C are where the code and conceptualisation intertwine; for example, funeral oration has features of communicative distance but is conveyed in the phonic medium. Likewise, private letters have some features of communicative immediacy but are written. Jucker (2000a) further explains that area A is much bigger than area B and that area D is much bigger than area C for the correlations represented by areas A and D are more typical than those by B and C.

**Figure 3.1b: Relationship between phonic/graphic medium and the continuum of communicative immediacy/distance (Koch 1999, 400, as cited in Jucker 2000a, 20)**



The grammatical continuum view of speech and writing also emphasises that the above-mentioned features are represented by speech and writing prototypically. Either speech or writing has a great variety of text types or discourse types which share a significant but possibly different number of features that distinguish them from each other. As Koch (1999) pointed out that “affinities between medium and conception” (400) are only prototypical. Therefore, it is difficult to draw a clear line between spoken communication and written communication with their lexical/grammatical features (i.e., linguistic features) nor with non-linguistic features. Regarding to language materials, one could only say that a specific type of texts is more prototypical than the other as a representation of spoken/written communication.

Although this is true in general and accepted by the present study, there is still a need to draw a line somewhere for the sake of scholarly convenience. In the present study, the distinction between spoken and written communication lies jointly in the original physical medium in which communication is conveyed (i.e., spoken/written code or phonic/graphic), how communication is delivered and received (i.e., written–read or spoken–heard), and the interaction among participants of a communicative activity (i.e., whether the participants are directly or indirectly involved).

Therefore, for the spoken communication which is problematic in finding representative EModE language materials for the corpus, the present study notices three cases. Firstly, forms of communication originally delivered by speaking and received by listening, i.e., the phonic medium (Söll 1985 [1974]),

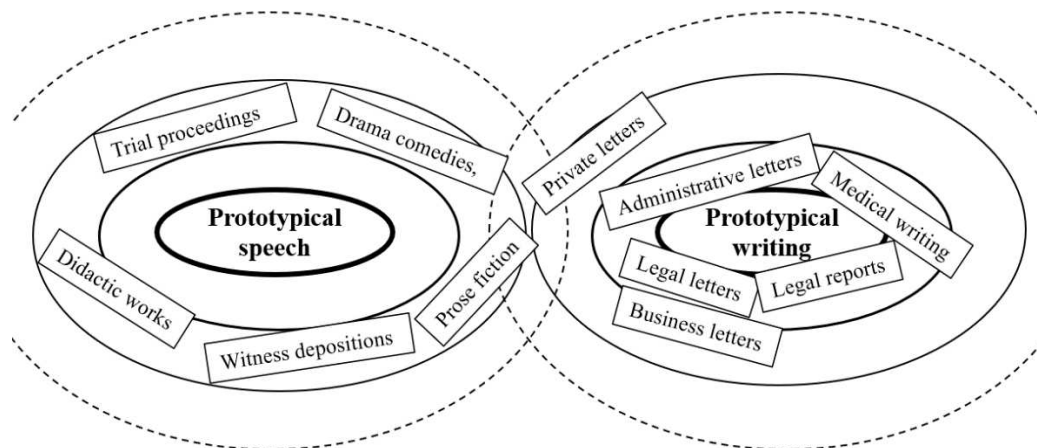


are vocal-audio communication, such as face-to-face dialogues, interviews, and lectures. They are types of authentic speech. Secondly, transcriptions of these forms of communication are also considered representing spoken communication because they are originally spoken and heard, as transcriptions are simply written copies of spoken communication. Speech transcriptions are also considered authentic. Since transcriptions like court proceedings may contain non-speech-related texts such as scribes' notes, they are referred to as being "speech-based" in Culpeper and Kytö (2010, 17). Thirdly, a special case of spoken communication is writing to imitate speaking. This type of communicative text initially takes a written form but is meant to be read verbally, performed, and presented orally at a later stage, hence also conveyed in the phonic medium. They are constructed speech, including, for instance, scripts of plays. It is worth noting that texts like plays are often published as literature. In this case, the direct participants of the communication are the playwright and the reader and what is communicated are the stories and the playwright's thoughts, hence a type of written communication. However, when the dialogues in plays are the focus, the direct participants of the communication are characters created by the playwright and what is communicated is what the characters say to each other. The fictitious dialogues are constructed to mimic real-life speech, hence also a type of spoken communication. With the same argument, works of prose fiction as literature are a type of written communication, while fictitious dialogues in prose fiction are a type of spoken communication. Culpeper and Kytö (2010) proposed such fictitious dialogues to be "speech-purposed" (17).

The rest of this section attempts to map available EModE textual materials to three cases of spoken communication as discussed above. Textual materials for EModE written communication are also presented to demonstrate the prototypical, grammatical continuum model (see Figure 3.1c). Considerable efforts went into digitising textual materials for English historical linguistic research. An overview of 26 EModE corpora sources could be found in the *Corpus Resource Database* (CoRD), which lists only two spoken corpora of EModE, CED and the *Old Bailey Corpus* (OBC). Written corpora of EModE include, for instance, CEEC, *Corpus of Early English Medical Writing* (CEEM), *Corpus of Historical English Law Reports 1535-1999* (CHELAR), *Corpus of English Religious Prose* (COERP), *Corpus of Early English Recipes* (CoER),

HC, and *The Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts* (LC). Not listed in the database, the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) is also a large source of written EModE, while many researchers compile their own corpora to meet their specific research needs, such as a corpus of Bess letters in Marcus (2018).

**Figure 3.1c: A prototypical, grammatical continuum model of speech and writing with examples and their approximate position**



To begin with, text types in spoken corpora of EModE are limited. The CED consists of only five text types, including trial proceedings, witness depositions, drama comedies, didactic works, and prose fiction; the OBC contains mainly trial proceedings. As demonstrated in Figure 3.1c, they are all to some extent far away from prototypical speech for various reasons. On the one hand, the faithfulness of transcriptions (e.g., trial proceedings) to the original speech depends highly on an official scribe (Kytö and Walker 2006). In some circumstances, for example, direct speech is rendered into a third-person narrative; in other cases, there might be additional texts provided by scribes, such as explanatory comments, narratives, speaker identifiers, and interspersed legal formulae (Kytö and Walker 2006). Moreover, the transcriptions lost other vital elements of speech, such as prosody features and body language, which also convey meaning and information. On the other hand, constructed texts of dialogues (e.g., drama comedies) also contain non-speech-related discourse such as narratives, stage directions, and speaker identifiers. Consequently, text types in the EModE spoken corpora have more literacy features (see Figure 3.1a) and lower degree of communicative immediacy (see Table 3.1) compared to prototypical speech, i.e., they are close to dotted lines which mark the fuzzy area

between speech and writing in the model depicted in Figure 3.1c. Nonetheless, they are still in the realm of spoken communication.

By comparison, letters are undoubtedly communication in the written code, but some types of letters possess many features similar to dialogues. Daybell and Gordon (2016b) mentioned that in the classical description familiar letters were conversations between friends; while in a communication model, a letter was “a form of written communication dispatched from one named party to another” (7). The present study takes the communication view.

Firstly, EModE letters can be categorised into various types. Taking the CEEC/PCEEC for example, from informal to formal, there are private letters, business letters, administrative letters, and regal letters. Various topics may occur in the same letters ranging from buying and selling to “family matters and local gossip” (CEEC 2011) in family letters if the correspondents and recipients were running a family business. The relationship between correspondents and recipients was also very diverse, including wife and husband, parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends, masters and servants, trading partners, merchants and clients, etc. (CEEC 2011). Moreover, compared with participants in EModE spoken communication, correspondents might come from only a few specific parts of society. From 1600 to 1700, the literacy rate was still relatively low, from 30 to 50 per cent of men and from only ten to 25 per cent of women (Nurmi 2017, 15). People who could write were mostly from the higher social ranks, but there were also “lower-ranking writers, typically lesser merchants, tradesmen and servants, who needed literacy and numeracy skills in their trade” (Nevalainen 2006, 139). Letters written by inexperienced writers might contain various features “usually associated with the spoken language, such as add-on strategies” (CEEC 2011).

Secondly, letters are interactive, despite lacking the same degree of communicative immediacy as dialogues. For example, many EModE letters expected, though possibly not immediate, responses, such as family letters; while others serve mainly as a way to inform a large group of people such as academic letters are used to deliver recent scientific findings (Gotti 2006), administrative letters, and legal letters.

Thirdly, following the parameters of communicative immediacy and communicative distance provided in Table 3.1, EModE letters are clearly

distinguished from types of EModE dialogues by “physical distance”, “independent setting”, “monologue”, and “reference distance” (Jucker 2000a, 21), which are parameters on the rightmost end of the communicative distance.

Lastly, comparing among various types of EModE writing, diverse types of EModE letters may be positioned at various places in the prototypical, grammatical continuum model in Figure 3.1c, depending on the purpose of a letter and the identity of the writer/recipient. Therefore, as demonstrated in Figure 3.1c, administrative and legal letters are placed closely to prototypical writing (e.g., EModE medical writing and legal reports in the corpora CEEM and the CHELAR, respectively), while private letters share some features with speech (i.e., marked by dotted lines in Figure 3.1c). Many EModE letters distinguish from the others for their higher degree of communicative distances regarding “publicness”, “lack of acquaintance”, “affective distance”, “communicative independence of partners”, “prescribed topic development”, and “formality”, for example, administrative and legal letters have a high degree of communicative distance regarding the six parameters. Others such as private letters might be further away from the above six parameters, but closer to their opposites, “privacy”, “intimacy of partners”, “high emotionality”, “communicative cooperation of the partners”, “free topic development”, and “spontaneity”. Therefore, private letters could be more colloquial than others.

To sum up, both transcriptions of authentic dialogues and texts constructed to mimic natural speech are accepted as text types representing a kind of EModE spoken communication. Specific attention is needed when using such materials in research on FSs in EModE spoken communication because non-speech texts provided by scribes in speech transcriptions and constructed speech texts might contain recursive linguistic patterns that are potentially formulaic, hence impacting the results of the study. In response to this problem, the study adopts the prototypical, grammatical continuum model of speech and writing, arguing that speech and writing differ regarding degrees rather than types of linguistic and non-linguistic features. More specifically, letters, as a kind of written communication, defer from dialogues regarding the degree of communicative immediacy and their position on the orality-literacy scale. On both continuums/scales, various types of dialogues and letters might have overlapping features that make the distinction between the two text types less

clear. For this reason, it is intriguing to investigate if EModE dialogues and letters employ similar or different FSs.

### **3.2. The corpus of EModE dialogues and the corpus of EModE letters**

Texts in the corpus of EModE dialogues were extracted from the XML version of the CED, which contains 177 text files dating from 1560 to 1760. The corpus of EModE dialogues keeps the structure of the CED and modes of speech representation. Texts in the corpus represent five genres<sup>3</sup>. They are either authentic dialogues (i.e., records of natural speech events or speech-based texts), including *Trial Proceedings* and *Witness Depositions*, or constructed dialogues (i.e., speech-purposed texts), including *Drama Comedy*, *Didactic Works*, and *Prose Fiction*. A sixth group of texts called “miscellaneous” contains various other kinds of dialogues that do not belong to any of the five genres.

Moreover, dialogues distinguish between direct speech and indirect speech: *Trial Proceedings*, *Drama Comedy* and *Didactic Works* are transcribed as direct speech, *Witness Depositions* as a third-person narrative, and *Prose Fiction* as both direct and indirect speech. The present study includes both direct and indirect speech in the analysis based on the argument that literacy features or parameters of communicative distance exist also in speech (see the above discussion in Section 3.1). More information regarding detailed features of each genre can be found in the manual of the CED (Kytö and Walker 2006).

Texts in the corpus of EModE letters were extracted from the PCEEC, containing 4,970 letters in 84 letter collections dating from 1480 to 1681. The corpus of EModE letters also keeps the structure of the PCEEC. Texts in the PCEEC are stored in three versions of files: plain text, part-of-speech (POS) tagged, and syntactically parsed. The present study chose the POS-tagged files because such texts contain enough but not overwhelmingly detailed syntactic information about each word, which would contribute to the later process of spelling normalisation (see Section 4.1, Chapter 4). The PCEEC is based on the 1998 version of the CEEC, which only contains plain text files. There are fewer texts in the PCEEC than in the CEEC due to copyright restrictions. A comparison

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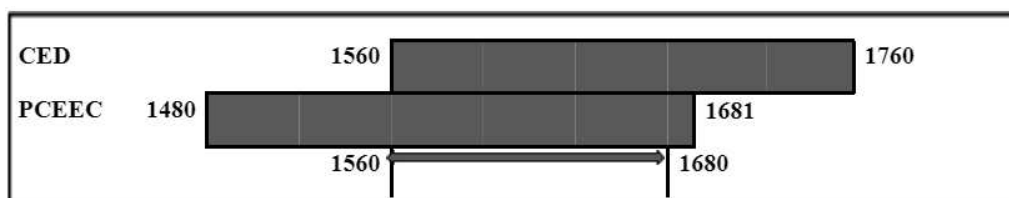
<sup>3</sup> The present study distinguishes “text type” and “genre”. The term “text type” refers to texts representing two types of communication, and “genre” refers to distinct kinds of dialogues and letters, e.g., trial proceedings and witness depositions are two genres of dialogues, and love letters and family letters are two genres of letters.

between the two corpora can be found in Kaislaniemi (2006). There are many kinds of letters in the corpus, such as love letters, legal and administrative letters, and business letters. There is a rich diversity of topics, such as trading, family matters, gossip, etc. Many letters have more than one topic (CEEC 2011). Therefore, different types of letters and letter parts addressing different topics might vary on the orality-literacy scales or in terms of communicative immediacy/distance (see discussion in Section 3.1). More information regarding how the PCEEC and its predecessor CEEC are compiled can be found in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996b) and Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen (2007).

### 3.3. Periodisation

The study follows the conventional periodisation of English and accepts the English from 1500 to 1700 as EModE. However, as presented in Figure 3.3a, the time span of texts in the CED and the PCEEC do not fully match each other. To ensure that the two corpora are comparable, only texts dating from 1560 to 1680 are extracted from the CED and the PCEEC, respectively.

**Figure 3.3a: A comparison of the time spans of texts in the CED and the PCEEC**



It is noteworthy that texts of dialogues in the CED have two dates: the first date is the date of speech event or first print, the second date is the date of publication. Taking the text *Trial of Mr. Robert Hickford*, for example, the date of speech event or first print is 1571, and its publication date is 1730. In this case, the extraction of texts was based on the date of speech event or first print; hence the named text is within the defined time span. However, when the first date was missing, the extraction of texts was based on the second date, i.e., the date of publication. For letters in the PCEEC, most of them have a known date. Letters with related writers or recipients are saved in the same files as letter collections; hence each collection contains letters of various dates of writing or sending. The extraction of texts from the PCEEC first looked at the date range

of each file; if the date range exceeds the defined time span, then letters outside the time span were hand-picked and deleted. Samples of texts in the corpus of EModE dialogues and the corpus of EModE letters are presented in figures 3.3b and 3.3c, respectively.

**Figure 3.3b: A fragment of selected texts of dialogues from the CED**

File name	Short text title	date1 (speech event/ first print)	date2 (publication date)	word count	Text type	Category	Author
D1CKNAVE	A Knacke to Knowe a Knaue	1594	1594	10,740	Drama Comedy	Constructed	Anonymous
D3CBROME	A Mad Couple Well Match'd	1653	1653	10,200	Drama Comedy	Constructed	Richard Brome
D2FARMIN	A Nest of Ninnies	1608	1608	9,400	Prose Fiction	Constructed	Robert Armin
D3HFFEST	A New and Easie French Grammar		1667	9,010	Didactic Works: Language Teaching	Constructed	Paul Festeau
D1WNORWI	Affray at Norwich	1583	1864	2,960	Witness Depositions	authentic	
D1CLYLY	Alexander and Campaspe	1584	1584	9,450	Drama Comedy	Constructed	John Lyly
D1CCHAPM	An Humorous Dayes Myrth	1599	1599	9,190	Drama Comedy	Constructed	George Chapman
D2WMERVI	Arraignement ... Earle of Castlehaven	1631	1642	3,430	Witness Depositions	authentic	
D2WRALEI	Arraignement ... of Sr Walter Rawleigh	1603	1648	7,120	Witness Depositions	authentic	
D3WMOSEL	Arraignement ... of Sr. Edward Moseley	1647	1647	2,550	Witness Depositions	authentic	

**Figure 3.3c: A fragment of selected letter collections from the PCEEC**

File name	Date range	Count of letters	Word count	Edition
allen	1579-1593	4	5,070	Letters of William Allen and Richard Barret, 1572-1598. E
arundel	1589-1680	78	19,202	The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howa
bacon	1569?-1594	380	139,004	The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey. Ed. by A. Hass
barring	1628-1632	191	63,934	Barrington Family Letters, 1628-1632. Ed. by Arthur Searl
basire	1651-1666	12	7,068	The Correspondence of Isaac Basire, D.D., Archdeacon of
bentham	1560-1561	16	4,102	The Letter-Book of Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry
browne -ed	1653-1680 (1653-1681)	52 (64)	20,778	The Works of Sir Thomas Browne. Vol. IV: Letters. Ed. by
brysket	1581-1583	10	8,961	The Life and Correspondence of Lodowick Bryskett. Ed. b
cecil	1586	6	1,634	The Bardon Papers. Documents Relating to the Imprisonm
chamber	1597-1625	71	69,349	The Letters of John Chamberlain. Ed. by Norman Egbert N
charles	1634-1678	9	2,964	Five Letters of King Charles II. Ed. by the Marquis of Bris

By including only texts of the period covered by both the PCEEC and the CED, the two corpora avoid invalid comparisons. For example, it is possible that an FS is found prevailing in one corpus but not the other, simply because its occurrence is dominant in a specific period of time while the other corpus does

not contain texts of the same period. Although this results in the absence of 60 years' worth of texts from the Early Modern period, it would not make the results less representative. This study is not a diachronic investigation of the use of FSs throughout the Early Modern period; instead, it describes FSs in EModE generally. However, it is too risky to claim that FSs found in the corpora were active in the entire Early Modern period. Therefore, this should be kept in mind when interpreting the data. After normalising the periods of the two corpora, the corpus of letters contains 62 letter collections, i.e., 3,303 letters from the PCEEC, and the corpus of dialogues contains 109 texts from the CED (see Appendix 1).

### **3.4. Metadata and other features**

In the final version of the working corpora, XML tags were employed to wrap the part of texts excluded from corpus search, such as text titles, page numbers, and paragraph numbers from the originally published documents. More importantly, the XML tags were used to wrap additional information provided by the compilers of the source corpora, for example, the editor's comments, information regarding the writers and recipients, information regarding the texts, etc. The study refers to such additional information as metadata. Metadata was excluded from corpus search too, but it was useful for further reference regarding the context in which a multi-word unit was used.

Metadata in the source corpora was mostly kept within the original XML tags when texts were extracted. Modification was conducted only when inconsistency within a corpus occurred. In the corpus of EModE dialogues, general information about texts is provided within the XML tags `<dialogueHeader>*``</dialogueHeader>` at the beginning of each file, including the filename, the title of a text, the author, the publication date of the speech, further explanation regarding the date of publication and the dated of first print or original speech event, the text type, text bibliography such as the front matter of the relevant published document. There is also some in-text metadata that reflects specific features of each genre, often wrapped between `<nonSpeech>*``</nonSpeech>` tags. Trials or court proceedings, taken down by official scribes, present the speech generally in question-and-answer format. Metadata in trials includes scribal interventions such as speaker identification (e.g., `<font>*``</font>` in [1]), explanatory comments (e.g., [1]), and the



description of non-verbal behaviour by the participants (e.g., [2]). In addition, there are comments provided by the compilers (e.g., [3]).

- [1] <nonSpeech><font>John Gadbury</font> Sworn. </nonSpeech>  
(*Trial of Elizabeth Cellier*, D4TCELLI, p. 5)
- [2] <nonSpeech> <font>Two things were remarkable in this days Proceedings. </font>  
1. It is to be observed, That as the Charge was reading against the King, the silver head of his staff fell off, the which he wondered at, and seeing none to take it up, he stoops for it himself.  
2. That as the King was going away, he looked with a very austere countenance upon the <font>Court</font>, with stirring of his Hat replied, </nonSpeech>  
(*King Charl His Tryal*, D3TCHARL, p. 24)
- [3] <comment type="compiler">LONG SPEECH OMITTED. </comment>  
(*King Charl His Tryal*, D3TCHARL, p. 52)

Witness depositions, taken down by scribes as third-person narratives, have a considerable degree of scribal intervention. There are, for example, titles or identifiers of the depositions (e.g., [4]), additional identity clarification of something or someone (e.g., [5]), legal formulae (e.g., [6]), comments provided by compilers (e.g. [7]), and so on.

- [4] <head>THE DEPOSITIONS OF CAPTAIN BURY. </head>  
(*Papists*, D3WBROOK, p. 1)
- [5] <dialogue> [...] he had no reason to slight it, because the morning before, a Knight  
</dialogue>  
<nonSpeech> (Sir <font>Thomas Lougvile</font>) </nonSpeech>  
<dialogue> had been with him, and told him there was a design against him of the same kind, and desired him to inquire after it. [...] </dialogue> (*Papists*, D3WBROOK, p. 2)
- [6] <nonSpeech> Sworn before me the <font>17th</font> of <font>January</font> 1678. <font>J. Williamson</font>. </nonSpeech>  
<nonSpeech> <font>John Bury. </font> </nonSpeech>  
(*Papists*, D3WBROOK, p. 3)
- [7] <dialogue> the prisoner is indicted of rape and sodomy, by two indictments, and has <comment type="compiler"> SOURCE TEXT: htah</comment> pleaded not guilty, [...] </dialogue>  
(*Earle of Castlehaven*, D2WMERVI, p. 4)

Drama comedies contain constructed direct speech, which is often interrupted by in-text metadata such as indicators of acts and scenes (e.g., [8]), speaker identification (e.g., [9]), stage direction (e.g. [10]), comments by compilers, and so on.

[8] <head>ACT II. SCENE I.</head>  
(*A Made Couple*, D3CBROME, p. C2R)

[9] <nonSpeech> <font>Alicia, Lady, Serving-man, Prentice.  
</font> </nonSpeech>  
<nonSpeech> <font>Al.</font> </nonSpeech> <dialogue>All  
Cheapside, and Lombardstreet Madam, could not have furnished  
you with a more complete bargain, you will find it in the wearing,  
and thank me both for the goodness of the stuff, and of the  
Manufacture. </dialogue>  
(*A Made Couple*, D3CBROME, p. C2R)

[10] <nonSpeech> <font>Enter Prentice with Beer. </font>  
</nonSpeech> (*A Made Couple*, D3CBROME, p. C3V)

Didactic works or handbooks contain constructed dialogues for instruction purposes. Texts of this genre contain in-text metadata similar to those in drama comedies, such as speaker identification and comments by compilers; there are also metadata regarding topics of particular sections (e.g., [11]), directions to information on other pages (e.g. [12]), etc.

[11] <head>THE RISING IN THE MORNING. </head>  
(*Familiar Dialogues*, D1HEBELL, p. A5R)

[12] <nonSpeech> seek at the end of the book for Evening and  
morning prayers. </nonSpeech>  
(*Schoolmaster*, D1HFDESA, p. 66)

The prose fiction sub-corpus contains samples of fiction that only consist of direct speech and indirect speech. Priority is given to speech-related texts that contain direct rather than indirect speech (Kytö and Walker 2006, 26). Long narrative passages are omitted (40). However, some indirect speech and narration inevitably occur together, and they are both tagged as non-speech, as exemplified in [13]. In addition, there are metadata regarding chapter numbers and chapter names (e.g., [14]) and compilers' comments.

[13] <nonSpeech> <font>Toby</font> having ended this Speech,  
Samuel shouted for joy, saying to his Brother, that he was wiser  
than <font>Solomon</font>, and had more discretion than his  
<font>Namesake</font>, who was Judge of <font>Israel</font>:  
</nonSpeech> (*Done Samuel Crisp*, D3FCRISP, p. A3V)

[14] <head> <font>CHAP. I.</font> </head>  
<head> <font>OF THE BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND  
EDUCATION OF THE KNIGHT OF FOND LOVE. </font>  
</head> (*Done Samuel Crisp*, D3FCRISP, p. A3R)

The last group of texts in the corpus of EModE dialogues is taken from the miscellaneous texts in the CED. They are a mixture of dialogues outside any of the above genres. Similar to dialogues in comedies and handbooks, miscellaneous texts also contain metadata stating topics or titles of different sections, speakers' identities, brief explanations of scenes, and comments by compilers.

In the corpus of EModE letters, those belonging to the same collection are saved in one XML file. Metadata is provided before each letter, as presented in [15] – [17]. Codes in [15] provide general information regarding the letter, including the name of the letter collection (e.g., B\_ALLEN), text identifier (e.g., Q\_ALL\_A\_1579\_T\_WALLEN), and letter number (e.g., L\_ALLEN\_001). The text identifier contains five parts, including the letter collection code (e.g., Q\_ALL), the authenticity code (e.g., A, which indicates that the letter is an autograph), the date of a letter (e.g., 1579), the recipient-type code (e.g., T, which indicates all other recipients), and the writer code (e.g., WALLEN). Codes in [16] provide information regarding an author, including the author's name (e.g., A\_WILLIAM\_ALLEN), the author's gender (e.g., A-GENDER\_MALE), the author's relationship with a recipient (e.g., A-REL\_---, which in this case is unknown), and the year in which the author was born (e.g., R-DOB\_1546?, in which the question mark means that the date is uncertain). Codes in [17] provide information regarding a recipient, including the recipient's name (e.g., R\_RICHARD\_HOPKINS), gender (e.g., R-GENDER\_MALE), relationship with the writer (e.g., R-REL\_---), and the date of birth (e.g., R-DOB\_1546?). The way of marking information about the letters and the correspondents at the head of each letter is referred to as parameter coding. More codes and their meanings are provided in the online manual of the PCEEC (Taylor et al. 2006). The manual provides an Excel file with all associated information for each letter included in the collection files and additional information such as social titles

and professions, taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*<sup>4</sup> (DNB).

- [15] <COMMENT><B\_ALLEN></COMMENT>  
<COMMENT><Q\_ALL\_A\_1579\_T\_WALLEN>  
</COMMENT>
- <COMMENT><L\_ALLEN\_001></COMMENT>
- [16] <COMMENT><A\_WILLIAM\_ALLEN></COMMENT>  
<COMMENT><A-GENDER\_MALE></COMMENT>  
<COMMENT><A-REL\_---></COMMENT>  
<COMMENT><A-DOB\_1532></COMMENT>
- [17] <COMMENT><R\_RICHARD\_HOPKINS></COMMENT>  
<COMMENT><R-GENDER\_MALE></COMMENT>  
<COMMENT><R-REL\_---></COMMENT>  
<COMMENT><R-DOB\_1546?></COMMENT>

In addition, compilers of the corpus also provide comments on a letter, as exemplified in [18]. Sentences in a letter are also numbered, as presented in the comment tags in [19].

- [18] <COMMENT>  
<ED:4.\_ALLEN\_TO\_RICHARD\_HOPKINS.\_RHEIMS,\_5  
\_APRIL\_1579.> </COMMENT>
- [19] Mr. Hopkins you discourse wisely and friendly in the behalf of our countrymen there and elsewhere dispersed; <COMMENT type="ID">ALLEN,8.001.1</COMMENT>

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.oxforddnb.com/>

## **4. Methodology (2): procedure for identifying formulaic sequences and analysis**

The identification of FSs in this study was achieved via a three-step procedure: (1) preparation, (2) identification, and (3) generalisation. The first step (see Section 4.1) normalised spelling and cleaned texts by deleting unnecessary markups. The second step (see Section 4.2) was further divided into two phases. The first phase retrieved LBs from the corpora, and the second phase went through LBs and manually identified FSs. Different criteria were followed in each phase. The last step (see Section 4.3) sorted the FSs and normalised their frequencies. The chapter ends with a Section 4.4, which briefly introduces how the study conducted data analysis.

### **4.1. Preparation: spelling variation in EModE and its normalisation**

This step makes sure that the EModE corpora are ready for use and the corpus analysis conducted with them would not produce incorrect and irrelevant data. As a crucial part of the preparation step, spelling normalisation was achieved within three steps: (1) setting the rules, (2) training the software, namely VARD2 (V2.5.4), and (3) normalising the spelling.

#### **4.1.1. How normalising EModE corpora influences the data**

Words in the EModE corpora are in their original spellings. Spelling variation of EModE is one of the main challenges that historical linguists face if they want to analyse many texts efficiently and precisely. For example, a word as simple as the negative *not* has about 40 spelling variants in the PCEEC, such as *nought*, *noht*, *nawt*, *nawiht*, etc<sup>5</sup>. Because current corpus analysis tools treat the variants as different word forms and count their frequencies individually, normalising the spelling is one of the first steps in computer-assisted studies on EModE. As stated in Archer et al. (2015), the merits of spelling normalisation are:

that it helps to improve the accuracy of automated computational linguistic (natural language processing) techniques such as part-of-speech tagging and second, that it improves the stability and robustness of corpus linguistic methods such as keyword analysis, thereby allowing existing software tools of both types to be used unmodified (6).

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<sup>5</sup> Obtained by searching the NEG tag with CorpusSearch2.  
(<https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/corpus-ling/CS-users-guide/index.html>)

For the present study, the identification of FSs involved LBs, whose retrieval was solely frequency-based. Without normalisation, the software will treat, for instance, YOUR SELF THAT and YOUR SELFE THAT as two different LBs. Each of them has its own frequency, which must be much lower than the actual frequency if standardised to YOURSELF THAT. Therefore, some potentially recursive multi-word units would not be caught by the software, and the frequency of occurrence of some LBs would be heavily reduced. Possible consequences could be that in the second phase of identification, less FSs were identified, and/or a considerable number of instances of FSs would be left out, hence resulting in inaccurate findings and wrong conclusions.

However, normalisation is not always a good decision. One should not ignore the potential drawbacks it may have. Archer et al. (2015) emphasises that normalisation “needs to be handled sensitively” because the original spelling of some words conveys “important morphosyntactic or orthographic information” (6). Baron et al. (2011) points out that some spelling variants are strongly associated with genres, for instance, Barber (1997 [1976]) states that in the early Tudor period, the third person singular inflectional ending {-eth} “is normal in formal prose”, but {-es} in “less formal documents like private letters and diaries” (166); some have pragmatic/social distinctions, for instance, *thou/you*. Normalising such word forms to their PDE equivalents would lose the morphosyntactic and pragmatic information they carry.

Therefore, the present study contends that EModE spelling variation shall be treated case-by-case, depending on given research questions. In studies on, for instance, the use of individual words, normalising all spelling variants into single forms would make more sense. However, it is more complex for the present study. On the one hand, one of its primary research focuses is the function of FSs in various social and communication situations, rather than the morphological and syntactic change of FSs throughout the history of English. On the other hand, some cases of spelling variation might influence how the form of an FS is determined. For example, forms such as *him selfe* and *to night* are written as one word in the PDE, from which a problem arises that whether such forms in EModE shall be treated as word strings or normalised into their PDE equivalents. Archer et al. (2015) suggests that forms as such shall be joined; if so, they would be excluded from FSs. Another drawback of normalising forms

such as *him selfe* and *to night* is that they may reflect the lexicalisation of certain compounds in English, i.e., they might have started as word strings, then gained formulaicity, and were eventually written as one word. Such an assumption is based on the claim that some FSs often behave like “big words” (Ellis 1996, 111; as cited in Wray and Perkins 2000, 10), but the relationship between FSs and lexicalisation is not the focus of the present study. Therefore, I argue that existing guidance on normalising EModE spelling variants (e.g., Archer et al. 2015) might not be fully applicable in studies that identify FSs.

To address the above concerns, I updated and reinterpreted the normalisation principles in Archer, et al. (2015) so that spelling normalisation would have minimal impact on the form of FSs. The adaptation considers if a form is an archaic/infrequent form (e.g., *oft*), a specific word choice (e.g., *thou/thee*, *more nearer*) or an orthographic preference (e.g., *goeth*). The following section introduces how the principles are executed in detail.

#### **4.1.2. General rules of normalisation**

The primary purpose of setting normalisation rules is to keep the consistency of decision-making. With this set of rules, I hope to provide a reference for further research on this or other related topics. The present study followed the general principles suggested by Archer, et al. (2015, 12) when they normalised CED:

- (i) leaving a word form as it is,
- (ii) keeping the form but normalising its spelling into one form across the spelling variants,
- (iii) modernising the form.

However, this study dealt with the normalisation of some words differently, as argued in the previous section. Generally speaking, a multi-word unit should be normalised, if the normalised form does not impact its meaning/function and the spelling variation of its components is a matter of orthographic preference (e.g., *goes*, *goeth*). However, if modernising the spelling/form variation will influence the meaning/function (i.e., a matter of word choice, e.g., *thou*, *you*), the variants should not be modernised or should be normalised to one of its historical forms. A detailed checklist of revised normalisation rules is presented in Appendix 2

Like in Archer, et al. (2015), the study kept most names as they were, i.e., rule (i). Specifically, most of the names include person names, toponyms

not well-known (e.g., villages, cities, mountains, rivers, and lakes), animal and plant names, and other proper nouns. However, names of countries that were leading powers during the Early Modern period were modernised following rule (iii) in the study (e.g., NS<sup>6</sup> *Spain*). In addition, foreign quotes were also left without normalisation. Rule (i) was also applied to most archaisms or obsolete terms, but some frequent and well-known ones were normalised into one spelling variant following rule (ii) (e.g., EModE *ofte* was normalised to NS *oft*).

Moreover, rule (ii) also concerns dialectal terms and personal pronouns. Personal pronouns were paid special attention in my study because personal pronouns played important syntactic and pragmatic roles in EModE. For example, *thou/thee* and *you* are used in different social classes and mark different relationships between speakers, hence distinguishing the FSs of requests *I pray thee* and *I pray you*. Normalisation of other personal pronouns are listed in Appendix 3.

Archer, et al. (2015) believed that genitive forms, auxiliaries, verbs, and compounds, as well as tilde and other special characters used for abbreviations, would benefit from modernising. In EModE, both plural and genitive are marked via *-s* (Freeborn 1998, 237). VARD2 cannot normalise genitives automatically. Therefore, the same as in Archer, et al. (2015), genitives were identified and normalised manually in the present study, following rule (iii), for example, EModE *my sonnes sonne* (NS *my son's son*) and EModE *my mistres eyes* (NS *my mistress's eyes*)

EModE verbs have more inflectional endings that mark different persons than PDE verbs. For example, verbs mostly end with *-est* for second-person singular (Barber 1997 [1976], 165), and the third-person singular inflectional ending of verbs has two alternative forms: *-eth* and *-es*, which are popular during various parts of the Early Modern period and in different regions and genres (166). The study modernised the second-person singular and third-person singular inflectional endings to *-* and *-s*, respectively; for example, EModE *confessest* (NS *confess*) and EModE *confesseth* (NS *confesses*). The modernisation, in this case, will surely lose the syntactic and morphological information, but unlike *thou/you*, it will not affect the pragmatic meaning.

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<sup>6</sup> NS = normalised spelling



EModE also distinguishes weak and strong verbs, especially via inflectional endings marking the tense (Barber 1997 [1976], 174–175). For the simple past and past participle of weak verbs, the inflectional endings *-’d* and *-t*, were modernised to *-ed*, for example, EModE *call’d* (NS *called*) and EModE *laught* (NS *laughed*) (Archer, et al. 2015, 13–14). Past tense and past participle of strong verbs were modernised into their modern equivalent. For modal verbs, the study took a radical decision like Archer, et al. (2015), and they were normalised into modern forms, for example, EModE *wouldst*, *wouldest*, and *would’st* (NS *would*), EModE *didst* (NS *did*), EModE *dost* (NS *do*), etc. The complete list of normalised modal verbs can be found in Appendix 3.

#### 4.1.3. Decisions on difficult and problematic cases

During the training, some words were difficult to normalise, which required consideration of which of the three rules in Archer, et al. (2015) should be followed. This section discusses decisions made for some of the problematic cases. Details are summarised in Appendix 3.

The first difficult case was that some words like *myself* and *tomorrow* in PDE were sometimes written as *my self* and *to morrow* in EModE. For words like *my self*, it is arguable whether they are just orthographically written as two words or whether they are noun phrases. There are cases in EModE texts where they are written as one word, like in PDE. For words like *to morrow*, they can be seen as multi-word adverbs. Words as such were not joined in the study, unlike how Archer, et al. (2015) did in their study.

The second difficult case was the verb *cannot*. Both word forms *cannot* and *can not* exist in the corpora. This study treated it as two words and normalised it into *can not*, despite the fact that in PDE it is *cannot*; hence it was thus not excluded from the VERB + NEGATIVE construction.

The third difficult case concerns word forms that needed to be separated into two or more words; for example, the EModE *aswel* and *shalbe*. Both are written as two words in PDE (i.e., *as well* and *shall be*). The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (OED) is sometimes consulted. The joined word forms, EModE *aswel* and *shalbe*, do not have entries in the OED, hence the study followed the decision by Archer, et al. (2015), and words like these were separated and modernised. However, if two words in PDE are written together

in EModE and the OED has the joined form as an independent word entry, I treated it as an EModE word form and only normalised it to one of the EModE variants, following the rule (ii) mentioned in Section 4.1.2.

Lastly, contractions and abbreviated forms were normalised to their full forms, for example, EModE *em* (NS *them*), EModE *on't* (NS *on it*), and EModE *tis/'tis* (NS *it is*), etc. EModE words with a tilde to mark nasal consonants were normalised into their PDE forms. However, this was sometimes problematic. For example, *the~* can be normalised to either *then* or *them*. The tilde in the digitalised corpora is also found to mark other letter clusters, such as EModE *dep~te* (NS *depart*), EModE *disquisic~on* (NS *disquisition*), and EModE *lr~es* (NS *letters*). Therefore, their normalisation cannot be done automatically with software, hence relying on context and manual efforts. Moreover, superscripts were normalised into their corresponding PDE forms such as EModE *y=t=* (NS *that*). A large part of normalisation work on contractions, abbreviations, and superscripts was conducted with Markus (2006) as a reference.

In addition, Archer, et al. (2015) also provide some context-based decisions, including *bee/be*, *doe/do*, *the/thee*, *then/than*, *to/too*, and *of/off*. Their EModE equivalents are homonyms. The software VARD 2 can hardly normalise these forms. When VARD 2 was trained for automatic normalisation (see Section 4.1.4), I found more such terms, for example, *there/their*, *her/here*. These homonyms were normalised manually, but human error is inevitable.

Most of the EModE words that require special treatment and decisions were documented during the training process, a sample of which can be found in Appendix 3. When I normalised the rest of the corpora, the document was regularly checked, and mistakes were manually corrected. However, due to the massive workload in spelling normalisation, functional limits of the computer software, and the involvement of manual normalisation, it is difficult to guarantee 100 per cent accuracy. Some mistakes remain, and some variants might be overlooked. The following section presents how VARD 2 was trained to gain a feasibly high accuracy rate.

#### **4.1.4. Software training**

Before formally normalising the corpora with VARD 2 (V2.5.4), the software was trained with text samples from the POS-tagged files in PCEEC. Partitions

were automatically marked with all texts from the corpus, with a minimum size of 300 words and a maximum of 500 words, resulting in 29,854 partitions. The *User Guide*<sup>7</sup> of VARD 2 suggests normalising ten per cent of the corpus, so my sample size for training is 2,985 partitions in the letter corpus (*appx.* 895,500 to 1,492,500 words). The samples were randomly generated by VARD 2.

The training process started by automatically normalising the samples with the default dictionary and rules embedded in VARD 2<sup>8</sup>, programmed to deal with spelling variation in EModE texts particularly. When the automatic normalisation was done, I read through all the normalised samples, corrected misrecognised words, and manually normalised words that had not been recognised by the software. As a result, the training process produced a list of EModE words that required special attention (see Appendix 3).

After training, the precision rate reached 96.7 per cent (“known variants” reported by VARD 2). Baron and Rayson (2009) discussed how much training data was needed for automatically standardising EModE texts. They showed that without training VARD 2, the automatic normalisation of a sample of 1,000 words achieved a recall score of 45 per cent (the number of tokens being recognised as variants) and a precision score of 92 per cent (the number of variants being correctly standardised), while after training with 40,000 tokens, the recall score reached 65 per cent and the precision score 93 per cent (Baron and Rayson 2009, 14). Their calculations of recall score and precision score measured with different replacement thresholds of automatic normalisation show that when the training is conducted with 30,000 tokens, the threshold needs to reach above 80 per cent to achieve a precision score as high as 96.7 per cent, whereas the recall score drops to barely above 50 per cent (15–16).

Baron and Rayson (2009) suggest that the threshold depends on how a user wishes to balance recall and precision, and they consider a threshold of 70 per cent to be a sensible compromise (15). However, taking the sample sizes for training into consideration and due to a preference for precision against the recall, the automatic normalisation threshold in this study was set to be 80 per cent. All normalised files were saved as XML files. The original word forms

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<sup>7</sup> <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/var/userguide/>. Page last modified: Tuesday 2nd November 2021

<sup>8</sup> <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/var/about/>

were kept in XML tags. Screenshots in Figure 4.1.4 are examples of files in each corpus after normalisation.

**Figure 4.1.4: Examples of normalised files in the corpus of EModE dialogues (a) and in the corpus of EModE letters (b)**

(a) DICCHAPM.xml

```

]<comment type="compiler"><notvariant>THE</notvariant> SOURCE TEXT
HAS OCCASIONAL VARIATION IN FONT WITHIN WORDS. BELOW
SUCH WORDS ARE RENDERED AS <notvariant>ONE</notvariant> FONT ONLY,
IN <notvariant>THE</notvariant> WAY THEY MOST
FREQUENTLY OCCUR IN <notvariant>THE</notvariant> SOURCE TEXT. THUS,
FOR EXAMPLE, &quot;<notvariant>L</notvariant><font><notvariant>abesha
</notvariant></font>&quot;;
IS GIVEN AS &quot;<font><notvariant>Labesha</notvariant></font>&quot;;
AND &quot;<font>I</font>le&quot;; IS GIVEN AS &quot;<notvariant>Ile
&quot;</notvariant> <notvariant>BELOW.</notvariant></comment>

<pagebreak id="D3R" />
</dialogue><nonSpeech> <font>Lab.</font> </nonSpeech><dialogue>
Good <normalised orig="gonne" auto="false">son</normalised> go
forward in this gentle <normalised orig="humor" auto="false">
humour</normalised>,
<normalised orig="obserue" auto="true">observe</normalised> this
picture, it presents a <normalised orig="maide" auto="false">maid
</normalised> of noble birth and
excellent of parts, whom for our house and <normalised orig="honor"
auto="true">honour</normalised> sake, I wish
thou <normalised orig="wouldst" auto="false">would</normalised>
<normalised orig="confesse" auto="true">confess</normalised>
<notvariant>to</notvariant> <normalised orig="marrie." auto="false">
marry</normalised>
</dialogue><nonSpeech> <font><notvariant>Dow</notvariant>.</font>
</nonSpeech><dialogue> <notvariant>To</notvariant> <normalised
orig="marrie" auto="true">marry</normalised> father? why we shall

```

(b) allen.xml

```

<B_ALLEN>_CODE

<Q_ALL_A_1579_T_WALLEN>_CODE <L_ALLEN_001>_CODE <A_WILLIAM_ALLEN>_CODE
<A-GENDER_MALE>_CODE <A-REL_--->_CODE <A-DOB_1532>_CODE
<R_RICHARD_HOPKINS>_CODE <R-GENDER_MALE>_CODE <R-REL_--->_CODE
<R-DOB_1546?>_CODE

<P_8>_CODE

{ED:4._ALLEN_TO_RICHARD_HOPKINS._RHEIMS,_5_APRIL_1579.}_CODE

AUTHOR:WILLIAM_ALLEN:MALE:_:1532:47_CODE
RECIPIENT:RICHARD_HOPKINS:MALE:_:1546?:33?_CODE
LETTER:ALLEN_001:E2:1579:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER_CODE
Mr._NPR_Hopkins_NPR <normalised orig="yow" auto="true">you</normalised>
_PRO discourse_VBP wisely_ADV and_CONJ
<normalised orig="frindly" auto="true">friendly</normalised>_ADV in_P
the_D <normalised orig="behallf" auto="false">behalf</normalised>_N
of_P our_PRO$ countrymen_N+NS <normalised orig="ther" auto="true">there
</normalised>_ADV
and_CONJ <normalised orig="elsewher" auto="false">elsewhere</normalised>
_ADV+WADV dispersed_VAN ;_. ALLEN,8.001.1_ID

```

```

AUTHOR:WILLIAM_ALLEN:MALE: :1532:47_CODE
RECIPIENT:RICHARD_HOPKINS:MALE: :1546?:33?_CODE
LETTER:ALLEN_001:E2:1579:AUTOGRAPH:OTHER_CODE
and_CONJ being_BAG <normalised orig="discreete" auto="true">discreet
</normalised>_ADJ and_CONJ well_ADV experimented_VAN
by_P their_PRO$ <normalised orig="owne" auto="true">own</normalised>
_ADJ long_ADJ <normalised orig="miseryes" auto="true">miseries
</normalised>_NS I_PRO doubt_VBP not_NEG
but_FP now_ADV or_CONJ very_ADV speedily_ADV they_PRO will_MD
<normalised orig="repayre" auto="true">repair</normalised>_VB all_Q
<normalised orig="defaults" auto="false">defaults</normalised>_NS
and_CONJ defects_NS of_P their_PRO$
government_N employing_VAG <normalised orig="theime" auto="true">them
</normalised>_PRO selves_N to_P <normalised orig="Goddeg" auto="true">
God's</normalised>_NPR$
honour_N , , the_D profit_N of_P our_PRO$ afflicted_VAN country_N , ,
and_CONJ the_D most_QS <normalised orig="advauncement" auto="false">
advancement</normalised>_N of_P their_PRO$ <normalised orig="owne" auto=
"true">own</normalised>_ADJ

```

*(Continuing from the previous page)*

#### 4.1.5. Text cleaning and segmentation

After spelling normalisation, texts in both corpora were mixed with “junk” items, as presented in Figure 4.1.4 in the previous section. For example, files in both corpora contain XML tags inserted by VARD2, marking words that are normalised, ignored, and joined, i.e., `<normalised orig="*" auto="*"> *</normalised>`, `<notvariant>*</notvariant>`, and `<join original="*">*</join>`. These XML tags were removed<sup>9</sup>. Files of letters also contain original POS tags such as `_CONJ` and `_BAG`. These tags may confuse WordSmith, a tool I used for corpus analysis, so they had to be removed. The WordSmith tool has a function to convert POS tags (e.g., `_CONJ`) to XML tags (e.g., `<CONJ>`). Then the XML tags were deleted using the built-in “find and replace” function of a text editor Notepad ++. Moreover, in files of letters, punctuation marks were tagged as well (e.g., `, ,`). They were first converted to XML tags (e.g., `<,>`), and then all XML tags containing various punctuation marks were replaced by `<PUNC>` (e.g., `<PUNC>`), using Notepad ++.

In addition, metadata (see Section 3.4, Chapter 3) in both corpora were wrapped by `<comment> *</comment>`. There were also XML tags marking the structure of a text file. For example, `<nonSpeech>*</nonSpeech>` in files of dialogues mark narrative texts, and `<paren>*</paren>` in files of letters mark parenthesis. For the benefits of further analysis on the use of FSs, XML tags

<sup>9</sup> When the normalisation of a text was finished on VARD 2, the software provided an option to save the normalised file with and without XML tags. I chose to keep both versions. The version with XML tags is only for future reference when one must trace the original spelling of a word. The version without XML tags was kept for further editing.

wrapping metadata, comments, and text structure information were kept. However, these texts were excluded from corpus search, WordSmith can ignore selected tags. The exact settings in this regard are discussed in Section 4.2.1. The final version of files in both corpora is presented by screenshots in Figure 4.1.5

**Figure 4.1.5: Examples of cleaned files in the corpus of EModE dialogues (a) and in the corpus of EModE letters (b)**

(a) D1CCHAPM.xml

```
<comment type="compiler">THE SOURCE TEXT HAS OCCASIONAL VARIATION IN
FONT WITHIN WORDS. BELOW
SUCH WORDS ARE RENDERED AS ONE FONT ONLY, IN THE WAY THEY MOST
FREQUENTLY OCCUR IN THE SOURCE TEXT. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, &quot;Labesha
&quot;
IS GIVEN AS &quot;Labesha&quot; AND &quot;Ile&quot; IS GIVEN AS
&quot;Ile&quot; BELOW.</comment>

<pagebreak id="D3R" />
</dialogue><nonSpeech> Lab. </nonSpeech><dialogue> Good son go
forward in this gentle humour,
observe this picture, it presents a maid of noble birth and
excellent of parts, whom for our house and honour sake, I wish
thou would confess to marry
</dialogue><nonSpeech> Dow. </nonSpeech><dialogue> To marry
father? why we shall have children.
</dialogue>
```

(b) allen.xml

```
<?xml version="1.0" encoding="ISO-8859-1"?>
<COMMENT><B_ALLEN></COMMENT>
<COMMENT><Q_ALL_A_1579_T_WALLEN></COMMENT><COMMENT><L_ALLEN_001></COMMENT
><COMMENT><A_WILLIAM_ALLEN></COMMENT>
<COMMENT><A-GENDER_MALE></COMMENT><COMMENT><A-REL_---></COMMENT><COMMENT>
<A-DOB_1532></COMMENT>
<COMMENT><R_RICHARD_HOPKINS></COMMENT><COMMENT><R-GENDER_MALE></COMMENT><
COMMENT><R-REL_---></COMMENT> <COMMENT><R-DOB_1546?></COMMENT>
|
<COMMENT><ED:4._ALLEN_TO_RICHARD_HOPKINS._RHEIMS,_5_APRIL_1579.
></COMMENT>
Mr. Hopkins you discourse wisely and friendly in the behalf of our
countrymen there and elsewhere dispersed; <COMMENT type="ID">
ALLEN, 8.001.1</COMMENT>
and being discreet and well experimented by their own long miseries I
doubt not but now or very speedily they will repair all defaults and
defects of their government employing them selves to God's honour, the
profit of our afflicted country, and the most advancement of their own
firm credit and estimation. Whereunto the more effectually to move them
I have of dutiful affection and for our common country sake made them
proffer to be partaker <paren> And so I yet once again pray them to be
</paren> so many at least as do complain of lack or as list either
teach or learn, of what so ever we have or shall have here. <COMMENT
type="ID">ALLEN, 8.001.2</COMMENT>
```

Furthermore, one letter named “bacon.xml” is extremely long. For convenience in data analysis, it was randomly segmented into eight files. After the preparation procedure, the corpus of EModE dialogues contains 109 texts with 692,451 words, and the corpus of EModE letters has 69 letter collections (3,303 letters) with 1,461,538 words.

## 4.2. Identification

### 4.2.1. Phase One: automatically retrieve lexical bundles from corpora

In this phase, I used WordSmith 7.0<sup>10</sup> to generate two lists of LBs from the corpus of EModE dialogues and the corpus of EModE letters, respectively. Specifically, I used the WordList function of WordSmith to compute LBs, also known as “clusters”. According to the *WordSmith Tools Manual (Version 7.0)*, clusters are defined as groups of “words which are found repeatedly together in each other’s company, in sequence” (Scott 2018, 530), hence the same as LBs defined in Conrad and Biber (2005). The definition of LBs has been suggested as early as by Biber et al. (1999), which is adopted by the present study (see Section 2.3.1, Chapter 2). To briefly repeat the definition of LBs here, an LB is a multi-word unit with a certain defined length and high frequency of occurrence.

The retrieval of LBs followed two criteria: frequency and length. Even though there are no fixed rules to set the frequency threshold and researchers normally make their own decisions, several factors play significant roles in deciding frequency cut-offs: text type, range, and size of corpora. Firstly, the study used two corpora, a corpus of EModE dialogues and a corpus of EModE letters. Retrieval of LBs was run separately with each corpus, but genres within each corpus were only looked at during the analysis when necessary. Secondly, the range in this study refers to the minimum number of different texts in which an LB shall occur. The reason behind the involvement of range is that if an LB only occurs frequently in, for instance, texts written by a particular author, this bundle might only characterise the work by the same author, hence not considered as a candidate for FSs. As for the exact range, there is so far no standard either, but the decision should be made based on the size of the corpora. Thirdly, in a summary by Kopaczyk (2012a), studies on LBs in historical texts seem to use mostly smaller corpora (less than one million words) compared with those conducted with PDE corpora. In such studies, the frequency thresholds are

---

<sup>10</sup> During this doctorate, there were several updates for WordSmith 7.0, and at the later stage of analysis when the retrieval of LBs was completed, an updated version of the software, WordSmith 8.0, came out. Since then, analysis and reading of corpus files were performed with WordSmith 8.0 and its updates. The lists of LBs retrieved with an older version of WordSmith 7.0 are readable by all new versions of the software, and the calculation and algorithm behind the function responsible for the retrieval of LBs remained unchanged. Therefore, despite the updates, the new software version did not corrupt results regarding LBs and the latter identification of FSs.

mostly set as recurring at least ten times and also sometimes in at least five different texts. In the present study, after spelling normalisation, the corpus of dialogues has about 0.7 million words, and the corpus of letters has around 1.5 million words, which are similar to the sizes of those in previous studies.

After a pilot study (Huang 2023) and consulting the literature, I decided that a multi-word unit should recur at least 20 times in every million words. It should also recur in different texts which count for at least ten per cent of all texts in a corpus. Because the two corpora differ in size, using a percentage of texts guarantees comparability.

For the second criterion, I set the length of an LB as a range of two to eight words, based on my previous argument that FSs should not, and in fact do not, have a fixed length (see Section 2.3, Chapter 2). A new question arises: why a minimum of two words and a maximum of eight words? Stubbs and Barth (2003) suggest that the more formal the type of text is, the longer bundles tend to be found in it. Kopaczyk (2012b) searched for long LBs in historical legal texts and the results indicate that certain eight-word long bundles are repetitive and common in this text type. In the corpora of legal and administrative texts written in Scots between the 14th and 16th centuries, Kopaczyk found 320 eight-word bundles that repeated more than five times. Kopaczyk claimed that these eight-word bundles fell into certain functional categories, for instance, “referential function” (e.g., time: *of the month of May the year of*; location: *lying in the burgh of Peebles in the*; etc), the “interactional function” (e.g., directives: *it known to all men by this present*; etc.), and the “textual function” (11–20). Considering that the most formal text types of my corpora are official letters and court hearings which could be considered as formal as Kopaczyk’s (2012b) legal texts, I set the maximum length as eight words. If by any chance longer bundles exist, they can be reached in the second phase of identification.

The study chose two words as minimum length because it aimed to ensure that as many FSs as possible could be reached via LBs. Culpeper and Kytö (2010) suggest that “the shorter the bundle the more often they are incorporated into longer bundles” (106), and that three-word bundles are the most productive. At first glance, two-word bundles are not the ideal option because a huge, or even unmanageable, redundant workload is caused by an enormous number of bundles like *I am, am a, a gentleman*, and one can hardly



see any formulaic patterns from them. However, it would be too bold to say that there is nothing interesting among two-word bundles. EModE multi-word units like *my lord* and *your highness* are used formulaically as vocatives, *pardon me* as a politeness device, *how now* as an exclamatory expression, etc. Some of them are minor sentences and separated from neighbouring lexical items by punctuation marks where retrieval normally stops. It is hence less likely for these bundles to be reached via longer ones. More importantly, the pilot study (Huang 2023) shows that although only ten per cent of two-word bundles contributed to the identification of FSs, those FSs identified via two-word bundles account of more than 60 per cent of all FSs identified in the corpus of Shakespeare’s plays. Therefore, although Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and many others suggest that three words are the most productive and manageable length, the minimum length of an LB in my study is two words.

**Table 4.2.1: Values of frequency and length for retrieving LBs from the corpora with the WordList Clusters tool of WordSmith 7.0**

Corpus	Frequency threshold: 20 times <i>pmw.</i>	Range: ten per cent of texts	Length
EModE dialogues (692,451 words)	14 times	11 files	2-8 words
EModE letters (1,461,538 words)	29 times	7 files	2-8 words

In sum, following the criteria in this phase, Table 4.2.1 presents the exact values of frequency and length. Parameter settings on the interface of WordSmith (“WordList/Compute/Clusters”) are illustrated in Figure 4.2.1a. The option “cluster size” refers to the length of an LB, and “min. frequency” refers to the minimum times that an LB should occur. As stated above, the frequency threshold is 20 times per million words (hereinafter *pmw.*), but the two corpora in the study have different sizes, hence the actual value of “min. frequency” is calculated by

$$\text{min. frequency} = \frac{\Sigma_{\text{corpus token}}}{1 \text{ million}} \times 20$$

The option “min. texts” refers to the range cut-off. Since the two corpora have different numbers of files, the range value is calculated by

$$\text{min. text} = 10\% \times \Sigma_{\text{corpus texts}}$$

Settings of “min. frequency” and “min. texts” are presented in Table 4.2.1 above. The “omit any containing #” was selected so that any LBs involving numbers and dates were eliminated. Phrase frames, defined as “groups of wordgrams

identical but for a single word” (Fletcher 2012), was not displayed, and dispersion not computed. Moreover, considering the flexibility of the EModE syntax, there might be recurring patterns with a discontinuous structure crossing the punctuation breaks. Therefore, the retrieval of LBs was stopped at sentence breaks instead of punctuation breaks. Other settings remain as default as presented in Figure 4.2.1a.

**Figure 4.2.1a: Parameter settings on the interface of WordSmith 7.0**

**Figure 4.2.1b: Files of ignored XML tags**

(a) `dialogue.tag`

```
<dialogueHeader>*</dialogueHeader>
<filename>*</filename>
<identifier>*</identifier>
<title>*</title>
<author>*</author>
<subperiod>*</subperiod>
<speechPubDate>*</speechPubDate>
<contemporaneity sourceDate="SAME">*</contemporaneity>
<contemporaneity sourceDate="CONTEMP">*</contemporaneity>
<contemporaneity sourceDate="NON-CONTEMP">*</contemporaneity>
<textType typeCode="COMEDY">*</textType>
<textType typeCode="FICTION">*</textType>
<textType typeCode="HANDBOOK-ENGLISH">*</textType>
<textType typeCode="HANDBOOK-OTHER">*</textType>
<textType typeCode="HANDBOOK-FRENCH">*</textType>
<textType typeCode="MISCELLANEOUS">*</textType>
<textType typeCode="TRIAL">*</textType>
<textType typeCode="WITNESS-DEPOSITION">*</textType>
<attribution type="AUTHOR">*</attribution>
<attribution type="EDITOR">*</attribution>
<frontMatter>*</frontMatter>
<comment type="compiler">*</comment>
<head>*</head>
```

(b) `letter.tag`

```
<comment>*</comment>
<COMMENT type="ID">*</COMMENT>
```

In addition, files in both corpora contain the texts of metadata and other information wrapped in XML tags. The WordSmith can also read such texts, hence retrieve LBs from them. These texts are not part of EModE dialogues and letters, hence must be ignored by the tool. Since dialogue and letter files contain different XML tags inherited from the source corpora, two separate tag exclusion files were created and imported to WordSmith, as presented in Figure 4.2.1b.

#### **4.2.2. Phase Two: manually identify formulaic sequences from lexical bundles**

Two lists of LBs were obtained from the first phase: one from the corpus of EModE dialogues and the other from the corpus of EModE letters. In Phase Two, the concordance of each LB was manually examined. The computer software WordSmith was used for analysing what lexical items occur together with the LBs, in what speech events these bundles are used, and if the form and use reveal certain patterns. When necessary, a software programme called the #LancsBox 5.0 was used as an extra supporting tool because #LancsBox 5.0 has a better sorting function and visual representation of the semantic and syntactic relationships between various lexical items.

The identification of FSs from LBs followed the general principle that a multi-word unit shall form a semantic unit and represent a frequent and conventional mapping of form, meaning, and/or function. This principle reflects the three prerequisites of FSs discussed in Section 2.1.1.1. Chapter 2. A two-step identification process, along with criteria, is illustrated in Figure 4.2.2a.

The first step was to examine the completeness of syntax and semantics of an LB, and an LB had to form a semantic unit. In Buerki (2016), a semantic unit is defined as

a word sequence possessing the sort of semantic unity typically found in words and structurally complete phrases. Semantic unity was also attributed to sequences that, while lacking this unity, can acquire it through the addition of a single, semantically or formally restricted SE [schematic element] (such as when *in search of* does not form a full semantic unit unless an SE on its right edge is added, i.e. *in search of X* where *X* is restricted semantically to something prized that is being pursued) (22).

As illustrated in Figure 4.2.2a, there are three possible forms that have semantic unity. The first possibility is that an LB has a complete form and meaning, i.e.,

it possesses semantic unity; for example, BY AND BY (e.g., [1a–b]). The second possibility is that an LB is incomplete in syntax and semantics, and its form is continuous, but the LB can gain semantic unity by adding predictable schematic elements to one or both of its edges. For example, the schematic element after the bundle, THE DEATH OF, can be lexical items representing living beings in both literal (e.g., [2a] ) and metaphorical senses (e.g., [2b]), and OF JANUARY can be completed by adding ordinal numbers from *first* to *thirty first* at the beginning of the bundle (e.g., [3]).

[1] BY AND BY

- a. **By and by**, the bottle is almost off Mistresse, here Master  
(*Bartholmew Fayre*, D2CJONSO, p. 25)
- b. If sum in England red this, they wold **by and by** saye it wer wel doon, if this be trewe, to make bishoppes riche, if worldly thinges make them pore. (GARDIN,198.014.1108)

[2] THE DEATH OF

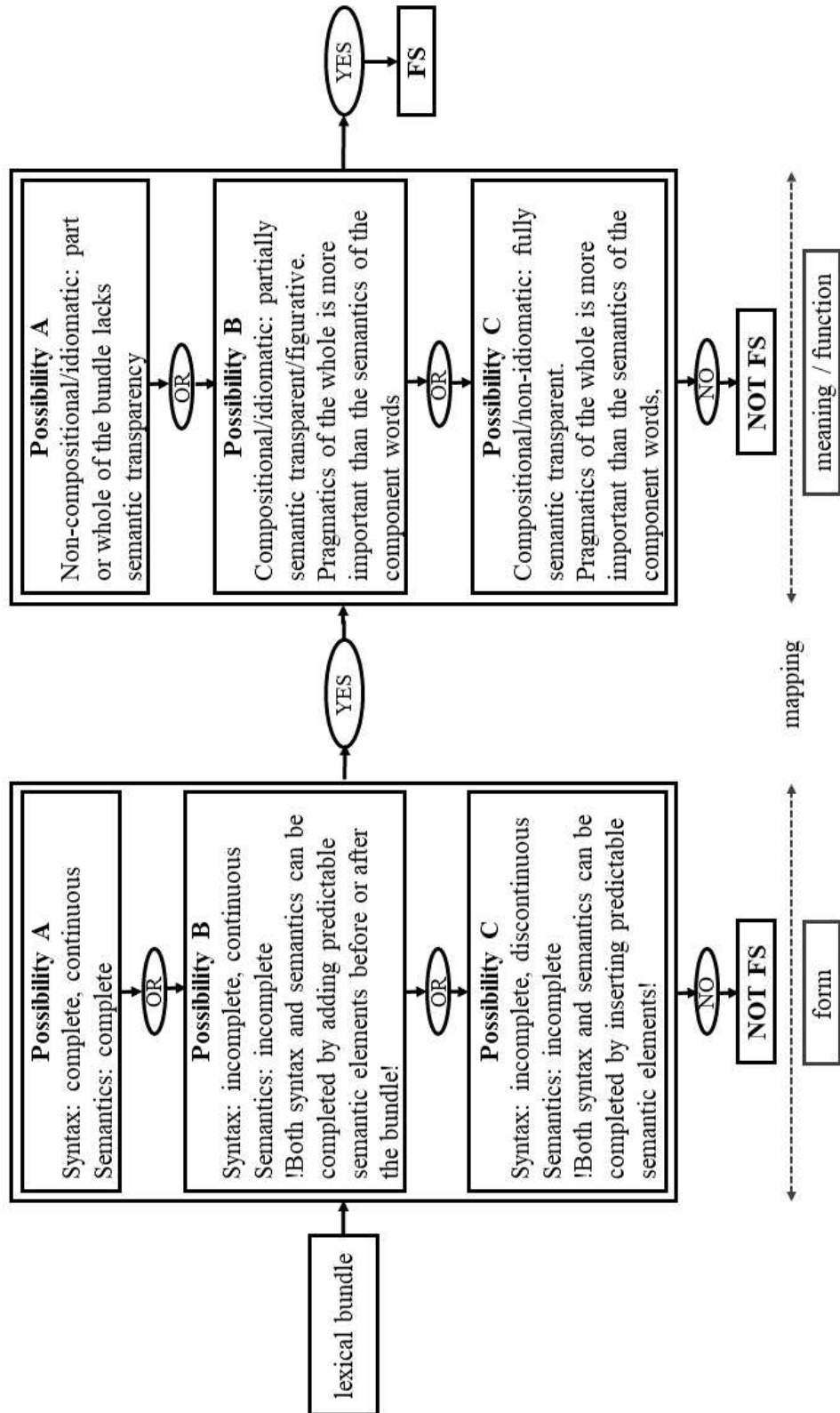
- a. I think you hear of **the death of Sir William Pellame**.  
(BACON,III,20.320.5485)
- b. Truly you are but a wag, which looks but for **the death of the day**.  
(*Familiar Dialogues*, D1HEBELL, p. A7R)

[3] OF JANUARY

Brother Balty, **I have received your Letter of the 19th of January**  
(PEPYS,50.028.380)

The third possibility is that concordance lines of an LB show that it collocates with a word or a sequence of words that occur repetitively at various positions before or after the bundle. For example, as demonstrated in Figure 4.2.2b, the bundle AS POSSIBLE and its collocate *as* form a discontinuous multi-word unit, whose syntax and semantics are incomplete but can be completed by inserting predictable schematic elements between the two parts, mostly comparable adjective and adverbs like *good*, *soon*, and *fast*. Therefore, the discontinuous multi-word unit can be identified as an FS, “**as** {Adj/AdvP: except for absolute adjectives and adverbs} **as possible**”. It is worth stressing here that this kind of discontinuous multi-word unit cannot be directly generated via the current LB-approach but via accidental observation of the concordance lines of an LB. Therefore, it is a methodological limitation of the present study, which may result in failure to identify many discontinuous FSs. Further research is hence required to solve the problem.

Figure 4.2.2a: Process and criteria for identifying FSs in Phase Two



**Figure 4.2.2b: The bundle AS POSSIBLE and its collocate *as* in the corpus of EModE letters**

N	Concordance
1	his majesty's Charges by returning them <b>as fast as possible</b> I could when Cured to their respective
2	and he dose protest he will get them to give <b>as much as possible</b> he can but he sese he cannot proceed
3	I desire he will be pleased to Send down <b>as Speedily as possible</b> he can for we expect their Sending a
4	Entertain you till I come, which sure will be <b>as soon as possible</b> I can, since it is Equally desired by you
5	means I am glad that thou should hear of me <b>as oft as possible</b> I can: and I am glad to hear of thee too.
6	courtesy it may be the last viz. to send me <b>as soon as possible</b> you can shillings. I protest unto you that I
7	maid and servant, and desires to have her <b>as soon as possible</b> may be, to the end that she should not
8	it; and if I do it not with <b>as much care and affection as possible</b> for a faithfull friend, never believe again
9	, whereof pray be careful and <b>as good an husband as possible</b> , which will gain you credit and make you
10	I do keep them to school, and do bring them up <b>as well as possible</b> i can out of that men i have had, the
11	, or encouragement, making me <b>as little considerate, as possible</b> they can, in so much as a Master of
12	country. Yet God knows, how he supplies, <b>as much as possible</b> may be, with his wisdom diligence and
13	Madam, let me earnestly entreat you to indulge <b>as little as possible</b> may be a grief that is so unprofitable,
14	as also because I am willing to remind you <b>as soon as possible</b> of what I mentioned here that you would
15	. Mr More writes to me that he will endeavour <b>as much as possible</b> he can to provide you with another
16	to Judge, for a most Excellent Servant and faithfull <b>as possible;</b> i will keep him unengaged till I hear from
17	, and bid Jhon Fenn to send my collars so <b>soon as possible</b> . To his most worthy friend the Lady
18	, which command I shall not fail to obey so <b>soon as possible</b> I may, for I am ready for the first
19	pie or both. God willing I will be at home so <b>soon as possible</b> I can. To his most assured loving wife
20	much to be at home with you, which shall be so <b>soon as possible</b> with my health I may: in the mean time

Also noteworthy is how many schematic elements should be allowed to complete the syntax and semantics of an LB. As stated in the *Semantic Unity Rating Guidelines*, Buerki (2016) limits it to only one schematic element if needed, plus one optional “medial schematic element” (24), because the more schematic elements an FS contains, the higher degree of schematicity it would have; hence the more likely for it to blend with other “more abstract constructions” (24). However, the present study takes a slightly loosened restriction and allows a maximum of three variable parts (as defined in Section 2.1.1.2, Chapter 2), including both obligatory and optional schematic elements, out of consideration for the less fixed and standardised syntax of EModE. All in all, if an LB meets any one of the form possibilities mentioned above (e.g., BY AND BY, THE DEATH OF, OF JANUARY, and AS POSSIBLE), it is further examined for the way its form is mapped with meaning/function. Otherwise, it is labelled as a non-FS (e.g., FOR THE, TO YOU AND, I HAVE SENT YOU; and IN THE MEAN TIME I, see examples of their occurrence in the corpus [1] – [4] in Section 2.3.2, Chapter 2).

The second step of Phase Two is to examine the remaining LBs regarding their degrees of idiomaticity and (non-)compositionality. They are two syntactic-semantic features of FSs defined in the present study (see Section 2.1.1.2, Chapter 2). Precisely, it means that an FS is functionally/semantically treated as a whole, regardless of the semantic transparency. As demonstrated in Figure 4.2.2a, there are also three possibilities. Firstly, an LB can be non-compositional and idiomatic. In other words, part or whole of the bundle lacks semantic

transparency (Wray and Namba 2003), and the meaning of the whole LB cannot be fully deduced from its components. For example, if an LB is non-compositional or idiomatic (e.g., BY AND BY), i.e., parts or whole of the bundle lacks semantic transparency, it is then identified as an FS (e.g., [1a–b] above).

Secondly, an LB can be compositional and idiomatic. It means that the meaning of the whole LB is different from the meaning of its components joined together, but the holistic meaning is deducible from the components' meaning. For example, the bundle YOUR SERVANT is found in respectful greetings in EModE dialogues (e.g., [4]), where the speaker might not be the listener's servant but lowering one's social rank seems to be a way of showing respect, hence identified as an FS “**your servant**” in the study. Similar idiomatic use of the word *servant* is also found in subscription formulae in EModE letters (Oinonen 2012).

- [4] YOUR SERVANT  
 Enter M. William, Rash, Plush, and Gregory.  
 [...]
   
O. Gent. Master Rash.  
 Rash. **Your servant**, good deed law, Gentlewoman.  
 L. Mal. Master Plush.  
 Plush. My name is Plush; Master my Title, and Sir, a Title, that may be.  
 (*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. C1R)

The last possibility is that an LB can be compositional and non-idiomatic. It means that the meaning of the bundle is fully transparent. For example, the bundle RECEIVED YOURS OF is frequent in the corpus of EModE letters, for example, when the writer felt the need to state the receipt of a previous letter (e.g., [5]). It is later identified as an FS “**I (have) received yours of {DATE}**”.

- [5] RECEIVED YOURS OF  
 Mistris Carleton: At my comming to towne on Friday last **I received your letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of this present**,  
 (CHAMBER,I,543.044.1966)

Both the second and third possibilities have an additional requirement, that is the LB as a whole “performs a function in communication or discourse other than, or in addition to, conveying the meaning of the words themselves” (Wray and Namba 2003, 29–32, as cited in Wood 2015, 26). The central idea here is to emphasise the priority of the whole over the parts. For example, if an LB is compositional and non-idiomatic, i.e., fully transparent in semantics (e.g.,

YOUR SERVANT, RECEIVED YOURS OF, FIRST OF ALL, and TO THE KING), and if the function of the bundle as a whole is more important than the semantics of its components, then the bundle is identified as an FS (e.g., “**your servant**” in [4], “**I (have) received yours of {DATE}**” in [5], and “**first of all**” in [6]); otherwise it is labelled as a non-FS (e.g., TO THE KING in [7]). In addition, another criterion to help decide is that FSs are mostly situation-dependent (Coulmas 1979, as cited in Wood 2015), i.e., they are used normally in particular speech events; for example, the bundle YOUR SERVANT mentioned above. In other words, if a sequence can be used in almost all circumstances, it is very likely that this sequence is not formulaic (e.g., TO THE KING in [7]).

[6] **first of all**

[...] and **first of all** to begin with me, whom first he meant to be rid of, and to rid me out of the Church. (COSIN,I,205.036.1258)

[7] TO THE KING

a. [...]yet reserving his duty **to the King** his Master (which he could not dispense withal in his service) he swore by God he loved him, [...]. (*Walter Rawleigh*, D2WRALEI, p. 8)

b. L. of Som. For the Declaration which I lately sent **to the King**, and particularly the Word (Mercy), which is now so much urg'd against me, it was the Lieutenant's; [...]  
(*Trial of Robert Carr*, D2TCARR, p. 347C2)

Before ending this section, I would like to state a few specific decisions explicitly made to deal with several problematic cases and to define which types of LBs were not identified as FSs. As presented in Table 4.2.2, there are generally two types of LBs not identified as FSs. Firstly, some LBs form a semantic unit, but they are simply common collocations (e.g., [a] – [g]), such as complete noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and adjective/adverb phrases. Secondly, some LBs can be abstracted into completely abstract grammatical constructions (e.g., [h] – [q]), such as possessives, modal verb constructions, negations, perfect tense, progressive tense, infinitives, and comparisons.

**Table 4.2.2: Decisions on specific cases: examples of LBS that are NOT identified as FSs**

N.	Syntactic structure/Constructions	LB Examples
<b>Common collocations</b>		
[a]	NP (incl. DET + N, NEG + NP, NP + POST MODIFIER, etc)	A BED (28), HER BODY (34), THAT MATTER (20), NO HARM (16), THEY ALL (41)
[b]	PREP + N/PRON	FOR A MAN (22), INTO THE COURT (16), TO HIS WIFE (20), BEFORE THIS (21), BY HIM (66)



[c]	SUBJ + VP	HE ANSWERED (69), I AM NOT (96), SHE WOULD HAVE (31)
[d]	VP + OBJ	ASK HER (14), WAS THE CAUSE (19)
[e]	V + PREP	BE TO (60), BROUGHT IN (19), GO ON (46), MADE FOR (23), LIVE BY (21)
[f]	DET + ADJ (-er)	A BLACK (49), THE BETTER (77)
[g]	INTENSIFIER + ADJ/ADV	SO FAR (57), VERY GOOD (64)
<b>Grammatical constructions</b>		
[h]	fragments of OF-possessive	BLOOD OF (30), OF GOD (190)
[i]	fragments of 'S-possessive	THE KING'S (25)
[j]	MD + V-inf	DID APPEAR (22), CAN GIVE (16), SHALL FIND (56)
[k]	NEG + VP/VP + NEG (negation)	NEVER HEARD (27), NOT DENY (19), ARE NO (30), CAN NEVER (21), DARE NOT (50), HAVE NONE (24)
[l]	HAVE/BE + PAST PARTICIPLE (Perfect tense)	BE GONE (63), HAD DONE (72)
[m]	BE + PRESENT PARTICIPLE (Progressive tense)	WAS COMING (21)
[n]	the passive construction	BE BROUGHT (28)
[o]	to-INFINITIVE	TO ACCEPT (16)
[p]	BE + ADJ/ADV	IS ENOUGH (20), ARE HERE (22)
[q]	ADJ/ADV (-er) than (comparative)	BETTER THAN (62)

*(Continuing from the previous page)*

There are a few exceptions among LBs in the form of the above syntactic structures or constructions. Firstly, some noun phrase LBs were identified as FSs because they are used in specific situations and/or perform certain discourse or communication functions. For example, LBs such as A DAY, A FORTNIGHT, A LONG TIME, and THE NEXT MORNING are mostly used as temporal deixis; LBs such as HIS GRACE, MY LORDS, and GOOD WIFE are mostly used to address people. LBs such as THE JURY, THE KING, THE PRIEST, THE PRISONER, and THE POOR MAN are also identified as FSs because they may refer to people with specific and significant social identities. For example, THE PRISONER occurs dominantly in legal texts such as trial proceedings; THE POOR MAN is used often to refer to a group of needy people. By comparison, bundles such as A THIEF, A WIFE, and HER MOTHER are not formulaic. Secondly, some LBs seem to be fragments of the OF-possessive construction but are actually part of a larger structure with a different function. For example, A PAIR OF and CUP OF are part of FSs that denote quantities; THE WORD OF GOD is used figuratively referring to a divine communication; A MAN OF, SON OF, and THE EARL OF are not possessives but describe

people with certain characteristics. These LBs were later identified as FSs. The above two cases are not the only exceptions. There are many case-by-case decisions during the process of identification. Similar decisions have been taken by the pilot study (Huang 2023), which provides more examples of LBs in Shakespeare’s plays being or not being identified as FSs.

It is necessary to point out again that there are no clear-cut boundaries between FSs and other non-formulaic constructions. There are many FSs whose formulaicity is debatable and subject to a researcher’s decision. Moreover, some FSs identified in the present study might not be identified in others if larger corpora were used. For example, “**the prisoner**” is an FS in the present study because trial proceedings are one of the main sources for EModE dialogues.

### 4.3. Generalisation

The procedure of identification was finished by a final reorganisation and generalisation. FSs identified following the process presented in Figure 4.2.2a were carefully examined again with three goals. The first goal is to eliminate repeating FSs. The retrieval of LBs in the first phase took a wide range of lengths. As a result, shorter bundles are often embedded in longer ones, and it is often the case that several LBs of various lengths contribute to the same FS, for example [1]. For an accurate quantitative analysis of how FSs are distributed, the repeating sequences shall be deleted.

- [1] LBs: BUT I PRAY YOU (20), PRAY THEE (50),  
PRAY YOU (245), PRAY YOU LET (18),  
PRAY YOU TELL (23)  
FS: “{I/we} **pray** {you/thee/ye} {COMP}” (300)

The second goal is to ensure that the identified FSs have a proper degree of abstraction. Some LBs, as listed in [2], share an identical part (e.g., PLEASED TO) and contain at least one lexical item that is different but belongs to the same grammatical and/or semantic category (e.g., ARE, BE, BEEN, etc). In such cases, the latter part is replaced by a schematic element with its grammatical and/or semantic restrictions (e.g., [2]). Moreover, some fully lexical FSs (e.g., [3a–c]) are realisations of another more abstract sequence (e.g., [3d]). For most of the time, the fully lexical FSs are distinguishable and frequent enough to be listed independently. All sequences in [3a–d] were listed and counted as FSs individually and the more abstract sequence [3d] was marked as the other’s

superordinate FS (see Section 8.2, Chapter 8). In other cases, some FSs at the middle level of abstraction (e.g., [4a–c]) can also be linked to a more abstract sequence (e.g., [4d]). They received the same treatment as sequences in [3a–d]. In addition, some fully or partially lexical FSs (e.g., [5a–c]) can be abstracted into a more schematic sequence (e.g., [5d]). Since the sequence in [5d] was not directly identified via an LB, it was not listed and counted. FSs like [5d] was only considered when discussing the network of FSs (see Chapter 8). Examples presented so far demonstrate that the identified FSs differ in various degrees of abstraction. The fact that some of them can be abstracted and generalised into more schematic sequences suggests that FSs have the same kind of characteristics as constructions, hence supporting the argument that FSs can be explained with the Construction Grammar (see Section 2.2, Chapter 2).

[2] LBs: ARE PLEASED TO, BE PLEASED, BE PLEASED TO, BEEN PLEASED TO, PLEASED TO, WAS PLEASED TO, WILL BE PLEASED TO, WOULD BE PLEASED TO, YOU ARE PLEASED TO, YOU WILL BE PLEASED TO  
 FS: {[be]} **pleased to** {V-inf}

[3] a. **my very good brother**  
 b. **my very good friend**  
 c. **my very good lord**  
 d. **my very good** {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}

[4] a. **To my loving** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, etc.}  
 b. **To my very good** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, lord, etc.}  
 c. **To my dear** {NP: somebody}  
 d. **To my** {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody}

[5] a. **her own**  
 b. **his own**  
 c. **mine own**  
 d. {POSS. PRON} **own**

The third goal is to update the frequency of FSs, which is different from the frequency of LBs. Sometimes when examining the concordance lines of an LB, some instances of the bundle were excluded because they were used exceptionally compared with the others. For instance, by examining the concordance of the bundle MAJESTY'S MOST (53) in Figure 4.3, it was noticed

that the bundle is used mostly in a context of salutation at the end of a letter, except for some instances such as *to her majesty's most advantage* on the first line, *signify Your Majesty's most gracious remission to me* on the fourth line, and *under her Majesty's most happy government* on the fifth line. These instances were deleted from the frequency count.

**Figure 4.3: Concordance of the bundle MAJESTY'S MOST (53) in the corpus of EModE letters**

N	Concordance
1	agreements are always to be well observed and kept to her <b>majesty's most advantage</b> . LEYCEST,82.022.890 He also,
2	, or more affectionate to your Majesty's service, than your <b>Majesty's most bounded</b> and most humble servant Clare.
3	<b>will rest assured I kiss most humbly your hands as Your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient son</b> . ORIGIN3,94.009.88
4	what is passed and of your Princely clemency to signify your <b>Majesty's most gracious</b> remission to me by your
5	rules of his undoubted truth and religion, which under her <b>Majesty's most happy</b> government we have been taught and
6	my singular good lord, the Earl of Salisbury, one of his <b>majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Counsel. Speed these.
7	my singular good Lord, the Earl of Leicester, one of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Counsel. HASTING,
8	396 To the right honourable the Lords and others of her <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Counsel. HASTING,
9	my singular good lord, the lord Viscount Cranburne, one of his <b>majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Counsel at the Court.
10	my singular good lord, the Lord Viscount Cranburne, one of his <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Counsel. HASTING,
11	and my singular good Lord, the earl of Salisbury one of his <b>majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Counsel. HASTING,
12	To the right honourable my very good lords, the lords of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> privy council. LEYCEST,
13	To the right honourable my very good lords, the lords of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> privy council. LEYCEST,
14	my Singular mr Sir olliver Lambert knight, one of his <b>majesty's most Honourable</b> privy Counsel in the kingdom of
15	Finding by letters from the Lords and others of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Counsel that the pledges
16	To the most honourable my very good lords the lords of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> privy council. LEYCEST,
17	, the doing having wholly tended to the advancement of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> service, as all men here has
18	,264.065.1098 by my Lord Fenton, and to the Lords of your <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> privy council by writing, and
19	To the Right Honourable the Earl of Arundell and Surre, of His <b>Majesty's most Honourable</b> Privy Council. ARUNDEL,
20	these lords In the behalf of these merchants The lords of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> privy council both upon the
21	Windebanke knight Principal secretary of State and one of his <b>Majesty's most Honourable</b> Privy Council. ARUNDEL,
22	knight, one of the Principal Secretaries of State and of his <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Council, these. ARUNDEL
23	To the right honourable our very good Lords the Lords of Her <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Council. BACON,II,
24	good Lord, the Lord Bishop of London, one of the Lords of his <b>Majesty's most Honourable</b> Privy Council, these. COSIN,I,
25	honoured friend Sir Joseph Williamson Knight clerk of his <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Council, haste these at
26	Lord, the Lord Bishop of London and one of the Lords of his <b>majesty's most honourable</b> privy Council, these. COSIN,I,
27	, the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the Lords of his <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Council, These. COSIN,I,
28	good Lord, the Lord Bishop of London, one of the Lords of his <b>Majesty's most honourable</b> privy Council, These. COSIN,I,
29	my singular good lord the Earl of Leicester, one of her <b>majesty's most honourable</b> Privy Council. HASTING,
30	to pray, STUART,264.065.1101 and in all fortunes rest Your <b>Majesty's most humble</b> and faithful subject and servant Arb.

Moreover, most instances of the bundle MAJESTY'S MOST modify a noun phrase that represents a person, or an organisation formed by a group of persons serving as a resolution to finish a letter. Therefore, the concordance lines of the bundle were abstracted into an FS in the form of “{his/her/your} **Majesty's most** {MODIFIER: e.g., dutiful, honourable, humble, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., servant, Privy Council, subject, etc.}”, which occurred 42 times in the corpus of EModE letters, i.e., ten out of 53 instances were deleted. It also happened that after the abstraction and generalisation, the new FS gained more instances; for example, in [6] the verb *desire* is allowed to be realised in various tenses.

- [6] LB: I DESIRE (396)  
 FS: **I** {[desire]} {{NP: something}}/{that-CLAUSE}/ {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}} (445)

The final products of the last step are FSs that contain either a continuous or a discontinuous fixed part (in bold) and a maximum of three variable parts when necessary (see Section 2.1.1.1, Chapter 2). Variable parts can be schematic

elements obligatory for an incomplete FS to gain semantic unity, optional schematic elements such as modifiers, and lexical items that allow restricted variation such as verbs. Compulsory variable parts/schematic elements were placed between curly brackets, and the optional variable parts/schematic elements were placed between round brackets. In addition, lemmas were placed between square brackets. Lexical items and explanations appear in small letters, while grammatical items are in capital letters. The following examples [7] – [10] present how FSs appear in the present study.

[7] **by no means**

[8] {ORDINAL NUM} (day) **of April**

[9] {[put]} {NP: somebody} **in mind** (of {NP: something needs to be remembered})

[10] **your** {MODIFIER: e.g., loving/affectionate/etc.} **brother to serve you**

#### 4.4. Data analysis

Data analysis in the present study consisted of two parts. The first part categorised FSs. The present study produced two lists of FSs: one for EModE dialogues and one for EModE letters. FSs in each list were categorised according to their functions. The functional classification scheme was adapted from the taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005), containing four primary functional categories: stance expressions, discourse organisers, referential expressions, and special conversational functions. The taxonomy was originally designed to categorise LBs in PDE (see Section 2.5.3, Chapter 2). The feasibility of its application in categorising LBs and FSs in EModE is testified in Marcus (2018) and the pilot study conducted for the present research (Huang 2023), respectively. Slight modifications were made. The revised version based on Conrad and Biber's (2005) taxonomy is introduced in Section 6.1, Chapter 6.

After the categorisation, quantitative and qualitative analysis was first conducted with FSs identified in each corpus, and then the results obtained from the two corpora were compared. The focus is on the functional characteristics of FSs in the two types of EModE communications. At the same time, their lexical-grammatical structures were also examined to identify any more abstract patterns. Specifically, the analysis of form was performed to reveal how FSs vary

in terms of the degree of fixedness by calculating how many variable parts they contain. Moreover, multi-functional FSs and a group of FSs contain the words *God* and *almighty* were analysed to obtain further insights on how FSs characterise EModE dialogues and letters.

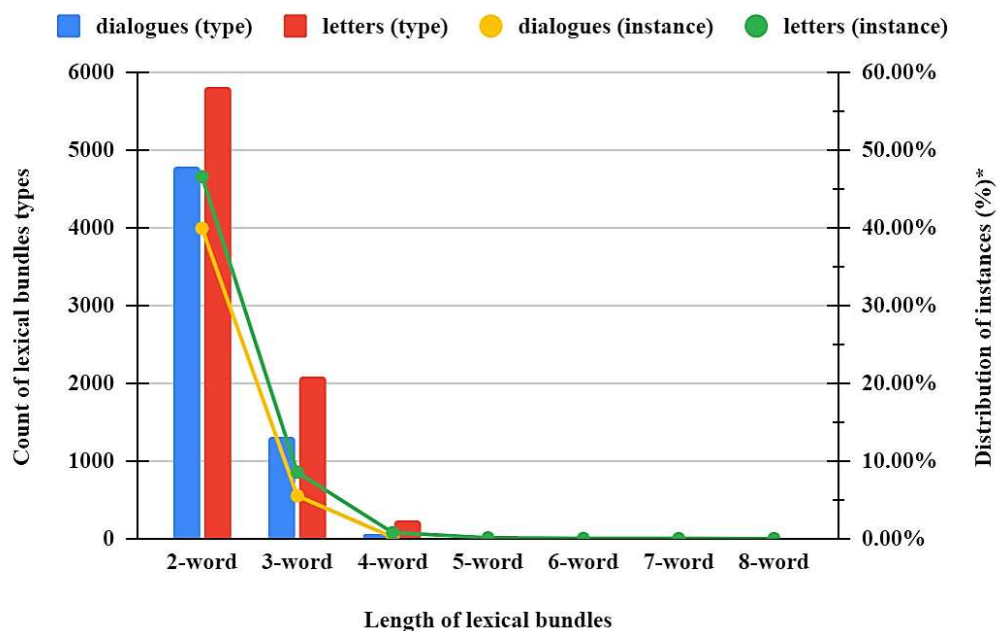
All in all, the present study expects to have four main findings:

- (1) FSs make up a great proportion of both corpora of EModE dialogues and letters.
- (2) Generally speaking, all FSs are functional.
- (3) Specifically, FSs are distributed differently across functional categories in each corpus.
- (4) When the two corpora are compared, some FSs performing specific functions prevail in one corpus rather than in the other.

## 5. Lexical bundles in EModE dialogues and letters

In the present study, I identified FSs with a two-phase procedure, namely, automatically retrieving LBs in the first phase and manually identifying FSs from the LBs in the second phase (see Section 4.2, Chapter 4). This chapter reports the statistics regarding LBs retrieved from the corpora in the first phase. Previous research on formulaic language with a LB-approach demonstrates that despite the creative nature of language, some parts of language are also recursive, and LBs are functional. Therefore, it is still worth examining and discussing LBs to connect this project with previous and future studies with a similar approach. In addition, by analysing LBs, I intend to find evidence supporting my arguments that LBs should not be equalised to FSs but rather treated as candidates of FSs (see Section 2.3, Chapter 2) as long as they fulfil certain criteria (see Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4).

**Figure 5: Comparison between the types and distribution of LBs of various lengths in EModE dialogues and letters**



Note: \**“Distribution of instance (%)”* is calculated by dividing the sum of instances of LBs of a specific length by the sum of instances of all LBs.

Data produced in the first phase already give a preliminary impression that the language of EModE letters is generally more recursive than that of EModE dialogues. Firstly, the project retrieved more LBs from the corpus of letters than from the corpus of dialogues. There are 6,153 types of LBs of various lengths (315,803 instances in total) in dialogues, accounting for 45.61 per cent

of the running tokens in the corpus.<sup>11</sup> The project retrieved 8,162 types of LBs (818,587 instances) from the corpus of letters, accounting for 56.00 per cent. Secondly, LBs in letters are longer than those in dialogues. The longest bundles in dialogues consist of only four words, while the longest bundles in letters have eight words. As expected, Figure 5 shows that the quantity of LBs drops sharply with the increase in their length. Based on the findings I made an assumption that LBs might be more common in parts whose features are more predominant in letters than in dialogues, for example, the opening and closing of letters.

The following three sections report the lexical-grammatical features of LBs as well as their use in each corpus. The discussion centres on three-word and four-word bundles in both EModE dialogues and letters as well as long bundles (five to eight words) in letters. The last section compares the findings in the present study with those of Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and Marcus (2018).

### **5.1. Three-word lexical bundles**

The study ordered the 1,310 types of three-word LBs in EModE dialogues and the 2,078 types in EModE letters from the most frequent to the least. The first 300 most frequent three-word bundles in each corpus were analysed in terms of their frequency and grammatical structure. Table 5.1 presents the top-20 rank-ordered three-word LBs retrieved from the two corpora in two lists.

Among the 300 most frequent three-word LBs in EModE dialogues and those in letters, the two corpora share 108 bundles in common. Their frequencies of occurrence defer greatly in the two corpora since only five of them appear in both lists of top-20 rank-ordered bundles. As shown in Table 5.1, the five common bundles are I PRAY YOU, OUT OF THE, I DO NOT, I WILL NOT, and I KNOW NOT. Among them, the most frequent bundle in both corpora is I PRAY YOU, but it is more frequent in dialogues (i.e., 333.60 times *pmw.* in dialogues, while 329.11 times *pmw.* in letters); the second most frequent bundle in dialogues is OUT OF THE (254.17 times *pmw.*), but it ranks only the 14th place in letters (194.32 times *pmw.*).

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<sup>11</sup> For the convenience of quantitative analysis, the present study treats an instance of a LB or an FS as one word, i.e., one token. Therefore, the proportion of LBs in a corpus is calculated by dividing the sum of instances of LBs by the sum of tokens of a corpus.



**Table 5.1: The top-20 rank-ordered\* three-word LBs in EModE dialogues and letters**

<b>EModE dialogues</b>	<i>freq.</i>	<i>nml. freq.**</i>	<b>EModE letters</b>	<i>freq.</i>	<i>nml. freq.**</i>
I PRAY YOU	231	333.60	I PRAY YOU	481	329.11
OUT OF THE	176	254.17	MY LORD OF	458	313.37
I DO NOT	165	238.28	I KNOW NOT	428	292.84
I WILL NOT	158	228.17	I HAVE NOT	375	256.58
IT IS NOT	156	225.29	I DO NOT	365	249.74
AND THE SAID	150	216.62	THAT I HAVE	354	242.21
IT IS A	147	212.29	TO YOU AND	322	220.32
OF THE SAID	145	209.40	IN THE MEAN	319	218.26
THAT HE HAD	144	207.96	MY VERY GOOD	315	215.53
AND I WILL	134	193.52	TO THE RIGHT	313	214.16
THAT HE WAS	128	184.85	I SHALL BE	309	211.42
ONE OF THE	123	177.63	I HAVE RECEIVED	298	203.89
I KNOW NOT	119	171.85	I HAVE BEEN	287	196.37
THERE IS NO	118	170.41	OUT OF THE	284	194.32
AND THAT HE	117	168.97	THE KING OF	282	192.95
MY LORD I	116	167.52	THAT I AM	281	192.26
THE EARL OF	115	166.08	THE REST OF	279	190.89
AS WELL AS	114	164.63	THE MEAN TIME	278	190.21
THAT THE SAID	109	157.41	AT THIS TIME	277	189.53
I WILL TELL	106	153.08	I WILL NOT	273	186.79
I WOULD NOT	106	153.08			

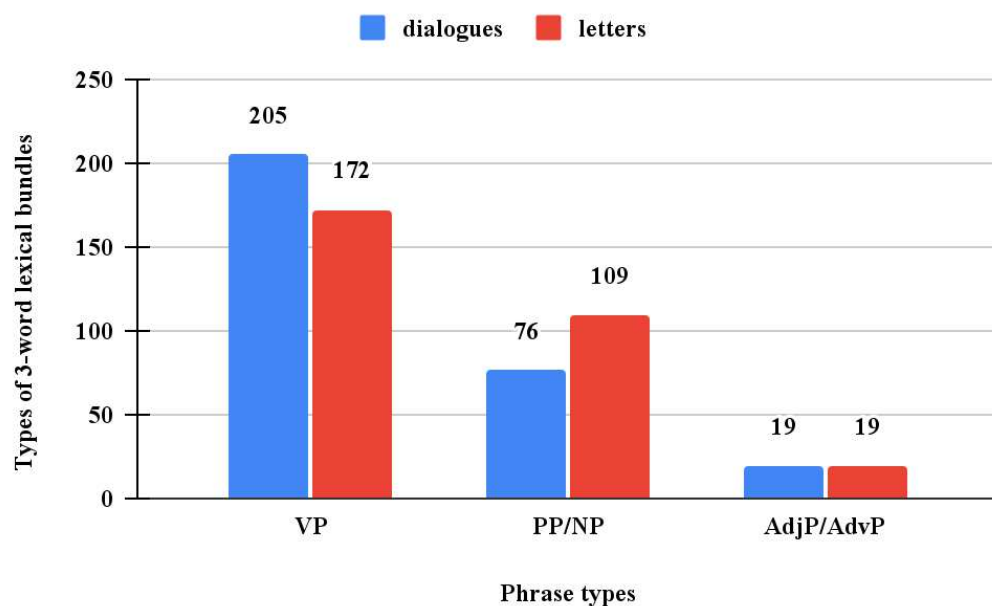
*Note: \*Bundles having the same frequency share the same rank, so there may be more than 20 bundles presented in each list. \*\*“nml. freq.” = “normalised frequencies (pmw.)”.*

In terms of grammatical characteristics, the 300 most frequent bundles can be grouped into three form categories: (1) verb phrase bundles, (2) prepositional/noun phrase bundles, and (3) adjective/adverb phrase bundles. Figure 5.1 shows that both EModE dialogues and letters are dominated by three-word bundles that are full or parts of verb phrases. They account for 68.33 per cent of three-word bundles in dialogues analysed, and 57.33 per cent in letters. The two corpora have 73 frequent verb phrase bundles in common, including I PRAY YOU, I KNOW NOT, I HAVE NOT, I DO NOT, THAT I HAVE, I SHALL BE, etc. They account for 67.59 per cent of all 108 shared bundles.

Although verb phrase bundles are popular in both corpora, there are several factors that characterise EModE dialogues and letters. Firstly, by comparing frequent verb phrase bundles that the two corpora do not share, I have noticed that EModE letters contain a lot of bundles about sending and receiving letters, for example, I HAVE RECEIVED, I HAVE SENT, I HAVE WRITTEN,

RECEIVED YOUR LETTER, I RECEIVED YOUR, TO WRITE TO, I SEND YOU, I WROTE TO, etc.; whereas in EModE dialogues, there are many bundles about somebody making a statement, for example, AND HE SAID, AND SAID THAT, HE SAID HE, HE TOLD ME, I TELL THEE, I TOLD HIM, SAYS THAT ABOUT, SHE SAYS THAT, WHAT SAY YOU, WILL TELL YOU, YOU TELL ME, etc. This finding might suggest that verb phrase bundles as such correspond with the codes of communication, i.e., letters have the need to state letter exchange history while dialogues focus on reporting.

**Figure 5.1: Grammatical characteristics of the first 300 most frequent three-word LBs in EModE dialogues and letters**



Secondly, the occurrence of personal pronouns in the verb phrase bundles reflects, to some extent, the difference between EModE dialogues and letters regarding the interaction and closeness among participants of communication. In dialogues, about 36.07 per cent of the verb phrase bundles have the first person singular *I* as the subject or *me* as the object; in letters, the figure is as high as 40.00 per cent. The second person singular *you* occurs in 23.84 per cent of verb phrase bundles in dialogues as either the subject or the object, but the figure decreases to 17.07 per cent in letters. The phenomenon that letters use slightly more *I/me* than dialogues might suggest that letter writers were talking via paper or letters acted as their voice. The use of *you* in letters suggests that writers could talk directly to the readers. However, the second person pronoun is used slightly less frequently than in dialogues, perhaps due to two reasons. For one thing, in

some more formal letters, there is a greater social distance between the writer and the recipient, hence requesting a more formal way to address the recipient than using personal pronouns. For example, Daybell (2012) pointed out that “sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century letters tended to follow fairly standardised opening and closing formulae and modes of address that adhered to distinct social hierarchies” (72). For another, during the Early Modern period letters could be read aloud in front of other audiences or passed around among a group of people (24, 145), there could be other forms of address or vocatives being used to address people who were listening/reading. For example, Daybell (2012) also suggested that letters could be “passed among family members (often with names given of those to whom a letter might be shown)” (145).

Following the verb phrase bundles are the prepositional/noun phrase bundles. In EModE dialogues, only 25.33 per cent of the top-300 frequent three-word bundles are full or parts of prepositional/phrases; for example, in Table 5.1 above, there are OUT OF THE, OF THE SAID, ONE OF THE, AND THAT HE, MY LORD I, and THE EARL OF. In EModE letters, such bundles account for 36.33 per cent, such as MY LORD OF, TO YOU AND, IN THE MEAN, TO THE RIGHT, OUT OF THE, THE KING OF, THE REST OF, THE MEAN TIME, and AT THIS TIME.

Besides the difference in frequencies, EModE dialogues and letters also differ in the purpose of prepositional/noun phrase bundles. Prepositional/noun phrase bundles in letters seem to reflect routines in letter writing, such as referencing a person, or more specifically the recipient of a letter. There are 20 bundles containing the preposition *to* and (part of) a noun phrase that denotes a person, such as TO HER MAJESTY, TO ME AND, TO THE RIGHT, TO MY BROTHER, TO MY HONOURABLE, TO MY LADY, TO THE WORSHIPFUL, and TO YOUR LORDSHIP, etc. There are, however, only four bundles in dialogues having such a structure, for example, TO HER AND and TO HIM AND. In addition, there are 23 noun phrase bundles making an explicit reference to persons in EModE letters, such as GOOD LORD THE, HER MAJESTY AND, ME AND I, MY LORD OF, MY LORD TREASURER, etc., while there are only 11 such bundles in dialogues. In addition, both dialogues and letters have nine three-word bundles that function as temporal deixis. In dialogues, I found examples such as AT ANY TIME, AT THAT TIME, AT

THIS TIME, IN THE MORNING, and OF THE CLOCK, etc., while in letters, I found examples such as AT THIS TIME, FOR THE PRESENT, OF THE MONTH, and THE LAST WEEK, etc. More information is needed to conclude how differently the letters talk about time compared with dialogues since communication in letters is not immediate but remote in time.

Both EModE dialogues and letters have the least number of three-word bundles that are full or parts of adjective/adverb phrases. They account for 19 out of 300 bundles analysed in each corpus. Generally speaking, these adjective/adverb phrase bundles describe quantities, degrees, or other attributes (e.g., A GREAT DEAL, AND ALL THE, AS LONG AS, AS WELL AS, VERY GLAD TO, GUILTY OR NOT), modify a noun phrase (e.g., THAT THE SAID, MY VERY GOOD, YOUR VERY LOVING), and connect two clauses as conjunctive adverbs (e.g., AND THEN HE, AND WHEN HE, AND SO I, AND THEREFORE I). Nevertheless, letters are dominated by adjective phrase bundles modifying noun phrases of a person. These bundles are mostly embedded in expressions occurring at the beginning or the ending of letters as salutations (e.g., YOUR LORDSHIP'S MOST, YOUR VERY LOVING) or as vocatives (e.g., MY VERY GOOD, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE). These adjective phrase bundles have a more positive connotation expressing affection or respect towards the addressee. Therefore, one can conclude that the adjective phrase bundles like those mentioned above mark the social traditions and courtesy routines in letter writing in England during the Early Modern period.

## **5.2. Four-word lexical bundles**

The number of four-word LBs in both EModE dialogues and letters drops sharply compared to three-word bundles. There are only 58 types of four-word bundles in dialogues and 236 types in letters. The total instances of all four-word bundles account for only 0.18 per cent of all tokens in the corpus of dialogues and 0.76 per cent in letters. All four-word bundles retrieved from each corpus were analysed in terms of their frequency of occurrence and grammatical structure. Table 5.2 presents the top-20 rank-ordered four-word LBs retrieved from the two corpora. Overall, the corpus of EModE dialogues and the corpus of EModE letters share 28 four-word bundles in common, and eight of them are listed in Table 5.2. These are IN THE MEAN TIME, I HOPE YOU WILL, AND

THE REST OF, I THANK YOU FOR, THE REST OF THE, A GREAT DEAL OF, I KNOW NOT HOW, and I WOULD NOT HAVE.

**Table 5.2: The top-20 rank-ordered\* four-word LBs in EModE dialogues and letters**

<b>EModE dialogues</b>	<i>freq.</i>	<i>nml. freq.**</i>	<b>EModE letters</b>	<i>freq.</i>	<i>nml. freq.**</i>
I WILL TELL YOU	53	76.54	IN THE MEAN TIME	276	188.84
WITH ALL MY HEART	46	66.43	MY VERY GOOD LORD	195	133.42
IT PLEASE YOU TO	42	60.65	TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE	189	129.32
IN THE MEAN TIME	38	54.88	I DOUBT NOT BUT	188	128.63
FOR MY PART I	36	51.99	I HAVE SENT YOU	131	89.63
I DO NOT KNOW	32	46.21	I HOPE YOU WILL	120	82.11
I WILL GIVE YOU	30	43.32	HUMBLY TAKE MY LEAVE	113	77.32
IN THE NAME OF	30	43.32	I COMMIT YOU TO	109	74.58
IN THE PRESENCE OF	29	41.88	AND THE REST OF	105	71.84
THE NAME OF THE	28	40.44	I THANK YOU FOR	105	71.84
WHAT SAY YOU TO	28	40.44	THANK YOU FOR YOUR	99	67.74
GIVE ME LEAVE TO	27	38.99	THE REST OF THE	99	67.74
I WOULD NOT HAVE	27	38.99	TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL	96	65.68
IF IT PLEASE YOU	27	38.99	A GREAT DEAL OF	88	60.21
A GREAT DEAL OF	26	37.55	I TAKE MY LEAVE	86	58.84
THE WORD OF GOD	26	37.55	THE MEAN TIME I	85	58.16
THE REST OF THE	25	36.10	I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR	82	56.11
I PRAY YOU TELL	23	33.22	THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY	81	55.42
IN THE TIME OF	23	33.22	HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD	78	53.37
THE SIGN OF THE	23	33.22	I AM VERY GLAD	76	52.00
IT IS NOT THE	22	31.77	TO MY VERY LOVING	76	52.00
I KNOW NOT WHAT	21	30.33	I KNOW NOT HOW	74	50.63
OF THE CLOCK IN	21	30.33	I HOPE I SHALL	73	49.95
I THANK YOU FOR	21	30.33	I WOULD NOT HAVE	73	49.95
AT THE SAME TIME	20	28.88	THE KING OF SPAIN	73	49.95
I DO NOT THINK	20	28.88			
I HOPE YOU WILL	20	28.88			
BUT I PRAY YOU	20	28.88			
THAT THERE WAS A	20	28.88			
AND THAT HE HAD	19	27.44			
HE SAID HE WOULD	19	27.44			
I WILL TELL THEE	19	27.44			
TOLD HIM THAT HE	19	27.44			
AND THE REST OF	18	25.99			

I PRAY YOU LET	18	25.99			
IS NOT TO BE	18	25.99			
IT IS NO MATTER	18	25.99			
TO GO TO THE	18	25.99			
BY THE NAME OF	17	24.55			
I KNOW NOT HOW	17	24.55			
I WILL SHOW YOU	17	24.55			
IF YOU PLEASE TO	17	24.55			
IT IS TO BE	17	24.55			
I THANK YOU SIR	17	24.55			
ON THE OTHER SIDE	16	23.11			
THAT I MAY HAVE	16	23.11			
THE TIME OF THE	16	23.11			

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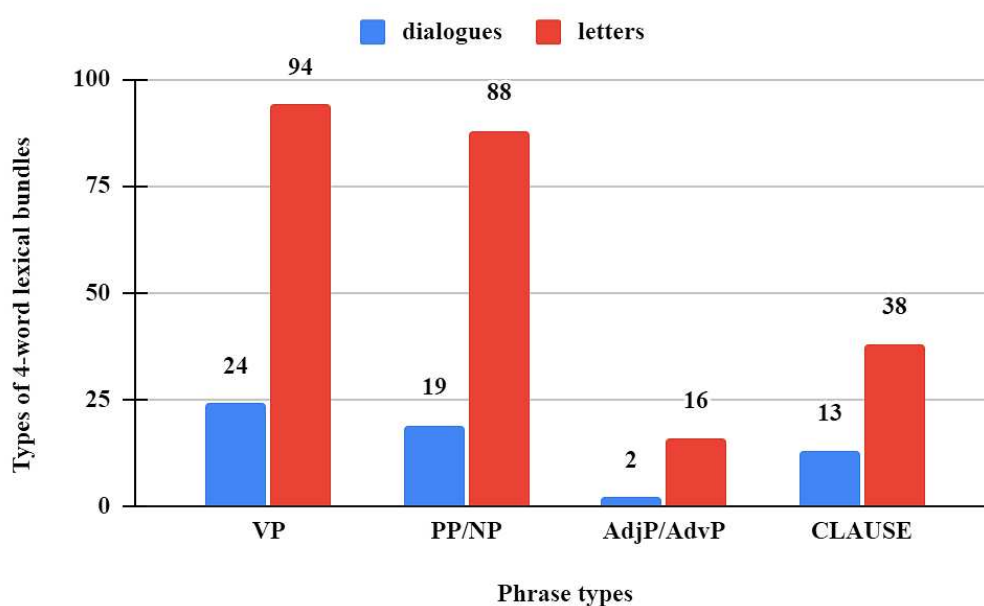
*Note: \*Bundles that have the same frequency share the same rank, so there may be more than 20 bundles presented in each list. \*\*“nml. freq.” = “normalised frequencies (pmw.)”.*

Compared with three-word bundles, four-word bundles are more complete in syntax. Some of the four-word bundles are complete clauses. In the corpus of dialogues, I found examples such as I WILL TELL YOU, I DO NOT KNOW, BUT I PRAY YOU, I WILL TELL THEE, IT IS NO MATTER, and I THANK YOU SIR; in the corpus of letters, there are examples such as I TAKE MY LEAVE, I AM VERY GLAD, I RECEIVED YOUR LETTER, I AM VERY SORRY, I BID YOU FAREWELL, and YOU WILL BE PLEASED. Some four-word bundles are even longer than complete clauses; for example, I PRAY YOU TELL, I HOPE YOU WILL, and HE SAID HE WOULD in dialogues, and I KNOW NOT HOW, I HOPE I SHALL, I THANK GOD I, IT IS SAID THAT, and I AM SURE I in letters. For this reason, I added one new grammatical-structural category to the analysis, i.e., bundles that are (or contain) complete clauses. Figure 5.2 shows that such clause bundles account for 22.41 per cent of all retrieved four-word bundles in dialogues and 16.10 per cent in letters.

Functionally, clause bundles in the two text types vary in proportion and the degree of specificity. Half of the clause bundles in dialogues introduce new statements; for example, HE SAID HE WOULD, I KNOW NOT HOW, and I WILL TELL THEE. In letters, one-third of clause bundles serve the same function; for example, AND I DOUBT NOT, AS I AM INFORMED, AS I TAKE IT, and I AM SURE YOU. The other half of the clause bundles in dialogues perform various speech acts, including requests (e.g., BUT I PRAY YOU), desires (e.g., I HOPE YOU WILL), and gratitude (e.g., I THANK YOU

SIR); whereas the other one-third of clause bundles in letters perform a broader range of speech acts, including requests (e.g., AND I PRAY YOU, I PRAY YOU LET), desires (e.g., I HOPE YOU WILL, I HOPE YOU HAVE), gratitude (e.g., I HUMBLY THAN YOU), wishes (e.g., GOD BLESS YOU AND), apologies (e.g., I AM VERY SORRY), and goodbyes (e.g., I BID YOU FAREWELL). In addition, among the last third of clause bundles in letters, some indicate explicitly the attitude of the writer, for example, I AM GLAD YOU, I AM VERY GLAD, and I HAVE THOUGHT GOOD.

**Figure 5.2: Grammatical characteristics of all four-word LBs in EMode dialogues and letters**



Moreover, unlike three-word bundles, verb phrases are no longer the only dominant form in both corpora; instead, four-word bundles that are full or parts of verb phrases and those that are full or parts of prepositional/noun phrases are almost equally prevalent. In EMode dialogues, 41.38 per cent of four-word bundles are verb phrase bundles, including examples such as IT PLEASE YOU TO, I WILL GIVE YOU, WHAT SAY YOU TO, GIVE ME LEAVE TO, and I WOULD NOT HAVE; 32.76 per cent are prepositional/noun phrase bundles, including bundles such as WITH ALL MY HEART, IN THE MEAN TIME, FOR MY PART I, IN THE NAME OF, and IN THE PRESENCE OF. In letters, the gap between verb phrase bundles and prepositional/noun phrase bundles is even closer: 39.83 per cent of four-word bundles in letters are full or parts of verb phrases, including examples such as I HAVE SENT YOU, HUMBLY

TAKE MY LEAVE, I COMMIT YOU TO, I THANK YOU FOR, I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR, and I WOULD NOT HAVE; 37.29 per cent are full or parts of prepositional/noun phrases, including examples such as IN THE MEAN TIME, MY VERY GOOD LORD, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND THE REST OF, THE KING OF SPAIN, and PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY.

Regarding their use, some of the four-word verb phrase bundles in both corpora serve the same functions as four-word clause bundles. The function of a verb phrase bundle can be deduced from the main verb in the bundle. Take the verb phrase bundles in EModE dialogues, for example, verbs such as *think*, *tell*, and *say* indicate that bundles such as I DO NOT THINK, TOLD HIM THAT, and WHAT SAY YOU TO serve as an introduction to a statement. In addition to these verbs, *doubt*, *heard*, and *know* also occur in bundles serving a similar function in letters, such as DOUBT NOT BUT YOU, I HAVE NOT HEARD, KNOW NOT HOW TO, and LET YOU KNOW THAT. Some main verbs also explicitly indicate speech acts. The verb *thank* indicates that bundles perform the speech act of gratitude, such as I THANK YOU FOR in dialogues and THANK YOU FOR THE, THANKS FOR YOUR, and THANKS BE TO GOD in letters. Verbs like *please* and *pray*, indicate that bundles perform the speech act of requests, such as IF IT PLEASE YOU, IF YOU PLEASE TO, and IT PLEASE YOU TO in dialogues and I PRAY YOU TO and MAY IT PLEASE YOU TO in letters. In addition, verb phrase bundles containing the verbs *desire*, *hope* and *would* perform the speech act of desires; for example, I DESIRE YOU TO, I HOPE WILL BE, WHICH I HOPE WILL, and I WOULD HAVE YOU in letters.

Verbs are not the only clues that assist in the identification of functions. In EModE letters, there are cases where the function is indicated by the predicates after the auxiliary *be*, i.e., in the BE + PREDICATE construction. For example, the adjective *sorry* indicates that the verb phrase bundle I AM SORRY TO performs the speech act of apology; the adjectives *glad* and *pleased* are commonly found in verb phrases bundles to express attitude, as in AM GLAD TO HEAR, AM VERY GLAD TO, I AM GLAD TO, WOULD BE GLAD TO, WILL BE PLEASED TO, and WOULD BE PLEASED TO.



Furthermore, there are four-word verb phrase bundles performing functions typically found in letters, but not explicitly indicated by their components. They are mostly used to end a letter, as an announcement to finish writing (e.g., HUMBLY TAKE MY LEAVE, I HUMBLY TAKE MY, and I LEAVE YOU TO, etc.) or as salutations (e.g., COMMEND ME TO MY, COMMEND YOU TO THE, COMMIT YOU TO GOD, I AM YOUR MOST, and I REST YOUR MOST, etc.). These bundles reflect conventional mappings of form and (idiomatic) meaning/function, hence later identified as FSs.

Nevertheless, unlike the clause bundles, more than half of the verb phrase bundles do not explicitly serve any function or one cannot tell directly what function they serve without carefully examining the context in which they are used. Bundles such as AND THAT HE WAS, I WILL GIVE YOU, I WILL SHOW YOU, and IF THERE BE ANY in the dialogue corpus and I HAVE NOT BEEN, I SHALL BE VERY, I SHOULD NOT HAVE, and IF IT BE NOT in the letter corpus are simple segments of clauses. Their semantic meaning and pragmatic meaning depend on the missing parts, although the modal verbs in them provide some senses like desire/intention (*will* and *would*), probability (*would*, *should*, and *shall*), and obligation (*should* and *shall*). Such bundles were mostly not identified as FSs in the second phase of the procedure.

In addition, similar to three-word verb phrase bundles in EModE letters, there are also four-word verb phrase bundles used as a reference to the actions of writing, sending, and receiving letters. I find examples such as I HAVE WRITTEN TO, I WROTE TO YOU, I HAVE SENT YOU, HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER, I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR, and RECEIVED YOURS OF THE. Such bundles are exclusive to letters.

Equally prevalent in both corpora are the four-word bundles that are full or parts of prepositional/noun phrases, as presented in Figure 5.2. Bundles of this kind commonly serve as references to physical and abstract entities in both dialogues and letters. In the corpus of EModE dialogues, half of the prepositional/noun phrase bundles are referential expressions without specific pragmatic significance. Some of them are somewhat idiomatic in semantics, for example, IN THE NAME OF, IN THE PRESENCE OF, THE WORD OF GOD, and BY THE NAME OF. Some refer to abstract entities, for example, THE NAME OF THE and THE SIGN OF THE. Others refer to parts of the previously

mentioned entities, for example, THE REST OF THE and AND THE REST OF. Similarly, in the corpus of EModE letters, nearly half of the four-word preposition phrase and noun phrase bundles serve as referential expressions, which denote physical entities (e.g., A COPY OF THE, A LETTER FROM YOU), abstract entities (e.g., THE PROTECTION OF THE, THE REMEMBRANCE OF MY), parts of entities (e.g., THE REST OF MY, ALL THE REST OF), and other expressions of attributes (e.g., BY REASON OF, FOR THE PAYMENT OF, IN THE BEHALF OF, TO ME AND I, TO YOUR LORDSHIP AND, WITH ALL MY HEART).

Four-word bundles that are full or parts of prepositional/noun phrases also serve as various types of deixis in the two types of texts. In dialogues, there are preposition phrase bundles as temporal deixis, for example, IN THE MEAN TIME, IN THE TIME OF, OF THE CLOCK IN, AT THE SAME TIME, and THE TIME OF THE. There are also bundles representing textual relationships; for example, FOR MY PART I, ON THE OTHER SIDE, and FOR THE MOST PART. In letters, the most common LBs in this kind of form function as personal deixis, such as AFFECTIONATE BROTHER AND SERVANT, AND MY LORD OF, BROTHER TO SERVE YOU, FRIEND AND HUMBLE SERVANT, GOOD LORD THE EARL, MY VERY GOOD BROTHER, THE KING OF FRANCE, YOUR ASSURED LOVING FRIEND, YOUR MOST AFFECTIONATE FRIEND, etc. Some of these LBs appear as salutations particularly at the end of letters at the same time, for example, YOUR ASSURED LOVING FRIEND and YOUR MOST AFFECTIONATE FRIEND. They are often part of the *your* + MODIFIER + NP (person) construction. Temporal deictic expressions in letters are somewhat similar to those in dialogues; for example, AT THE SAME TIME, IN THE MEAN TIME, THE MEAN TIME I, IN THE BEGINNING OF, and THE BEGINNING OF THE. Two bundles as spatial deixis in letters are FROM THE COURT AT and IN THE LOW COUNTRIES. Similar to dialogues, a few prepositional phrase bundles in letters mark the relationship between the previous and the following discourses or the textural structure; for example, FOR MY OWN PART, FOR THE POST PART, ON THE OTHER SIDE, and IN RESPECT OF.

Furthermore, there are several prepositional/noun phrase bundles characterising EModE letters. In addition to some of the personal deictic

expressions mentioned above, bundles that are part of the *to* + MODIFIER + NP (person) construction also serve as salutations, positioned either at the beginning or at the end of letters, for example, TO MY VERY GOOD, TO MY VERY LOVING, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, and TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL. Moreover, bundles as part of the *my* + MODIFIER + NP (something) construction also often appear as salutations, with the condition that the noun phrase in this construction regularly involves nouns such as *duty*, *service*, and *commendations*; for example, MY HUMBLE DUTY REMEMBERED, MY HUMBLE SERVICE TO, MY VERY HEARTY COMMENDATIONS, and WITH MY HEARTY COMMENDATIONS.

### 5.3. Long bundles in EModE letters

As demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter, LBs longer than four words exist in EModE letters only. This section looks at the five-word, six-word, seven-word, and eight-word bundles in EModE letters (see Table 5.3) and provides a qualitative analysis of their form and use.

**Table 5.3: Five- to eight-word LBs in EModE letters ordered in frequency**

EModE letters	<i>freq.</i>	<i>nml. freq.*</i>
IN THE MEAN TIME I	83	56.79
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY	81	55.42
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY	70	47.89
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY	70	47.89
I HUMBLY TAKE MY LEAVE	69	47.21
RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD	69	47.21
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD	68	46.53
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD	68	46.53
MY VERY GOOD LORD THE	62	42.42
THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY	61	41.74
TO THE PROTECTION OF THE	61	41.74
TO THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY	59	40.37
I COMMIT YOU TO GOD	56	38.32
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR	55	37.63
I THANK YOU FOR YOUR	50	34.21
I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER	49	33.53
YOU TO THE PROTECTION OF	47	32.16
I DOUBT NOT BUT YOU	45	30.79
I HAVE THOUGHT GOOD TO	42	28.74
I AM GLAD TO HEAR	41	28.05
I COMMIT YOU TO THE	41	28.05
WITH THE REMEMBRANCE OF MY	41	28.05

YOU TO THE PROTECTION OF THE	40	27.37
I AM VERY GLAD TO	39	26.68
YOU TO THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY	39	26.68
HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD	38	26.00
RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD	38	26.00
MY VERY LOVING FRIEND MR	37	25.32
YOU WILL BE PLEASED TO	37	25.32
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD	37	25.32
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD	37	25.32
TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MY	36	24.63
I WILL NOT FAIL TO	35	23.95
AND THE REST OF THE	34	23.26
TO MY VERY LOVING FRIEND	34	23.26
I SHOULD BE GLAD TO	33	22.58
MY VERY GOOD LORD I	31	21.21
AND IN THE MEAN TIME	31	21.21
AND I DOUBT NOT BUT	31	21.21
GOOD LORD THE EARL OF	30	20.53
AM VERY GLAD TO HEAR	29	19.84

*(Continuing from the previous page)*

Note: \**"nml. freq."* = *"normalised frequencies (pmw.)"*.

Long bundles have a much higher degree of completeness in syntax and semantics in EModE letters. Over half the examined bundles are complete or contain complete phrase-level constituents. For example, the five-word bundle IN THE MEAN TIME I contains a complete prepositional phrase, followed by a pronoun as the subject of the following clause; MY VERY GOOD LORD THE contains a complete noun phrase, followed by a definite article of the following noun phrase; THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY is a complete noun phrase; AND I DOUBT NOT BUT contains a complete main clause, followed by the conjunction BUT leading a subordinate clause or being used as a parenthesis; and I HUMBL Y TAKE MY LEAVE is a complete sentence. Moreover, for six-word bundles, TO THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY is a complete prepositional phrase; RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD contains two complete adjective phrases and a complete noun phrase. These six-word bundles not only are complete in their own regard but also contain complete five-word bundles. They are also part of the seven-word bundles, YOU TO THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY and THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD. The latter is part of the eight-word bundle TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD

LORD. Considering their frequencies, the way they are embedded in each other, and the context in which they are used, THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY, TO THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY, RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, and TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD were later identified as fixed, recurrent expressions, i.e., FSs.

Having a high degree of completeness is also reflected by the observation that most incomplete long bundles in letters can be completed by predictable lexical items. For instance, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY requires a noun phrase after the possessive pronoun *my* to be both semantically and syntactically complete. Its concordance shows that this bundle occurs 81 times in the corpus of EModE letters. They are directly collocated with only 11 types of noun phrases on the right side, including *very good lord* (37), *very good aunt* (10), *singular good lord* (9), *very good uncle* (8), *very good lady* (6), *very good friend* (3), *very good lords* (3), *very loving sister* (2), *assured loving son* (1), *lady elizabeth* (1), *very good the earl of leycester* (1). These noun phrases mostly have the same structure, i.e., an optional intensifier (*very*), an adjective as a modifier (*assured, singular, good, loving*), and a noun as the head of the phrase. The noun is restricted to persons, more specifically, recipients of the letters. The combination of modifiers and nouns also forms a semantic pattern, i.e., *assured* and *loving* normally modify people who had close social relationships with the writer and whose social status was considered lower than that of the writer; for example, *son* and *sister*. In turn, *singular* and *good* modify people who are not so close as sons and sisters, and whose social status was considered higher than that of the writer, for example, a lord, a lady, the writer's aunt and uncle, and even a friend. Other examples of such LBs are TO THE PROTECTION OF THE followed mostly by *almighty*, WITH THE REMEMBRANCE OF MY followed by noun phrases commonly involving *service, salute, duty, and respect*, I COMMIT YOU TO THE followed by noun phrases commonly involving *the Almighty, God, and Lord*, I THANK YOU FOR YOUR followed by noun phrases denoting the reason why the writer was showing their gratitude, and GOOD LORD THE EARL OF followed by noun phrases denoting places. In the second phase of the identification process (see Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4), these incomplete ones were determined to possess semantic unity. Besides, their

holistic meaning/function is more important than meaning of their components, hence they were all later identified as FSs.

However, in many other cases, the choices of lexical items to complete the long LBs are much broader but still restricted to certain grammatical categories or semantic fields. LBs of this kind in Table 5.3 are I HAVE THOUGHT GOOD TO, I AM VERY GLAD TO, YOU WILL BE PLEASED TO, I WILL NOT FAIL TO, AND THE REST OF THE, I SHOULD BE GLAD TO, and AM VERY GLAD TO HEAR. To elaborate in detail, for example, what is known about the lexical items following the bundle I HAVE THOUGHT GOOD TO is that they should be verb phrases denoting an action the writer approves. As for what the action is exactly, it is not directly inferable from the bundle and is thus highly context-based. The bundle AND THE REST OF THE can only be completed by a noun phrase that depends on what has been mentioned in previous discourse. Nevertheless, even though these bundles are incomplete and the schematic elements they proceed are not fully predictable, they were still identified as (parts of) FSs in later analyses, because they form a one-to-one form-function relationship, they are recursive, and the semantics of their components is much less important than the semantic or pragmatic function they play as a whole. For example, the bundle I AM VERY GLAD TO is identified in the present study as an FS “**I am very glad to {V-inf}**”, which expresses desire, willingness, and a kind of positive feeling.

The examination of the most common collocates of LBs not only provides evidence that some of the bundles are formulaic but also reveals that some formulaic bundles consist of other formulaic bundles. For example, the most frequent collocate of the bundle TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY (81) is the noun phrase bundle VERY GOOD LORD, which occurs 37 times. In all noun phrase bundles that collocate with TO THE HONOURABLE MY, the most common intensifier and modifier combination is the two-word bundle VERY GOOD, which occurs 68 times (out of the total instances of 546 in the whole corpus of EModE letters). As shown in Table 5.3, their combination forms the eight-word bundle TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD. This observation supports the methodology design that some LBs can be upgraded to FSs within the framework of Construction Grammar.

Regarding function, the most common functions served by long bundles in EModE letters are those in close relation to the letter-writing routines, namely salutations and vocatives. Many typical bundles in expressions of salutations and vocatives have been discussed or briefly mentioned in this section; for example, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, TO THE PROTECTION OF THE ALMIGHTY, WITH THE REMEMBRANCE OF MY, I COMMIT YOU TO THE, RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, and MY VERY GOOD LORD THE. Some not yet discussed include I COMMIT YOU TO GOD, TO MY VERY LOVING FRIEND, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR, TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MY, MY VERY LOVING FRIEND MR, etc. Although vocatives are also common in dialogues, the vocatives expressed by long bundles in letters normally occur in fixed positions, such as at the beginning of letters or as parts of salutations at the end.

Moreover, long bundles serve some functions that are not exclusively associated with letters. For example, politeness is expressed via adjective phrase bundles such as RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD, which is also chiefly embedded in vocatives. There are also attitude expressions such as I AM VERY GLAD TO, expressions of desires such as I WILL NOT FAIL TO, expressions that introduce a statement such as AND I DOUBT NOT BUT, expressions of gratitude such as I THANK YOU FOR YOUR, temporal deixis such as AND IN THE MEAN TIME, referential expressions such as AND THE REST OF THE, and social maintenance expressions such as I AM GLAD TO HEAR. All these bundles are identified as FSs or embedded in FSs.

In addition, some long bundles retrieved from the corpus of EModE letters also occur in dialogues, but their frequencies do not pass the threshold. It is also possible that some of these long bundles in letters serve different functions than in dialogues. For example, I found only three instances of I HUMBL Y TAKE MY LEAVE in dialogues and the other nine LBs consisting of the bundle TAKE MY LEAVE. All these twelve instances are used in the context of announcing one's departure or saying goodbye. However, in letters, I found 69 instances of I HUMBL Y TAKE MY LEAVE, and all of them occur at the end of the letters, mostly before the salutation, date, and location. Instead of announcing the ending of a speaker's physical presence in face-to-face conversations, it announces the closing of a letter.

Finally, a few long bundles are identified as FSs, even though they are semantically transparent. One example is the bundle I HUMBLY TAKE MY LEAVE. As discussed above, the bundle associates closely with ending a letter, hence reflecting a genre-specific form-function relationship. Another example is I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER. This bundle has no occurrence in the corpus of EModE dialogues, but it occurs 49 times in letters. Despite its transparency in semantics, it is used to mark the process of letter exchanging and to confirm the reception of a previous letter, hence an FS.

#### **5.4. Comparison with previous studies**

This section compares LBs retrieved in the present study with those in two previous studies: Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and Marcus (2018). Both studies were reviewed in detail in Chapter 2. These two studies were selected for comparison because they examined particularly EModE trial proceedings, drama comedies, and letters – genres and text types also included in the corpora of the present study. This section discusses the feasibility of comparing the results in studies which retrieve LBs using different parameters and it aims to connect the findings discussed so far with those of other studies.

##### **5.4.1. Lexical bundles in EModE dialogues and their functions**

This section compares the most frequent three-word bundles in the present study with those in Culpeper and Kytö (2010). There are several differences between the two studies regarding the methodological design, which might influence the validity of the comparison. Firstly, corpora in the two studies contain texts from slightly different eras. Trial proceedings (hereinafter Trials) and drama comedies (hereinafter Plays) in Culpeper and Kytö (2010) span the entire period between 1560 and 1760, containing 40 files of Trials and 25 files of Plays. In turn, my corpus of EModE dialogues (hereinafter Dialogues) contains texts of all genres between 1560 and 1680, including only nineteen trial proceedings and fifteen plays. Secondly, the two studies apply different frequency cut-offs. Culpeper and Kytö (2010) extracted three-word LBs that recurred at least ten times and in at least five different texts. In the present study, a LB must occur at least 20 times *pmw.* and in at least ten per cent of texts. Thirdly, in Culpeper and Kytö (2010), the processing of LBs stopped before a punctuation mark, while the processing of LBs stopped at sentence boundaries in the present study. Both differences in



frequency cut-offs and processing boundaries might result in producing different LBs. Lastly, both studies use the software VARD to normalise the spelling variants, but treatments for specific spelling variants might differ.

In response to the above differences, firstly, although texts in the two studies do not completely match, it is still possible to see if certain frequent LBs in Trials and Plays throughout the Early Modern period were also typical in earlier years of the period. Secondly, regarding the differences in frequency cut-offs and processing boundaries, the comparison is made among the few dozens of most frequent bundles, so the influence of the differences could be at the minimum level. Thirdly, although there are different treatments for several specific spelling variants, both studies follow the software developers' advice on spelling normalisation (i.e., Archer and Rayson 2004; Archer et al. 2015).

Furthermore, there are some similarities between the two studies regarding methodology. To summarise, both studies extracted texts of dialogues from the same source corpus, they both used the same methods to normalise spelling variants and to define and retrieve LBs. In addition, both studies attempted to classify the multi-word units according to their functions.

Culpeper and Kytö (2010) took Halliday's (1994) three functional components of language, i.e., ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions (Halliday and Christian 2014) as umbrella categories in their classification. The functional classification included two interpersonal function categories ("speech act-related" and "modalising"), three textual function categories ("discoursal", "narrative-related", and "organisational"), and two ideational function categories ("topical" and "circumstantial) (Culpeper and Kytö 2010, 110). Table 5.4.1 presents how Culpeper and Kytö (2010) classified the 50 most frequent three-word bundles in EModE Trials and Plays according to their functional classification scheme. Most bundles in both lists fit into the seven functional categories, but a few bundles serve multiple functions or cannot be classified. I extracted the 50 most frequent three-word bundles from the corpus of EModE dialogues in the present study and classified them with the same approach. Results are also presented in Table 5.4.1, alongside those from Trials and Plays. Among the most frequent LBs, Trial and Dialogues share 13 bundles in common (marked in **bold**). However, there are as many as 24 bundles in Play (underlined) appearing also in Dialogues.

**Table 5.4.1: Functions of 50 most frequent three-word LBs in EModE Trials (Culpeper and Kytö 2010, 121), Plays (131), and Dialogues (the present study)**

	<b>Trials</b>	<b>Plays</b>	<b>Dialogues</b>
<b>Interpersonal: Speech-act-related</b>	<p><i>Directives</i> I DESIRE TO (66), MAY BE ASKED (61), HE MAY BE (51), DESIRE HE MAY (50)</p>	<p><i>Directives</i> <u>I PRAY YOU</u> (32)</p> <p><i>Assertions</i> <u>I TELL YOU</u> (53), I WARRANT YOU (49), I ASSURE YOU (33)</p> <p><i>Expressives</i> I HOPE YOU (31), I AM GLAD (25)</p> <p><i>Thanks</i> <u>I THANK YOU</u> (40)</p>	<p><i>Directives</i> <u>I PRAY YOU</u> (231), IT PLEASE YOU (79)</p> <p><i>Assertions</i> <u>I TELL YOU</u> (82)</p> <p><i>Thanks</i> <u>I THANK YOU</u> (83)</p>
<b>Interpersonal: Modalising</b>	<p><i>Approximator/intensifier</i> ANY THING OF (56)</p> <p><i>Shield/certainty marker</i> <b>I AM SURE</b> (52)</p> <p><i>Volition</i> <b>I WOULD NOT</b> (52)</p>	<p><i>Approximator/intensifier</i> <u>IN THE WORLD</u> (55), ALL THE WORLD (29)</p> <p><i>Shield/certainty marker</i> WITH ALL MY (45), ALL MY HEART (41), <u>I AM SURE</u> (37), <u>IT MAY BE</u> (32), I THINK I (25)</p> <p><i>Volition</i> <u>I WILL NOT</u> (55), <u>I WOULD NOT</u> (47), I WOULD HAVE (33). <u>IF YOU WILL</u> (31)</p> <p><i>Prediction</i> <u>YOU SHALL HAVE</u> (28), YOU SHALL BE (27)</p> <p><i>Intention</i> <u>AND I WILL</u> (58)</p> <p><i>Obligation</i> YOU SHALL NOT (28)</p>	<p><i>Approximator/intensifier</i> <u>IN THE WORLD</u> (83)</p> <p><i>Shield/certainty marker</i> <u>I AM SURE</u> (98), <u>IT MAY BE</u> (77)</p> <p><i>Volition</i> <u>I WILL NOT</u> (158), <b>I WOULD NOT</b> (106), <u>IF YOU WILL</u> (101)</p> <p><i>Prediction</i> <u>YOU SHALL HAVE</u> (92)</p> <p><i>Intention</i> <u>AND I WILL</u> (134)</p>
<b>Textual: Discoursal</b>	<p><i>Questions</i> DO YOU KNOW (182), DID YOU SEE (142), <b>WHAT DO YOU</b> (78), DID YOU EVER (76), YOU KNOW OF (63), AN ACCOUNT OF (71), GIVE AN ACCOUNT (64); YOU SEE THE (56), DO YOU REMEMBER (51), WHAT DID YOU (50)</p> <p><i>Answers</i> I DON'T KNOW (71), I CANNOT TELL (71), I CANNOT SAY (67), <b>I KNOW NOT</b> (48)</p>	<p><i>Questions</i> <u>WHAT DO YOU</u> (66), DO YOU THINK (42), DO YOU MEAN (27)</p>	<p><i>Questions</i> <u>WHAT DO YOU</u> (75)</p> <p><i>Answers</i> <b>I KNOW NOT</b> (119)</p>

Textual: Narrative-related	<p><i>Narrative</i>  <b>THERE WAS A</b> (84), HE DID NOT (84), <b>THAT HE WAS</b> (81), WAS IN THE (60), IT WAS A (48)  <i>Reporting clause fragments</i>  HE TOLD ME (107), I TOLD HIM (87), HE SAID HE (72), <b>THAT IT WAS</b> (48)  <i>Reported clause fragments</i>  <b>THAT HE HAD</b> (59), <b>AND THAT HE</b> (51)</p>		<p><i>Narrative</i>  <b>THAT HE WAS</b> (128), <b>THERE WAS A</b> (96)  <i>Reporting clause fragments</i>  I WILL TELL (106), HE SAYS THAT (80), <b>THAT IT WAS</b> (88), SAYS THAT HE (81)  <i>Reported clause fragments</i>  <b>THAT HE HAD</b> (144), <b>AND THAT HE</b> (117), AND THAT SHE (89), THAT HE WOULD (89), THAT I HAVE (104), THAT SHE HAD (98)</p>
Ideational: Organisational		<p><i>Informational elaboration</i>  <u>AS WELL AS</u> (46), AS I AM (34), AS MUCH AS (28)</p>	<p><i>Informational elaboration</i>  <u>AS WELL AS</u> (114)</p>
Ideational: Topical	<p><i>People</i>  THE BISHOP OF (62), AND THE JURY (52), MY LORD OF (52)  <i>Information specificity</i>  <b>ONE OF THE</b> (63)  <i>Numerical information</i>  TWO OR THREE (58)  <i>States</i>  I AM NOT (47)</p>	<p><i>Information specificity</i>  A MAN OF (37)  <i>States</i>  <u>IT IS A</u> (78), <u>IT IS NOT</u> (58), <u>I AM A</u> (44), <u>I AM NOT</u> (43), I HAVE BEEN (35), YOU ARE A (34), <u>IT IS THE</u> (33), IN LOVE WITH (33), TO SEE YOU (32), THAT I AM (31), <u>THERE IS NO</u> (28), THIS IS THE (26)</p>	<p><i>Information specificity</i>  <b>ONE OF THE</b> (123), AND THE SAID (150), OF THE SAID (145), THAT THE SAID (109), THE NAME OF (85)  <i>States</i>  <u>IT IS NOT</u> (156), <u>IT IS A</u> (147), <u>THERE IS NO</u> (118), HE IS A (98), <u>I AM A</u> (77), I AM NOT (96), <u>IT IS THE</u> (97)  <i>People</i>  THE EARL OF (115), MY LORD I (116)</p>
Ideational: Circumstantial	<p><i>Time</i>  <b>AT THAT TIME</b> (104)  <i>Place</i>  AT THE BAR (60)  <i>Directional</i>  <b>OUT OF THE</b> (93), I WENT TO (82), TO MY LORD (54), CAME TO ME (47), HE CAME TO (47)</p>	<p><i>Directional</i>  <u>OUT OF THE</u> (29)</p>	<p><i>Directional</i>  <b>OUT OF THE</b> (176)  <i>Time</i>  <b>AT THAT TIME</b> (92), IN THE MORNING (80)</p>
Mixed	<p>I DID NOT (160), <b>I DO NOT</b> (124), DO NOT KNOW (71), DID NOT KNOW (55)</p>	<p><u>I WILL BE</u> (28), IT IS NO (25)</p>	<p><b>I DO NOT</b> (165), <u>I WILL BE</u> (89)</p>
Unclassified	<p>IT IS NOT (81)</p>	<p>I HAVE A (55), I KNOW NOT (50), I DO NOT (41), <u>I HAVE NOT</u> (37), I KNOW YOU (29), <u>TO BE A</u> (27)</p>	<p><u>I HAVE A</u> (76), <u>I HAVE NOT</u> (77), IF IT BE (75), <u>TO BE A</u> (92)</p>

(Continuing from the previous page)

There are observable differences and similarities between the most frequent LBs in the two studies. Table 5.4.1 shows that LBs retrieved from Trials, Plays, and Dialogues dominate in different categories of functions. LBs in Trials dominate in the categories “Textual: Discoursal”, “Textual: Narrative-related”, “Ideational: Topical”, and “Ideational: Circumstantial”. LBs in Plays amass particularly in “Interpersonal: Speech-act-related”, “Interpersonal: Modalising”, and “Ideational: Organisational”. By comparison, among the three categories dominated by LBs in Dialogues, 12 out of 50 bundles are in “Textual: Narrative-related”, which is also dominated by bundles in Trials. Eight bundles are in the category “Interpersonal: Modalising” and 14 in the category “Ideational: Topical”, which are also dominated by bundles in Plays. Meanwhile, there are no LBs in Trials serving the “Ideational: Organisational” function and no LBs in Plays serving the “Textual: Narrative-related” function, while both function categories contain bundles in Dialogues.

The two studies can also be distinguished at the level of subcategories of functions. Firstly, LBs providing numerical information and naming places were found exclusively in Trials, while those functioning as “expressives” and denoting obligations exclusively in Plays. There are no subcategories of functions served exclusively by LBs in Dialogues. Secondly, all three corpora contain LBs in subcategories, including “Directives”, “Approximator/intensifier”, “Shield/certainty marker”, “Volition”, “Questions”, “Information specificity”, “States”, and “Directional”. Among LBs serving these subcategories of functions, Trials are dominated by LBs asking questions (i.e., nine bundles), while there are only three and one bundles of the same function in Plays and Dialogues, respectively. Both Plays and Dialogues are dominated by LBs describing the states of entities (i.e., 12 and seven bundles respectively). There is only one bundle serving the same function in Trials. Meanwhile, LBs in Trials are also popular in “Directives” and “Directional”. Likewise, subcategories containing more LBs in Plays are “Shield/certainty marker” and “Volition”. In Dialogues, it is “Information specificity”.

Further differences can be observed by comparing LBs in Trials and Plays with those in Dialogues individually. Firstly, compared to Trials, functions served exclusively by bundles in Dialogues are “Assertions”, “Thanks”, “Prediction”, “Intention”, and “Information elaboration”. By comparison,

functions served exclusively by bundles in Trials are “Numerical information” and “Place”, which is the same as when all three corpora are compared above. Secondly, compared to Trials, functions dominated by bundles in Dialogues are “Reported clause fragments” (six types), “Information specificity” (five types), and “States” (seven types), while there are only two bundles in Trials in “Reported clause fragments” and one bundle in the other two categories. By comparison, functions dominated by bundles in Trials are “Questions” (nine types), “Answers” (four types), and “Directional” (five types), while there is only one bundle in Dialogues in each subcategory. Thirdly, compared to EModE Plays, the functions “Expressives” and “Obligation” were not found to be served by frequent bundles in Dialogues. Yet bundles serving the functions “Answers”, “Narrative”, “Reporting clause fragments”, “Reported clause fragments”, “People”, and “Time” are exclusive to Dialogues. Lastly, among functions served by LBs in both Plays and Dialogues, bundles in Plays only dominate in “States” (12 types), while bundles in Dialogues only dominate in “Information specificity” (five types). The same relative proportion is observed as when all three corpora are compared above. The rest functions are served by more or less the same number of LBs in the two corpora.

Before ending this section, the forms of LBs in Trials, Plays, and Dialogues are briefly examined. LBs as part or full of verb phrases are almost equally dominant in all three corpora, with 38 bundles in Trials<sup>12</sup>, 35 in Plays, and 36 in Dialogues. The rest are mostly part or full of prepositional/noun phrases. They are also equally distributed in the three corpora, with ten bundles in Trials, 13 in Plays, 11 in Dialogues. In addition, there are two LBs as adjective/adverb phrases in Plays and one in Dialogues.

#### **5.4.2. Lexical bundles in EModE letters and their functions**

This section compares the three-word LBs in EModE letters with those retrieved from the corpus of Bess letters (hereinafter Bess letters) in Marcus (2018). Both studies adopted the same definition of LBs. However, there are some differences between the procedures for retrieving LBs in the two studies. Firstly, regarding

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<sup>12</sup> Culpeper and Kytö (2010) did not provide exact numbers of LBs in each grammatical structure in Trials and Plays. Therefore, the counts here were calculated based on their description of LBs as part or full of verb phrases and those as part or full of prepositional/noun phrases on pages 120 and 132, respectively.

the selection of corpus for investigation, the corpus of EModE letters in the present study is larger in size and contains letters between senders and recipients whose relationships and social backgrounds are more diverse. The letters also address a broader range of topics. By comparison, in Marcus (2018), corpus texts contain exchanges between a noblewoman and various people. Secondly, the two studies used different software programmes to retrieve LBs. Marcus (2018) used AntConc, while the present study used WordSmith. Thirdly, the two studies applied different parameters to retrieve LBs. In Marcus (2018), three-word LBs must recur at least three times. In the present study, the parameters are tighter, requiring LBs to recur at least 20 times *pmw.* and in at least ten per cent of the texts. Lastly, LBs in Marcus (2018) could not span punctuation marks, while in the present study bundles could not span sentence boundaries.

Responding to the differences, firstly, like EModE letters in the present study, Bess letters also date from the mid-16th century to the early 17th century. Therefore, it is worth comparing LBs retrieved from a highly specialised corpus with those from a more general corpus. Secondly, differences between LBs in the two studies might be caused by the use of different software programmes. However, Culpeper and Kytö (2010) state that different software programmes could produce different results even when following the same procedure. They tested that differences caused by software only concern the frequency of a few LBs; hence it is unavoidable, but it would not influence the reliability of their research. Thirdly, as pointed out in the previous section, since a comparison was conducted only among the most frequent LBs, the influence of different frequency cut-offs and processing boundaries was considered at a minimum.

Marcus (2018) conducted her analysis on the 20 most frequent three-word LBs in the Bess letter corpus. This study thus also extracted the same number of the most frequent three-word bundles from the corpus of EModE letters. The classification of LBs in Marcus (2018) was based on the functional classification taxonomy in Biber et al. (2004), a previous version of the taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005) (see Section 2.5.3, Chapter 2). For a valid comparison, the present section classified LBs in EModE letters in the same way.

LBs across various function categories are presented in Table 5.4.2, which allows the observation of several differences. Firstly, there are only three LBs shared by the two corpora (marked in **bold**). Secondly, although LBs in both

Bess letters and EModE letters spread across all four general function categories, bundles in Bess letters dominate in the categories “Stance expressions: Attitudinal/modality stance” and “Special epistolary functions”, while bundles in EModE letters dominate in the other two categories, “Discourse organisers” and “Referential expressions”.

More differences can be observed at the level of subcategories of functions. Firstly, among the twenty most frequent LBs in the two studies, bundles serving the functions “Topic introduction/focus” and “Politeness (formulae)” exist exclusively in Bess letters; conversely, those serving the function “Intention/focus” occur only in EModE letters.

**Table 5.4.2: Functions of 20 most frequent three-word LBs in Bess letters (Marcus 2018, 292) and in EModE dialogues (the present study)**

	Bess letters	EModE letters
<b>Stance expressions: Attitudinal/modality stance</b>	<i>Obligation/directive</i> <b>I PRAY YOU (18)</b> BESEECH YOUR LORDSHIP (10), I BESEECH YOU (7), PLEASE YOU TO (10) <i>Intention/prediction</i> I CAN NOT (14) <i>Desire</i> THAT I MAY (9)	<i>Obligation/directive</i> <b>I PRAY YOU (481)</b> <i>Intention/prediction</i> I SHALL BE (309) <i>Desire</i> I WILL NOT (273)
<b>Discourse organizers</b>	<i>Topic elaboration/clarification</i> <b>THAT I HAVE (7)</b> , AS I HAVE (6) <i>Topic introduction/focus</i> ME AND MINE (11)	<i>Topic elaboration/clarification</i> I KNOW NOT (428), I HAVE NOT (375), <b>THAT I HAVE (354)</b> , THAT I AM (281), I DO NOT (365), I HAVE BEEN (287)
<b>Referential expressions</b>	<i>Specification of attributes</i> TO BE A (7) <i>Time/place/text reference (multi- functional reference)</i> INTO THE COUNTRY (7)	<i>Specification of attributes</i> THE REST OF (279) <i>Time/place/text reference (multi- functional reference)</i> IN THE MEAN (319), THE MEAN TIME (278), AT THIS TIME (277), OUT OF THE (284) <i>Identification/focus</i> MY VERY GOOD (315)
<b>Special epistolary functions</b>	<i>Address terms</i> TO MY LORD_(7), TO HER MAJESTY (14), BY YOUR LORDSHIP (7), YOUR LORDSHIP TO (11), TO YOUR LORDSHIP (15) <i>Politeness (formulae)</i> TAKE MY LEAVE (11), ALL HONOUR AND (7), AS I AM_(6)	<i>Address terms</i> MY LORD OF (458), TO THE RIGHT (313), THE KING OF (282)
<b>Mixed</b>	<b>TO YOU AND (8)</b>	<b>TO YOU AND (322)</b>

Secondly, for functions served by bundles in both studies, bundles in Bess letters dominate in the subcategories “Obligation/directive” and “Address

terms”, whereas bundles in EModE letters dominated in categories “Topic elaboration/clarification” and “Time/place/text reference (multi-functional reference)”. Marcus (2018) shows a similar trend in the comparison between bundles in Bess letters and those retrieved with the same parameters from the CEEC, which contains letters dating back to the entire EModE era including the same letters examined in the present study. This is the evidence that Marcus (2018) and the present study are comparable.

Thirdly, as mentioned already, there are only three LBs existing in both EModE letters and Bess letters. These are I PRAY YOU, THAT I HAVE, and TO YOU AND. However, in the comparison between bundles in Bess letters and those in the CEEC in Marcus (2018), there are seven shared bundles, which are I PRAY YOU, I CAN NOT, THAT I MAY, TO YOU AND, THAT I HAVE, TO MY LORD, and AS I AM. The bundle I PRAY YOU exists in all three corpora. The previous Section 5.4.1 shows that it is one of the most frequent bundles in EModE dialogues. As Marcus (2018) puts it, the bundle I PRAY YOU “is a characteristically early modern, speech-related LB, although not necessarily one that is text-type specific” (293).

Finally, regarding the form of LBs, nine out of 20 LBs in EModE letters are part or full of verb phrases, while Bess letters contain 11. Another nine out of 20 LBs in EModE letters are part or full of prepositional/noun phrases, while it is eight in Bess letters. The comparison between LBs in Bess letters and those in the CEEC in Marcus (2018) produces similar observations.

### **5.4.3. Discussion**

Comparisons between LBs in the present study with those examined in Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and Marcus (2018) show that although different studies use different parameters when retrieving LBs, a valid comparison is still possible as long as it is among the most frequent bundles of the same length because the differences in the frequency cut-offs could be minimised.

However, the comparisons reveal bigger problems. On the one hand, as mentioned above, comparing the most frequent LBs might be a compromise between studies working with different parameters to retrieve LBs, but there is no precise measurement of how the validity of comparison would decrease when more cases of less frequent LBs are included. On the other hand, one has to keep



in mind that both Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and Marcus (2018) present no more than 50 out of hundreds to thousands of LBs in their published studies. It is difficult to draw a solid conclusion about how the bundles in the compared studies are different from or similar to each other. Therefore, one can hardly take the analysis and comparison as representative.

All in all, it seems that a direct cross-study comparison between LBs retrieved from various types of texts would not produce satisfactory results. However, with the help of well-developed software and open-source corpora, it should not be too difficult to retrieve LBs from Trials, Plays, and Bess letters from scratch with the same parameters used in the present study.

Nevertheless, in the context of investigating FSs, the cross-study comparison could be more difficult and problematic. As discussed in Chapter 2, the definition and identification of FSs differ among studies. Even though the present study identified FSs based on LBs, it is hardly comparable with other studies on formulaic language with a LB-based approach, at least from a quantitative and formal perspective. Small-scale cross-study comparisons might still be possible if a researcher follows the same definition and procedures to identify FSs as in the study being compared.

### **5.5. Summary and final remarks**

EModE letters are generally more recursive than dialogues, for the proportion of LBs in letters is larger and their length is longer. Thorough comparisons were conducted between three-word LBs in dialogues and letters and between four-word LBs in the two text types, from perspectives of distribution, frequency, grammatical structure, and function. For three-word LBs, although around one-third of the 300 most frequent three-word LBs occur in both dialogues and letters, their frequencies differ greatly. Three-word LBs in both text types have the same grammatical structures, as full or part of verb phrases, prepositional/noun phrases, and adjective/adverb phrases. In both text types, their distributions follow a similar trend across the three grammatical-structural categories. Among the 300 most frequent LBs, both dialogues and letters are dominated by LBs as full or part of verb phrases. For four-word LBs in EModE dialogues and letters, they are more complete in syntax, hence a new grammatical-structural category: clause bundles. Like three-word LBs, four-

word LBs in both text types have the same grammatical structures, and their distributions follow a similar trend across the four grammatical-structural categories. However, different from three-word bundles, both four-word verb phrase bundles and prepositional/noun phrase bundles dominate in EModE dialogues and letters.

It is the function of LBs that distinguish EModE dialogues and letters to a greater degree. Regardless of form and length, LBs in letters serve more genre-specific functions. For three-word LBs, firstly, verb phrase bundles reflect different activities corresponding with the codes of communication. Letters contain a lot of bundles about sending and receiving letters. In dialogues, there are many bundles about talking and reporting. Secondly, in verb phrase bundles, personal pronouns in the subject or object position indicate the communicational features of letters. Compared with dialogues, letters use slightly more *I/me*, but much less *you*. Thirdly, both text types have prepositional/noun phrase bundles as temporal deixis, but prepositional/noun phrase bundles in EModE letters mainly reference persons, especially recipients. Lastly, adjective/adverb phrase LBs in dialogues and letters serve similar functions and/or are about similar topics, but letters are dominated by positive, affectionate, or respectful adjective phrase LBs, which often modify noun phrases of persons. Such LBs are often found in salutations, thus also genre-specific.

Similar functional observations were obtained among four-word bundles. Firstly, compared with EModE letters, clause bundles in dialogues tend to introduce new topics and make statements. Clause bundles in dialogues also tend to perform speech acts, but speech acts performed by clause bundles in letters are more diverse. Secondly, when performing the same functions, verb phrase bundles in letters reflect greater diversity in verb choice. Thirdly, both four-word, verb phrase and prepositional/noun phrase bundles in letters perform more genre-specific functions. For example, many prepositional/noun phrase bundles serve functions mostly related to identifying recipients, salutations, letter-writing routines, letter exchanging, etc. Some prepositional/noun phrase bundles in both text types also serve similar functions, but LBs in letters cover more specific focuses of functions.

This chapter also discussed long bundles retrieved exclusively from the corpus of EModE letters. Long bundles carry the most significant characteristics

of EModE letters. Most of them are syntactically and semantically complete or can be completed by predictable lexical items. They also serve functions that are closely related to the action of letter-writing, as well as functions that are not specific to letters. Some long LBs in letters can be found in dialogues too, whose frequencies are much lower than the threshold. They sometimes serve different functions.

The last part of the chapter indicates that it is still possible to conduct a valid cross-study comparison between LBs even though they are retrieved with different parameters. The condition is that the comparison is conducted among the most frequent LBs. However, the validity of comparison is heavily impacted by factors including how frequent the compared LBs should be (i.e., should it be top-100, 200, or more) and how much data in previous studies is granted open access. In addition, the validity of comparison is also influenced by how well the data sources match each other regarding time span (i.e., if they contain texts from the same period), genre (i.e., if a genre is compared with its sub-genres or with another genre), and overlapping of corpora (i.e., if corpora in compared studies contain same texts). For this reason, Marcus (2018) and the present study are more comparable from the perspective of corpus choice.

In conclusion, this chapter sheds some light on investigating formulaic language via LBs. The analysis above supports observations in previous research that LBs characterise different text types, function-wise. However, the analysis also shows that although many LBs, especially the long ones, reveal some sort of form-function pattern, such pattern does not spread to all LBs as a collection of multi-word units. In other words, LBs do not comprehensively demonstrate a distinguishable, solid and sound form-meaning/function relationship without exception, a relationship that is fundamental to all FSs. On the one hand, for example, both dialogues and letters have more than half of verb phrase LBs that are not functional, largely because of the great degree of incompleteness of their syntax and semantics. Therefore, the observation supports my argument that LBs are not FSs. On the other hand, many functional LBs are later identified as FSs, especially those serving genre-specific functions in EModE letters. Therefore, the observation supports another argument that some LBs can be candidates for FSs as long as they fulfil certain criteria.

## **6. Results: functional classification of formulaic sequences in EModE dialogues and letters**

This chapter reports FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters, which provide the foundation for further analysis and discussion. Section 6.1 of the chapter introduces the functional classification scheme adapted from Conrad and Biber (2005). The aim is to comprehensively describe each primary function category, subcategory, and function label. Section 6.2 presents the general results of classification. The typology of FSs across all categories and subcategories is presented in Sections 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6. Within the framework of Construction Grammar, FSs were examined from two aspects: (1) whether the forms of FSs in a function category reflect certain abstract constructional patterns and (2) how FSs in a function category reflect the mapping of form, meaning and/or function. More specifically regarding (2), the study paid attention on lexical context and pragmatic context in which an FS is used, and the semantic and grammatic categories of lexical items in the variable part(s) of an FS.

### **6.1. Function classification**

The functional classification scheme in the present study is a modified version of Conrad and Biber's (2005) taxonomy, which is reviewed in detail in Section 2.5.3, Chapter 2. This functional taxonomy is originally designed to classify LBs in academic writing and speaking in PDE. Having been tested in a pilot study (Huang 2023), it is generally feasible to apply the taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005) to FSs in EModE since they fall into all four primary function categories. Results of pilot study also suggest that, when classifying FSs in texts of a genre other than academic writing and speaking, some of them failed to find a fitting subcategory of function. In this case, new subcategories were added. Similar conclusions are drawn from studies such as Culpeper and Kytö (2010) and Marcus (2018), which successfully adopt the same classification taxonomy in classifying LBs in EModE texts (see Section 2.4.5, Chapter 2 and Section 5.4, Chapter 5). Therefore, the present study followed three principles when adopting the functional taxonomy of Conrad and Biber (2005):

- 1) The original taxonomy shall be modified (e.g., renaming, adding, and deleting primary and secondary functions) only when necessary, and the modification shall be as simple as possible.

- 2) The modified version of the functional taxonomy in this project shall keep a clear, top-down, three-tier structure, i.e., primary function categories, subcategories, and function focus labels.
- 3) Each category, subcategory, and label shall be clearly defined, including broadening and narrowing their original definitions when necessary.

The updated list of primary function categories, subcategories, and function labels is presented in Appendix 4. Under the first category “I. Stance Expressions”, there are two subcategories, “A. epistemic stance” and “B. attitudinal/modality stance”. FSs that serve as stance expressions “express attitudes or assessments that provide a frame for the interpretation of the following proposition” (Conrad and Biber 2005, 65). Specifically, FSs, which convey epistemic meaning, “comment on the knowledge status of the information in the following proposition” (65). In this study, epistemic stance FSs can also be further tagged with three specific function labels:

- “A1. certain/known”: a person knows or is sure about a piece of information, e.g., “**I make no doubt** {(but) {CLAUSE}/of {NP}/to {V-inf}}”.
- “A2. uncertain/unknown”: a person does not know or is not sure about a piece of information, e.g., “**I presume** {that-CLAUSE}”.
- “A3. probable/possible”: a person is not sure about a piece of information, but the emphasis is on the possibility of the information being true, or the possibility that something is going to happen, e.g., “**as it seems**”.

Attitudinal/modality stance sequences “express speaker attitudes towards the actions or events described in the following proposition” (Conrad and Biber 2005, 65), i.e., how a speaker thinks, feels, and responds. The study identified thirteen function labels:

- “B1. desire/willingness”: expressing a kind of mental status, emphasising a person’s desire or willingness toward something or somebody, or to do something, but the desire may not be fulfilled, e.g., “**I desire to** {V-inf}.
- “B2. obligation/directive”: expressing a person’s duty, or a person requires somebody, or is required, to do something for certain reasons, e.g., “**shall not need to** {V-inf}”.
- “B3. intention/prediction”: expressing a person’s plan to do something, and the action is highly likely to take place in the future. In other words, FSs tagged with this function label emphasise that some event is planned, or some action is predicted and expected, e.g., “**I purpose** (God willing)

to {V-inf}”. Therefore, the label shall be distinguished from “B1. desire/willingness” and “B2. obligation/directive”.

- “B4. ability”: expressing the ability to do something, e.g., “[{be}] **capable of** {NP/V-ing}”.
- “B5. affection”: expressing that a speaker likes or dislikes something or somebody, e.g., “**my most dear** (and {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, etc.}) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, etc.}”.
- “B6. respect”: showing respect, e.g., “**the right worshipful** {MODIFIER: e.g., my very loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Master, etc.}”.
- “B7. approval/disapproval”: expressing that a person agrees or disagrees with something or somebody, e.g., “**shall do well to** {V-inf}”. This label is also for sequences that vaguely express the speaker/writer’s positive/negative attitude towards something or some action, i.e., the speaker/writer generally thinks that something or some action is (not) good, proper, acceptable, etc.
- “B8. affirmation/denial”: expressing that a person acknowledges or denies a certain statement, e.g., “**not at all**”.
- “B9. challenge: expressing that a speaker provokes the other person to do something difficult or not preferred.
- “B10. request”: expressing that a person asks another person to do something (not as a duty), or a person asks for something from another person, e.g., “(if) **it may please** {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}””. This label shall be distinguished from “B1. desire/willingness” and “B2. obligation/directive”.
- “B11. threat”: expressing that if some condition is not fulfilled, there would be an unpleasant consequence.
- “B12. oath/promise”: FSs that are used to make an oath or promise, e.g., “(to/by/in) **the** (MODIFIER) **Grace of** (almighty) God”.
- “B13. feeling”: concerning the emotions or the change of mental status towards something or somebody, e.g., “[{be}] **ashamed to** {V-inf}”.

The second primary category, “II. Discourse Organisers” contains FSs which “reflect relationships between prior and coming discourse” (Conrad and Biber 2005, 67). There are two subcategories which remain unchanged. One is “A. topic introduction/focus” FSs, which “provide overt signals that a new topic (or sub-topic) is being introduced or is becoming the focus of attention” (67); the other is “B. topic elaboration/clarification” FSs, which “add more information to a topic”, “clarify or ask for clarification of previously stated information”, or “overtly mark the relationship the speaker/writer sees between

units of discourse” (67). When classifying the sequences, it is sometimes not clear about the exact boundary between introducing a new topic and adding more information to a topic, since often the latter might lead to a new topic when communication continues. I perceive that FSs in the “A. topic introduction/focus” group shall be only about topics, information, and attention to the topics and information themselves (e.g., “**in respect of** {NP}”, “**I hear that** {CLAUSE}”, “**let you know that** {CLAUSE}”); whereas those in the “B. topic elaboration/clarification” group are more about the speaker’s opinion, understanding, explanation, and elaboration about a previously mentioned topic, and the purpose of giving new information is for the better understanding of the previously mentioned topic or information even if the new information becomes the topic in the following part of the discourse (e.g., “**for my own part**”, “**I wonder** {COMP}”, “**I understand that** {CLAUSE}”). In addition, some FSs are used as devices that link units of discourse, for example, “**on the other side**” brings up information from a different perspective, and “**and therefore**” implies that the coming discourse is the result of the previous one.

The third primary category, “III. Referential Expressions”, contains FSs that “make direct reference to physical or abstract entities, or to the textual context” (Conrad and Biber 2005, 67). Its four subcategories also remain unchanged, except that a few new and more specific function labels are added to the “A. identification/focus” subcategory. Identification/focus sequences “identify an entity or part of it as noteworthy” (67). An entity can be either physical or abstract. Different from FSs in the subcategory “A. topic introduction/focus” (“II. Discourse Organisers”), FSs in “A. identification/focus” (“III. Referential Expressions”) are about the topics themselves, rather than functioning as linguistic devices to introduce or organise them. There are six function labels assigned to this subcategory:

- “A1. abstract entities”: mostly noun phrases like FSs that describe or name entities that do not have a physical body, e.g., “**the Grace of God**”. Specifically, institutions, organisations, and other similar places are abstract entities because they do not have one single physical body, although they are formed by people, have a building where people meet or work, and have an icon or a flag to represent them. e.g., “**the parliament**”.

- “A2. physical entities”: mostly noun phrases like FSs that describe or name entities that have a physical body, i.e., things that are tangible, e.g., “**a letter from** {NP: writer of the letter}”.
- “A3. persons”: a specific type of physical entity. FSs tagged by this function label describe and/or name people, e.g., “{DET} **Archbishop of** {NP: place name}”.
- “A4. actions”: a specific type of abstract entity. FSs tagged by this label are mostly verb phrases and constructions consisting of a verb and a preposition, e.g., “{[talk]} **of** {NP}”. It is worth mentioning that not all V + PREP constructions are identified as FSs because some of them do not form a fixed structure nor collocate with predictable lexical items (see Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4).
- “A5. part of an entity”: describing a part of an entity, be it abstract or physical, or a group of entities which are extracted from a larger group, e.g., “**the last of** {N}”, “**the best of** {NP}”.
- “A6. general/context-based”: FSs that describe something or someone whose identity can only be inferred with the help of context, e.g., “**this particular**”, “**so good a** {NP}”.

The second subcategory under the primary category of “III. Referential Expressions” is “B. imprecision”. FSs in this subcategory “communicate that previous discourse is expressed imprecisely” (Conrad and Biber 2005, 67), i.e., such FSs describe something in an uncertain way, or there is no need to give more details about it, e.g., “{how/what/whom/etc.} **so ever**”. Different from “A6. general/context-based”, the subcategory “B. imprecision” contains FSs whose identity cannot be inferred from the context.

FSs in the third subcategory, “C. specification of attributes”, focus on “some particular attribute of the entity” (Conrad and Biber 2005, 67), and they are labelled respectively as:

- “C1. quantities”: e.g., “**a great deal of** {NP}”.
- “C2. tangible attributes”: e.g., “{[be]} **made of** {NP: material}”.
- “C3. intangible attributes”: e.g., “**in danger** (of {NP: something unpleasant})”.

The last subcategory, “D. time/place/text reference” contains sequences that are mostly used as temporal deixis (e.g., “**a good while**”), spatial deixis (e.g., “**from the court at** {NP: place name}”), textual deixis (e.g., “**in your letter**”), and those used interchangeably (e.g. “**in the midst** (of {NP: event, a period of time, place})”).



The last “IV. Special Communicational Functions” is the only modified primary function category, which was originally “Special Conversational Functions” (Conrad and Biber 2005, 67) and defined as being served only by LBs in a corpus of conversations. The present study expands the function to cover FSs in both spoken and written corpora, because letters, as a text type different from spoken communication, are treated also as a form of conversation but are remote in time and space compared with face-to-face dialogues (i.e., the conversation model definition of EModE letters, Daybell and Gordon 2016b). Moreover, as indicated in Section 3.1, Chapter 3, writing also performs communicative tasks, although in different degrees of immediacy or media (i.e., the communication model definition of EModE letters, Daybell and Gordon 2016b). Therefore, I altered the original category to “IV. Special Communicational Functions” in order to make this category more inclusive.

The last primary function category contains five subcategories. “A. politeness routines/social maintenance” sequences can be further grouped and tagged with five function labels:

- “A1. gratitude”: e.g., “{I/we} (most/very/humbly and) **heartily thank you** (for {NP: something})”.
- “A2. apology”: e.g., “{pray/beseech/etc.} **excuse my** {NP: something not good}”.
- “A3. salutation”: e.g., “(after/with) **my very hearty commendations**”.
- “A4. farewell”: e.g., “{I} {heartily} **bid you farewell**”.
- “A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines”: FSs that do not fit into the above four types, or their function focus is too vague to be tagged with a specific label, e.g., “**I am glad to hear** {of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, “**God keep you**”, “{[be]} **sorry to hear** {of {NP: something bad}}/{that-CLAUSE}}”.

Four other subcategories are:

- “B. simple inquiry”: direct or indirect questions, e.g., “**how many** {COMP}”.
- “C. reporting clauses”: reporting what has been said by other people, e.g., “**I told him** {COMP}”.
- “D. exclamation”: e.g., “**God be thanked**”
- “E. term of abuse”: e.g., swear words, cursing, etc.
- “F. vocative expressions”: forms of address, e.g., “**sweet heart**”.

## 6.2. General results

Before going to the details regarding the form and function of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters, this section starts with descriptive data providing an overall impression of the distribution of FSs across primary and subcategories of functions. The study identifies 953 types of FSs from the corpus of EModE dialogues. Among them, 885 types occur more than 20 times *pmw.*, which are included in qualitative and quantitative analysis. FSs whose frequencies pass the threshold have 53,211 instances in total, accounting for only 7.68 per cent<sup>13</sup> of the running tokens in the corpus of EModE dialogues. It is observed that the 885 types of FSs spread to all four primary function categories. As presented in Table 6.2a, referential FSs seem to be the most diverse<sup>14</sup> (i.e., 553 types) and the most prevalent<sup>15</sup> (i.e., 4.47 per cent of all tokens) in EModE dialogues. On the contrary, FSs serving special communicational functions are the least diverse (i.e., 105 types) and the least prevalent (i.e., 0.70 per cent) in the corpus. Moreover, FSs in EModE dialogues occur about 60 times on average. FSs in the first and second primary function categories are more frequent than the other.

**Table 6.2a: Descriptive data of FSs in the corpus of EModE dialogues ( $M_{freq.} > 20$  times *pmw.*) and their distribution across the four primary function categories**

	I. Stance Expressions	II. Discourse Organisers	III. Referential Expressions	IV. Special Communicational Functions	Total
<b>Types</b>	217	113	553	105	885
<b>Instance *</b>	16,333	6,933	30,972	4,827	53,211
<b>Distribution**</b>	2.36%	1.00%	4.47%	0.70%	7.68%
<b>Mean frequency***</b>	75.27	61.35	56.01	45.97	60.13

Note: \*The sum of raw frequencies of FSs (times). \*\*There are 692,451 tokens in the corpus of EModE dialogues. The value of "Distribution" is calculated by dividing the value of "Instance" by 692,451. \*\*\*Mean frequency is calculated by dividing the value of "Instance" by the value of "Types".

Moreover, Table 6.2b demonstrates how FSs in EModE dialogues are distributed across various subcategories of functions. In the first category, "I.

<sup>13</sup> For the sake of convenience when calculating the distribution of FSs in a corpus, the present study treats an FS as a single word form, hence an instance of an FS is one token.

<sup>14</sup> The concept of "diverse" in the present study refers to a function category containing many different types of FSs.

<sup>15</sup> The concept of "prevalent", or "popular", in the present study refers to certain FSs occurring more frequently or taking a larger proportion than the others.

Stance Expressions”, the majority of FSs express an attitudinal or modality stance, while only 27 out of 217 types of FSs express an epistemic stance. Firstly, more than half of the FSs in the subcategory “A. epistemic stance” are tagged with the “A1. certain/known” label (e.g., “**we will** {V-inf} {COMP}”). Secondly, in the subcategory “B. attitudinal/modality stance”, the dominant FSs are those expressing desire or willingness towards something or a certain action (46 types, e.g., “**for want of** {NP}”), followed by sequences expressing intention or prediction (41 types, e.g., “[{have}] {ADJUNCT} **reason to** {V-inf}”). Nevertheless, less popular attitudinal/modality sequences are those focusing on obligation or directive (e.g., “[{promise}] {NP: somebody} **to** {V-inf}”) and those making requests (e.g., “**I prithee** {{IMPERATIVE}/ {INTERROGATIVE}}”), counting 34 types and 26 types, respectively. Meanwhile, among the least popular attitudinal/modality sequences, there are only two expressing affections towards someone (e.g., “**sweet heart**”) and one type functioning as a threat (e.g., “{IMPERATIVE} **or I will** {COMP}”). It seems that speakers of EModE needed more assistance from FSs to emphasise that they had certain knowledge about something and to express their thoughts, especially what they want themselves and what they want from others.

**Table 6.2b: Descriptive data of FSs in the corpus of EModE dialogues across various subcategories of functions**

I. Stance Expressions	<i>Tp.</i> *	II. Discourse Organisers	<i>Tp.</i>	III. Referential Expressions	<i>Tp.</i>	IV. Special Communicational Functions	<i>Tp.</i>
A. epistemic stance	27	A. topic introduction/focus	39	A. identification/focus	207	A. politeness routines/social maintenance	34
A1	15	B. topic elaboration/clarification	75	A1	22	A1	5
A2.	11			A2	4	A2	3
A3	4			A3	64	A3	0
B. attitudinal/modality stance	191			A4	85	A4	0
B1	46			A5	18	A5	27
B2	34			A6.	14	B. simple inquiry	35
B3	41			B. imprecision	39	C. reporting clauses	8
B4	4			C. specification of attributes	175	D. exclamation	9
B5	2			C1	70	E. term of abuse	1
B6	11			C2	1	F. vocative expressions	18

B7	12			C3	105		
B8	23			D. time/place/ text reference	141		
B9	0			D1	107		
B10	26			D2	26		
B11	1			D3	2		
B12	22			D4	6		
B13	14						

*(Continuing from the previous page)*

Note: \* "Tp." = "Type".

In the second primary function category, two-thirds of discourse organiser sequences elaborate on a topic (e.g., “**I mean** {COMP}”), ask for elaboration (e.g., “**What** {[mean]} (NP)?”), and/or connect various units of discourses (e.g., “**and thereupon**”). The other one-third of discourse organiser sequences introduces a new topic (e.g., “**I will tell thee** {COMP}”) or get the listener’s attention towards a statement (e.g., “**as follows**”).

As stated before, the most prevalent FSs are those in the primary function category “III. Referential Expressions”. Table 6.2b shows that almost half of them state the identity of someone or something, i.e., “A. identification/focus” (207 types). Most sequences in this subcategory refer specifically to actions (85 types, e.g., “[become] **of** {NP}”), followed by those referring to persons (64 types, e.g., “{DET} **Lord of** {NP: position name}”). There is less variety in FSs referring to abstract entities (22 types, e.g., “**the fear of** {NP}”) and only four types of FSs referencing physical entities (e.g., “{DET} **copy of** {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}”). The rest of the sequences in the “A. identification/focus” subcategory are referential expressions denoting parts of entities or entities whose identities can only be detected from the context, regardless of them being abstract or physical (e.g., “**most of** {NP}”, “**such a thing**”). Such FSs account for 15.46 per cent of all in the subcategory. Similarly, there are referential expressions denoting something whose identity cannot be precisely described or detected from the context (e.g., “**the like**”). They are the least popular among the four subcategories, accounting for only 7.05 per cent of all referential sequences.

One-third of referential sequences are in the subcategory “C. specification of attributes”. Most of them focus on intangible attributes (105 types, e.g., “[be] **free from** {NP}”), followed by those stating the quantity of

an entity in particular (70 types, e.g., “**a great deal of** {NP}”). The last subcategory of referential expressions listed in Table 6.2b is FSs functioning as temporal, spatial, textual, and multi-functional deictic expressions. Among them, FSs used as temporal deixis are the most popular ones, followed by spatial deixis. Meanwhile, textual deixis sequences are the least popular ones. A preliminary conclusion could be that EModE speakers were actively using FSs to name and describe the world, particularly actions, people, their intangible features, quantities, and time and space, most of which tend to be part of the interaction with essential but abstract aspects of the world.

The last primary function category, “IV. Special Communicational Functions”, is dominated by FSs expressing politeness (34 types) and asking questions (35 types). Together, they account for 65.71 per cent of all FS types in this category. Most of the politeness routine sequences do not have a specific focus but are generally used as social relationship maintenance devices (e.g., “**God be with** {[you]}”). Only five types of politeness routine sequences explicitly show gratitude (e.g., “**I thank you** (for {NP: something})”) and another three types are used to apologise (e.g., “{[be]} **sorry for** {NP}”). Speakers of EModE also frequently used FSs to address people. FSs in the subcategory “F. vocative expressions” (e.g., “**His Grace**”) account for 17.14 per cent of all FS types serving special communicational functions in dialogues.

Following the same procedure and criteria introduced in Chapter 4, this study identified 1,479 types of FSs from the corpus of EModE letters, among which 1,395 types occur at least 20 times *pmw*. That counts 162,101 instances in total, (i.e., 11.09 per cent of the running tokens of the corpus). Table 6.2c shows that FSs in EModE letters can be classified into four primary function categories. The most diverse and common FSs are referential expressions (825 types, 92,896 instances), and the least diverse ones are discourse organisers (141 types, 18,680 instances). There are more types of FSs in the “IV. Special Communicational Functions” category than in the “I. Stance Expressions” category, whereas the former has fewer instances in total than the latter.

Furthermore, at the level of subcategories of functions, the most common type of stance expressions in EModE letters are those that convey attitudes, i.e., “B. attitudinal/modality stance”, which cover 309 types of FSs. Specifically, the top-three focuses in this subcategory are desire/willingness (83 types, e.g., “{I}

**pray God** (COMP”)), affection (62 types, e.g., “({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) **good lord**”), and intention/prediction (50 types, e.g., “**I may** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”). There are no FSs conveying meaning regarding challenge and threat. Statistics of other subcategories of the first primary function and groups with specific function focuses are presented in Table 6.2d.

**Table 6.2c: Descriptive data of FSs in the corpus of EModE letters ( $M_{freq.} > 20$  times *pmw.*) and their distribution across the four primary function categories**

	I. Stance Expressions	II. Discourse Organisers	III. Referential Expressions	IV. Special Communicational Functions	Total
<b>Types</b>	347	141	825	363	1395
<b>Instance*</b>	55,192	18,680	92,896	37,442	162,101
<b>Distribution**</b>	3.78%	1.28%	6.36%	2.56%	11.09%
<b>Mean frequency***</b>	159.05	132.48	112.60	103.15	116.20

*Note: \*The sum of raw frequencies of FSs (times). \*\*There are 1,461,538 tokens in the corpus of EModE letters. The value of “Distribution” is calculated by dividing the value of “Instance” by 1,461,538. \*\*\*Mean frequency is calculated by dividing the value of “Instance” by the value of “Types”.*

**Table 6.2d: Descriptive data of FSs in the corpus of EModE letters across various subcategories of functions**

I. Stance Expressions	<i>Tp.</i> *	II. Discourse Organisers	<i>Tp.</i>	III. Referential Expressions	<i>Tp.</i>	IV. Special Communicational Functions	<i>Tp.</i>
A. epistemic stance	39	A. topic introduction/focus	65	A. identification/focus	380	A. politeness routines/social maintenance	231
A1	23	B. topic elaboration/clarification	77	A1	42	A1	15
A2	15			A2	16	A2	13
A3	4			A3	205	A3	151
B. attitudinal/modality stance	309			A4.	80	A4.	10
B1	83			A5	20	A5	51
B2	30			A6	17	B. simple inquiry	6
B3	50			B. imprecision	43	C. reporting clauses	20
B4.	8			C. specification of attributes	196	D. exclamation	7
B5	62			C1	69	E. term of abuse	0
B6	49			C2	1	F. vocative expressions	100

B7.	7			C3	127		
B8.	14			D. time/place/ text reference	218		
B9	0			D1	148		
B10	33			D2	41		
B11	0			D3	23		
B12	9			D4	6		
B13	39						

(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \* “Tp.” = “Type”.

In the second primary function category, “II. Discourse Organisers”, FSs are almost equally grouped into two subcategories. There are 65 types of FSs introducing or drawing focus on a (new) topic (e.g., “**there** {[be]}”, “**I trust** {COMP}”, “**in respect** (of {NP})”) and 77 types elaborating or clarifying a previously mentioned topic (e.g., “**and therefore**”, “**I thought** {COMP}”, “**not only** {COMP}, **but** (also) {COMP}”).

According to statistics in Table 6.2d, more than 46.06 per cent of all FS types in the third primary category, “III. Referential Expressions”, are used to identify an abstract or physical entity in EModE letters. In this subcategory, the majority are references to persons (205 types, e.g., “**your Lordship**”, “{DET} **Duke of** {NP: place name}”). In the second place, EModE letters employ 218 types of FSs as temporal, spatial, or textual deixis (e.g., “{at/before/by/for/etc.} **this time**”, “**at London**”, “**I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.”). More than half of them are temporal deixis (148 types). Another one-fourth of referential expressions describe specific attributes of an entity, mostly intangible attributes (127 types, e.g., “**the next**”, “{DET} **cause of** {NP: mostly negative things}”).

The most populated subcategory of “IV. Special Communicational Functions” is “A. politeness routines/social maintenance” (231 types). The majority of FSs in this subcategory are used as salutations in EModE letters (151 types, e.g., “**To my** {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody}”). Meanwhile, there are no FSs as terms of abuse.

All in all, three preliminary observations can be made so far regarding how similarly/differently EModE dialogues and letters employ FSs for various purposes, while a more in-depth quantitative analysis and comparison between the distribution of FSs across primary and secondary function categories in the

two text types is provided in Section 7.2.1, Chapter 7. Firstly, both text types contain the largest number of FSs as referential expressions. On the contrary, EModE dialogues employ the least number of FSs serving special communicational functions, while EModE letters employ the least number of FSs as discourse organisers. Secondly, at the level of subcategories of functions, five groups of the most diverse FSs in EModE dialogues are identification/focus sequences, attitudinal/modality stance sequences, sequences specifying attributes, temporal/spatial/textual deictic sequences, and topic elaboration/clarification sequences. Conversely, five groups of the most diverse FSs in EModE letters are identification/focus sequences, attitudinal/modality stance sequences, sequences keeping politeness routines or maintaining social maintenance, temporal/spatial/textual deictic sequences, and sequences specifying attributes. Four out of the five most diverse subcategories of functions in EModE letters are in common with those in dialogues, suggesting that the two modes of communication employ FSs for similar purposes. Lastly, five groups of the least diverse FSs in EModE dialogues include sequences as terms of abuse, reporting clauses, exclamative sequences, vocative expressions, and sequences describing the status of knowledge (i.e., epistemic stance). By comparison, five groups of the least diverse FSs in EModE letters include simple inquiry sequences, exclamative sequences, reporting clauses, imprecision sequences, and epistemic stance sequences. Three out of the five least diverse subcategories of functions in EModE letters are in common with those in dialogues.

In the following sections, FSs in the two corpora are examined in greater detail, focusing on how they represent conventional mappings of form and meaning/function within the framework of Construction Grammar. The complete lists of FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters are presented in Appendix 5 and Appendix 6, respectively.

### **6.3. Formulaic sequences as stance expressions**

#### **6.3.1. Dialogues**

##### **A. epistemic stance**

Table 6.3.1a presents FSs in the subcategory “A. epistemic stance”, which occur more frequently than average ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times) in the corpus of EModE dialogues.



**Table 6.3.1a: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “A. epistemic stance”\***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A1. certain/ known</b>	<p>{[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}} (205);  <b>I am sure</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}} (98);  <b>I believe</b> ( {that-CLAUSE} ) (95);  <b>I know</b> (not) {COMP} (427); <b>I knew</b> (not) {COMP} (67);  <u>{[know]} of {NP}</u> (66)</p>
<b>A2. uncertain/ unknown</b>	<p><b>I know not</b> {COMP} (119);  <b>I know</b> (not) {COMP} (427); <b>I knew</b> (not) {COMP} (67);  <u>{[know]} of {NP}</u> (66);</p>
<b>A3. probable/ possible</b>	<p>{[seem]} <b>to</b> (V-inf) (68)</p>

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory.

### A1. certain/known

FSs in EModE dialogues that express certainty have mainly two kinds of forms. One is in the BE + PREDICATE construction, such as “[be] **sure** {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}”; the other is in the construction *I + V + COMP*, such as “**I believe** ( {that-CLAUSE} )”.

In the first structure, the predicate often consists of an adjective phrase that forms the fixed part of an FS. The most common adjective is *sure*, which is usually followed by a complement in various forms as a variable part of the FS. For example, the fixed part of the FS [1] is followed by an infinitive as in [1a], a subordinate clause as in [1b], or a prepositional phrase led by *of* as in [1c]. In some less frequent sequences, the predicate contains past participles, such as *acquainted* and *known*, as in “[be] **acquainted with** {NP: somebody/something}” and “[be] **well known**” respectively.

In the second structure, i.e., the *I + V + COMP* construction, the verb phrase is normally the fixed part of an FS. Commonly used verbs include *believe* and *know*, for example, “**I believe** ( {that-CLAUSE} )” and “**I know** (not) {COMP}”. Specifically, the fixed part of the sequence [2] mostly takes a subordinate clause as in [2a–b]; in other cases, the fixed part *I believe* can stand alone as a parenthesis, as in [2c].

- [1] {[be]} **sure** {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}} (205)
- They haue now taken this order amongst them, that **they will be sure to come before one** (*Kights*, D1FSHARP, p. C4R)
  - But **I am sure that I find him not such an one to me**, whatsoever they say. (*Looking Glass*, D2HOSNAW, p. E4R)
  - Yes my Lord, **I am sure of it**. (*Trial of John Giles*, D4TGILES, p. 40)

- [2] **I believe** ( {that-CLAUSE} ) (95)
- a. **I believe a man could do it**, but **I believe a man would not do it to himself**. (*Trial of John Giles*, D4TGILES, p. 30)
  - b. **I believe that this fellow has money**, tis but trying (*The English Gusman*, D3FFIDGE, p. 29)
  - c. That's my Riuall, **I beleue**, the Baker! (*Bartholmew Fair*, D2CJONSO, p. 33)

Less frequent FSs contain verbs such as *conceive* and *trust*. Taking the sequence “(as) **I conceive** {COMP}” for example, in its realisations [3a–b] the fixed part, *I conceive*, is followed by a subordinate clause, providing a statement. In the realisation [3c], the fixed part is followed by the adverb *so*, denoting that the speaker was certain about a previous statement, i.e., *I believe they were*, which is a realisation of the FS [2] above. This example shows that it is possible for more than one FS expressing certainty to be used in the same discourse unit for empathetic purposes (see discussion in Section 8.1.3, Chapter 8). The fixed part is also found to precede an infinitive structure, as exemplified in [3d]. Similarly, in the sequence, “**I trust** {COMP}”, the complement can be in various forms such as a clause as in [4a] and an infinitive as in [4b]. The fixed parts of both sequences can stand alone and be used parenthetically as in [3e] and [4c].

- [3] (as) **I conceive** {COMP} (25)
- a. Yes, **I conceive he was there**. (*Trial of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 41)
  - b. now **I conceiue why thou commandest mee to bee hurled in the water Cisterne**, it was thy policy (thou wonder of thy sexe) to auoid suspition in thy seruants. (*Westward for Smelts*, D2FKIT, p. E1R)
  - c. I believe they were, **I conceive so**, I profess I cannot remember, I believe Mr. Jenkyns was there. (*Trial of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 42)
  - d. Yes, if I may be allowed that which **I conceive to be my birth right and privedge**, to consult with counsell, [...]  
(*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 28)
  - e. I cannot tell that, I say, **as I conceive**, that Master Ienkyns, and Master Case were there, but positively I cannot say it, and Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Nalton, I think.  
(*Trial of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 41)

- [4] **I trust** {COMP} (33)
- a. and **I trust as long as I keep her well and do her good, I shall by the grace of God, have heaven at will**  
(*Sack-Full of News*, D3FNEWES, p. A2V)
  - b. I am a poore young man & am out of seruice, and I am very willing to serue you if you please: and **I trust to doe you such seruice**, as shall be to your good content (*Friar Rush*, D2FRUSH, p. D3V)
  - c. I pray you, let them be brought face to face to me: I have oft requir'd it, and the Law **I trust** is so. (*Duke of Norfolk*, D1TNORFO, p. 98C2)

Moreover, sometimes the negation of a verb that denotes uncertainty is also used, such as *doubt not*. For example, in the sequence [5] below, the fixed part can either take a clause or a noun phrase as its complement as in [5a–b] or be used as a parenthesis as in [5c].

- [5] **I doubt not** {COMP}
- a. Yea faith yea faith gossippe, **I doubt not if any of your precise crew had sett down that Psalme for that purpose**, but you would haue liked of it [...] (*Churching of Women*, D2HOCHUR, p. 26)
  - b. that I have been so harsh to you, though **I doubt not your pardon**; (*The English Lovers*, D3FDAUNC, p. 1.2.58)
  - c. [...] I have an Hosts provided, will bid you welcome, who by this time, **I doubt not**, doth heare of your comming, that you need not feare of your Dinner. (*Marianvs*, D3FMARIA, p. 101)

## A2. uncertain/unknown

Most FSs expressing uncertainty also take the form *I + V + COMP*. The fixed part normally contains the negation of the verb *know*, for example, *I know not* in the FS [6]. The fixed part can be followed by an object as in [6a] or a subordinate clause as in [6b]. It sometimes occurs after the subordinate clause as in [6c]. It can also be used alone as a simple response to a question as in [6e].

- [6] **I know not** {COMP} (119)
- a. **I know not any of the Persons**, but Mr. Coleman did say he had sent his Suffrages [...] (*Edward Coleman*, D3TCOLEM, p. 26)
  - b. I lacke silke, **I know not what is become of y=e= cushen canuas all my golde and siluer is done**, I want more blacke yarne, I haue not enough of blewe cruell. (*The French Garden*, D2HFERON, p. F3V)
  - c. **For whome this woman taketh mee I knowe not**, I know her as much as I know Hercules wiues father. (*Menaecmi*, D1CWARNE, p. D3R)
  - d. Court. Where is that Sexton?  
Knot. **I know not, my Lord**. (*Mary Moders*, D3TMODER, p. 5)

In some less frequent FSs, the fixed part also contains verbs that explicitly denote uncertainty, such as *doubt* and *suppose*. Similar to the FS [6], the fixed parts of the two sequences [7] and [8] are often followed by a complement in various forms, such as a noun phrase in the realisation [7a] and a clause in [7b] and [8a–b]. In some cases, the fixed part can stand alone and is used parenthetically, for example in [7c] and [8c].

- [7] **I doubt** {COMP} (24)
- a. **I doubte the varietie of the matter**, [...] And therefore I hold it necessarie to recyte the Judges opinyons. (*Southampton*, D2WSOUTH, p. 23)

- b. And could hee single out no body but my Master to make the Anuill of his malice? **I doubt hee hath taken a wrong Sowe by the eare**; if his coate be not swingd' well and thriftily, let me bee held for a sowced Gurnet. (*Cvrry-Combe*, D2HOHOBY, p.5)
- c. To guard our interest in him from the Enemy Madam Isabelle; who, **I doubt**, has designes upon him. I do not fear her wit, but her sex; she carries a prevailing argument about her. (*The Wild Gallant*, D3CDRYDE, p. 15)

[8] **I suppose** {that-CLAUSE} (36)

- a. Your friend is unknown to me, he should have set his name, and then it may be he had been safer, but **I suppose his modesty would not permit it**. (*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 17)
- b. **There may be some, I suppose**. (*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 218)
- c. Mr. Berry, **I suppose**, could take order with the Sentinel, and give them some entertainment in his own Lodg. (*Robert Green*, D3TGBH, p. 35)

So far, the above two subcategories share some common FSs, such as in [9]. As shown in Table 6.3.1a, all the shared sequences contain the verb *know*, followed by an optional variable part that marks the negation of the verb. Whether these sequences denote certainty/known or uncertainty/unknown depends on how they are realised. For example, when the sequence in [9] takes the negative *not*, it expresses that the following statement is unknown to the speaker as in [9a–b]; whereas when the sequence is realised in the positive mood, it expresses that the following statement is known to the speaker as in [9c–d].

[9] **I know** (not) {COMP} (427)

- a. I lacke silke, **I know not what is become of y=e= cushen canuas all my golde and siluer is done**, I want more blacke yarne, I haue not enough of blewe cruell. (*The French Garden*, D2HFERON, p. F3V)
  - b. **I know no particular occasion**, but for the good of the two Nations. (*Trial of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 42)
  - c. **I know that their spirits lye lurking**, for they foster them: and when any body hath angred them, then they call them forth and send them. (*Concerning witches*, D1HOGIFF, p. M4V)
  - d. There bee many, **I know**, that beare the name of Surueyors, but when they are put to it, they come far short of some principall poynts required in the absolute performance of the worke, [...]
- (*Surueyors Dialogue*, D2HONORD, p. 39)

### A3. probable/possible

Some FSs in this subcategory contain the verb *seem*, either in the variable part or in the fixed part, such as “[{seem}] to (V-inf)” in [10] and “(as) **it seems** (to/unto me) ({that-CLAUSE})” in [11]. Among the less frequent sequences not

presented in Table 6.3.1a, most of them are in the BE + PREDICATE construction, in which the predicate contains words such as *like to* and *impossible*, for instance “{[be]} **like to** {V-inf}” in [12].

[10] {[seem]} **to** (V-inf) (68)

- a. And **he did seem to say there**, he never saw me before in his life. (*Edward Coleman*, D3TCOLEM, p. 38)
- b. **It seemes to be a large and loftie cage**, if the Bird be answerable. (*Surueyors Dialogue*, D2HONORD, p. 84)

[11] (as) **it seems** (to/unto me) ({that-CLAUSE}) (47)

- a. Yet this of all the rest seemeth most strange vnto me, how so many things should fall out, **as it seemeth**, after the displeasure of a suspected person, and some of them such as apparantly are done by Satan, [...]. (*Concerning Witches*, D1HOGIFF, p. K4V)
- b. Some captiously noted that hee said this treason did tend not onely to the overthrow of true religion and destruction of all our soules, but even to the losse of our goods, lands, and lives: **But it seemeth hee meant reciprocally**: [...] (*Walter Rawleigh*, D2WRALEI, p. 4–5)
- c. **It seems to me that Lovers live alwaies in more fear then hope**: which proves true in you. (*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 210)
- d. [...] and the scrapped cheese set those appels lower: they bee pepins, **as it seemeth vnto me**: did you euer see fearer pepins? (*Schoolemaister*, D1HFDESA, p. 128[126])

[12] {[be]} **like to** {V-inf} (27)

- a. **I am like to perish with cold**, yet were it twice as frostie, & the night thrise as long, I would walke heere, rather then procure thy disparagement: [...] (*Cobler*, D1FCOBLE, p. 39)
- b. Hold, do not rail at him, for since **he is like to be my Husband**, I am resolv'd to like him: Nay, I think I am oblig'd to tell him, you are not his Friend. (*The Country-Wife*, D3CWYCHE, p. 22)

## B. attitudinal/modality stance

Table 6.3.1b presents FSs in the subcategory “B. attitudinal/modality stance”, which occur more frequently than average ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times) in the corpus of EModE dialogues. There are no FSs in EModE dialogues that can be labelled with “B9. challenge”.

**Table 6.3.1b: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “B. attitudinal/modality stance”\***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>B1. desire/willingness</b>	<b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}} (200); <b>I</b> {[desire]} {{NP: something}/{that-CLAUSE}/{NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}} (127); {[desire]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (103); [desire]} {NP: somebody} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (96); ({wh-WORD}) <b>would you</b> {COMP}? (61); <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (1,674);

	<u>I would (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (535);</u> <u>we will {V-inf} {COMP} (183); I will not {V-inf} {COMP} (158);</u> <u>I would not {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (106);</u> <u>{[be]} ready to {V-inf} (81)</u>
<b>B2. obligation/ directive</b>	<u>let {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf} (838);</u> <u>I must (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (243); let me {V-inf} (221);</u> <u>you must (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (169); ought (not) to {V-inf} (102);</u> <u>we must {V-inf} {COMP} (73); must needs {VP-inf} (68);</u> <u>you shall (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (460);</u> <u>I shall (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (331);</u> <u>I should (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (237);</u> <u>you should (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (138); we shall {V-inf} {COMP} (127)</u>
<b>B3. intention/ prediction</b>	<u>{[be]} not to {V-inf} (416); {[be]} to {V-inf} (416);</u> <u>would (not) have {VP: past participle} (210);</u> <u>I may (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (201); {[mean]} to {V-inf} (87);</u> <u>we may {V-inf} {COMP} (84); I might {V-inf} {COMP} (76);</u> <u>I will (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (1,674);</u> <u>I would (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (535);</u> <u>you shall (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (460);</u> <u>I shall (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (331);</u> <u>I should (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (237); we will {V-inf} {COMP} (183);</u> <u>I will not {V-inf} {COMP} (158);</u> <u>you should (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (138);</u> <u>we shall {V-inf} {COMP} (127);</u> <u>I would not {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (106);</u> <u>{[be]} ready to {V-inf} (81);</u>
<b>B4. ability</b>	<u>{[be]} (not) able to {V-inf} (99)</u>
<b>B5. affection**</b>	<u>my dear {NP: somebody} (53); sweet heart (23)</u>
<b>B6. respect</b>	<u>my Lord ({NP: family name}) (759); your Grace (61)</u>
<b>B7. approval/ disapproval</b>	<u>Yes Sir (61)</u>
<b>B8. affirmation/ denial</b>	<u>in faith (92); I dare (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.} (71);</u> <u>I warrant {[you]} (COMP) (64); I (dare/will) warrant you (63);</u> <u>I tell you {that-CLAUSE} (63)</u>
<b>B10. request</b>	<u>{I} pray ({NP: somebody}) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE} (362);</u> <u>(I/we) pray {you/thee/ye} {COMP} (300); I pray you (231);</u> <u>(IMPERATIVE) if you will (V-inf) (101);</u> <u>I beseech (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that- CLAUSE}} (75);</u> <u>(I/let me) beseech you {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that- CLAUSE}} (67);</u> <u>I beseech you {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}} (61)</u>
<b>B11. threat**</b>	<u>{IMPERATIVE} or I will {COMP} (15)</u>
<b>B12. oath/promise</b>	<u>in faith (92); I dare (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.} (71);</u> <u>I warrant {[you]} (COMP) (64); I (dare/will) warrant you (63)</u>
<b>B13. feeling</b>	<u>{[be]} guilty of {NP: crimes} (62)</u>

(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory. \*\*There are no FSs in the groups "B5. affection" and "B11. threat" occurring over 60 times. For demonstration, several FSs in the two groups are randomly selected as examples.

## B1. desire/willingness

As shown in Table 6.3.1b, the majority of FSs expressing desire and/or willingness contain verb phrases, including modal verbs. They take two forms. One is the SUBJ (*I*) + V + COMP construction, and the other is the BE + PREDICATE construction. In the most frequent sequences of the first form, the verbs and modal verbs are *hope*, *desire*, *would*, and *will*, such as the sequences [13] – [16] below. The verbs and modal verbs can either be in the fixed part as in [13], [15], and [16], or in one of the variable parts as in [14]. The sequences can either be declarative sentences, stating the speaker's desire as in [13], [14], and [16], or interrogative sentences, asking about the listener's desire as in [15].

[13] **I hope** {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}} (200)

- a. but **I hope to see a thousand such raskally Pickthanks hanged**, before any thing of that happen.  
(*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 10)
- b. I thinke my Lord he shall be welcom then, And **I hope that you will entertaine him so**: That he may know how Osrick honours him: [...]  
(*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. F2R)

[14] **I** {{[desire]} } {{NP: something}}/{that-CLAUSE}}/{NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}} (127)

- a. **I desire a fortnights time** to prepare my self.  
(*Connor Lord Macguire*, D3TMACGU, p. 29)
- b. I have beene a close prisoner these six months, without friends, and without Counsell, and am but of a weak speech at the best, and therefore **I desire to have the liberty of having a Counsell to speake for me**. (*Earle of Castlehaven*, D2WMERVI, p. 3)

[15] ({{wh-WORD}}) **would you** {COMP}? (61)

- a. Foot, **what would you haue me do**, my land is gon, My credit of lesse trust then Courtiers words, To men of iudgment, and for my debts I might deserue a Knight-hood; what's to be done?  
(*Ram-Alley*, D2CBARRE, p. A3R)
- b. **How would you weigh them?** (*Schoolemaster*, D1HFDESA, p. 108)
- c. Go to then, what if you could make him of a wine-bibber, a sober person; of a ding-thrift a good husband; of a slothfull, a painefull person; of a prophane creature, a religious and zealous Christian, **would you not do it?** (*Looking Glasse*, D2HOSNAW, p. E2R)

[16] **I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (1,674)

- a. Let me see the mony, and then **I will answer you to the purpose**.  
(*Walter Rawleigh*, D2WRALEI, p. 11)
- b. Never, my Lord, but when he was ill. **I will not baffle any thing that may conduce to the safety of the King, and Kingdom**.  
(*Elizabeth Cellier*, D4TCELLI, p. 11)

Specifically, EModE speakers used such sequences to express various meanings related to desire and/or willingness via the variable parts following the fixed part. For example, the fixed part in sequences [13a] and [14b] is followed by an infinitive, denoting something the speaker wanted to do; the fixed part in sequences [14a] is followed by a noun phrase, denoting something the speaker wanted to have; the fixed part in [15a] is followed by a noun phrase denoting a person and a verb phrase denoting something that the speaker wanted the person to do. In addition, all these meanings can be expressed by sequences whose fixed part is followed by a subordinate clause as in [13b].

Moreover, some of the verb phrase sequences are multi-functional. For example, sequences such as “[{desire}] **to** {V-inf}” and “[{desire}] {NP: somebody} **to** {V-inf}” are also labelled as “A4. actions” in the third primary function “III. Referential Expressions”. The sequence [15] above is an interrogative sentence, hence it is also in the subcategory “B. simple inquiry” of the fourth primary function category “IV. Special Communicational Functions”.

Furthermore, many sequences in the present group containing the modal verbs *will* and *would* are also tagged with the label “B3. intention/prediction”. It is because *will* and *would* are polysemous in EModE and have senses related to intention and prediction, such as realisations [15c] and [16a].

In addition, some less frequent FSs also contain verbs such as *endeavour*, *offer*, *refuse*, and *wish*; for example, some of these FSs are “[{endeavour}] **to** {V-inf}”, “[{offer}] **to** {V-inf}”, “[{refuse}] (ADJUNCT) **to** {V-inf}”, and “**I wish** {COMP}”.

The second form BE + PREDICATE contains full or part of adjective phrases in the fixed part, and most of them are less frequent than those verb phrase sequences. Common adjectives in the predicate are *ready*, *content*, *desirous*, *fain*, and *willing* (e.g., “[{be}] **ready to** {V-inf}”, “[{be}] **content to** {V-inf}”, “[{be}] **desirous to** {V-inf}”, “[{be}] **fain to** {V-inf}”, and “[{be}] **willing to** {V-inf}”).

Some other less frequent FSs in this group that do not fall into common structural patterns include “[{be}] **rid of** {NP: somebody, something}”, “[{be}] **weary of** {NP}”, “**at** {POSSESSIVE} **pleasure**”, “**for want of** {NP}”, “**I pray God**”, “**with all my heart**”, and “**I thank God**”. The two types of sequences involving God are discussed in greater detail in Section 7.3, Chapter 7.



## B2. obligation/directive

As shown in Table 6.3.1b, most of the frequent FSs expressing obligation and/or directive contain modal verbs with related meanings, for instance, *must*, *must needs*, *ought*, *shall*, and *should*. These sequences, fit in the structural pattern, SUBJ + MD + INFINITIVE + COMP. Some examples of these sequences are “**I must** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”, “**must needs** {VP-inf}”, “**you shall** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”, and “**I should** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”. It is worth noting that the modal verbs *shall* and *should* are also used to express a voluntary action, its intended results, or prediction of future events (e.g., *shall*, v. II. 8. b. (b), in the *OED Online*), which is interchangeable with *will* and *would* (e.g., *will*, v1. II. 9. and II. 14, in the *OED Online*). Therefore, like some sequences containing *will* and *would*, some sequences containing *shall* and *should* are also multi-functional, i.e., they are also tagged with the label “B3. intention/prediction”.

More form patterns can be observed from the rest of the FSs in this function group. Firstly, FSs having the verb *let* in their fixed part are often used to express obligation or as directives, for instance, “**let** {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}” and “**let me** {V-inf}”. Secondly, the use of imperative sentences is more common among less frequent sequences in this group, including “**come, come**”, “**come hither**”, and “**follow me**”. They are not only giving specific orders (e.g., [17a], [18a], [18c]) but also generally functioning as indicators that a more specific order is to be given (e.g., [17b], [18b]).

### [17] **come, come** (24)

- a. Remember Night, go y'are a Rogue, y'are a Rogue; fare you well, fare you well; **come, come**, Come along, Sir.  
(*The Man of Mode*, D3CETHER, p. 19)
- b. O craftie companion, how he would shift the matter, **Come, come**, deny it not, I tell ye, I haue bewrayd all.  
(*Menaecmi*, D1CWARNE, p. D1R)

### [18] **come hither** (23)

- a. Come in, I will show you some. **Come hether Ser**. Come in, you shall haue good cheape. (*Familiar Dialogues*, D1HEBELL, p. C2R)
- b. Bring my maske and my fanne, Help me to put on my Chayne of pearles. Page **come hether**, goe to my Ladye of Beau-seiour  
(*The French Garden*, D2HFERON, p. E4V)
- c. Ho Rupsa, **come hither**: Where art thou? what doest thou?  
(*The French Tongve*, D2HFWODR, p. 182)

Lastly, the construction BE + PREDICATE is also common among less frequent sequences in the group. They are “[{be}] **appointed to** {V-inf}”, “[{be}] **bound to** {V-inf}”, “[{be}] **commanded to** {V-inf}”, “[{be}] **forced to** {V-inf}”, and “[{be}] **troubled with** {NP}”. The function and meaning of these sequences are all related to their predicative fixed part.

### **B3. intention/prediction**

Both groups of attitudinal/modality stance sequences discussed so far contain multi-functional FSs that can be tagged with the label “B3. intention/prediction”. The fixed part of these FSs contains polysemous modal verbs such as *will* and *shall*. In addition to these, it is found that FSs containing modal verbs, *may* and *might*, are also frequently used to express intended or predicted actions; for instance, “**I may** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}” and “**I might** {V-inf} {COMP}”.

Moreover, FSs in this group also contain verb phrases that explicitly denote the meaning of intention or prediction, such as “[{intend}] **to** {V-inf}” and “[{mean}] **to** {V-inf}”. Some others tend to be more idiomatic, such as “[{go}] **about to** {V-inf}” and “[{have}] {ADJUNCT} **reason to** {V-inf}”. These types of FSs are generally less frequent than those containing modal verbs.

Furthermore, two types of FSs of intention/prediction are in the form of BE + *to*-INFINITIVE. They are “[{be}] **not to** {V-inf}” and “[{be}] **to** {V-inf}”. Both are frequent in EModE dialogues.

### **B4. ability**

There are only four types of FSs in EModE dialogues expressing the ability to do something. They are all in the form of the BE + ADJ + COMP construction. The most frequently used sequence is “[{be}] (not) **able to** {V-inf}”. The less frequent ones are “[{be}] **fit to** {V-inf}”, “[{be}] **not able to** {V-inf}”, and “**it is impossible** (for {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}”. The last one is multi-functional. In addition to expressing the ability to do something as in [19a–b], it was also used by EModE speakers to express possibility as an epistemic stance sequence (i.e., “A3. probable/possible”) as in [19c–d].

[19] **it is impossible** (for {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}) (14)

- a. Al these see it, and yet you cannot see it, they say they cannot chuse but see, and yet you say **it is impossible for you to see it**.  
(*Deuill of Edmonton*, D2FBREWE, p. B4V)

- b. Your indictment is extream long, and of aboundance of particulars, **it is impossible that my memory, or of any one mans in England, can contain it, or carry it in our heads,** [...] (*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 30)
- c. Except that time that we were out of Town, which was in September the Summer-time. And **it is impossible but if the Body was in the House, as Praunce said it was, but I must see him, or some of us must.** (*Robert Green*, D3TGBH, p. 55)
- d. W. S. 'Tis gon by heauen, Not a denier is left.  
Bou. 'Tis impossible.  
(*Ram-alley*, D2CBARRE, p. A3V)

### B5. affection

The only two types of attitudinal/modality stance sequences that express affection are both multi-functional. They are used as vocative expressions that show affectionate attitudes towards the addressee, as in [20] and [21]. Moreover, the FS [20] allows explicitly stating a person's identity, such as in [20b].

[20] **my dear** {NP: somebody} (53)

- a. Thy company's no less to me my sweetheart, **my deer**, and my beloved one, of whom I'le say: [...] (*The Wandring Whore*, D3MWHORE, p. 10)
- b. Yes **my dear Spinala**, said he, I have met with one who hath robb'd me of one of my choisest Jewels, [...] (*The English Lovers*, D3FDAUNC, p. 1.2.31)

[21] **sweet heart** (23)

- a. she will chide me, I pray thee **sweet heart**, help me a little to put on my gowne, [...] (*The French Garden*, D2HFERON, p. D7V)
- b. chear up **sweet Heart**; I have a secret to tell thee may Chance to make thee merry, [...] (*The Man of Mode*, D3CETHER, p. 19)

### B6. respect

Similar to the attitudinal/modality stance sequences of affection, the 11 FSs of respect are used multi-functionally as vocative expressions ("IV. Special Communicational Functions") and as a reference to a specific person ("III. Referential Expressions"). A recurring structural pattern can be observed. They are all in the form of POSS. PRON + NP (indicating social ranks), for example, "**my Lord** ({NP: family name})", "**your Grace**", and "**his Majesty**".

### B7. approval/disapproval

Speakers of EModE used FSs to express if they agreed with something or somebody, or whether they had a positive or negative opinion, but most of them occur less frequently in the corpus. These FSs have two kinds of forms. One

involves adjectives and adverbs denoting approval or disapproval, for instance, “**Yes Sir**”, “**Good Sir**”, “**indeed, Sir**”, and “**truly, Sir**”. FSs in another form are all verb phrases. Some are compositional, i.e., they contain words of explicit approval or disapproval, such as the FS [22]. The FS is multi-functional, for it is also a reference to the action of agreeing (“III. Referential Expressions”). Some others are more idiomatic, for instance, the FS [23] means “to impute to one as a fault” (*charge*, n. II. 16. b. in the *OED Online*), hence expressing disapproval.

[22] {agree} **with** {NP: an opinion, statement, action, etc. or a person} (24)

- a. **I have agreed with another of my brethren** to take him in againe as soone as I am discharged  
(*Counters Discovrse*, D3MCOUNT, p. 6)
- b. To keepe whole the vnderstanding of the matter, I will come to that **which shall neereliest agree with that I said before.**  
(*Questions*, D1HOOB, p. C2R)

[23] {[lay]} {ADJUNCT} {to/unto} {POSS. PRON} **charge** (20)

- a. and by it he will be supposed to be guilty of **all those Crimes that are laid to his charge**, and by not pleading he doth confess them;  
(*Sir Henry Slingsby*, D3TSLING, p. B3R)
- b. For taking in hand to dispatch a matter this morning for one of my acquaintaunce, I was no sooner entered into it, but **his aduersaries laide so hard vnto his charge**, and brought such matter against him, that do what I could, I could not winde my selfe out til now.  
(*Menaecmi*, D1CWARNE, p. C4R)

In addition, another multi-functional sequence in this group is “**go to.**”, which expresses disapproving senses (e.g., [24a]), such as “(playful) impatience or dismissiveness, or (mock) disbelief, derision, etc.” (*go*, v. to go to, 1.b. in the *OED Online*). It is also used as an exclamation, such as in [24b–c].

[24] **go to.** (23)

- a. Qu. O wicked man.  
Le. **Go to, go to**, you are one of those fiddles too yfaith.  
Ki. Well pardon my minion, that hath frayd you thus, twas but to make you mery in the end.  
(*Humerous Dayes Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. G2V)
- b. H. Sir, truly with all Authority, and not with licence.  
T. **Now goe to**, I haue ended my busines: shall we goe home and dine?  
(*The French Tongve*, D2HFWODR, p. 191)
- c. Iames. I pray doe not tell her, and I will loue you well.  
Barbara. Will ye doe so? **Goe to**, I will not tell her: Here is a peny to buy you some quilles.  
(*Familiar Dialogves*, D1HEBELL, p. B2V)

## B8. affirmation/denial

To confirm or emphasise the truth or falsity of certain information, 23 types of FSs are found to be employed by EModE speakers in their dialogues. Most of these FSs are in the, *I + VP + COMP* construction, for example, the ones with higher frequencies in Table 6.3.1b include “**I tell you** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I dare** (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}”, “**I warrant** {[you]} (COMP)”, and “**I** (dare/will) **warrant you**”. In most cases, the meaning/function of these sequences can be detected from the main verbs in the fixed part such as *warrant*. Other less frequent sequences are found to have the same structure, using verbs such as *deny*, *assure*, and *swear*. For more idiomatic ones, specific pragmatic knowledge might be required to process the sequences as a whole; for example, “**I protest** (unto/to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}” and “**I tell you** {that-CLAUSE}”.

So far, some of the few named FSs above are multi-functional. Firstly, the sequence, “**I tell you** {that-CLAUSE}”, introduces a new topic or a statement (“II. Discourse Organisers”), in which the speaker affirms its truthfulness. Some of its realisations are listed in [25a–b].

[25] **I tell you** {that-CLAUSE} (63)

- a. **I tell you master**, for a truth **I tell you too**, I knowe a man that in this towne, had a Bible lying on his shoppe boorde, and solde but three yardes of satten vnto a Gentleman, and [...]  
(*Maroccus Extraticus*, D1MDANDO, p. B4V)
- b. Moreover, **I tell you Brother, a man must live by his wits; men of my profession never make scruple of Conscience for what we doe:**  
(*Ingrossers of Coles*, D3HOCOLE, p. 9)

Secondly, the sequence, “**I warrant** {[you]} (COMP)”, is used before a statement and emphasises that the statement is true by taking an oath (B12. oath/promise), for example, the realisations in [26a–b]. It can also be used parenthetically as in [26c].

[26] **I warrant** {[you]} (COMP) (64)

- a. then **I warrant thee he will haue you hanged**, for he will make good friends, & is a stout man of himselfe. (*S. Oses*, D1WDARCY, p. F3R)
- b. [...] but 'tis customary here to receive mony with wives, [...], but give mony for wenches, and **that hee'l do I warrant yee**, wee'l make thee a President for others to imitate and follow: [...]  
(*The Wandering Whore*, D3MWHORE, p. 3)
- c. **I warrant you Maister** Ile dispatch this businesse with more honestie, then youle dispatch yours.  
(*How a Man May Chuse*, D2CHEYWO, p. F3R)

Thirdly, the sequence “**I dare** (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}” gains its sense of taking an oath or promising jointly via the modal verb *dare* in the fixed part and the following infinitive (hence “B12. oath/promise”). The infinitive in the second variable part is restricted to verbs and verb phrases such as *say*, *swear*, *warrant*, *take the oath*, *admit*, and *promise* (e.g. [27a–f]), which leads to the oath to be (not) taken (e.g., [27b, d]), the promise to be (not) made (e.g., [27f]), or the statement to be affirmed or denied (e.g., [27a, c, f]). The modal verb *dare* also emphasises and adds the strength of affirmation to the sequence.

[27] **I dare** (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.} (71)

- a. O sweet Sateena **I dare not say I loue thee**.  
(*Humerous Dayes Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. D4V)
- b. and if it proved all a Staff of his own, **as I dare swear this is**, then I believe he would be broke upon the Wheel, for endeavouring to bring the King into a jealousie of his good City of Paris.  
(*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 12)
- c. [...] And **I dare warrant you**  $y=t=$  Mephostophilus neuer haunted D. Faustus more, then these fellowes doe those places: [...]  
(*Knights*, D1FSHARP, p. E1R)
- d. I desire that other passage may be remembred; **I dare not take this oath**. (*High Commission*, D2THIGHC, p. 294)
- e. I confess I am obliged to honor your Nobleness, but you must excuse me if at these untimely hours **I dare admit no conference**, your Musick Sir, I thank you for, and so much do I love you that I would not endanger you, [...] (*The English Lovers*, D3FDAUNC, p. 1.2.37)
- f. [...] I will cause you to have thanks for it at our returne, other reward **I dare promise none**.  
(*Marianvs*, D3FMARIA, p. 22)

[28] (as) **it is true** ({that-CLAUSE}) (56)

- a. **I faith 'tis true**; and I use to tell him of his two Capons tails about his hat, that are laid spread eagle wise to make a feather; [...]  
(*The Wild Gallant*, D3CDRYDE, p. 15)
- b. M. Hope hath made more men unfortunate, then fear ever made unhappy.  
G. **It is true that hope is very deceitful**.  
(*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 211)
- c. They say that man was created first, and that the woman was made of one of his ribs, **as it is true**.  
(*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 244)

In addition to FSs containing verbs and verb phrases, three more form patterns are also observed among the rest of FSs in the current function group. Firstly, it is also possible for FSs of affirmation/denial in the form of minor

sentences or adverbs, including “**no no**”, “**no not**”, “**no sir**”, and “**no but** {CLAUSE}”. Secondly, three more types of FSs in this group are prepositional phrases, which are “**in truth**”, “**in faith**”, and “{in/on/of/upon} **my conscience**”. They act like adverbs. Thirdly, one sequence contains the adjective *true*, which explicitly indicates the meaning/function of the sequence. Its fixed part *it is true* sometimes leads to a subordinate clause as in [28b], and it can also be used as parenthesis as in [28c].

### B10. request

Making requests is one of the popular topics expressed by attitudinal/modality stance sequences. Most of these FSs contain verb phrases in the fixed part, including verbs such as *pray*, *beseech*, *prithe*, *will*, and *please*. These FSs generally fall into three form patterns. The most common is SUBJ (mostly *I*) + *pray/beseech* + OBJ (somebody, optional), such as the sequences [29] and [30].

- [29] {I} **pray** ({NP: somebody}) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE} (362)
- Pray ask Sir Thomas whether I did not promise him to do all I could.** (*Col. James Turner*, D3TTURNE, p. 23)
  - Far. Wel, to prison with the~ til they haue paid your due, away with them.  
One poor. Nay, **I pray, be more miserable to me**, and I wil giue you fourtie shillings when I haue it.  
(*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. D4R)
  - Pray Mr. Saveall move you my Husband for it**, I would not medle in his money matters willingly.  
(*A Mad Couple*, D3CBROME, p. D7R)
  - [...] **I pray thee be diligent thy selfe about thy businesse, and stirre them to sin, and specially to these three**, [...]  
(*Frier Rvsh*, D2FRUSH, p. C4V)
- [30] **I beseech** (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that- CLAUSE}} (75)
- and therefore **I beseech to assign me Council**, to informe my ignorance, and give mee but leave to consult with my Councell, [...]  
(*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 27)
  - I beseech Mr. Doctor to consider his case**, he is not brought as a Champion for the people of England, as he stands charged he appears to you to be contrary affected; [...]  
(*Sir Henry Slingsby*, D3TSLING, p. B3R)
  - if I ask any thing, and not in such Words as I ought, **I beseech you bear with me**, and let me have that Favour that the Law allows me.  
(*Duke of Norfolk*, D1TNORFO, p. 86C2)
  - My Lord, **I beseech you I may speak to this man**, Do you hear, Sir, Were not these the words that I said when you charged me to be a Papist, [...]  
(*Tryal of John Giles*, D4TGILES, p. 27)

FSs in the second form pattern are conditional clauses led by *if* or *may*, such as [31] and [32].

- [31] (IMPERATIVE) **if you will** (V-inf) (101)
- a. In consideration whereof, **if you will goe with Clunch to his Cottage, you shall haue house roome**, and a good fire to sit by, although we haue no bedding to put you in. (*The Old Wiues Tale*, D1CPEELE, p. A4R)
  - b. **If you will say any thing for the better opening to the worlde of those your foule & horrible facts, speake on** (*William Parry*, D1TPARRY, p. 31)
  - c. **if you will, wee will go together.** (*Schoolemaister*, D1HFDESA, p. 146)
  - d. his neighbour said, **you may hang him if you will**; No, no, said the Farmer, I will not hang him because he let me have his gold so willingly. (*The English Gusman*, D3FFIDGE, p.21)

- [32] {if/may} **it please you** {{to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}} (31)
- a. Ca. Iaques, I prethee fill me a cup of canary, three parts water  
Le. You shall haue all water and **if it please you.**  
(*Humerous Dayes Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. E2R)
  - b. My intent was not to repine at my owne easie charges, especially to performe so necessarie a dutie. **If it please you to forget my foolish speches and scattering questions, beginning where the matter brake off, you shall fauour me**; in that I haue a speciall desire to heare at the full, you hauing so notablie entred into the declaration thereof. (*Questions*, D1HOOB, p. C3V)
  - c. Faire Mistresse, **may it please you to take the labour and goe with me**, and I shall bring you to my Master, and as I suppose, hee will make you good cheare, and Gold and Siluer you shall lacke none, for hee hath great plenty thereof. (*Frier Rvsh*, D2FRUSH, p. A4R)

FSs in the last form pattern are (indirect) questions led by auxiliaries *will* or *does*, such as [33].

- [33] {will/does} **it please you** {{to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}} (44)
- a. **Sir will it please you sit downe at the tables end?** my Sister shall sit on the other side, and I heere, [...]  
(*The French Garden*, D2HFERON, p. F5V)
  - b. Father, **will it please you to hear me read?**  
(*True Advancememt*, D3HFMAUG, p. 214)
  - c. So he looked upon the Letter, and, saith he, go and tell them I will be with them presently. So, **may it please you**, my Lord, I came again, and when I came, the Gentlemen were there still.  
(*Robert Green*, D3TGBH, p. 43)
  - d. **May it please you sir to take a hard lodging at my house to night**, for I see by the Moones leape into her waterie circle, if we sit long here, vnwholesome dewes will be sent downe vpon vs.  
(*Questions*, D1HOOB, p. D2V)



### B11. threat

The function of threatening is rarely achieved via FSs in EModE dialogues. The only sequence identified in the corpus is [34]. Its fixed part contains an FS of willingness or desire, and it is preceded by a variable part consisting of an imperative sentence. As a whole, the sequence is used in situations where the speaker requests somebody to do something and indicates the consequences (normally unpleasant) if the request is not fulfilled, as demonstrated in [34a–b].

- [34] {IMPERATIVE} **or I will** {COMP} (15)
- a. **Sirra be gone, or I will send you hence.**  
(*How a Man May Chuse*, D2CHEYWO, p. F3V)
  - b. **Downe villaine, or I wil haue thy head broken?**  
(*Alexander*, D1CLYLY, p. F1V)

### B12. oath/promise

The function of oath/promise is achieved mainly via FSs in two types of grammatical structures. One is prepositional phrases of *by* and *upon*, for example, “**by god**”, “**by my troth**”, and “**upon** {POSSESSIVE} **oath**”. They are normally used as adverbials or parentheses. Another type of structure is full sentences, consisting of the verb *promise* in the fixed part, a variable part of the second person pronoun, and a variable part of a clause to express what is promised, such as [35a–b].

- [35] **I promise** {[you]} {that-CLAUSE} (43)
- a. **I promise thee I doe not thinke but they will burne thee when all comes to all**, and ther’s an end of Pattend.  
(*Vpright*, D3HOTJ, p. B1V)
  - b. **I promise you I will stay no longer for him if he were as good as George a Green**: and therefore dispatch quoth shee, and marrie me to my man Iohn. (*Lack of Newberie*, D2FDELON, p. C3R)

### B13. feeling

Most FSs expressing feelings in EModE dialogues are in the form of a BE + PREDICATE construction. The predicate contains adjectives related to emotions and feelings. In the corpus of EModE dialogues, the most popular ones are *afraid*, *glad*, *angry*, *ashamed*, and *guilty*, for instance, “[{be}] **guilty of** {NP: crimes}”. In some FSs, the fixed part contains a noun phrase with feeling/emotion-related nouns, such as “[{be}] **for fear** {that-CLAUSE}”.

### 6.3.2. Letters

#### A. epistemic stance

Table 6.3.2a presents FSs in the subcategory “A. epistemic stance”, which are more frequent than average ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times) in EModE letters.

**Table 6.3.2a: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “A. epistemic stance”\***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A1. certain/ known</b>	<u>{[be]}</u> <b>sure</b> {to V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/{of-NP} (380); <b>I believe</b> ({that-CLAUSE}) (360); <b>I am sure</b> {to V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/{of-NP} (237); <b>I know</b> (not) {COMP} (1043); <b>I trust</b> {COMP} (245); <u>{I}</u> <b>am sure</b> {that-CLAUSE} (242); {SUBJ} <b>doubt not but</b> {COMP} (202); <b>I doubt not but</b> {that-CLAUSE} (184)
<b>A2. uncertain/ unknown</b>	<b>I know not</b> {COMP} (428); <b>I doubt</b> {COMP} (136), <b>I know</b> (not) {COMP} (1043); <b>I suppose</b> {that-CLAUSE} (179)
<b>A3. probable/ possible</b>	[be] <b>like to</b> {V-inf} (209); (as) <b>it seems</b> (to/unto me) ({that-CLAUSE}) (208); {[seem]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (206);

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory.

#### A1. certain/known

Table 6.3.2a shows that in EModE letters, FSs expressing certainty form two patterns. One is the construction *I + V + COMP* construction, and other is *BE + PREDICATE*. In both cases, meaning, or stimuli of function, lies mostly in the fixed part of the sequences. In the first form pattern, some of the common key verbs and verb phrases that form the fixed parts of FSs are *know*, *believe*, *trust*, and *make no doubt* (e.g., [1] – [3], [5]) as well as the negative form of verbs that express the meaning of uncertainty, such as *doubt not* (e.g., [4]). The study also found a less frequent FS containing the verb, *conceive*, i.e., “(as) **I conceive** {COMP}”. Among them, some could be realised without lexical elements in the variable parts, for instance, “**I believe** ({that-CLAUSE})”, and “**I trust** {COMP}”. Their fixed parts could be used parenthetically as in [2b] and [3b].

[1] **I know that** {CLAUSE} (30)

To have lived in the country among your freindes how glad soever we shold have bene of yow & so to have spent some two or three yeares, **I knowe that** in so doing yow shold not satisfie your owne minde. (BACON,I,199.145.2583)

[2] **I believe** ({that-CLAUSE}) (360)

a. **I beelieve** Mr Page that he never sawe so fine a plase as Gowborough, (ARUNDEL,345.056.760)

b. The king is now **I beleeve** within a few miles of the Palatinate; (BARRING,214.153.2625)

- [3] **I trust** {COMP} (245)
- I trust** your Ladyship will not take this my begginge in any ill part. (BACON,I,60.041.762)
  - And for that the spide of suche a bargen was far greater than the expectation of her arrivall, you wyll, **I trust**, blame yourselfe, and impute no neglect to me, that my messangers come after the solempnites; (ROYAL1,56.017.292)
- [4] {SUBJ} **doubt not but** {COMP} (202)  
and therefore **I doubt not but** by him you have all that is done heare. (HATTON,I,241.072.1846)
- [5] **I make no doubt** {(but) {CLAUSE}/of {NP}/to {V-inf}} (29)
- Sister, **I make no doute but** M=r= Morse hath tolde you in what forwardnes I was towards a composition at his beinge at London, which since I have perfected; (CORNWAL,193.123.1720)
  - I make no dowbt of retorning** after the terme now because the parlyament agayne shalbe proroged till the xvi of Januarye. (BACON,II,142.246.4403)
  - and by Gods help **I make no doute, to work through** this rock without mucche difficulty and to sayl as even a cours, even with topp-sayls out: (HOLLES,I,95.028.809)

In the second form pattern, the BE + PREDICATE construction, the fixed parts can be adjectives and past participles. The most common adjective is *sure* (e.g., [6]). In less frequent FSs, there are also *assured*, *acquainted*, *confident*, *persuaded*, and *well known* (e.g., [7] – [11]).

- [6] {[be]} **sure** {to V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/{of-NP} (380)
- hee **must bee shure to doe** what hee Cane to gett the grant for the Sett in the Church. (PEPYS,43.023.348)
  - My brother Coleby is to come vpp this next weeke, beinge yesterday arrested at S=r= Henry Felton's sute, who **I am sure** [...] wilbe ready to do you any seruise if he shalbe at London in tyme. (CORNWAL,93.060.817)
  - but pray **bee sure that** it be transmitted to You by good hands. (PEPYS,29.011.211)
  - & when I com down into y=e= Countrey you **may be sure of** a troublesom visit, from S=r= Your most humble and affectionate Servant T. Machell. (FLEMING,230.086.1423)
- [7] {[be]} **assured** {that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}} (99)
- and you **may be assured that** such tempers there are in the Army; (JONES,197.010.331)
  - Minding to be at London within daies after the tearme ys begoon, **I ame assured to** find reasonable favor at Mr Chaunselors hand, (BACON,III,117.350.6056)
  - I hope heerafter occassion will pull yow hyer uppon the ladder, in which **yow shall be assured of** my best help and hand. (HOLLES,I,66.015.337)

- [8]    {[be]} **acquainted with** {NP: somebody/something} (88)  
 I made my Lord **acquainted with** the matter, [...] at whose handes if  
 I ever had received but one admonicion not to procede I shold haue  
 condemned myne owne doinges my self, (PARKHUR,203.052.957)
- [9]    **I am confident** {that-CLAUSE} (66)  
 But **I am confident, that** whether I write, or not, you ar so fully  
 assured of the integrity of my heart toward you, that nothing can  
 render me in any ill character. (DUPPA,187.073.1196)
- [10]   (as) **I am persuaded** {that-CLAUSE} (54)  
 Dear S=r= shall Ireland noe more enjoy you. **I am perswaeded that**  
 a new Representative may doe much toward the planting of Ireland  
 w=th= very good people, (JONES,190.007.204)
- [11]   {[be]} **well known** (37)  
 And **it is well knowne that** Cecill dothe at this presente more feare  
 this discontented multytude, yf any tumult should happen, then he  
 dothe the Catholikes; (VERSTEG,59.002.115)

## A2. uncertain/unknown

FSs that are labelled as “A2. uncertain/unknown” mainly have verbs and verb phrases as the fixed parts, i.e., the *I + V + COMP* construction. As shown in Table 6.3.2a they can be the negative forms of verbs, such as *know not* (e.g., [12]). In less frequent FSs, they can be *cannot tell*, *know no*, and *do not know* (e.g., [15], [17], [18]). The verbs or verb phrases in the fixed part can also denote uncertainty, doubt, or a lack of knowledge, such as *suppose* and *doubt* (e.g., [13], [14]). The study also identified a less frequent FS “**I presume** {that-CLAUSE}”. Moreover, parenthetical use is also found among realisations of some FSs labelled as “A2. uncertain/unknown”. Corpus data shows that the fixed part *I doubt* can stand alone and be used as a parenthesis as in [14a]. Similarly, the FS “**I suppose** {that-CLAUSE}” can also be realised as parentheses (e.g., [13a]).

- [12]   **I know not** {COMP} (428)  
 a. but what will folo **I knowe not**. (BACON,I,137.109.1862)  
 b. **I knowe not howe** she spends her time more then keeping my  
 chamber cleane & handsome, & starching my linnin.  
 (KNYVETT,125.032.1179)
- [13]   **I suppose** {that-CLAUSE} (179)  
 a. the most wilbe from you, **I suppose**, an inclination to ioyne with him  
 before another. (WENTWOR,278.086.1428)  
 b. But **I suppose** he may have deliver'd them to Will. Hewer, who is not  
 at present in the way to informe me. (PEPYS,32.013.236)

- [14] **I doubt** {COMP} (136)
- but that, **I doubt**, will not hold, (COSIN,I,72.022.836)
  - but **I doubt** the cheefe noate that he made for my lord Treasurer is lost, (BARRING,251.191.3381)
  - Bycause **I dowbt of** your spedy repayr hether I pray you send my ij leases, Mr. Secretary, to se what may be donn. (LEYCEST,481.095.2916)

- [15] **I cannot tell** ({wh-CLAUSE}) (55)
- Whether he meaneth now when the Quenes Majestye shalbe at my Lord his howse which wilbe to morrowe that he will then do yt or not **I can not tell**, (BACON,I,257.181.3203)

- [16] **I wonder** {COMP} (44)
- Mr. Coosin, You may well thinke that **I wonder at** these proceedings in the College. (COSIN,I,18.008.253)
  - Sweet hart, **I wonder that** Shipman is so busy, and yet I can not hear of any thing he doth, (HOLLES,II,353.096.2613)
  - for though he be as able a person as any I know yet I had rather you had no reason for him to exercise his skill which **I wonder** hath beene so long with so little successe. (CONWAY,65.014.522)

- [17] **I know no** {NP} (30)
- I know noe newes** worth the writing to y=u=, (ARUNDEL,346.056.767)

- [18] **I do not know** {COMP} (30)
- Nowe whither the Ambassado=r= heare doth make anie report to the k. of this matter or not **I doe not knowe**, (EDMONDE,156.008.166)
  - I doe not know him** soe well as to give you much of his Character, (OSBORNE,7.003.98)
  - I doe not knowe where** you now abide, (BARRING,130.082.1453)

### A3. probable/possible

The third type of epistemic stance sequence expresses probability or possibility. Similar to the previous two types of epistemic stance sequences, some FSs in this function group have the form BE + PREDICATE, such as *like to* in [19].

- [19] [be] **like to** {V-inf} (209)
- Y=e= Duke is like to returne after his parl=t= over in Scotland. (HATTON,II,3.074.1883)

- [20] **as it seems** (37)
- Toching the opening of this cause on Tuesday next, I will not for my parte, no more I thinke will Mr. Robertes, that the same shalbe disputed where and by whome you shall appointe, and that vpon so soden a warning, having not studied the case **so depely as it semeth** you haue done, and yet haue councill sufficient to disprove your doinges howsoever you warrante the contrarye. (PARKHUR,206.055.1017)

- b. howsoever for Gask, I have allreddy answered, I will take my better chapman, and leave him to Lady Wrays provision, with whom, though **as it seemeth**, badly he hath spent his service:  
(HOLLES,II,235.061.1445)

There are also FSs whose fixed parts contain verbs or verb phrases, such as *seem* in [20]. Corpus data shows that the sequence, “**as it seems**”, can be used in two ways: as a part of the *so* + ADJ/ADV + *as it seems* construction (e.g., [20a]) and as a parenthesis (e.g., [20b]).

### B. attitudinal/modality stance

Table 6.3.2b presents FSs in the subcategory “B. attitudinal/modality stance”, which occur more frequently than average ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times) in the corpus of EModE letters. There are no FSs in letters that can be labelled with “B9. challenge” and “B11. threat”. By comparison, FSs expressing threats are identified in EModE dialogues (see Table 6.3.1b).

**Table 6.3.2b: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “B. attitudinal/modality stance”\***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>B1. desire/willingness</b>	<p><b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}} (1309);  <b>I</b> {[desire]} {NP: something}/{that-CLAUSE}/{NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf} (445); {[desire]} {NP: somebody} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (341);            {[desire]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (325); <b>I wish</b> {COMP} (286);            {I} <b>pray God</b> (COMP) (257); <b>I pray God</b> (COMP) (240);            {[be]} <b>willing to</b> {V-inf} (163); <b>I hope you will</b> {VP} (120);  <b>I will (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (1670);  <b>I would (not)</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (1156);            {[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf} (390); {[be]} <b>pleased to</b> {V-inf} (351);  <b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (273); {[be]} <b>ready to</b> {V-inf} (264);  <b>I thank God</b> (241); <b>I would not</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (222);            {intend/purpose} <b>God willing</b> (201);            would (not) have {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf} (155);            {endeavour} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (154);  <b>would not have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf} (139);            {would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad to</b> {V-inf} (119)</p>
<b>B2. obligation/directive</b>	<p><b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf} (1178);  <b>I must (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (684); <b>let me</b> {V-inf} (376);  <b>you must (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (223);            {[promise]} (NP: somebody) <b>to</b> {V-inf} (178);  <b>ought (not) to</b> {V-inf} (152); <b>must needs</b> {VP-inf} (134)  <b>I shall (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (1858);  <b>I should (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (970);  <b>you shall</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (870); <b>we shall</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (300);  <b>you should</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (294); <b>I shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (205);</p>
<b>B3. intention/prediction</b>	<p><b>I may (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (789);  <b>would (not) have</b> {VP: past participle} (450);            {[mean]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (303); <b>I might</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (275);  <b>I shall (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (1858);  <b>I will (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (1670);  <b>I would (not)</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (1156);</p>

	<b>I should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (970); <b>you shall</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (870); <b>You are pleased to</b> {V-inf} (351); {[be]} <b>pleased to</b> {V-inf} (351); <b>we shall</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (300); <b>you should</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (294); <b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP} (273); {[be]} <b>ready to</b> {V-inf} (264)
<b>B4. ability</b>	{[be]} (not) <b>able to</b> {V-inf} (514); {[be]} <b>fit to</b> {V-inf} (131)
<b>B5. affection</b>	{(POSSESSIVE)} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.} <b>good lord</b> (347); <b>my dear</b> {NP: somebody} (323); <b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.} (315); {POSS. PRON} <b>loving friend</b> (309); <b>my good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.} (296); {POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most affectionate</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, friend, etc.} (240); {POSS. PRON} <b>loving brother</b> (236); {POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, your lordship's, etc.} <b>very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, friend, son, etc.} (235); <b>my very good lord</b> (195); {(POSSESSIVE)} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.} <b>good friend</b> (147); <b>my honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.} (130)
<b>B6. respect</b>	<b>your Lordship</b> (2442); <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name}) (1717); <b>her Majesty</b> (1534); <b>your ladyship</b> (897); <b>your Honour</b> (627); <b>his Majesty</b> (612); <b>my Lady</b> ({NP: family name}) (543); <b>my Lord of</b> {NP: place name} (456); <b>your Grace</b> (281); (the) <b>right honourable</b> {NP: somebody} (266); <b>Your Majesty</b> (216); <b>your Worship</b> (168); <b>his Lordship</b> (135); <b>my honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.} (130); (the) <b>right worshipful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.} (122)
<b>B7. approval/disapproval**</b>	{[do]} <b>well to</b> {V-inf} (75)
<b>B8. affirmation/denial</b>	{I} (MD) <b>assure</b> {you} {that-CLAUSE} (235); <b>I assure</b> {NP: somebody} {that-CLAUSE} (175); <b>I dare</b> (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.} (160); <b>I assure</b> {you} {that-CLAUSE} (130)
<b>B10. request</b>	{I} <b>pray</b> (NP: somebody) {DIRECTIVE CLAUSE} (770); {I} <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye} {COMP} (601); <b>I pray you</b> {COMP} (481); <b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {DIRECTIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}} (364); {I} {humbly} <b>beseech you</b> {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/that {CLAUSE}} (251); <b>I beseech you</b> {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}} (208); {if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}} (150); {let me/I (do/earnestly/must/etc.)} <b>entreat you</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}} (121); <b>would</b> (not) <b>have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf} (155); <b>would not have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf} (139);
<b>B12. oath/promise</b>	{I} (MD) <b>assure</b> [you] {that-CLAUSE} (235); <b>I assure</b> {NP: somebody} {that-CLAUSE} (175); <b>I dare</b> (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.} (160); <b>I assure</b> {you} {that-CLAUSE} (130)
<b>B13. feeling</b>	{I} <b>am glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}} (192) {would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}} (184); <b>I am glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}} (177); {[be]} <b>very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}} (166); {[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf} (390); <b>I fear</b> (me) {COMP: e.g. that-CLAUSE}}

(235); <b>I thank God</b> (241); {would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad to</b> {V-inf} (119)
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(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory. \*\*There are no FSs in the group “B7. approval/ disapproval” occurring more than 116 times. For the purpose of demonstration, several FSs in the group are randomly selected as examples.

### B1. desire/willingness

As shown in Table 6.3.2b, FSs expressing desire or willingness fall into two form patterns. One is the SUBJ (*I*) + V + COMP construction, and the other is BE + PREDICATE. For FSs in the first type of form, their fixed parts contain verbs or verb phrases such as *will*, *hope*, *would*, *wish*, and *pray*, which hint at the function or meaning of the sequences. Examples of their realisations are presented in [21] – [25].

[21] **I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (1670)

- a. [...] by which tyme **I wyll hope to** receive further dyrectyon from you, which God grant to be best for her majesties own servyce and hir realme, [...]. (LEYCEST,7.002.39)
- b. I must [...] tel yow plainly, take itt as yow list, **I will not bee with you at Kirklington on Munday**; (WENTWOR,229.074.1027)  
yett by God’s grace **I wilbee with yow in your musters at Pott on Teusday** in the Passion weeke. (WENTWOR,229.074.1028)

[22] **I hope** {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}} (1309)

- a. But **I hope** a fortnight will dispatche all that is to be done. (BARRING,88.040.763)
- b. If it be so, **I hope to come off** well inoughe by my Lo=d= of Manchesters letter, if I had a certificate, (KNYVETT,142.037.1488)
- c. So I praye thee present my due respect & love to S=r= John & his honored Lady who by this time, **I hope**, is well delivered of her burthen. (KNYVETT,93.021.659)

[23] **I would** (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE} (1156)

- a. And ase concerning all other thinges that he have to sell he sath againe Munday he will set them all ought, at which tyme **I wolde desyre yow to send over your man** (BACON,I,57.039.731)
- b. Sr Thomas Cotton is not as yet come up to London, (BROWNE,306.057.1104)  
otherwise **I would have sent you** some of those bones of the Fishe, wch I will be sure to do so soone as he comes. (BROWNE,306.057.1105)

[24] **I wish** {COMP} (286)

- a. and if he neglect not the opportunitie which now is offered him, he cannot desire nor **I wish a more carefull man** to reade unto him then now I have provided for him, (OXINDE,I,62.034.418)
- b. **I wish him good success** in all his undertakeings. (FLEMING,312.127.2112)



- c. and **I wish that** this may bee a warning to you heereafter not to preferre a pretended farrier before an experienced one. (OXINDE,I,146.087.1222)

[25] {I} **pray God** (COMP) (257)

- a. And so w=th= my hartiest comendacons to your wife your father and then to your self, for the best is alwaies last, **I pray God blesse you and all your litle ones.** (STOCKWE,II,12.056.1099)
- b. **I praie God** he maie receaue that comfort I wish. (LEYCEST,260.063.2105)
- c. & dayly **pray God to prosper you** & continue his goodnesse & mercyes unto you. (BROWNE,175.035.692)

Moreover, the above-mentioned verbs were sometimes used in combination, typically, *will* and *would* as modal verbs and followed by the other main verbs in the infinitive form. Such uses emphasise the speaker's desire and willingness, for example, *wyll hope* in [21a] and *wolde desyre* in [23a].

In the second form pattern, the BE + PREDICATE construction, adjectives as PREDICATE in the fixed parts include words such as *glad*, *pleased*, and *ready* (e.g., [26] – [28]). To expres desire or willingness, FSs in EModE letters are in the same form as those in dialogues (see Section 6.3.1), but they differ in common adjectives in the fixed part.

[26] {[be]} **glad to** {V-inf} (390)

- a. Therefore if he meane as he promised, honestlie to paie it, **I shall willinglie be glad to continue his frendship and love.** (STOCKWE,I,64.041.787)
- b. **I am very glad to finde** you are satisfied with my Long letter. (MINETTE,90.015.218)

[27] **You are pleased to** {V-inf} (351)

If in the meane while I shall have any notice that **yow are pleased to have mee this weeke to returne to London** and so dispose of my selfe more spedily for my journey, I shall intreate my sister to dispense with mee, (BARRING,143.095.1629)

[28] {[be]} **ready to** {V-inf} (264)

- a. And **so resting ready to attende your honor's answer**, I leave any further to be troublesome unto you. (HASTING,12.005.115)
- b. For I cannot with you beleue us to be in better case then apparent dainger, if the making and provocation of enemyes before **we be ryddy to defend our selves**, or offend them, be to litle; (WENTWOR,278.086.1415)

In addition, the FS [29] is an exception that the meaning/function-bearing verb, *desire*, is in the variable parts. It is one of the least fixed FSs among the

attitudinal/modality stance sequences listed in Table 6.3.2b. The only fixed part is the preposition *I*. It is also fully transparent in semantics and regular in syntax. For these reasons, sequences as such are often rejected in other studies about formulaic language. However, in the present study, the FS is accepted for two reasons. Firstly, it can be identified as constructions according to the definition by Goldberg (2006), because semantic transparent and syntactic regular sequences are constructions as long as they occur frequently enough in the texts. Secondly, the form-meaning/function mapping is fixed even though the surface structure of the variable parts in these sequences is flexible. For the FS [29], its short and simple fixed part *I* defines that the sequence is about the speaker themselves. The main verb as one of the compulsory variable parts determines that the meaning/function of the sequence is about the speaker's desire. The other variable parts in various grammatical structures are about what that desire is. For example, it can be a noun phrase denoting something is desired as in [29a], or a *that*-clause denoting some desired situation as in [29b]. Therefore, although the form of the FS is highly flexible, it is not unpredictable. Compared to non-FSs, the relationship between the form and function of the FS [29] is more fixed. The same FS is also identified in EModE dialogues and is used in the same way.

- [29] **I** {[desire]} {{NP: something}/{that-CLAUSE}/{NP: somebody}} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}} (445)
- a. and to that end **I desire your prayers** for me and my Grandmother's blessing, to whome I commend my duty. (OXINDE,I,31.014.145)
  - b. Nobull Sur, **I desire that you will doo mee the favefor** to let me have a Chamber more for a time too lay a sick boddi in if i shold have ani visited with the smale poxe (OXINDE,I,94.057.802)

## **B2. obligation/directive**

FSs labelled as "B2. obligation/directive" state what the speaker should do or what the speaker thinks other people should do. The fixed parts of these FSs contain mostly modal verbs such as *shall*, *should*, and *must*; for instance, FSs [30] – [32]. These FSs are in the form SUBJ + MD + INFINITIVE + COMP, the same as FSs in EModE dialogues serving the same function (see Section 6.3.1).

- [30] **I shall** (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (1858)
- a. but as soone as I come to Ragley, **I shall certainly pay off all the Servants and others.** (CONWAY,449.089.2572)
  - b. and hath promysed me that within this foure or fyve daies **I shall have a letter from hym** to you of all the contentes thereof. (BACON,II,92.221.3818)

[31] **I should** (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (970)

- a. and **I should never bee ashamed on't** if hee pleased to send it mee,  
(OSBORNE,179.077.4200)
- b. I thought **I shold have heard from you this weeke** how your bible  
came to your hands, and how you like yt,  
(CHAMBER,I,277.017.686)

[32] **I must** (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (684)

and therefore **I must send him always such things** as come from  
you for him, as I did your former, which he hath very gratefully  
received, and ys exceeding glad of your good proceedings, as he hath  
signified. (FITZHER,13.002.30)

Moreover, same as EModE dialogues, letters also use directive FSs consisting of verb phrases led by *let* (e.g., [33]). Similar directive expressions have been identified in previous studies. For example, Kohnen (2004) identified 75 *let-me* constructions in directive use (i.e., FS [33]) from the Middle English and EModE sections of the *Helsinki Corpus* (appx. 1,160,000 words). A diachronic analysis showed that the occurrence of the construction increased drastically from around 1500, reached a peak between 1570 and 1640, and remained frequent throughout the entire Early Modern period. The *let-me* constructions occurred almost 17 times per 100,000 words (i.e., 170 times *pmw.*) in Kohnen's (2004) corpus between 1570 and 1640. By comparison, the FS [33] occurred 376 times in EModE letters between 1560 and 1680 (i.e., 257.26 times *pmw.*) and 221 times in dialogues (i.e., 319.16 times *pmw.*). It seems that such FSs are very commonly used as directives in EModE regardless of text type.

[33] **let me** {V-inf} (376)

And now Sir, **let me come neerer home and tell you that** Sir James  
Thin hath the honour and happiness to be a servant to my Princes my  
Lady Isabella Rich, (SMYTH,152.030.441)

In addition, like dialogues, the BE + PREDICATE construction is also common among less frequent FSs employed by EModE letters to state obligations, for example, “[{be}] **commanded to** {V-inf}”.

### **B3. intention/prediction**

In this function group, meanings and functions of the FSs are conveyed by the modal verbs or verb phrases in their fixed parts; for instance, the sequence “**I may** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”. The sequence is used to introduce actions that are very likely to happen as a reaction to or a result of the pre-mentioned conditions.

For example, in its realisation in [34], *soe that now I may certainly understand, how... is the reaction towards I haue euer found from your Ladyship plaine and free dealinge, and that soe accordinglie I may giue some direccon touchinge your little nephews [...]* is the reaction towards [...] *understand, how yow stand in the strength and recouerie of your bodye*. Another example is the modal verb *might* in the sequence “**I might** {V-inf} {COMP}”. Its realisation in [35] appears at the beginning of a letter from Nathaniel Bacon to Sir Ralph Sadler. In this part of the letter the writer mentioned receiving a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, and being desired not to attend a court meeting, the two events lead to Bacon’s *I might the better answeere the contentes of your letters*. These two FSs were also identified in the corpus of EModE dialogues.

[34] **I may** (not) {V-inf} {COMP} (789)

Therefore I doe most humbly beseech yow Madame, as I haue euer found from your Ladyship plaine and free dealinge, soe that now **I may certainly understand, how yow stand in the strength and recouerie of your bodye**, that soe accordinglie **I may giue some direccon touchinge your little nephews**, who haue bene infinitely happie by enjoyinge your presence amongst us, and in loosing yow shall God knowes receaue a heauy crosse and stand in need of the assistance and good aduise and foresight of their freinds.  
(WENTWOR,160.044.592)

[35] **I might** {V-inf} {COMP} (275)

I yelded hereunto that **I might the better answeere the contentes of your letters** (BACON,II,232.278.4791)

Moreover, some FSs in this function group are multi-functional, namely, those containing the modal verbs *shall* and *should* (e.g., [36] – [38]). Same as in EModE dialogues, these sequences in letters are tagged with both the labels “B2. obligation/directive” and “B3. intention/prediction”. The reason might be, the two modal verbs are polysemous and convey the corresponding meanings. For example, in [36a] the writer was telling the uncle not to quarrel, hence the meaning of “B2. obligation/directive”; while in [36b], the writer predicted what was possible to happen if the recipient had the intention to meet a condition, i.e., *if you should accept any thing that she offers*, hence the meaning of “B3. intention/prediction”. Similarly, FSs [37] and [38] below are also used multi-functionally in the same way. Their realisations in [37a] and [38a] express obligation and directive, respectively; while [37b] and [38b] express that an event was intended or predicted to happen.

[36] **you should** {V-inf} {COMP} (294)

- a. Deare Unkle, Though I think you have resolved never to see this plase more, methinks **you should not quarell with all for one.** (TIXALL,62.023.439)
- b. but I strived to perswade her from that; becaus, **if you should accept any thing that she offers,** you might have it under her owne hand. (CORNWAL,249.152.2149)

[37] **we shall** {V-inf} {COMP} (300)

- a. **wee shall do all wee can for him in our House** & use what interest wee can in other Houses. (FLEMING,277.107.1799)
- b. and I trust in God **we shall bee fully prepared for it.** Whereof hoping to bee able to say more to you by the next, I remaine Your truely affectionate Brother to serve you S P (PEPYS,122.056.855)

[38] **you shall** {V-inf} {COMP} (870)

- a. the one ys, that **you shall greatly autoryse and strengthen their faction to your owne prejudice,** seeing **you shall acknowledge them still to be a body,** as though theyr appeal was still in force, [...] (FITZHER,21.003.88)
- b. 3. It wil wel quiet your owne mynde when **you shal finde yourselfe to have rid your handes of them,** and that you have no more nede to care for them. (HASTING,33.009.225)

Lastly, “[mean] **to** {V-inf}” is one of those highly flexible, semantically transparent, and syntactically regular FSs. The fixed part only contains a preposition *to*, but the meaning/function of the whole sequence is conveyed by the verb *mean* which allows regular inflection. A realisation of this FS in [39] reports an event that was planned to happen.

[39] {[mean]} **to** {V-inf} (303)

Mr. Robin Lambert and his wife **meane to come downe with me,** (STOCKWE,I,22.007.115)

#### **B4. ability**

As presented in Table 6.3.2b, attitudinal/modality stance sequences talking about someone’s ability to do something come in the form of the BE + ADJ + COMP construction. Common adjectives in the structure are *able* and *fit* (e.g., [40]).

[40] {[be]} (not) **able to** {V-inf} (514)

and tell him **I am not hable to deale with all these thinges;** (HUTTON,145.045.564)

#### **B5. affection**

FSs expressing affection in Table 6.3.2b are all noun phrases but differ in terms of modifiers, resulting in two main form patterns. One is the POSS. PRON +

ADJ + N construction (e.g., [41] – [43]). The most common possessive pronoun is *my/mine* (e.g., [41a–f], [42a–h], [43a–b]), which is commonly used in vocatives and in combination with other terms of endearment (*my*, *adj.*, *int.*, and *pron.* A. *adj.* 2. in the *OED Online*), for instance, *my good* in [41a–f], *my dear* in [42a–h] and [45a], *my assuered and lovin* in [43a], and *miin lovinge* in [43b]. Other personal pronouns can be used to complete the first variable part of the sequence [43], such as *our*, *thy*, *your*, and *his* in [43c–g].

[41] **my good** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.} (296)

- a. **My good childd** I coold haue hardly written to the at this time, but I am lothe to desceiue thy expectation (PASTONK,87.061.1175)
- b. I praye present my affectionate love to **my good brother and sister** (BARRING,118.070.1275)
- c. I wyllnot with wordes wantyng sayye, **my good frend**, for so I assuer my selfe of you metnes, how mucche I ought to thanke God for [...] (BACON,I,281.193.3369)
- d. Truly, **my good Mother**, I very much long to hear how you [...] do, and how you got home; (CORNWAL,289.184.2601)
- e. [...] in hast I rest, commending my vnfained love to **my good Aunt Bell**, Thy true loving husband till death Tho: Knyvett. (KNYVETT,73.012.355)
- f. I am very sorry to se **my good lady Lamplugh** so ill in regard of bodily weakenesse, (BARRING,150.100.1692)

[42] **my dear** {NP: somebody} (323)

- a. What I write to y=u= **my deare childe** I aequally intende to y=r= dearest sisters my most beloued Cares and Crownes of my Ioy – [...] (FERRAR,259.012.219)
- b. Soe **my dear brother** I pray god blesse us both and bring us againe joufully together (FLEMING,22.007.114)
- c. **My deare Betty**, I have only to [...] add my saluts to thyselpe w=th= my daughter; (HADDOCK,16.009.268)
- d. **My deere, deere Hart** I forgotte when I was at London, to give order to my rider, [...] (ARUNDEL,105.021.275)
- e. To the honorable **my deare frend the Lady Judith** [...] Barrington at Mr Necton's house in Aldersgate Street present these with respect (BARRING,220.158.2752)
- f. **My deere Mother**, I am extreame sorrie that this occation is hapened, which makes me sende this messenger to kisse your hands and to tell you [...] (CORNWAL,285.182.2556)
- g. **My deere Lord**, I am just come heere from y=e= buoy of y=e= Nore, where I left y=e= King and his Royall Highnesse w=th= y=e= whole fleet, [...] (HATTON,I,95.029.630)
- h. and let me, a poore yonger brother and an oulde servant to **my deare dead Quene**, finde you no lesse honorable to me then you have bene to many; (HASTING,106.037.890)

[43] {POSS. PRON} **loving friend** (309)

- a. To **my assuered and loving frend**, Mr. Doctor Hutten, Dene of York. (HUTTON,72.014.213)
- b. Recommendacion unto you **miin lovinge frende** Meester Baken and Mistrise Backen and Meester Monfoort. (BACON,I,156.117.2035)
- c. To **our loving freend** Nathaniell Bacon Esq. (BACON,I,209.153.2767)
- d. **Thy faithfull loving freind** K. T. A. T. (KNYVETT,142.037.1502)
- e. **Your loving freind** as of old if you vse me and my freind well, J. N. (PARKHUR,193.047.849)
- f. Therefore lett me know how your busnes hath gonne, and what furder servis may be donne you by **your La=ps= loveing freind**, L. Bedford. (CORNWAL,100.065.885)
- g. To **his faithfull loving freind** m=is= Katherine Knyvett at her house at Ashwell Thorp these (KNYVETT,119.030.1085)

The second form pattern is the POSS. PRON + INTENSIFIER + ADJ + N construction (e.g., [44] and [45]). For FSs in this form pattern, the most common possessive pronouns are *my* and *your*. The intensifier is mostly *very* and *most*. They are commonly collocated with adjectives *good* (e.g., [44a–g]), *affectionate and obedient* (e.g., [45a]), *affectionate and assured loving* (e.g., [45b]), *affectionate and faithful* (e.g., [45c]), *affectionate and humble* (e.g., [45g]), etc. The adjectives, as well as the preceding intensifiers, provide direct hints of affection or compassion towards the person being addressed.

[44] **my very good** {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.} (315)

- a. To **my verey good brother and cousin**, the king of Skotz. (ROYAL1,43.012.222)
- b. To the right honorable **my very good Aunt** the Countesse of Shrewsbury. (STUART,188.026.614)
- c. **My very good father**, havinge so convenient a messenger as Lawrence your servant to sende by, I thought it my dutie to writ somewhat, though I wrot the lesse. (BACON,I,26.011.176)
- d. To the right worshippingfull and **my very good freend Mr Bacon** at Norwich. (BACON,III,52.334.5824)
- e. To the most Reverend in Christ, **my verie good Lord and brother**, the Archbishop of Yorke. (HUTTON,163.051.715)
- f. **My verye good deere Lorde and olde acquaynetance**, I am right gladde to heare from you, [...] PARKHUR,164.030.539
- g. **My very good lord**, although of late many crossees or stormes [...] have happened to trooble your lordships mynd, [...] (LEYCEST,197.054.1688)

- [45] {POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} **most affectionate** (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, friend, etc.}) (240)
- a. My deare Mother, [...] and a great deale the better since we heard of your good health, which we shall both pray may continue to make him happy, who is **Your most affectionate and obedient sonne, F. Cornwalleis**. (CORNWAL,245.150.2093)
  - b. I muse muche, right deare brother, how possiblief my wel-ment lettar, prociding from so fauteles a hart, could be ether misliked or misconstred; (ROYAL1,33.009.143)  
**Your most affectionate and assured louing sistar and cousin, Elizabeth R.** (ROYAL1,34.009.159)
  - c. [...] to testify the unfaynednes of that respect hath so often binne vowed unto you by **your most affectionat and faythfull freind, L. Bedford**. (CORNWAL,48.034.428)
  - d. I hope to see you shortly according to the desires of **Your most faythfull and most affectionate frend and servant, Conway and Kilulta**. (CONWAY,29.003.38)
  - e. I beceach the Lord to giue you a speady and happy meeting with **Your most affectinat wife for ever, Brilliana Harley**. (HARLEY,7.008.173)
  - f. beseching the lord to bles and keep you I rest **your most afectshinat father John Pepys** (PEPYS,42.022.336)
  - g. and most thankfully rest, **Your La=yp's= most affectionat and humble seruant** to command, Ambrose Randolph. (CORNWAL,252.154.2175)

Function-wise, corpus data shows that in general cases, the FSs of affection are commonly used to address direct, blood-related family members, for example, the writer's children (e.g., [41a], [42a], [45a]), siblings (e.g., [41b], [42b], [44a, e], [45b]), and parents (e.g., [41d], [42f], [44c], [45f]). They are also used to address other kins, such as cousins (e.g., [44a], [50b]), aunts (e.g., [41e], [44b]), and spouses (e.g., [42c, d], [45e]).

Moreover, social hierarchy seems to play a minimal role within a family when using FSs to express affection. Firstly, for example, in [44a] the King of Scotland (i.e., King James VI) was addressed by Queen Elizabeth I as *my verie good brother and cousin*. In another letter, Queen Elizabeth I addressed King James VI as *right deare brother* in the letter opening and ended it with *Your most affectionate and assured louing sistar and cousin* as in [45b]. Secondly, in [44e], the Lord of Canterbury called the Archbishop of York *my verie good Lord and brother*, which is preceded by a respectful term *the most Reverend in Christ*. Lastly, the example [45g] is extracted from a family letter, whose author and recipient were kins but might not be close, according to different surnames.



According to the metadata recorded along with the letter, the recipient was from a higher class for she was holding a ladyship. The writer (male) signed the letter with *Your La=yp's= most affectionat and humble seruant*, showing his affection and respect at the same time by using the adjectives *most affectionate and humble* and by addressing himself as *servant*. These examples indicate that addressing each other affectionately in EModE letters among royal family members was not rare; it was also possible to use terms showing respect and affection together among remote kins or kins with different social statuses.

Furthermore, when addressing someone outside the family, FSs of affection are commonly used among friends, for example [41c], [42e], [43a–g], [44d], [44f], and [45d], and they could be socially equal or not. Some of these examples are used in combination with terms of respect, such as *To the honorable my deare frend the Lady Judith* in [42e], *To the right worshipfull and my very good freend Mr Bacon* in [44d], and *Your most faythfull and most affectionate frend and servant* in [45d]. Examples in [42e] and [44d], containing adjectives such as *honorable* and *worshipful*, are used as parts of salutations in EModE letters, which might be the reason why they are politer and more respectful. The example in [45d] involves the noun *servant*, and it seems to be a common strategy that the writer adopted to show respect, by lowering their social status voluntarily as the recipient's servant. This example occurs in the closing part of the letter, which is another position of a letter where the writer should be politer and more respectful. Similar patterns are also found in Oinonen (2012).

In addition, in EModE letters, all FSs in this function group are multi-functionally used to reference persons (“III. Referential Expressions”). Some of them are also additionally used as vocative expressions (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”), such as “**my very good** {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}”. One sequence “**my honourable** {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}” also expresses a respectful attitude towards a person.

## **B6. respect**

Similar to FSs expressing affection, FSs expressing respectful attitudes are mostly vocatives, hence also multi-functional. However, the two groups of FSs are different in the semantic restrictions of the modifiers and the head nouns in

the noun phrases. FSs of respect come in two forms. One is the POSS. PRON + N construction (e.g., [46] – [49]), and the other is the ADJ + N construction (e.g., [50]). In the first form, the most commonly used possessive pronouns can be *your*, *her*, *his*, and *my* (e.g., [46] – [49]). The head noun is restricted to semantic elements denoting a person’s identity or social status, mostly royalty, nobility, or important positions in the government or the church.

[46] **your Lordship** (2442)

Ryght honorable and my verry good Lord, I sende **your Lordship** a coppye of my Lords’ letters by the which you may perceyve what order is taken by them for the shypps and goodes stayed by **your Lordship**’s sonne Mr Nathanaell Bacon. (BACON,I,223.160.2853)

[47] **her Majesty** (1534)

for S=r= Roger Williams informed **hir ma=tie=** that he tolde the ffrenche k. directlie that vntill she might vnderstand that the k. had sent greate forces into Britaigne, she would send noe more thither, but rather would revoke such as weare theare, so as **hir ma=tie=** expected dailie to heare of the accesse of the kinges forces into Britaigne, for defawte whereof **hir ma=tie=** of late was disposed to haue revoked hir forces theare, (EDMONDE,157.008.172)

[48] **his Majesty** (612)

**His Ma=tie=** as head of the Church is supream in all Ecclecall and spirituall matters as well as Sovereigne in all things temporall, (ESSEX,76.015.444)

[49] **my Lord** ({NP: family name}) (1717)

- a. **My Lord**, At my comming away from Whitehall the Councell were pleased at yo=r= Lo=pps= motion to grannt me out of the Treasury of the army for my advance, (JONES,269.045.1102)
- b. I have satisfied the honorable gentlewoman without raising any expectation in hir to receive letters from you, which is a favour I desire onely may be reserved still for my selfe, **my Lord Cecill**, and your best esteemed frends; (STUART,194.029.696)

Moreover, FSs in the first form are so fixed that they can usually be treated as one word, especially those starting with the possessive pronoun *my*, for instance, the sequence “**my Lord** ({NP: family name})” in [49]. As mentioned in the discussion regarding the use of *my* in FSs of affection, the possessive pronoun can be used vocatively and affectionately with terms of endearment or relationship, but this use does not apply to sequences like “**my Lord** ({NP: family name})”. Corpus data reveals that the fixed part, *my lord*, can be used either alone (e.g., [49a]) or followed by a person’s family name (e.g., [49b]). In either case, the sequence respectfully addresses a man of high rank, a

judge in court, an officer, etc. (*lord*, n. and int. 10. A. *my lord*. In the *OED Online*). Similarly, the equivalent of “**my Lord** ({NP: family name})” is “**my Lady** ({NP: family name})”, which is often used to respectfully address a woman of high rank (*lady*, n. 3 & 4. In the *OED Online*).

FSs in the second form, the ADJ + N construction, are more flexible in terms of the semantic context in which they can occur. Firstly, the fixed part of the FS [50] can stand alone as a vocative, as shown in [50a]. Secondly, it can precede another more specific term of address such as a person’s full name, as shown in [50b]. Thirdly, it is possible that an FS can be part of a salutation in combination with other FSs or their realisations; for example, the sequence *the right honourable* in [50c] is followed by *my very good lord* and *the arle of Leicester*. There seems to be a specific order of when these various FSs appear together, namely the sequence of respect, affection, and title.

[50] (the) **right honourable** {NP: somebody} (266)

- a. **Right honourable**, Having received your Lordshipp’s yesternight, as I was going to bed, I did imediately put on my cloaths, (COSIN,II,155.076.1941)
- b. These therefore are to desire & pray yow aswell in thaccomplishment of the warraunte to yow directed under the handes of **the Right Honourable Sir Ralphe Sadler**, knighte, Her Graces Chauncelor, and Mr Brograve, Her Majestes Attorney, [...] (BACON,II,215.260.4600)
- c. To **the right honorable my very good lord the arle of Leicester**, lieutenant-generall of her majestyes forces in the Lowe Countreys. (LEYCEST,208.057.1849)

Moreover, all FSs in this function group are multi-functional. They are all referential expressions of persons and vocative expressions at the same time.

### **B7. approval/disapproval**

In EModE letters, there are only four FSs serving this function, and they all occur infrequently. The four sequences are “[do] **well to** {V-inf}”, “[think] **fit to** {V-inf}”, “**shall do well to** {V-inf}”, and “{NP: something, e.g., letters} {[be]} **welcome to me**”. Three of them are verb phrases, or “multi-word verbs” (Claridge 2000). Among them, the most frequent sequence is “[do] **well to** {V-inf}”, which denotes acting prudently or sensibly in doing something (*well*, adv. and n.4: 5c. in the *OED Online*). Moreover, the sequence is observed to be often used after modal verbs *may*, *shall*, and *will*, adding admonitory force. For

example, its realisations in [51a–c] imply that the actions, *to assure*, *to hasten the sending*, and *to fit your selfe at London*, are well advised. In addition, the realisation in [51d] is a part of the writer’s opinion, who thought the action, *to love and respect a person of his merite*, is sensible. In either case, be it well advised or sensible, the writers were holding a generally positive opinion toward particular actions when writing the letters.

[51] [do] **well to** {V-inf} (75)

- a. For their sakes Lindsell **may do well to assure** Mr. Sibbs of my innocency in that point. (COSIN,I,70.021.788)
- b. Your lordship therefore **shall doe well to hasten the sending** over of the same. (LEYCEST,274.067.2236)
- c. you **will doe well to fit your selfe at London** with one plaine sattin doublett and a paire of cloath hose; (OXINDE,I,169.099.1465)
- d. I thinke **you doe well to love and respect a person of his merite** (CONWAY,30.006.61)

#### **B8. affirmation/denial**

FSs in this function group are mainly in the form of the *I + VP + COMP* construction. The verb phrase is often led by verbs such as *assure* and *dare* (e.g., “{I} (MD) **assure** {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}”, **I dare** (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}”). In less frequent FSs, the verb phrase can also follow *certify*, *tell* and *protest* (e.g., “{COMPLEMENT: e.g., I can} **certify you** {{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}”, “**I tell you** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I protest** (unto/to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}”). In addition, two less frequent FSs in this group are prepositional phrases. They are “**in truth** {CLAUSE: statement}” and “**by no means**”.

#### **B10. request**

The fixed parts of FSs in the group “B10. request” are mostly full or parts of verb phrases, i.e., the *I + V + COMP* construction. The most common main verbs are *pray* and *beseech*. FSs containing these two verbs form a more lexical construction (e.g., [52] and [53]), i.e., SUBJ (mostly *I*) + *pray/beseech* + OBJ (somebody, optional). Less commonly used verbs are *entreat*, *have*, *beg*, and *desire* (e.g., “{let me/I (do/earnestly/must/etc.)} **entreat you** {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, “**would** (not) **have** {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}”, “**I beg** {COMP}”, “**I desire you to** {V-inf}”). Functions of these FSs are to a great extent revealed by these main verbs.

- [52] {I} **pray** (NP: somebody) {DIRECTIVE CLAUSE} (770)
- I praye** acquainte my brother Barrington with this inclosed (BARRING,203.141.2400)
  - I pray the** forgett not those grownds of the Sacrament which thow hast, (PASTONK,86.060.1147)

- [53] **I beseech** (NP: somebody) {DIRECTIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}} (364)
- Lastly, sir, **I besech** send me a pursevant; (LEYCEST,32.010.224)
  - Concerning the next incumbent, **I beseech you** accept my thanks for your curteous offer by Mr. Naylor, of the nomination, of which favor I shall only desire this, that before you confer your presentation, the person may be aproved by my reverend friend Dr. Tuckney. (HARLEY,237.073.1895)
  - Reverend S=r= - [...] to desire that the person the college intend to present may be first aproved by yourself, **whom I beseech to be wel assured**, that the person you shall approv, be orthodox in doctrin and disciplin, and of a godly conversation. (HARLEY,238.074.1900)

### B12. oath/promise

Identified from EModE letters, FSs in the group “B12. oath/promise” come in the form of the *I + V + COMP* construction. The most commonly used verb is *assure*, such as the sequence “{I} (MD) **assure** {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}”. Examples of its realisations are presented in [54]. The sequence is also multi-functionally used to affirm a statement, and so are the other FSs in this function group.

- [54] {I} (MD) **assure** {[you]} {that-CLAUSE} (235)
- besyd’s **I can assure you** wee doe perfectly agree, (OSBORNE,103.045.2408)
  - I do assure you** I do as much as in me lais to bring vp our children in the feare and knowledge of God, and to keepe them from idlenes, (BASIRE,134.003.135)
  - for **I assuer thee y=t=** I never wrote tittle to him of incurrag’m=t= or Approbation in this way, (KNYVETT,150.040.1618)
  - so may you still, **I assure you**, esteem them, as long as they be in the possession of Your trewly loveing freind, L. Bedford. (CORNWAL,75.050.670)

### B13. feeling

Two form patterns can be observed from FSs expressing feelings in EModE letters. One is the *I + V + COMP* construction; the other is the *BE + PREDICATE* construction. In the first form pattern, feelings are expressed via the main verb, for instance, *fear* in [55]. The verb is found in a reflexive use, i.e., in the now archaic form of *I fear me* (*fear*, v. II. 3. in the *OED Online*); for

instance, its realisations in [55a–b]. The highly fixed structure, *I fear me* occurs often before a subordinate clause (e.g., [55a]); it is also commonly used as a parenthesis (e.g., [55b]). Moreover, similar use can be found when the verb *fear* does not take an object. The fixed part, *I fear*, can be used alone as a parenthesis (e.g., [55c]), or it can precede a subordinate clause explaining what the writer/speaker fears (e.g., [55d]). Arguably, these two realisations are variations of *I fear me*, or as the regular use of the verb *fear* (*fear*, v. II. 7b. in the *OED Online*).

[55] **I fear** (me) {COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}} (235)

- a. **I feare me** you have so iested with my Lady about coming downe  
w=th= S=r= Will=m= that it will prove in earnest: [...]  
(STOCKWE,I,45.028.500)
- b. this Prince, **I fear me**, will be the ruine of their new commonwealth,  
(HOLLES,III,402.111.3155)
- c. My vagrant fellow servants, **I fear**, can hardly deserve any part of  
your bounty, (DUPPA,88.044.791)
- d. and **I feare** he had a littell touch of his old deases the other day,  
(HARLEY,128.035.1137)

[56] {[be]} **glad to** {V-inf} (390)

- a. I am suer **my husbande wilbe glad to have yow in house with me**.  
(BACON,I,25.009.156)
- b. and am so very much indisposed all over, that I **should be very glad to have some discourse with the physitians**, if I were at London,  
(CONWAY,225.058.1710)

In the second form pattern, the BE + PREDICATE construction, adjectives are also frequently used when describing emotions and feelings. A very common one is *glad*, which not only occurs in discourse about feelings and emotions, but also in other contexts such as expressing desires, politeness, and other social maintaining situations. For example, the FS [56] is labelled in the present study with both “B1. desire/willingness” and “B13. feeling”.

## 6.4. Formulaic sequences as discourse organisers

### 6.4.1. Dialogues

There are 113 types of FSs serving as discourse organisers in the corpus of EModE dialogues. They are further divided into two subcategories of functions. Table 6.4.1 presents FSs in the two subcategories, whose frequencies of occurrence are above the average ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times).

**Table 6.4.1: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “II. Discourse Organisers”\***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A. topic introduction/focus</b>	<b>there</b> {[be]} (1,065); <b>this</b> {[be]} (440); <b>I say</b> (COMP) (181); (and/but) <b>as for</b> (109); <b>I confess</b> {COMP} (66); <b>these</b> {[be]} (64); <b>further says</b> {that-CLAUSE} (109); <b>I tell you</b> {that-CLAUSE} (63)
<b>B. topic elaboration/clarification</b>	<b>I think</b> ({that-CLAUSE}) (291); <b>and if</b> (244); <b>and therefore</b> (234); <b>and yet</b> (168); <b>according to</b> {NP} (155); <b>but if</b> (123); <b>as if</b> (121); {[think]} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} (107); <b>so that</b> (100); <b>or not</b> (90); <b>I perceive</b> {that-CLAUSE} (81); <b>I thought</b> {COMP} (79); <b>me thinks</b> ({that-CLAUSE}) (74); <b>not only</b> {COMP}, <b>but</b> (also) {COMP} (62); <b>I find</b> {COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}} (61); <b>What say you</b> (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})? (75); <b>and then</b> (414); <b>and now</b> (104); <b>how now</b> (61);

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory.

### A. topic introduction/focus

The study identified 39 FSs in EModE dialogues which introduce or draw attention to a new topic or a new piece of information in conversations among EModE speakers. Table 6.4.1 shows that FSs serving this function fall into two groups according to their structure. One of them is the DEMONSTRATIVE PRON + BE construction, such as “**there** {[be]}” and “**this** {[be]}”, which often state the existence of something/somebody or introduce something or somebody.

For example, these FSs can be realised in the following ways:

[1] **there** {[be]} (1,065)

- a. Father, Father, come helpe mee, **there is a blacke thing y=t= hath me by y=e= legge**, as big as my sister: [...]  
(*S. Oses*, D1WDARCY, p. D1R)
- b. The said Thomas Lightfoot did search the informant's daughter Sarah in a very rude and uncivill fashion, and did take out of her pockett a little box, whearein **there was 1s. and three pence**.  
(*Castle of York 3*, D3WYORK, p. 100)

[2] **this** {[be]} (440)

- a. Concerning that I know nothing, but I confesse I had some Item, that at that time there was something found; and **this is all I can say to that**, I cannot guesse the time. (*Triall of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 38)
- b. **This was no sooner noysed in the City**, but it was presently bruted in the Suburbs (*Parliament of Vvomen*, D3FPARLI, p. A2V)
- c. My Lord, **this is enough to discourage a man from ever entring into an honest Principle**. (*Elizabeth Cellier*, D4TCELLI, p. 17)

The identification of multi-word units like [1] and [2] as FSs is debatable. On the one hand, they are grammatically regular and fully productive, meaning that they can be realised in any possible way following grammar. Besides, these multi-word units in the form of DEMONSTRATIVE PRON + BE do not have

explicitly stated and specifically annotated meanings if not put into context. In examples [1] and [2], it is not certain where *there* is and what *this* is. Therefore, instead of meaningful units, they are more like grammatical-structural frames. On the other hand, I argue that they are FSs because they represent form-function mappings. Firstly, as grammatical-structural frames, they serve a syntactic function. Secondly, they are not completely meaningless. Demonstrative pronouns, such as *there* and *this*, point at forthcoming entities such as persons, objects, activities, situations, and characteristics. This is a semantic function. Thirdly, they serve a pragmatic function as well. Taking the realisations of multi-word units in [1] and [2] for example, [1a] explains to the *father* what the speaker needed help with, [1b] shows what was in *the little box*, [2a] emphasises that everything the speaker knew at that time had been said, [2b] indicates that it was still quiet in the city, and [2c] tells that no more efforts were needed to do something. Although at first glance the two multi-word units are used in various unrelated scenarios, they basically do one thing: telling the listener about something. At this point, the two multi-word units represent a particular relationship between form, semantic function, and pragmatic function. Therefore, they are FSs by definition. There are many more FSs in EModE dialogues like these, which sit in the midst of the continuum of formulaicity, where FSs become more difficult to differentiate from non-FSs.

Another group of sequences in Table 6.4.1 fall in the structural pattern *I* + VP + COMP, in which the verb phrase mostly consists of three reporting verbs, namely *say*, *confess*, and *tell*; for instance, FSs [3] and [4].

[3] **I say** (COMP) (181)

- a. You may run down my Cosin, in your Ale, at what rate you please here; but **I say**, and say again, that the Phanatiques are more dangerous Enemies than the Papists, both to the Kings Royal Person and Government. (*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 25)
- b. if yee loue the safetie of your owne ribbes and shoulders, then goe take me vp my sonne in lawe, laie all hands vpon him, why stand ye stil? what do ye doubt? **I saie**, care not for his threatnings, nor for anie of his words. Take him vp and bring him to the Phisitions house: I will go thither before. (*Menaecmi*, D1CWARNE, p. E2V)

[4] **I confess** {COMP} (66)

- a. A pox of his furtheraunce, Gentlemen as you are Christians, vex me no more, **that I am married I confesse**, a plague of the Fates, that wedding and hanging comes by desteny, [...]. (*Inforst Mariage*, D2CWILKI, p. H2R)



- b. well, his girthes or Latchets may passe for currant, but I could never see a good stirre-up from him since he was my husband: **I confesse he is saddle-nos'd and saddlebackt too, but never could set the saddle on the right horse since I knew him:** [...] (Parliament of Vwomen, D3FPARLI, p. A3V)
- c. He is my neere kinsman, **I confesse**, and a Clergie man, But fiftie shillings is money, though I think I might trust him simply with it for a tweluemoneth, where hee craues it but for a moneth, yet simply I will not be so simple: [...] (*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. F4R)

Many less frequent sequences in this subcategory also suggest that the modal verbs *must* and *will* are used before the three reporting verbs to emphasise; for example, “**I tell thee** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I must confess** (to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I must tell** {[you]}”, “**I will say** (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})”, and “**I will tell you** {COMP}”.

[5] **I must confess** (to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE} (15)

- a. **I must confess that's a very apposite application;** but do you think then, that Author to be a Papist? (*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 3)
- b. let these fewe wordes suffice to craue your pardon, and doe eftsoones powre vpon me (your vnworthy seruauant) the haboundant waues of your accustomed clemency: for **I must confesse**, that I haue so highly offended you, as [...] I must remayne (and that right woorthely) to the seure punishment of my desertes: [...] (*Sundrie Flowres*, D1FGASCO, p. 270)

[6] **I will tell you** {COMP} (52)

- a. Sir, **I will tell you a thing in secret**, which your servant was purposed to do; when I am alone, I can never be at quiet for him, but he is always enticeing me to have me at his will, [...] (*Sack-full of News*, D3FNEWES, p. A4R)
- b. **I'll tell you Madam, it has upon it a very fair Manor house;** from one side you have in prospect an hanging Garden. (*The Wild Gallant*, D3CDRYDE, p. 18)
- c. This? Alas. Your greatest gaine's in losing. -- Nay, **I'le tell you**, The love, the care, -- that cost, that Noble breeding, That seemes to you a winning Argument, Is my best Argument against you. (*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. D2R)

To compare FSs [4] and [5], their differences are that the latter contains an optional prepositional phrase indicating the receiver of the confession and it uses the auxiliary *must* to add more force when bringing focus to the following topic or statement. It also seems to be a common practice to use the auxiliary *will* for the same purpose, for example, there are pairs of FSs such as “**I say** (COMP)” and “**I will say** (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})”, “**I tell thee** {that-CLAUSE}” and “**I will tell thee** {COMP}”, and “**I tell you** {that-CLAUSE}”

and “**I will tell you** {COMP}”. Lexical items to complete the variable parts in each pair of FSs differ slightly, possibly due to the size of corpora.

Furthermore, FSs [3] and [6] tend to be more idiomatic than [4] and [5]. The main verb in [4] and [5] is *confess*, which has a very specific meaning: the speaker is not only saying something but also indicating that what is said is a confession. The main verbs in [3] and [6] are *say* and *tell*, respectively, which have no specific implication. In face-to-face communication, it could be seen as common-sense that when people are about to say something, they just need to open their mouths and speak. People do not normally need to alarm the listener in advance unless there are other special reasons to do so. The “other special reasons” in the case of sequences [3] and [6] are that they become less compositional and, as a whole, they tell the listener that there is a new piece of information, and one needs to pay attention to it.

To have a closer look at the FS “**I say** (COMP)”, it is recorded in the *OED Online* that the sequence *I say* has an idiomatic but somewhat archaic use to introduce “a word, phrase, or statement which is repeated either for emphasis (and often elaborated in the repetition) or for cohesion in a complex sentence” (*say*, v. 1. and int., P6. a., in the *OED Online*). The realisation of this sequence in [3a] above is an example of this use, and the strength of emphasis is reinforced by the following phrase, *and say again*, indicating the speaker was really serious about his opinion and required attention from the listener. It is also recorded that the phrase *I say* could be used colloquially to “draw attention to what one is about to say”, or to express “surprise, delight, dismay, or indignant protest” (*say*, v. 1. and int., P6. c (a), in the *OED Online*). In the realisation in [3b] above, the phrase *I say* is used before an imperative sentence. According to the context, the speaker, in an emotional way, attempted to draw the listener’s attention to the request and to urge the listener to bring the speaker’s son-in-law to the physician’s house without any concerns.

The sequence “**I will tell you** {COMP}” may have usages similar to the sequence [3] discussed above. Its realisation in [6a] introduces a piece of information concerning the listener’s servant. The speaker indicated that the information was supposed to be a secret, whereas the speaker still telling it to the listener violated the social convention. Therefore, the sequence functions as a discourse marker that emphasises the importance of a statement and urges the

listener to pay closer attention to the statement. The realisation in [6b] states the fact there was *a very fair Manor house*, with a tone of surprise, amazement or similar. The text in [6c] is extracted from a comedy. Since there is no way to know how the relevant scene was performed, one can only guess from the context that the speaker was in a strong emotional state, implied by a short question *This?*, exclamations such as *Alas* and *Nay*, superlatives such as *greatest* and *best*, and several short sentence segments such as *The love, the care, -- that cost, that Noble breeding*. One could also guess that in order to effectively make a statement when the speaker was emotional, they needed some lexical devices to draw the listener's attention to the statement. Here is where the sequence “**I will tell you {COMP}**” in [6] comes into play. However, unlike the FSs [3], there is no direct entry in the *OED* concerning the FS [6]. The closest record of usage can only be found under the entry of the verb *tell*, which could be used “in parenthetical expressions of emphasis” such as *I can tell you* and *let me tell you* (*tell*, v. 9, in the *OED Online*). It is also recorded that the expression and its variants (*I, I'll, I will*) *tell you what* could be used colloquially “to introduce (and give some emphasis to) an observation or comment” (*tell*, v. P5. B. (a). (i), in the *OED Online*). A quick corpus search shows that the forms, *I can tell you*, *let me tell you*, and (*I, I'll, I will*) *tell you what*, have very low frequencies of occurrence (12, ten, nine times, respectively) in EModE dialogues. A preliminary conclusion is that the FS [6] and those expressions recorded in the *OED* might be used in the same way or realisations of a superordinate FS. More historical linguistic evidence is required to corroborate this assumption.

In addition to the two most popular form patterns discussed above, more FSs do not fall in certain recurrent patterns; for example, “(and/but) **as for**”, “**hark you**”, “**let me see {COMP}**”, “**as follows**”, “**as you say**”. Some of them deserved a few more words to elaborate. To begin with, realisations of the sequence “{and/but} **as for**” in [7a–c] show that, depending on the preceding conjunction, the sequence introduces or draws attention to a new topic that is similar to or different from the previous one. Firstly, the realisation in [7a] introduces what the speaker had to do after giving instructions to the listener. Secondly, the realisation in [7b] emphasises that the person named Margaret did not say any other words except what was quoted previously. Lastly, [7c] suggests

that regarding what the speaker *Yong Ar.* said about their love and kindness growing with age, it was the contrary for the speaker *Ma.*

[7] (and/but) **as for** (109)

- a. Go, go: kindell the fier, thou wilt make vs as sloughish, and as good husbandes as thou art: drie my shirt that I may rise: let him tarie at bed that listeth, **as for mee** I haue to much businesse: [...] (*Schoolemaister*, D1HFDESA, p. 166)
- b. The wordes which he did here Margaret Tailiour speake, were theis “Richard Wright had geuen [...]” **and as for any other sclanderous wordes**, he hard not the said Margaret speake: [...] (*Bishop’s Court*, D1WCHEST, p. 119)
- c. Yong Ar. My loue and kindnesse like my age shal grow, And with the time increase, and thou shalt see, The older I grow, the kinder I will bee.  
Ma. I so I hope it will, **but as for mine**, That with my age shall day by day decline. Come, shall we goe?  
(*How a Man May Chuse*, D2CHEYWO, p. H4V)

Moreover, the sequence “**hark you**” is realised as an imperative sentence (e.g., [8a–b]), giving an explicit order to the listener who should pay attention to what the speaker would say. The sequence “**let me see** {COMP}” requires more attention since not all its realisations are formulaic. For example, its realisation in [9a] serves as a speech filler and/or an indicator of topic shifting, hence formulaic; while its use in [9b] is a common imperative sentence and expresses a simple and literal meaning.

[8] **hark you** (40)

- a. This is not that I look for: **heark you** Margaret; Your Father is my Tennant. (*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. D2R)
- b. **But heark you, Minstrel**, does not my Cosin go on bravely, when he tells us what dangerous Rogues the Citizens are, and what designs they have still on foot, to distract, if not subvert the Government, by contriving new methods of Petitioning, and telling us, that those Heads will find hands if there should be occasion? On my Conscience he is a notable man. (*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 11)

[9] **let me see** {COMP} (31)

- a. yet indeed this present age hath gotten the start of all precedent times for ingratitude, hypocrisie, hardnesse of heart, neglect of lawdable Arts (and Customes,) and indeed want of common honesty; **but let mee see**, I was about to ask thee how the Gaolers use him (for that was our argument before) but ’tis needlesse discourse for if his professed and obliged friends, are so ingratefully cruell, [...]. (*Vvit and Vvealth*, D3MWIT, p. 12)
- b. **\*Let me see the mony**, and then I will answer you to the purpose. (*Walter Rawleigh*, D2WRALEI, p. 11)

Last but not least, many FSs in the subcategory “A. topic introduction/focus” are multi-functional. Firstly, both sequences “**further says** {that-CLAUSE}” and “(as) **I remember** {COMP}” are also reporting clauses (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”) because in the corpus of EModE dialogues they report what other people had said. Secondly, the previous section discussed that the sequence “**I tell you** {that-CLAUSE}” not only draws the listener’s attention to a statement but also emphasises that the statement is true (“I. B8. affirmation/denial”). Thirdly, according to the *OED*, the sequence “**in respect** (of {NP})” is polysemous, namely, senses focusing on introducing a new topic (*respect*, n. (and int.) P2. a. *in respect of*: (a) and (b). c. *in respect*: (a). in the *OED Online*) and senses focusing on the relationship between the previous discourse and the following discourse (*respect*, n. (and int.) P2. a. *in respect of*: (c). c. *in respect*: (b). in the *OED Online*). Lastly, exclamations (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”) could also be a way to draw the listener’s attention, and the sequence “**now Sir**” is an example of such practice.

### **B. topic elaboration/clarification**

FSs in the second subcategory of discourse organisers contribute to joining units of discourse and/or making the inner structure of a piece of discourse more logical and coherent. There are generally five groups of FSs with various form patterns and/or slightly different focuses of the function. In most cases, these sequences are combinations of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. The most frequent ones are listed in Table 6.4.1, including “**and if**”, “**and therefore**”, “**and yet**”, “**but if**”, etc. Less frequent ones are, for example, “**or if**”, “**yet if**”, etc.

It is arguable if these multi-word units should be identified as FSs. One could argue that their components function separately since the coordinating conjunctions, *and*, *but*, and *or*, join two clauses, while the subordinating conjunctions lead one of the clauses and the selection of which subordinating conjunction to use depends not on the preceding coordinating conjunction but on the logic of the following clause. However, I argue that one of the reasons to treat them as FSs is that they generally are very frequent ( $> M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times). Another reason is that the components are close-class words, hence the possible combinations are limited and predictable. Besides, not all coordinating

conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions can combine; for example, *\*but therefore* and *\*or therefore* do not exist. It seems that coordinating conjunctions denoting the causal-effect relationship can only occur together with cumulative coordinating conjunctions that add non-contrasting clauses. I also argue that multi-word items found in the corpus of EModE dialogues such as “**and if**”, “**and therefore**” and “**and yet**” have a closer inner structural relationship. Therefore, they reflect conventional form-function mappings, hence I identify them as FSs. Examples of how some of these sequences are realised are presented in [10] – [12].

[10] **and therefore** (234)

- a. if thou haue suche pretie fetchis, you can dooe more then thys. **And therefore**, if thou dooeste not one thyng that I shall tell thee. I wyll folow the lawe on thee. (*Merie Tales*, D1FTALES, p. C3R)
- b. You say that in loue there is no reason, **and therefore** there can be no likelihood. (*Alexander*, D1CLYLY, p. C1R)

[11] **but if** (123)

- a. Wel my host, weele go answere for your house at this time, **but if** at other times you haue had wenches, and would not let vs know it, we are the lesse beholding to you.  
(*Humerous Days Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. F2V)
- b. Let us stop here, Sister. What you please, Brother. **But if** you will go with us into the Park, it is time to be going.  
(*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 232)

[12] **or if** (28)

- a. Deny it if thou darest, **or if** thou hast the impudence to do it; see here, is not this the Sute he wore?  
(*The English Lovers*, D3FDAUNC, p. 1.2.53)
- b. But if your Grace want merrie companie, I will send for Ladies wise and curteous. To be associates with your Maiestie. **Or if** your Grace will haue Musitians sent for, I will fetch your Grace the best in all this land. (*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. F3R)

Moreover, some FSs in this subcategory are multi-word subordinating conjunctions, such as “**as if**” and “**so that**”. Some less frequent sequences of this kind are, for instance, “**as long as**”, “**even so**”, and “**if ever**”. The component words of these sequences have an even tighter and fixed inner structural relationship than those sequences involving conventional combinations of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Some of the FSs as multi-word subordinating conjunctions are realised as follows:

[13] **as if** (121)

- a. And hereupon all is on a broyle against old women, which can any wayes be suspected to be witches, **as if** they were the very plagues of the world, [...] (*Concerning Witches*, D1HOGIFF, p. D1R)
- b. when his wife heard those wordes, she was more angry then before, and began to braule and scolde as if the Deuill had bene in her, and said vnto him: (*Frier Rvsh*, D2FRUSH, p. D3V)

[14] **as long as** (41)

- a. I do not meane to die **as long as** I can see one alieue. (*Humerous Dayes Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. E3V)
- b. that delinquents may be brought to punishment, and then the Parliament was to sit **as long as** they pleased (*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 7)

[15] **if ever** (18)

- a. Sir, **if euer** I breake my word, with a Gentleman, may I neuer read word at my need. (*Bartholmew Fayre*, D2CJONSO, p. 46)
- b. I would and will, **if ever** it be any mans ill luck so to do, all to be pudding-pie his Calves-head: (*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 18)

Another group of FSs that mark the relationship or logic between units of discourse include, for example, “**according to** {NP}” indicates the source of information or the basis of argument, “**or not**” marks a contradictory statement or option, “**not only** {COMP}, **but** (also) {COMP}” introduces two co-existing conditions, facts, or statements, and the pair “**on (the) one side**” and “**on the other side**” introduces two contradictory statements, options, or opinions.

The third group of FSs in the subcategory fall into the lexical-grammatical pattern, SUBJ (mostly *I*) + VP + COMP. The verb phrase normally consists of verbs that denote the actions or events of perceiving and understanding the world, and the complement part provides the details of the speaker’s elaboration and opinion. The most frequently used verb appears to be *think*; for example, “**I think** ({that-CLAUSE})” and its form variant “**me thinks** ({that-CLAUSE})”. FSs with the verbs *perceive* and *find* are also very frequent; for instance, “**I perceive** {that-CLAUSE}” and “**I find** {COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}}”. Less frequently in EModE dialogues, people also used to say “**I mean** {COMP}”. Speakers of EModE commonly used these FSs to elaborate on certain topics and/or to express their opinion on a topic. Examples of their realisations are presented in [16] – [20] below.

[16] **I think** ({that-CLAUSE}) (291)

- a. naye, it is you that haue doone it, **I thynke**, for I am sure it is not I. (*Merie Tales*, D1FTALES, p. C5R)

- b. where is your deuill now? **I thinke I haue mauld him yfaith**: bring your Deuills to me dost thou?  
(*Deuill of Edmonton*, D2FBREWE, p. E4V)
- c. **I think that since the Nations of England and Scotland were at oddes, I have been at twenty Fasts.**  
(*Triall of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 42)

[17] **me thinks** {that-CLAUSE} (74)

- a. and yet **mee thinks that Rapier should not speake of that**, for it's an hundred to one if he be not gilt too.  
(*Worke for Cvtilers*, D2MWORKE, p. A4R)
- b. He hath something of Master Ouerdoo, **mee thinkes**, brother.  
(*Bartholmew Fayre*, D2CJONSO, p. 29)

[18] **I perceive** {that-CLAUSE} (81)

and **I perceiue now, y=t= good hap hau~ts me**, for being by lack of oportunitie constreined to co~mit my welfare vnto these blabbing leaues of bewraying paper (*Sundrie Flowres*, D1FGASCO, p. 210)

[19] **I find** {COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}} (61)

- a. I know shee cannot last long; **I finde by her similes, shee wanes a pace.** (*Bartholmew Fayre*, D2CJONSO, p. 26)
- b. Pray read it out sir, for I finde it so pleasant that I could heare it a whole day together. (*A Mad Couple*, D3CBROME, p. D4V)

[20] **I mean** {COMP} (16)

- a. Sound i' your senses sir, **I meane.**  
(*A Mad Couple*, D3CBROME, p. E1R)
- b. I meane, this morning. (*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. B1V)

It is also common for speakers of EModE to use FSs and ask for elaboration or somebody's opinion. The most frequent sequence found in the corpus of EModE dialogues is “**What say you** (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?”. Less frequent sequences of the same function include, for example, “([wh-WORD]) **do you think** {COMP}?”, {How/What} **do you know** {COMP}?”, “**How is it** (COMP)?”, “**What** {[mean]} {NP}?”, “**Why do you** (COMP)?”. They are mostly *Wh*- questions. Most of them contain verbs that denote the actions or events of perceiving and understanding the world such as *think*, *know*, and *mean*. They could be treated as the interrogative forms of sequences in [16] – [20]. In addition, these sequences are also multi-functional, labelled additionally as “B. simple inquiries” (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”). Some of them these sequences are realised as follows:



[21] **What say you** (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})? (75)

- a. Perin. Very wel, and **what say you maister Squire**.  
Squire, I say that my reuenewes are but small, yet I will lend his Maiestie ten pound:  
(*To Knowe Knave*, D1CKNAVE, p. D4V)
- b. **What say you to that was read to you even now?**  
(*Dr. Bastwicke*, D2TBAST, p. 11)

[22] ([wh-WORD]) **do you think** {COMP}? (50)

- a. And **why doe you thinke faire Lady that my horse and I are agreed?** (*Sundrie Flowres*, D1FGASCO, p. 240)
- b. **Doe you thinke there is truth in them?**  
(*Merry Wiues*, D2CSHAKE, p. 44C2)

[23] **How is it** (COMP)? (23)

- a. Why Mistris, **how ist? how ist?**  
(*Inforst Mariage*, D2CWILKI, p. H3R)
- b. Let me see that ruffe, **How is it that the supporter is so soyled?**  
(*The French Garden*, D2HFERON, p. E4V)

Lastly, it seems that EModE speakers often employed FSs containing temporal adverbs to connect units of discourse in their conversations. Table 6.4.1 at the beginning of this section shows that some sequences in the subcategory “B. topic elaboration/clarification” contain two temporal adverbs, *now* and *then*. They are “**and then**”, “**and now**”, and “**how now**”. Two less frequent ones are “**now if**” and “**well then**”. For example, realisations of “**and then**” in [24a–b] introduce a series of actions in order. In particular, [24c] states that a follow-up action would happen if a condition were met. Among realisations of “**and now**”, [25a] connects a past and a future event and [25b] connects two statements. In addition, “**and then**” and “**and now**” sometimes maintain their literal meanings and function as temporal deixis (“III. Referential Expressions”), such as [25c].

[24] **and then** (414)

- a. Wee had first neede to helpe our barren land, and make it hartie, **and then** for falling and ledging I will set it thin enough, as the qualitie of the ground requireth: for it is the thicke sowing of ranke land vpon euill tillage that causeth Corne to ledge.  
(*Plowing and Setting*, D2HOMAXE, p. B4R)
- b. B. I wil know what I sweare to/before I sweare.  
A. ffirst sweare: **and then** if any thing be vnlawfully demaunded/yow shal not answer.  
(*Examinations*, D1MBARRO, p. A3R)
- c. Mrs. Cel. My Lord, I accept against that Witness.  
L. C. J. Why so? You must show some reason, **and then** we will do you Justice in God’s Name. (*Elizabeth Cellier*, D4TCELLI, p. 13)

[25] **and now** (104)

- a. But who was the better for it? not your selves I am sure: for why, you have spent it all at the Ale-house; **and now**, be it spoken to each one of your comforts, the next time you cry books about London, your reward shall be the whipping post; [...]  
(*Temporizing poets*, D3HOPOET, p.4)
- b. I desire my Lord will be pleas'd to look upon this Book of Overbury's Letters. **And now** for the Copy of the largest Pardon; Sir Robert Cotton saith, That at my Lord of Somerset's Intreaty, a little before Michalemas last, he got him a Draught of the largest Pardon, [...]  
(*Trial of Robert Carr*, D2TCARR, p. 345C2)
- c. **And now** sir, I will shew you how that not long since, a man that you know verie well, was clapt by the heeles in y=e= Clinke, [...]  
(*Sharpham Edward*, D1FSHARP, p. C4R)

#### 6.4.2. Letters

EModE letters also employ FSs to mark relationships between prior and coming discourse. These FSs can be further divided into two subcategories according to the discorsal relationships that they reflect. Table 6.4.2 presents FSs whose frequencies of occurrence are above the mean ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times).

**Table 6.4.2: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “II. Discourse Organisers”\***

Subcategories	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A. topic introduction/focus</b>	<b>there</b> {[be]} (2368); <b>this</b> {[be]} (549); (and/but) <b>as for</b> (268); <b>these</b> {[be]} (188); <b>I confess</b> {COMP} (135); <b>in respect</b> (of {NP}) (131); <b>I trust</b> {COMP} (245); <b>I</b> <b>am sure</b> {that-CLAUSE} (242); <u><b>I</b> (MD) <b>assure</b> [you] {that-CLAUSE} (235);</u> <b>I fear</b> (me) {COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}} (235); {SUBJ} <b>doubt not but</b> {COMP} (202); <b>I doubt not but</b> {that-CLAUSE} (184); <b>I suppose</b> {that-CLAUSE} (179); <b>I assure</b> {NP: somebody} {that-CLAUSE} (175); (as) <b>it is said</b> {that-CLAUSE} (151); <b>I assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE} (130); <b>I (have) received your letter</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.} (121)
<b>B. topic elaboration/clarification</b>	<b>I think</b> (COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}) (1105); <b>and therefore</b> (788); <b>and if</b> (654); <b>so that</b> (534); <b>according to</b> {NP} (502); <b>and yet</b> (445); <b>I find</b> {COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}} (362); <b>I thought</b> {COMP} (322); <b>but if</b> (306); <b>I (do/do not) perceive</b> ({that-CLAUSE}) (210); {[think]} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} (203); <b>I perceive</b> {that-CLAUSE} (190); <b>as if</b> (177); <b>and thus</b> (172); <b>not only</b> {COMP}, <b>but</b> (also) {COMP} (172); <b>in regard</b> (of {NP}) (164); <b>by reason of</b> {NP} (163); <b>and also</b> (157); <b>me thinks</b> ({that-CLAUSE}) (142); <b>or not</b> (126); <b>I mean</b> {COMP} (122) <b>and then</b> (425); <b>and now</b> (299);

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory.

#### A. topic introduction/focus

By examining the structure of the most frequent topic introduction/focus sequences in EModE letters, I find their fixed parts can be grouped into six form patterns. The most common form pattern is the SUBJ (mostly *I*) + VP + COMP

construction. For example, as presented in Table 6.4.2, the most frequent ones in the corpus of EModE letters include “**I trust** {COMP}”, “{I} (MD) **assure** {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I fear** (me) {COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}}”, “{SUBJ} **doubt not but** {COMP}”, “**I doubt not but** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I suppose** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I assure** {NP: somebody} {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I doubt** {COMP}”, “**I assure** {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I confess** {COMP}”, and “**I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}”.

Function-wise, the majority of FSs in this form directly introduce a new topic or draw attention to it. Such sequences mostly contain main verbs in their fixed parts, like *trust*, *fear*, *doubt*, *suppose*, *assure*, and *confess*. Taking the FS “**I confess** {COMP}” for example, its realisation in [1a] is used parenthetically within a statement, while in [1b–c] the fixed part precedes a subordinate clause. In [1d], the variable part following the fixed part, *I confesse*, is a prepositional phrase, indicating to whom the speaker/writer made the confession, declaration, acknowledgement, disclosure, or statement, which is delivered in a full sentence.

[1] **I confess** {COMP} (135)

- a. you maye, **I confesse**, as you have beene, be still a father unto me, and what prefeerement I loose one waye recompense it another; (OXINDE,I,77.048.645)
- b. **I confesse** I alway’s thought him an imposture (OSBORNE,175.074.4117)
- c. **I confes that** I loue my children well, (CORNWAL,278.177.2465)
- d. And **I confesse to you**, I see straite is the way, (BARRING,225.167.2868)

Meanwhile, there are FSs indirectly signalling the beginning of a new topic. The typical one is the sequence “**I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}”, which exists only in the letters. Corpus data reveal nine types of realisations of the sequence, as presented in [2a–i]. Firstly, the main verb *receive* can be either in the past tense ([2a–e]) or in the present perfect tense ([2f–i]). Secondly, the fixed part, regardless of the tense of the main verb, can precede lexical items that indicate: the carrier of the letter in the form of a *by* + NP (somebody) construction (e.g., [2b, g]), the location where the letter was received in the form of an *at* + NP (place) construction (e.g., [2c]), the date when the letter was sent in the form of an *of* + NP (date) construction (e.g., [2e, i]), or

the date in the form of a *dated* + NP (date) construction (e.g., [2h]). Thirdly, the fixed part, regardless of the tense of the main verb, can stand alone as a full sentence or the main clause (e.g., [2a, f]), or as a subordinate clause (e.g., [2d]).

- [2] **I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.} (121)
- a. Loueing Unckle **I rec~d your letter**, and my Tutor likewise the moneys which you sent by Peter. (FLEMING,122.032.504)
  - b. Deare mother May it please yow, **I received your letter by Mr Masters** (BARRING,132.085.1503)
  - c. **I received your letter at Canterburie the 4th day of June last past.** (OXINDE,I,66.039.484)
  - d. As to w=t= your L=dsp= saith concerning him, he was gone that morning towards London **when I received your letter**, (HATTON,I,217.067.1696)
  - e. Mistris Carleton: At my comming to towne on Friday last **I receved your letter of the 13=th= of this present**, (CHAMBER,I,543.044.1966)
  - f. Mr Wentworth, **I have receaued your letter** (WENTWOR,38.001.1)
  - g. Jack, **I have received your letter by Mr Harris**, and the other of the 29 of this present, according to your stile, (HOLLES,I,95.028.790)
  - h. Sonne, **I have receyved your letter dated the ix of this moneth of Maye.** (BACON,I,112.091.1530)
  - i. Brother Balty, **I have received your Letter of the 19th of January** (PEPYS,50.028.380)

Despite the fact that the FS [2] is semantically transparent and has various syntactic realisations, it is certainly formulaic because it is highly genre-specific and reflects a fixed form-function relationship. Among its nine types of realisations (e.g., [2a–i]), eight of them occur at the right beginning of letters, as part of the letter opening routines. Studies (e.g., Daybell 2012; Daybell and Gordon 2016) on the postal system in England during the Early Modern period suggest that there was no established format for writing an address, hence many letters were sent to the wrong person or returned to the sender. Therefore, it is possible for this reason that EModE letter writers announced the receipt of a letter or several letters when they wrote a reply. As demonstrated by the realisations in [2a–i], additional information is mentioned such as who was the carrier of the letter, the date when the letter was sent, and where the letter was received, possibly due to the fact that during the Early Modern period letters were always delayed, redirected, handled by multiple postmasters (if letters were sent via public postal routes), or carried or delivered by the sender’s private

carriers or servants (Daybell 2012; Daybell and Gordon 2016). By mentioning such information, the letter writers were able to make it clear which letter(s) they were replying to. Therefore, it is safe to say that “**I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}” is an FS because it recurrently appears in EModE letter writing and serves one single function, i.e., bringing the reader to the focus that the letter is a reply to a particular letter that has been safely received, hence an indirect hint that a new topic is introduced or readers’ attention is required.

The second form pattern of topic introduction/focus sequences is the *as* + SUBJ + V construction, which could be seen as an extended structure of the SUBJ + V construction. The most commonly used verbs in the construction are *seem* and *say*. FSs of such kind in the corpus of EModE letters are, for example, “**as** {NP: somebody} {[say]}”, “**as he says**”, “**as they say**”, and “(as) **it is said** {that-CLAUSE}”.

These sequences can be further assigned into two semantic groups. One is personal, i.e., it has a person as the subject (e.g., [3]), while the other is impersonal, with the pronoun *it* as the subject (e.g., [4]). For example, “**as** {NP: somebody} {[say]}” in [3] contains two variable parts. One is a noun phrase denoting a person as the source of a statement, a piece of information, etc.; the other is the main verb *say*, allowing only the present simple tense and the past simple tense. Its two realisations, *as he says* and *as they say*, reach the frequency threshold (i.e., 20 times *pmw.*), hence identified as FSs themselves. Both are fully lexical. Moreover, the FS [3] can be used at various positions in the discourse. It can occur at the beginning of a statement that is introduced or drawn attention to (e.g., [3a]), at the end of a statement (e.g., [3b]), or parenthetically in the mid of a statement (e.g., [3c–e]).

[3] **as** {NP: somebody} [say] (206)

- a. and, **as they say** since the rest of the University utterly disapprove of their pretentions and are resolved not to allow them, [...]; (PRIDEAU,39.003.104)
- b. He hath settled all things **as he sayes**, (CHAMBER,I,413.029.1243)
- c. Since I writt first unto you Mr. Hotham when I litle expected such a comand by a command from y=e= parliam=t=, **as he saith**, hath seased on my howse, and all I have, [...] (WESA,7.007.171)
- d. but it is, **as they say**, a nwe disceas: (HARLEY,5.007.125)
- e. for **as the Psalmist sayth** when father, and mother leaves us, God careth for us. (HOLLES,III,452.130.3684)

The impersonal FS, “(as) **it is said** {that-CLAUSE}” in [4], is used to express the common or widespread belief (*say*, v. 1 and int. A. 9. a. (a). in the *OED Online*). The dummy subject *it* indicates that there is no specific source of a statement or information. The main verb *say*, in the passive voice, is followed by a subordinate clause, which conveys the statement, as in [4a, c–d]. The conjunction *that* is sometimes omitted, as in [4c–d]. In addition, the variable part *as* is optional, which does not influence the meaning, function, or syntactic position of the sequences. Moreover, being used without a following clause but as a parenthesis to draw attention to the statement, as in [4b, e–f].

[4] (as) **it is said** {that-CLAUSE} (151)

- a. Also **yt is said that** the Kynge of Spaynes navye of shippes is gonne into Barbarye with a great power of men to take serten townes kepeth the straytes before the Turke doe take {ED:take\_INSERTED} them. (BACON,III,5.315.5422)
- b. Sweete Hart’, since I wrott last, this place is in greate disturbance by reason of A great rising of people in Kent, caused, **'tis say’d**, by pressing of the common sort of people to take the newe Oath & covenant. (KNYVETT,119.030.1061)
- c. and **its said** the States will make it 3 millions more. (FLEMING,130.035.571)
- d. and **as it is sayd** Mansfield of Nottinghamshire shall be an Earle, Goring, Jermin and Killegrew barrons; (HOLLES,II,377.104.2930)
- e. I wish us good success in y=e= warr we are **as its said** rushing into; (FLEMING,187.060.1038)
- f. Heere is an other greate shippe licensed by my Lord Admirall by Her Majestes speciall commaundement **as it is saide**. (BACON,III,49.332.5753)

The third type of form pattern groups sequences such as “**there** {[be]}”, “**this** {[be]}”, and “**these** {[be]}”, which introduce new topics or things by emphasising their existence and characteristics. One thing in common is that they all contain the verb *be*. The other is that they are parts of a *here/there/DEMONSTRATIVES + BE + NP (a topic introduced) + POST MODIFIER* construction. Taking the FSs [5] for example, its realisation, *there is*, introduces the topic *a committee*, which is modified by *apointed for an accommodation*. Similarly, a realisation of the FS [6], *this was*, introduces a topic *a bould information*, which is modified by *made by a mercenary that workes for 12=d= in the pound*. The modifiers in both examples contribute to the characteristics of the topics. FSs of such kind are also highly frequent in EModE dialogues.

[5] **there** {[be]} (2368)  
Itt is sayd thatt **there is** a committee apointed for an accommodation,  
(OXINDE,I,302.168.3072)

[6] **this** [be] (549)  
but **this was** a bould information made by a mercenary that workes  
for 12=d= in the pound; (KNYVETT,137.036.1400)

The fourth type of form pattern contains a preposition or is part of a prepositional phrase, for example, “(and/but) **as for**” and “**in respect of** {NP}”. These FSs play different roles when introducing new topics. The FS [7], “(and/but) **as for**” is often used when there is more than one topic being introduced or compared (e.g., [7a]). Conjunctions like *and* and *but* are often used before the FS to emphasise the relationships among the topics. For example, the realisation in [7b] introduces a topic that is the same kind as the previous one, or an addition to it; while the realisation in [7c] emphasises that the topic that it introduces is different from the previous one.

[7] (and/but) **as for** (268)  
a. **As for Admiralty matters** I troubled you pritty well in my last.  
(PETTY,40.023.548)  
b. **and as for France’s** thay morder stell dayly, which is moche to be  
marwell of. (BACON,I,34.016.300)  
c. **but as for money** he hath none (BACON,II,96.223.3876)

Less frequently, EModE letters employ sequences, such as “**let me know** {COMP}” in [8], to ask for a piece of information. They come in the form of the *let* + NP (somebody) + INFINITIVE construction. The fixed part is followed by semantic elements conveying a topic or statement. The variable part in the realisation [8a] contains a preposition *of*, which is a part of the phrasal verb *know of*, and a noun phrase *all your motions*, which is the topic that the FS introduces and focuses on. Semantic elements of the variable part can also be a prepositional phrase such as in [8b], *by this bearer*, which implies information is delivered. Moreover, it is more common that the fixed part is followed by a subordinate clause or indirect questions, such as *when and where I may hope to see you* in [8a], *when my brother [...]* in [8b], *w=ht= becomes of [...]*, *and where those vacant howers [...]* in [8c], *he meant to [...]* in [8d], and *that I may fashion [...]* in [8e]. In addition, the verb *know* in the fixed part can have a direct object that indicates the topic, as in [8f]. It seems to be a way unique to EModE letters to ask the reader to write back.

- [8] **let me know** {COMP} (100)
- a. for Godsake **lett mee know of all your motions**, when and where I may hope to see you, (OSBORNE,161.065.3734)
  - b. I praye **let me know by this bearer when** my brother Barrington returnes. (BARRING,220.159.2765)
  - c. Pray **let me know w=ht=** becomes of Lady Richm=d=, and where those vacant howers are spent now that used to be passd away at her chamber. (HATTON,I,52.021.448)
  - d. My farmer Cooke was so farr from desiering a longer time as I perceiv'd his cheefe busines was to **let me knowe** he meant to leave it at michaelm=s=, & to tell me some insinuating tales to regaine my good opinion; (KNYVETT,161.042.1812)
  - e. if this be so, **lett me know, that** I may fashion my course accordingly, (HOLLES,II,354.096.2632)
  - f. [...] wherein I praie your lordship cawse him to be tempted anewe, and **lett me knowe his awnsweare**, (LEYCEST,357.080.2495)

Lastly, I find in the corpus of EModE letters the FS, “{I} **am sure** {that-CLAUSE}”. It is also identified as epistemic stance sequences expressing certainty (see Section 6.3.2). In EModE letters, the FS introduces topics or gives statements that the letter writer is certain about.

## B. topic elaboration/clarification

The topic elaboration/clarification sequences in EModE letters can be further organised into two groups based on their semantics and/or pragmatics. They are either used to elaborate and clarify certain topics or to mark the relationships between various statements in a discourse of elaboration. There are significant morphological differences between FSs in the two groups, hence reflecting the nature of FSs, i.e., they are conventional mappings of form and meaning/function.

FSs that elaborate or clarify a topic in EModE letters contain full or part of verb phrases in their fixed parts, and most of them are in the form of the SUBJ (mostly *I*) + VP + COMP construction. For example, some frequent FSs of this kind are presented in Table 6.4.2, such as “**I thought** {COMP}”, “{[think]} **that** {CLAUSE}”, “**I perceive** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I think** (COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE})”, “**me thinks** ({that-CLAUSE})”, “**I find** {COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}}”, “**I (do/do not) perceive** ({that-CLAUSE})”, “**I mean** {COMP}”, etc. They reveal two common syntactic and semantic features. Firstly, most of them have the first-person singular pronoun as the subject, directly indicating a certain opinion of the writer. Secondly, the variable parts in these FSs can mostly



be filled by subordinate clauses that convey opinions, understandings, explanations, etc.

However, these sequences vary in two ways. On the one hand, the most common verbs in the fixed part are *think*, *perceive*, *find*, and *mean*. Although these verbs generally denote giving an opinion or expressing an understanding of a subject, the sequences are not synonyms. On the other hand, regarding the degree of fixedness, the sequences vary in the number of variable parts and their syntactic-semantic restrictions. For example, the FS [9] focuses on expressing the writer's opinion. It has only one variable part following the fixed part, but the variable part is quite open to the form of semantic elements to be filled in. Firstly, the fixed part can be followed by a noun phrase, which can be modified by three kinds of lexical items, namely an *I find* + NP (modified) + NP (modifier) construction (e.g., [9a]), an *I find* + NP (modified) + AdjP (modifier) construction (e.g., [9b]), or an *I find* + NP (modified) + *to be* ADJ (modifier) construction (e.g., [9c]). All three constructions express how a letter writer thought about certain things. Secondly, the variable part can also be a subordinate clause (e.g., [9d–f]). Thirdly, the subordinate clause can be preceded by a *by* + NP construction which indicates the source of information (e.g., [9d]). Lastly, the fixed part *I find* can be used alone as a parenthesis, for example [9g].

[9] **I find** {COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}} (362);

- a. I dout not but Mr. Cavendish, **whom I fynd a most earnest devoted creatur to your lordship**, will, havynge lesur, wryt at length how he fyndeth her majesty disposed. (LEYCEST,420.089.2734)
- b. and **I finde almost all my frends sick or a dyeng**; (BARRING,239.180.3135)
- c. My Lo. this being the fact, and the trew case thereof, **I fynd the same to be ffellonie** by A=o=. 3. st. 7. ca. 2. (ORIGIN2,293.031.537)
- d. And yet **I fyend by the constables that** they are allmost wearyed with offering or bringing any compleyntes to him, for that there followeth nothing of yt, [...]. (BACON,II,270.297.5132)
- e. Sir, Upon perusall of your counsell opinion, **I finde that** he insists much upon a deede made from Sir George Bowes to you of the castle, mannor, and lordship of Streatlam, [...]. (HUTTON,318.082.1176)
- f. This beginning looks ill, tho' **I find** many are of opinion y=t= this storme will blow over, y=t= they will choose a third person, [...]. (HATTON,I,181.055.1389)
- g. And such will Sherwin's testimony be if he comes over, as Mr Filding who very civilly gave me your letter and a visite yesterday tell's me, he very suddenly will; though others, **I find**, are of another opinion, as Suspecting that he dares not, upon the Score of his fowle play as is said with Prince Rupert, about the Guns. (PEPYS,97.050.718)

Similarly, the FS [10], “**I think** (COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE})”, also has one but a flexible variable part. Firstly, the fixed part, *I think*, can precede the NP (modified) + AdjP (modifier) construction (e.g., [10a]). In this case, it is possible for the sequence [10] can be used interchangeably with [9] (e.g., [9b]). Moreover, the realisation in [10a] is used synonymously of the parenthesis *for myne owne part* in the preceding discourse, which is also an FS expressing the writer’s own opinion. Secondly, the FS [10] can be realised in the form of the *I think* + NP (modified) + V-ing (modifier) construction (e.g., [10b]), which could be seen as in an alternative grammatical structure of the realisation in [10a]. Thirdly, similar to the FS [9], the fixed part of the FS [10] can also precede a subordinate clause, for example, its realisation in [10c] introduces the writer’s own opinion about the gentlemen’s contribution to *the completing of such a work* mentioned in the previous context. Lastly, the fixed part of the FS in [10d] stands alone and is used as a parenthesis, which provides additional information regarding how long did *L=d= Windsor* stay in *y=e= Tower*.

[10] **I think** (COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}) (1105)

- a. but I for myne owne part am without hope either by writinge or otherwise to do any good therin, (BACON,I,41.024.434)  
neither do **I thinke** it best for me to make any profe.  
(BACON,I,41.024.435)
- b. Dear Madam, **I thinke** myself infinitely beholding to you for your kindly sending this bearer; (CORNWAL,41.031.367)
- c. & **I think** all Gentlemen theirin are obleidged to contribute what they may towards the compleating of such a work.  
(FLEMING,225.084.1370)
- d. I have heard no more of L=d= Windsor since he was in y=e= Tower, but that he was mightily complemented by visitts from all the towne, and stayd there, **I thinke**, about a fortnight, and, then released, came to Windsore and kissed the King’s hand there.  
(HATTON,I,63.023.471)

Furthermore, the FS [11], “**I mean** {COMP}”, is used to explain, elaborate, or clarify a previously mentioned statement. For example, it can be used parenthetically, such as the two cases in [11a]. In the first case, the sequence *I mean* explains that *a case of the common sort* refers to *that of Debtor and Creditor*; while in the second case, the sequence *I mean* clarifies that it is *his ill language that is enough to make it very unfit for you to become his or any man’s Advocate*. The fixed part *I mean* can also be used before a subordinate clause (e.g., [11b]), which elaborates the previous statement. Moreover, the fixed part

*I mean* can take a noun phrase (e.g., [11c–d]). Specifically, the realisation in [11c] corrects the mistake that a wrong person is mentioned.

[11] **I mean** {COMP} (122)

- a. For instead of its being a case of the common sort, **I mean**, that of Debtor and Creditor, according to which apprehension of it, the whole stile of my said answer of the 13th runs I find it to be a business much less becoming you to be an Interposer in, [...] One part of which your selfe confess, **I mean**, his ill language, which of it selfe is enough to make it very unfit for you to become his or any man's Advocate in: (PEPYS,35.016.252)
- b. for he must neuer be sworne therefor, if this course will stand good **I meane that** the king cannot revocke his grant of the advowsyon. (WENTWOR,302.093.1597)
- c. Yo=r= Cousen Elinor **I meane** yo=r= Cousen Crawley and her husband is come in to England and Landed (FLEMING,23.008.135)
- d. only I will say that I hope your wisdome will provyde that his holynes interpretation of the late breve, shal not produce a contrary effect to hys meaning, **I meane a greater separation and division then before**; as yt must needs do yf you may not hold with the fathers so much as a frendly correspondence by letters which shall not concerne your government, (FITZHER,63.009.292)

The last example of FSs in the form of the SUBJ (mostly *I*) + VP + COMP construction is less fixed compared to those demonstrated above. The same as the sequences discussed so far, FS [12] can be used with a subordinate clause (e.g., [12a–d]), or stand alone as a parenthesis (e.g., [12e]). Sometimes, a *by* + NP construction is inserted between the main verb and the subordinate clause as an adjunct to add additional information regarding how something is perceived by the speaker/writer (e.g., [12b–c]). Moreover, an auxiliary *do* can be inserted before the main verb *perceive* for an emphatic purpose (e.g., [12c]).

[12] **I (do/do not) perceive** ({that-CLAUSE}) (210)

- a. If it had, **I percaiv** a great inconvenienc had bene better then the breach of ani custum. (HARVEY,13.001.188)
- b. Since your boyes coming hither, **I perceive by a letter from D=r=. Benet that** the coronation is like to hould as was appointed, but with lesse solemnitie then was expected. (HUTTON,169.054.775)
- c. This day **I do perseve by sum of my Lordes that** Her Majeste doth not intend to goo to Saynt Albons but deryctly to goo from Hatfeld to Mr Sandes hows near to Cheyneys, [...]. (BACON,I,207.151.2746)
- d. but **I doe not perceive** that invitation should bee much wellcome to him whoe had before receivd soe manie bones to knawe. (OXINDE,I,187.113.1699)
- e. and further since M=r= Jackson, **I perceive**, has yet another, I shall desire you to know of him w=ch= of the two he will rather com~end to me; (FLEMING,171.050.910)

The second group of topic elaboration/clarification sequences represent different mappings of form and meaning/function. In regard to the form, most of them can be seen as multi-word conjunctions. In regard to the meaning/function, they mark the relationships between units of discourse or the relationships between arguments within a discourse.

Firstly, many FSs in this group are combinations of the conjunction *and* and other conjunctions or conjunctive adverbs. For example, the most frequent ones I found in the corpus of EMode letters include “**and therefore**”, “**and if**”, “**and yet**”, “**and then**”, “**and now**”, “**and thus**” and “**and also**”. Most of them contribute to the logic of a text. The conjunction *and* joins two lexical units, while the following conjunctions (e.g., *if*) or conjunctive adverbs (e.g., *therefore*) mark the relationships among units of discourse. For example, in the FS [13], *and* joins *gladde to heare from you* and *willing to write vnto you*, and *therefore* marks that *willing to write vnto you* is the result of *gladde to heare from you*.

[13] **and therefore** (788)

My verye good deere Lorde and olde acquaynetance, I am right gladde to heare from you, **and therefore as willing to write vnto you**, because I may the oftener vnderstand of your estate and welfare. (PARKHUR,164.030.539)

Secondly, there are also many other combinations of conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs, forming multi-word conjunctions or conjunctive adverbs. Among the most frequent ones, for example, “**so that**” in [14] marks results or consequences, “**but if**” in [15] marks an alternative condition, and “**as if**” in [16] marks an imaginary situation.

[14] **so that** (534)

- a. By the Accounts youl find something in arrear, **so that a returne of 5 or 6=L= for that** & the Dues of y=e= ensueing Quarter w=ch= will not be high will do well betwixt this & the midle of July next, because all must be answer'd to the Colledge thenabouts for y=e= whole year. (FLEMING,312.127.2108)
- b. She being out of countenance at such a speach would not answear, which made it the more suspitious, **so that at last she was sent to a justice of peace whear she answered also crossly.** (BARRING,246.186.3275)
- c. And, in conclusion, his 2 cheefe wittnesses wear taken away, by proveing of them in Court, one to be periuerd & the other a theefe, **so that, if the Jury had given in ther verdict, it had gone against him.** (KNYVETT,85.019.561)

[15] **but if** (306)

- a. I told him Conway had not been wanting in that, **but if a multitude, and probably some neare relations sayd otherwise how could Conway expect to be believed.** (ESSEX,10.004.105)
- b. and doubtte yow not **but if ever I be hable**, as I dispaier not eare longe by Her Majestes entertaynment which was my cominge over, that yow shall fynde mee honest in repayment and thankfull for your kyndnesses. (BACON,III,126.357.6198)

[16] **as if** (177)

When presently calling for a light, mee thought, I went downe, & found all the floore turn'd vp, **as if a Colony of Moles had beene there, or an army of Salt-Peter men**; Wherevpon I sent presently into Tuttle-Street, for the Kings most Excellent Mole-chatcher to releiue mee, & hunt them: (JONSON,214.015.154)

Thirdly, other multi-word conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs do not fall into specific form patterns. For example, “**rather than**” in [17] links two options and states the one following the sequence is not preferred; “**but only**” in [18] is often preceded by statements in negative senses and emphasises that the following statements are the only truth or acceptable option; and “**if not**” in [19] introduces an alternative condition or subject that is the opposite of the one previously mentioned (e.g. [19a]). It is sometimes also used as an elliptical conditional clause (e.g., [19b]).

[17] **rather than** (115)

- a. for I have swarved from the originall, knowing the long digressions, and wynding parenthesis would have begotten a loathing, **rather then a lyking in a reader**, that can separate, and distinguish between matter, and words: (HOLLES,I,152.045.1144)
- b. I have formed all my Kerry complaints into Pleas and Bills in the Exchequer, as if I might have relief that way **rather than by the Kings Letter**. The issue of which I know not, (PETTY,63.032.861)
- c. If, **rather then give any such bond**, he will needs quitt his office, as he hath often in his letters expressed himself to that purpose, truly I shall think that he doth himself the greatest injury in it, (COSIN,II,95.062.1721)

[18] **but only** (109);

- a. they came home as they went without dooing any thing, the reason wherof I scan not {TEXT:cannot} yet learne thoroughly, **but only that the hall was so full that yt was not possible to avoyde yt or make roome for them**, (CHAMBER,I,426.032.1427)
- b. I am bound to no fence nor preservation of spring, **but only to accept a newe leas at the expiration of the first for 21 yeares more, & to paie +L4 by yeare.** (BACON,I,127.102.1760)

[19] **if not** (99)

- a. for thir pryse beeing stowed into a third hand, in the custodie of the mother and both since tuesday, with Mr Attorney, their assurances be muche abated, fynding more difficulty in winning the fliece, then their greatnes could imagin, and that it will be a long, **if not a desperate** cure. (HOLLES,II,174.055.1301)
- b. If justice and Righteousnesse flowe as streames from y=r= Governm=t= all that feare the Lord will rejoyce in it. (JONES,225.025.658)  
**If not**, it is not the splendo=r=, greatnesse or forme of Governm=t= that will preserve it from ruine; (JONES,225.025.659)

The above topic elaboration/clarification sequences (i.e., [13] – [19]) all have a completely fixed and continuous form, and they are not fully idiomatic. The role they play in discourse is similar to those single-word conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs, hence can be used to join clauses (e.g., [13] – [16], [18a]), various types of phrases (e.g., adjective phrases or modifiers (e.g., [19a]), noun phrases (e.g., [17a]), verb phrases (e.g., [17c], [18b]), and prepositional phrases (e.g., [17b]). Similar FSs are also identified in EModE dialogues.

However, many FSs that mark the relationships between units of discourse are discontinuous and/or contain more than one variable part, for example, the sequence “**not only** {COMP}, **but** (also) {COMP}” in [20]. In addition to the optional *also*, the two non-constrained variable parts could be noun phrases (e.g., [20a–b]) or prepositional phrases (e.g., [20c]). In most cases, both variable parts are to be filled with lexical elements of the same grammatical category. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the second non-constrained variable part in [20b] is an example of textual ellipsis. The complete form should be *a joy to all my neighbours*, but since *a joy* is already mentioned in *a joy to mee*, it is omitted to avoid repetition. Another special case is that *not only* is followed by a noun phrase *your companye* in [21d], while *but alsoe* precedes a prepositional phrase *of hearinge from you*, hence not the same grammatical structure.

[20] **not only** {COMP}, **but** (also) {COMP} (172)

- a. for I had **not onely** a bare suite of the Mercer, **but** other things necessary, as bands, cuffs, stockins, handkercheifs &c: (FLEMING,118.029.466)
- b. I have made soe good use of my time in London this terme that I shall bee prepared to pay all my high and mighty debts honestly and truely: which is **nott only** a joy to mee **butt** to all my neighbours I suppose, who thinke it a good hearing that theyr equalls fall in their fortunes; (OXINDE,I,145.086.1211)

- c. Hit was **not only** by your lordship, **but** by the hole nombre of councellors agreed uppon, how mete and necessary hit was for hir highnes to yeld ayd and assistance for the relyfe of those afflicted countreys, her neighbours and most auntyent frendes: (LEYCEST,22.006.102)
- d. Most deere mother I thinke Essex to be a very solitarye place now, beinge bard **not only** your companye **but alsoe** of hearinge from you so oft as I mighte doe when you were at Hattfilde. (BARRING,100.054.980)

Concerning two opposite statements, the FS “**or not**” is an example of ellipsis, which denotes the opposite of what is mentioned in the preceding discourse. For example, in the realisation [21a], one statement is *nott to marry w=th=owt my advise* and the opposite is implicitly conveyed by *or nott att all*. In another example, following the statement *the release which he haithe promised me [...] of certane prebendes*, its realisation in [21b] denotes that the opposite statement is *not the release of certain prebendes*.

[21] **or not** (126)

- a. and hath given me his woord **nott to marry w=th=owt my advise or nott att all** as long as his grandmother liveth. (STOCKWE,I,14.003.50)
- b. for **the release which he haithe promised me or not of certane prebendes** in Lichefeild church. I shold have had them my selfe at my beyng at London but that my Lord Pagett was then at his house in the country [...] (BENTHAM,219.012.103)
- c. and my Opinion is, That if the Dutch would have their right, they must reverse our sentence in the ordinary Course - which **whither they doe or not**, I think the Admiralls will bee due, and that the damage thereof must bee repaired by the first wrong Doer. (PETTY,50.026.678)
- d. “Marry”, quothe Walton, “I would aske the **yf the Queene were supream head of the Church or not**. (VERSTEG,204.015.620)

Moreover, “**or not**” often collocates with the conjunctions *whether* and *if* (e.g., [21c–d]). In fact, the form pattern *whether* + CLAUSE + *or not* has as many as 80 instances, suggesting that it could be counted as an FS itself. However, it is proved – by the process of identifying FSs with a semi-automatic, computer-assisted approach in the present study – that discontinuous FSs like this are difficult to be identified fully automatically via n-grams, LBs, or concgrams (i.e., the non-consecutive combination of words, see definition in Cheng et al. 2006, 414); neither is it easy to be noticed via manually examining the concordance lines of n-grams, LBs, or concgrams. The reason is that the

identification of FSs still relies on examining the concordance of n-grams or LBs, which requires the specification of the span or range of the context before and after the n-grams or LBs. It is almost impossible to predict how many words are between the two parts of a discontinuous sequence. Therefore, FSs, such as [20] and [21], are somewhat identified by chance, and there could be more FSs of this kind being neglected unwillingly.

Lastly, some topic elaboration/clarification sequences are part or full of a prepositional phrase. For example, I find highly frequent sequences of this kind, such as “**according to** {NP}”, “**by reason of** {NP}”, and “**in regard** (of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE})”. Some less frequent ones are “**to the** (same) **end** (that {CLAUSE: with “may”, “might”})”, “**for that purpose**”, and “**for my sake**”. To demonstrate in detail, the FS [22] is used often to provide reasons, background information, or basis for certain actions, opinions or arguments conveyed in the clause following the sequence. Similarly, the FS [23] focuses on elaborating on the reasons behind something.

[22] **according to** {NP} (502)

Thrice worthy Sir, **Accordinge to custome** I present you with our particular circumstances. (WHARTON,15.006.259)

[23] **by reason of** {NP} (163)

but some of his forerunners are come, who report that he found but course entertainment, whether yt were **by reason of his uncle Entragues disgrace**, or upon complaint of the French ambassador here that he is no more respected, and therefore hath sent for his leave to be gon: or that there is some other alienation toward. (CHAMBER,I,203.010.435)

## 6.5. Formulaic sequences as referential expressions

### 6.5.1. Dialogues

#### A. identification/focus

As the descriptive data in Section 6.2 shows, FSs as referential expressions are the most diverse in terms of type and the most common in terms of total occurrence in the corpus of EModE dialogues. FSs referencing specific physical or abstract entities are the most popular ones among the four subcategories. They can be further grouped according to focuses, including abstract entities, physical entities, persons, actions, parts of an entity, and entities that require context for their identification. Table 6.5.1a lists the identification/focus sequences whose frequencies of occurrences are above average ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times).



**Table 6.5.1a: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “A. Identification/focus”\***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A1. abstract entities</b>	<b>the court</b> (333); <b>the Devil</b> (276); <b>a word</b> (73)
<b>A2. physical entities**</b>	<b>all the world</b> (42); <b>the sun</b> (38); {DET} <b>copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter} (30); <b>the earth</b> (28)
<b>A3. person</b>	{DET} <b>Lord</b> {NP: position name} (596); <b>the king</b> (406); (Lord) <b>Chief Justice</b> (322); {[man]} <b>of</b> {NP: characteristics of the man} (174); {DET} <b>Earl of</b> {NP: place name} (128); <b>a gentleman</b> (116); <b>the Earl of</b> {NP: place name} (114); <b>the gentleman</b> (96); <b>the jury</b> (91); <b>the Bishop</b> (of {NP: place}) (90); <b>the</b> {[judge]} (86); (the) <b>Lady</b> {NP: name} (84); {DET} <b>Bishop of</b> {NP: place name} (81); <b>the priest</b> (81); <b>old</b> {[man]} (79); <b>honest</b> {[man]} (72); <b>the queen</b> (72); <b>a man of</b> {NP: quality or identity} (71); <b>the knight</b> (66); <b>no man</b> (65); <b>the prisoner</b> (63); {DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name} (62); <b>the prince</b> (62); <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name}) (759); <b>any man</b> (85); <b>your Grace</b> (61)
<b>A4. actions</b>	{[go]} <b>to</b> {NP: destination, e.g., a person, a place or a thing} (464); {[come]} <b>to</b> {NP: (somebody as) destination} (393); {[come]} <b>in</b> (163); {[begin]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (130); {[speak]} <b>of</b> {NP} (119); {[speak]} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody} (109); {[come]} <b>into</b> {NP for location} (107); {[send]} <b>for</b> {NP: somebody} (93); {[go]} <b>into</b> {NP: place} (91); {[hear]} <b>of</b> {NP} (89); {[come]} <b>from</b> {NP for location} (85); {[come]} <b>home</b> (79); {[fall]} <b>out</b> (76); {[give]} {NP: somebody} <b>leave</b> (to {V-inf}) (76); {[speak]} <b>with</b> {NP: somebody} (76); {[go]} <b>with</b> {NP: a person or a group} (74); {[say]} <b>unto</b> {NP: person} (74); {[use]} (not) <b>to</b> {V-inf} (72); {[cry]} <b>out</b> (COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE}; to/upon {NP: somebody}) (68); {[go]} <b>out</b> (of {NP: somewhere}) (66); {[pay]} (NP: a certain amount of money; somebody who receives the payment) (ADJUNCT) <b>for</b> {NP: the purpose of the payment} (66); {[look]} <b>upon</b> {NP} (65); {[put]} {NP: something or somebody} <b>into</b> {NP: location} (65); {[deal]} (ADJUNCTS) <b>with</b> {NP: mostly for person} (64); {[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} (285); {[desire]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (103); {[desire]} {NP: somebody} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (96); {[know]} <b>of</b> {NP} (66);
<b>A5. part of an entity</b>	<b>one of</b> {NP} (367); <b>the rest</b> (of {NP}) (189); <b>some of</b> {NP} (156); {[part]} <b>of</b> {NP} (125); <b>one of them</b> (71); <b>none of</b> {NP} (68)
<b>A6. general/context-based</b>	<b>the said</b> {NP} (1443); <b>such a</b> {NP} (383); <b>the one</b> (95); <b>the very</b> {NP} (71); <b>nothing but</b> {NP} (68)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory. \*\*There are no FSs in the group “A2. physical entities” occurring more than 60 times. For the purpose of demonstration, several FSs in the group are randomly selected as examples.

### **A1. abstract entities and A2. physical entities**

In the corpus of EModE dialogues, FSs are frequently used to reference specific institutions or organisations, especially those that imply activities or events related to these institutions or organisations. The most frequent one is “**the court**”, possibly because a quarter of texts in the corpus are trial proceedings. Other less frequent sequences referencing institutions or organisations include, for instance, “(the) **church of** {NP: place/person names}”, “**the council**”, and

“**the parliament**”. Multi-word units as such are identified as FSs because the identity of these institutions or organisations is highly predictable, even if the context provides limited supporting information; for example, in [1a] it is clear that *the parliament* refers to the parliament of England because interlocutors in the conversation share the same background information regarding the government structure of England, for the reason that the speech took place during King Charles I’s trial at the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall. Another reason is that they are normally noun phrases in which the determiner is always the finite article *the*, i.e., the phrase *\*a parliament* occurs only 11 times in the corpus. The last reason is that they often reflect how similar institutions or organisations are conventionally named. For example, the sequence “(the) **church of** {NP: place/person names}” provides a naming formula for most churches across the country, as demonstrated in [2a–b]. In fact, the realisations of this sequence could be seen as FSs in their own right, as proper names.

[1] **the parliament** (46)

My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibite a Charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of England: That a King of England, trusted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath so to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design, subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Government, in the defence of **the Parliament** and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against his Parliament and People; [...]  
(*King Charls*, D3TCHARL, p. 34)

[2] (the) **church of** {NP: place/person names} (32)

- a. Haue yow spoken these wordes of **the church of England**?  
(*Examinations*, D1MBARRO, p. A3V)
- b. The daie after Dr. Cosin had preached a sermon in the parish **church of Sct. Nicholas of Newcastle**, [...]  
(*Diocese of Durham*, D2WDIOCE, p. 132)

Similar to the sequence in [2], FSs in this subcategory are also found to provide naming formulae for official documents, mostly laws and regulations. One example is “**the** (MODIFIER) {[law]} **of** {NP: country or authority}”. Examples of its realisations are listed below, which could be treated as FSs as well for they are proper names.

[3] **the** (MODIFIER) {[law]} **of** {NP: country or authority} (53)

- a. I plead a Plea at large to the errors of the Indictment, and first now crave liberty of **the Law of England**, to have time and Councell assigned me. (*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 67)

- b. The Preamble of the Statute is to bring **the Laws of Treason** to a certainty, that Men may certainly know what is Treason.  
(*Duke of Norfolk*, D1TNORFO, p. 114C1)

Other common types of FSs reference religious or spiritual entities, including the most frequent “**the Devil**”, as well as less frequent ones such as “**the (MODIFIER) word of God**” and “**the holy** {NP: religious institute or entity}”. Realisations of the two sequences with variable parts are demonstrated below. Particularly, 26 instances of the sequence [4] are realised in the same form as in [4b], and so do 26 instances of the sequence [5] in the same form as in [5b]. Their frequencies of occurrence pass the threshold (i.e., 20 times *pmw.*) hence the realisations in [4b] and [5b] are also listed as FSs.

[4] **the (MODIFIER) word of God** (29)

- a. Then the way and meanes to set me straight (if I be awry) is as I take it, **the sacred Scriptures and woord of God**, which if you bring, or any good reason out of it for prooffe and warrant of this your Churching, woe and double woe to me if I subscribe not to it.  
(*Churching of Women*, D2HOCHUR, p. 18)
- b. Then P. Howes was called, and required to take her oath, but she refused. LONDON. “Will you trust M=r= Latropp, and beleive him rather then the Church of England?” PENNINA. “I referre my self to **the word of God**, whether I maie take this oath or noe.”  
(*High Commission*, D2THIGHC, p. 294)

[5] **the holy** {NP: religious institute or entity} (53)

- a. I perceiue is a great mote in your eye, wel I pray God that you of **the holy brotherhood** that make it so daintie, do (the best of you) liue no worse then she doeth now, what soever she hath bene heretofore.  
(*Churching of Women*, D2HOCHUR, p. 28)
- b. Doe you then beleue in one onely God, the father, the sonne, and **the holy ghost?** (*Little Catechisme*, D1HOBEZA, p. A2R)

There are only four FSs referencing general physical entities in the corpus of EModE dialogues, at rather low frequencies of occurrence. Among them, “**the sun**” and “**the earth**” are celestial bodies. They are identified as FSs because of the uniqueness of the entities which they reference. By comparison, multi-word units like *the dog* and *the city* are not FSs because their meaning lacks uniqueness, i.e., the interpretation of these expressions is heavily context-based. Moreover, “**all the world**” is an inclusive reference of everything physical, and “{DET} **copy of** {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}” references replicas of specific physical entities.

### A3. person

In the corpus of EModE dialogues, the majority of FSs denoting persons are titles of nobles and people of high ranks. Some of the frequent ones listed in Table 6.5.1a are “{DET} **Lord** {NP: position name}”, “(Lord) **Chief Justice**”, and “{DET} **Earl of** {NP: place name}”. Their realisations could be treated as FSs in their own right, since they are fixed phrases used as titles, such as [6a–b].

[6] {DET} **Earl of** {NP: place name} (128)

- a. Nay stay, sweet loue, stay beauteous Alfrida, And giue **the Earle of Cornwel** leaue to speake: Know Alfrida, thy beautie hath subdued, And captiuat **the Earle of Cornwels** heart [...]  
(*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. E2R)
- b. Did not the late King and **Earle of Strafford** bring all this trouble upon the land? (*Castle of York 3*, D3WYORK, p. 119)

Another group of FSs concern with how nobles and people of high ranks are verbally addressed, hence they are also identified as vocative expressions (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”). Such sequences normally fall in the grammatical-structural pattern POSS. PRON (*my, your, his, her*) + NP, in which the noun phrase mostly denotes nobility and supremacy. The most common examples found in the corpus of EModE dialogues are “**my Lord** ({NP: family name})” and “**your Grace**”. Less frequent ones include, for instance, “**his Grace**”, “**his Majesty**”, “**your Worship**”, and “**your Honour**”. In addition, since they are used to address nobles and people of high ranks, they always imply politeness and respect to the addressee. For this reason, they are also assigned to the sub-function category “B6. respect” (“I. B. attitudinal/modality stance”).

Lastly, there is a large group of FSs in the present subcategory denoting persons whose identities are much less specific or highly context-dependent. Many of them are highly frequent in the corpus. One might argue that they are not formulaic but simple noun phrases and collocations, but I argue that these noun phrases and collocations are different from those not identified as formulaic. For example, “**the king**”, “**a gentleman**”, “**the jury**”, and “**the priest**” have special social status; “**old** {[man]}”, “**honest** {[man]}”, “**the prisoner**” is used especially in speech events like trials, referring to a specific person known in the context; “**an ass**” is an insulting way to refer to a person, which is also idiomatic (e.g., [7a–b]); “**good** {[fellow]}” is additionally used as a vocative expression (e.g., [8a–c]).

[7] **an ass** (30)

- a. Gen. Hold vp your light Sir.  
Bea. Shall I be taught how to aduance my torch,  
W. S. Whats the matter Leiftenant.  
Gen. **Your Lieftenants an asse.**  
Bea. **How an asse;** die men like dogs.  
W. S. hold gentlemen.  
Bea. **An asse, an asse.**  
(*Ram-Alley*, D2CBARRE, p. E1R)
- b. Fail. How Madam!  
Isa. **Art thou such an Ass as not to perceive thou art abused:** this beating I contriv'd for you: you know upon what account; [...]  
(*The Wild Gallant*, D3CDRYDE, p. 24)

[8] **good** {[fellow]} (34)

- a. **Good fellow** what meanest thou by these speeches? Raile not on mee, vnlesse thou intendst to receiue a Railers hire.  
(*Menaecmi*, D1CWARNE, p. C2V)
- b. let vs heare **good fellowes** what you can doe, and play mee  
(*Jack of Newberie*, D2FDELON, p. B4R)
- c. I preethe good Oliuer, as thou louest **good fellow**, and good fellowshipe, as thou louest that, thou knowest wee all loue good liquor, giue vs some good counsell, and good Smug be breefe, for thou seest our destruction is at hand.  
(*Deuill of Edmonton*, D2FBREWE, p. C4R)

#### A4. actions

Referential sequences of actions are all verb phrases, allowing inflection of the main verbs. Their fixed parts are mostly prepositions conventionally collocating with the main verbs, such as *from* (e.g., “[{come}] **from** {NP for location}”), *out* (e.g., “[{fall}] **out**”), *with* (e.g., “[{speak}] **with** {NP: somebody}”), *unto* (e.g., “[{say}] **unto** {NP: person}”), and so on. These FSs are referred to as “multi-word verbs” in Claridge (2000). A detail elaboration regarding the form-meaning/function mapping is provided in Section 6.5.2 regarding referential sequences of actions in EModE letters.

Moreover, some of these FSs are multi-functional, since they contain verbs which have specific implications. For example, the sequence “[{tell}] {NP: somebody} **that** {CLAUSE}” is also labelled as a reporting clause (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”), the sequences “[{desire}] **to** {V-inf}” and “[{desire}] {NP: somebody} **to** {V-inf}” express desire and willingness (“I. Stance Expressions”); the sequence “[{know}] **of** {NP}” implies the status of knowledge (“I. Stance Expressions”).

### A5. part of an entity

In Table 6.5.1a, most of the frequent FSs denoting part of an entity fall into the grammatical-structural pattern QUANTIFIER + *of* + NP, for instance, “**one of** {NP}”, “**some of** {NP}”, and “**one of them**”. The others have a similar structure, NP1 + *of* + NP2. The first noun phrase consists of words indicating the part, while the second noun phrase indicates the whole of an entity, for instance, “**the rest** (of {NP})” and “{[part]} **of** {NP}”.

Among the less frequent sequences, there are some cases where members of a group of entities are compared and ranked, and the sequences reference members at certain ranks. They are “{DET} **first of** {NP}”, “**the best of** {NP}”, “**the most part**”, etc.

### A6. general/context-based

The last group of FSs in the subcategory “A. identification/focus” refer to entities whose exact identity depends on the context. Some frequent sequences of this kind are, for example, “**the said** {NP}”, “**such a** {NP}”, and “**the one**”. For example, realisations in [9a–b] refer to different people. Realisation [10a] refers to an entity that has been mentioned in previous discourse, i.e., *Impudent Nature*, while realisation [10b] is used emphatically. The sequence “**the one**” often appears together with *the other*, referring to one of the two entities, such as in [11a–b]. These bundles are mostly found in texts of witness testimony.

[9] **the said** {NP} (1443)

- a. And I begin now to thinke, that by a spice of collaterall Iustice, Adam Ouerdoo, deseru'd this beating; for I **the said Adam**, was one cause (a by-cause) why the purse was lost: and my wiues brothers purse too, which they know not of yet.  
(*Bartholmew Fair*, D2CJONSO, p. 36)
- b. he being with one William Dodd an apprentice, in his Masters shop without Ludgate, [...] And so **the said Dodd** invited the Examinee to meet them at the place aforesaid, [...]  
(*Inhumane Conspiracy*, D3WCROMW, p. 25-26)

[10] **such a** {NP} (383)

- a. We must not expect that there can be exact and positive Proof, for men that commit Offences of this Impudent Nature, don't usually call Witnesses to be present to see them done; therefore we would come as near as we can to Circumstances, whereby a Fact of **such a Nature** is to be proved. (*Tryal of John Giles*, D4TGILES, p. 19)
- b. Let us go there quickly then, he is **such a man** as I would have.  
(*New And Easy French*, D3HFFEST, p. 221)

[11] **the one** (95)

- a. [...] that if the meate should chance to be raw, yet your behauiors being neither rude nor raw, may excuse it, or if the meate should chance to be tough, be you tender ouer them in your attendance, that **the one** may beare with the other.  
(*Humerous Dayes Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. D4R)
- b. [...] her mother hath taught her two prayers: **the one** to cure the bewitched, and the other to get drinke; both of which particularly appeare. (*Covntie of Lancaster*, D2WPENDL, p. G4R)

**B. imprecision**

FSs in the subcategory “B. imprecision” refer to entities whose identity is either not necessary to know or could not be deduced from the context. Sequences with a frequency above average ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times) are presented in Table 6.5.1b.

Some of these sequences contain a fixed part that modifies the following noun phrase in the variable part; for example, “**any of** {NP: pl.}”. Sequences as such specify a general group of entities but do not specify individual members of the group (e.g., [12a–b]). Some others provide even more vague references and contain no variable parts; for example, “**any thing**”, “**or else**”, and “**the like**”. They are often used after a list of alternatives, entities or examples (e.g., [13a–b], [14a–b]). In addition, some sequences in the subcategory are multi-functional. For example, the sequence “**any man**” is also labelled with “A3. person”, because it explicitly references a person whose identity is not clear.

**Table 6.5.1b: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “B. imprecision”\***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>B. imprecision</b>	<b>the other</b> (351); <b>any thing</b> (280); <b>any of</b> {NP: pl.} (105); <b>or else</b> (104); <b>an other</b> {NP} (97); <b>any such</b> {NP} (86); <b>the like</b> (86); <b>any other</b> {NP} (85); <b>at all</b> (79); <b>any man</b> (85)

Note: \*The table presents FSs whose frequency of occurrence is above the mean ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times). Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory.

[12] **any of** {NP: pl.} (105)

- a. ffor I never ment to Endaunger **any of their lives**, howsoever I speede this daye. (*Southampton*, D2WSOUTH, p. 13)
- b. This is my answer, that I am not guilty of **any of the Treasons** in manner and form, as they are there laid down in that indictment, [...] (*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 28)

[13] **or else** (104)

- a. I thinke the reason is, because he uses an unlawful Yard, and wants that handful which belongs to the Citie measure, **or else** because he sits crosse leg’d on his shop-board, [...] (*Parliament if VVomen*, D3FPARLI, p. A3V)

- b. Women in general, and those in particular, stoop only to the forward and the bold, **or else** to all Charming, Witty, Eloquent Gold. (*The Player's Tragedy*, D4FTRAGE, p. 43)

[14] **the like** (86)

- a. Peace, shamelesse villain, execrable wretch, Monster of nature, degenerate miscreant, Who euer knew or heard so vile an oath, Vildly pronounc'd by such a damned slaue, Haue I such monstrous vipers in my land, That with their verie breaths infect the aire, Say Dunston, hast thou euer heard **the lyke**. (*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. D2R)
- b. so we, though the Fleet be an hundred saile, yet we meet them at Yarmouth, or before they come so farr, and suffer not above twenty to thirty to appeare at a time, and then give out the rest are suspected to be lost, or taken, and so perswade men to take these while they may, and not to trust upon uncertainties of more comming in, and **the like**; (*Ingrossers of Coles*, D3HOCOLE, p. 13)

### C. specification of attributes

EModE speakers relied heavily on FSs to describe the characteristics and attributes. One very specific attribute is the quantity of things. There are also two subcategories for general tangible and intangible attributes. Table 6.5.1c presents FSs whose frequencies of occurrence are above average ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times)

**Table 6.5.1c: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “C. specification of attributes”**

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>C1. quantities</b>	<b>all the</b> {NP} (455); {NUM} <b>of</b> {NP: plural} (415); <b>a little</b> (331); <b>no more</b> (246); <b>all this</b> (NP) (135); <b>all my</b> (129); <b>as much</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE} (107); <b>all his</b> (87); <b>two or three</b> (72); <b>all these</b> (NP) (71); {DET} <b>piece of</b> {NP} (68); {[be]} <b>full of</b> {NP} (67); <b>half</b> {[a]} (67); <b>all your</b> (64)
<b>C2. tangible attributes*</b>	{[be]} <b>made of</b> {NP: material} (22)
<b>C3. intangible attributes</b>	<b>his own</b> (210); <b>the first</b> (182); <b>the next</b> (174); <b>as well</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE} (147); <b>your own</b> (138); <b>more than</b> {COMP} (135); <b>as well as</b> (114); <b>the last</b> (101); {COMP: a superlative or an inclusive or exclusive expression; an interrogative word or phrase} <b>in the world</b> (83); <b>mine own</b> (77); {DET} <b>cause of</b> {NP: mostly negative things} (75); <b>my own</b> (73); <b>no other</b> (69); {[be]} <b>in love</b> (with {NP}) (68); <b>their own</b> (63)

Note: \*There are no FSs in the group “C2. tangible attributes” occurring more than 60 times. For demonstration, one FS in the group is randomly selected as an example.

#### C1. quantities

Referential FSs of quantities mainly fall into three form patterns. Firstly, the most frequent one is the QUANTIFIER + DETERMINER (+ NP) construction, for instance, “**all the** {NP}”, “**all this** (NP)”, “**all my**”, and “**half** {[a]}”. Secondly, others come in the form of NP1 + *of* + NP2. The first noun phrase



often indicates how an entity is measured, and the second noun phrase indicates the entity itself. Some of the examples, including the less frequent ones, are “{DET} **piece of** {NP}”, “{DET} **cup of** {NP: liquid}”, “{DET} **pair of** {NP: things come in pairs}”, “{DET} **pot of** {NP}”, etc. Thirdly, in a similar structure, some sequences fall into the pattern QUANTIFIER + *of* + NP; for example, sequences “{NUM} **of** {NP: plural}” and “[{be}] **full of** {NP}” occur frequently in the corpus of EModE dialogues.

FSs are used to state the quantities of things in various degrees of precision. Some are more precise, for instance, “**all the** {NP}”, “{NUM} **of** {NP: plural}”, “**half** {[a]}”, “**the three**”, and “**these two**”, as well as actual numbers such as “**a hundred**” and “**a thousand**”. There are also FSs giving a more general impression regarding the amount, for instance, “**a little**”, “(a (MODIFIER: e.g., great, good, etc.) **deal of** {NP}”, and “**many of** {NP}”. Some sequences consist of exact numbers, but they estimate quantities; for instance, “**two or three**”, “**three or four**”, and “{NUM} (NP) **or more**”. In some cases, these FSs could express the same meaning as *some* or *a few*, such as [15a–b].

[15] **two or three** (72)

- a. Rich in beauty, rich in purse, riche in vertue, riche in all things. But Mum, Ile say nothing, I know of **two or three** rich heyres.  
(*Inforst Mariage*, D2CWILKI, p. F4R)
- b. Within **these two or three** dayes, at the furthest, I should breath a Gelding; It may be, that wayes, and visit my pretty Tennant.  
(*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. B2V)

Moreover, there are also FSs comparing the quantities of an entity or degrees of an attribute, for instance, “**as much** (COMP) **as** {CLAUSE}” and “**not so much as** {COMP}”. As presented in [16], the compared entities can be concrete such as people in [16a] or abstract such as a kind of status or emotion in [16b].

[16] **as much** (COMP) **as** {CLAUSE} (107)

- a. My Lord, **in as much as all the Commissioners are named in that Act**, and that Commission is according to the Act, they are all commissioned to sit, & unless all sit the rest cannot try and examine, &c. And I shall refer it to the Judges of the Laws.  
(*Sir Henry Slingsby*, D3TSLING, p. B2R)
- b. Not loue her: but your Maiestie knowes that painters in their last works are said to excell themselues, and in this I haue so much pleased my self, that the shadow **as much delighteth mee beeing an artificer, as the substance doth others that are amorous**.  
(*Alexander*, D1CLYLY, p. F3R)

Finally, many FSs contain implicatures that specify the type of entities, mostly those containing words that indicate ways of measuring as mentioned above. For example, the sequence “{DET} **pair of** {NP: things come in pairs}” specifies that it is about the quantities of things coming in pairs such as *sheres* in [17a] and *Silke stockins* in [17b]. The sequence “{DET} **quarter of** {NP: mostly time}” implies that it is normally used to tell the amount of time as in [18a–b], or seldomly about an object as in [18c]. Sequences such as “**five shillings**” and “{NUM} **hundred** {[pound]}” are particularly used to state the amount of money.

[17] {DET} **pair of** {NP: things come in pairs} (37)

- a. So on a night he toke vp **a paire of sheres** and layde them vnder hys beads head, the whyche the wyfe perceyued.  
(*Mad Men of Gotam*, D1FBOORD, p. B2V)
- b. Al. With what? or to doe what?  
Bel. To weare **this paire of Silke stockins** for me.  
(*A Made Couple*, D3CBROME, p. C5V)

[18] {DET} **quarter of** {NP: mostly time} (30)

- a. [...] saies, that about **a quarter of a yere** ago, he hard Peter Johnson report to this deponent and Alexander Liney, [...]  
(*Bishop's Court*, D1WCHEST, p. 124)
- b. I would go into the snow at any time, and in **a quarter of an hour** I would come in with a better feather upon my head; [...]  
(*The Wild Gallant*, D3CDRYDE, p. 15)
- c. To shew you then an instance, looke into the Chronicle in the time of Henry the sixt, and you shall finde, that **a quarter of Wheate** was sold at Royston in Hartfordshire for twelue pence: [...]  
(*Surueyors Dialogue*, D2HONORD, p. 13)

## C2. tangible attributes and C3. intangible attributes

There is only one FS of tangible attributes, “[be] **made of** {NP: material}”, which describes components as in [19a] or the material of an entity as in [19b].

[19] {[be]} **made of** {NP: material} (22)

- a. [...] I see the Conducts **are made of earthen pipes**, which I like farre better then them of Leade, [...]  
(*Surueyors Dialogue*, D2HONORD, p. 85)
- b. [...] By which she smels out all these rich transgressors, **Nor ist of flesh, but meerey made of wax**, And 'tis, within the power of vs Lawyers, To wrest this nose of waxe which way we please: [...]  
(*Ram-Alley*, D2CBARRE, p. B4R)

The majority of FSs in the subcategory “C. specification of attributes” describes intangible attributes. Although they vary in forms to a great extent, some grammatical-structural patterns could still be observed. The first kind of

form pattern is BE + PREDICATE, in which the predicate may consist of adjectives, past participles, or prepositional phrases, plus a complement. FSs in this form are, for instance, “[{be}] (not) **worth** {NP: an amount of money, something valuable}”, “[{be}] **sent by** {NP: somebody}”, and “[{be}] **in love** (with {NP})”.

Another form pattern observed among FSs of intangible attributes is *as* + ADJ/ADV PHRASE + *as*. They can be continuous as in [20a] or discontinuous as in [20b].

[20] **as well** (COMP) **as** {CLAUSE} (147)

- a. It shalbee doone: brynge mee an hammer and a nayle: **I would that the eares of him which hath coyned it, were as well nayled as it is.** (*Schoolemaister*, D1HFDESA, p. 188)
- b. [...] you have great reason to disclaim them with their bloody religion, and to seek out better advisers for you at your death, lest you eternally lose your soul, **as well as your life**; for the bloud of those many thousand Innocents which have been shed by your meanes. (*Connor Lord Macguire*, D3TMACGU, p. 30)

The third form pattern is *in* + NP, in which the noun phrase often consists of a bare noun without an article when it is normally required; for instance, “**in bed**”, “**in company** (of/with {NP: somebody})”, “**in court**”, “**in danger** (of {NP: something unpleasant})”, and “**in prison**”. Instead of a literal sense describing locations, many of these sequences are used idiomatically to describe status or an ongoing action often related to the location. For example, the sequence “**in bed**” refers to having sexual activities as in [21a–b] rather than simply staying in the bed. The sequence “**in court**” implies a series of activities and events that may take place in the court such as trials and hearings as in [22a–b]. The sequence “**in prison**” implies that a person is a prisoner as in [23a–b], while the phrase *in the prison* may imply a person who is visiting someone in the prison or a person who is working there.

[21] **in bed** (39)

- a. Goe vp the staires, good fellow quoth he, for I thinke **my wife is in bed**, and Syr there indeede I found hir, [...] (*Cobler*, D1FCOBLE, p. 6)
- b. If your Lordship pleases we will call Witnesses to give an Account when we came to Town, and where we were all that day; and we will call the Maid that Lockt the Chamber door after **we were in bed**, on the same Night when this Fact was committed. (*Tryal of John Giles*, D4TGILES, p. 35)

[22] **in court** (28)

- a. Yea, **such a feare and faintnes is growne in courte**, that they wish rather to heare the blowing of a horne to hunt, the~ the sound of a trumpet to fight? (*Alexander*, D1CLYLY, p. E2R)
- b. This cause is a cause of very great weight, there are many Witnesses that have long attended **in Court**, we are informed, that some of them are gone away into Ireland; [...]  
(*Connor Lord Macguire*, D3TMACGU, p. 4)

[23] **in prison** (23)

- a. You will make mens wills before they be sicke, and hang them before they are **in prison**, and cut off heads before you know why or wherefore. (*Temporizing Poets*, D3HOPOET, p. 4)
- b. Now you shall also hear it confess'd by the Bishop of Rosse, who at the time of his Confession was **in Prison**, not knowing what Barker had said. (*Duke of Norfolk*, D1TNORFO, p. 106C1)

There are some FSs in a similar form, *in* + NP1 + *of* + NP2, for instance, “**in (the) behalf of** {NP: somebody or institute}”, “**in the hearing of** {NP}”, and “**in the name of** {NP: mostly somebody}”. The definite article *the* in the first noun phrase is sometimes optional for some sequences, as presented in [24a–b]. They are mostly non-compositional and idiomatic.

[24] **in (the) behalf of** {NP: somebody or institute} (19)

- a. Gentlemen of the Jury, You have heard the Evidence, **in behalf of the State**; You have heard the insinuations of the prisoner upon them, as calling you his Fellow-Citizens, and the like [...]  
(*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 141)
- b. Neverthelesse he said he need not to make any Apology **in the behalfe of his Father**, considering how usuall and necessary a thing it is for Councillors and those in his place to intercept and keep all such kinde of writings, [...] (*Walter Rawleigh*, D2WRALEI, p. 8)

The last structural pattern is POSS. PRON + *own*. For example, sequences like “**his own**”, “**your own**”, “**mine own**”, and “**my own**” are very frequent in the corpus. All of them describe an attribute regarding ownership.

Finally, the examination of the FSs describing intangible attributes reveals that their functions cover various topics. Besides comparing two entities and stating the ownership as discussed above, most of them comment on the state or condition of an entity at a particular time; for instance, the above-mentioned sequences such as “{[be]} **in love** (with {NP})”, “**in danger** (of {NP: something unpleasant})”, “**in the hearing of** {NP}” as well as sequences like “**at length**”, “**at the sign of** {NP}”, “**up and down**” and “**with patience**”. Some more specific topics include, but are not limited to, value (e.g., “{[be]} (not) **worth**

{NP: an amount of money, something valuable}”), distance (e.g., “{[be]} **far from** {NP/V-ing}”), relevance (e.g., “{[have]} **nothing** {ADJUNCT} **to** {V-inf}”), cause/reason (e.g., “{DET} **cause of** {NP: mostly negative things}”), identity (e.g., “**by the name of** {NP: somebody’s name}”), ranking (e.g., “**the first**”, “**the next**”), frequency (e.g., “**once more**”, “**the first time**”), etc.

#### D. time/place/text reference

The last subcategory of FSs as referential expressions is temporal, spatial, and textural deixis. Table 6.5.1d presents FSs whose frequency of occurrence is above the mean ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times).

**Table 6.5.1d: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “D. time/place/text reference” \***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>D1. time</b>	(after/at/by/etc.) <b>that time</b> (159); <b>at that time</b> (92); <b>this day</b> (91); <b>at last</b> (85); <b>the morning</b> (85); {at/before/by/for/etc.} <b>this time</b> (83); <b>in the morning</b> (80); <b>a year</b> (71); {NUM} <b>of the clock</b> (65); <b>but now</b> (62); (the) <b>next day</b> (61); <b>as soon (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE} (61); <b>the night</b> (61); <b>this morning</b> (61); <b>to day</b> (61); <b>and then</b> (414); <b>and now</b> (104);
<b>D2. place</b>	<b>out of</b> {NP} (592); <b>at home</b> (114); <b>in England</b> (70)
<b>D3. text**</b>	<b>in this case</b> (22); <b>in this manner</b> (22)
<b>D4. multi-Functional</b>	<b>the end</b> (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object) (92)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory. \*\*There are no FSs in the group “D3. text” occurring more than 60 times. For demonstration, two FSs in the group are randomly selected as examples.

The subcategory is dominated by temporal deictic sequences. Time is described by FSs from various perspectives. Firstly, concerning the length of time, it can be as long as “**a year**”, or as short as “**the morning**”. Secondly, some sequences focus on an exact point of time, such as “**in the morning**”, “(the) **next day**”, and “{NUM} **of the clock**”, while some sequences refer to a rough time or a period of time, such as “(after/at/by/etc.) **that time**”, “**as soon (COMP) as** {CLAUSE}”, and “**at last**”. In addition, the sequences “**and then**” and “**and now**” are multi-functional, since they are also used to connect discourse units (“B. topic elaboration/clarification” in “III. Discourse Organisers”).

Among the two types of spatial deixis sequences, one describes a general location, such as “**out of** {NP}”, the other describes the exact location, such as “**at home**” and “**in England**”. Moreover, two less frequent FSs are used multi-

functionally to indicate relationships between units of discourse (“III. Discourse Organisers”). They are “**on (the) one side**” and “**on the other side**”.

There are only two types of textual deictic sequences found in the corpus of EModE dialogues. They are “**in this case**” and “**in this manner**”, with relatively low frequencies of occurrence. They refer to the previous discourse.

Six types of FSs in the last subcategory are labelled as “D4. multi-functional”, and all of them can be used as both temporal and spatial deixis, for example, “**the end** (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object})”. One of the less frequent FSs, “**so long as** {COMP}”, also serves as a discourse marker.

## 6.5.2. Letters

### A. identification/focus

For an overall impression of the identification/focus sequences in EModE letters, Table 6.5.2a presents FSs which occur more frequently than average ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times). These sequences can be put into six groups according to the functional labels assigned to them. The table also shows that “A3. person” is the most popular topic in EModE letters, followed by “A4. action”.

**Table 6.5.2a: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “A. Identification/focus” \***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A1. abstract entities</b>	<b>the Court</b> (319); <b>the parliament</b> (242); <b>the Almighty</b> (196); <b>good will</b> (165); <b>the Council</b> (158)
<b>A2. physical entities</b>	<b>a letter from</b> {NP: writer of the letter} (155); {DET} <b>copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter} (147)
<b>A3. person</b>	<b>the king</b> (1161); (the) <b>Lord</b> {NP: name} (1001); (the) <b>Lady</b> {NP: name} (923); {DET} <b>Lord</b> {NP: position name} (873); {DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name} (538); {DET} <b>Earl of</b> {NP for place name} (304); {DET} <b>King of</b> {NP: place name} (290); {DET} <b>Duke of</b> {NP: place name} (277); <b>the Earl of</b> {NP: place name} (266); <b>the Duke of</b> {NP: place name} (255); <b>the queen</b> (244); {[man]} <b>of</b> {NP: characteristics of the man} (198); {DET} <b>Bishop of</b> {NP: place name} (193); <b>the prince</b> (191); <b>the Duke</b> (125); <b>the Bishop of</b> {NP: place} (121) <u><b>your Lordship</b> (2442); <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name}) (1717); <b>her Majesty</b> (1534); <b>your ladyship</b> (897); <b>your Honour</b> (627); <b>His Majesty</b> (612); <b>my Lady</b> ({NP: family name}) (543); <b>my Lord of</b> {NP: place name} (456); ({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good lord</b> (347); <b>Sir Thomas</b> (329); <b>my dear</b> {NP: somebody} (323); <b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.} (315); {POSS. PRON} <b>loving friend</b> (309); <b>my good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.} (296); <b>your Grace</b> (281); (the) <b>right honourable</b> {NP: somebody} (266); {POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most affectionate</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, friend, etc.} (240);</u>

	<p>{POSS. PRON} <b>loving brother</b> (236);          {POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, your lordship's, etc.} <b>very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, friend, son, etc.} (235);  <u><b>the right honourable</b></u> (MODIFIER: e.g., and his very good, singular good, very good, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, the lady, Sir, etc.} (228); <b>Your Majesty</b> (216);  <b>Sir John</b> (199); <b>my very good lord</b> (195); <b>Sir William</b> (186);  <b>the Bishop</b> (of {NP: place}) (186); <b>your Worship</b> (168);          (my/the) <b>Lord Treasurer</b> (149);          ({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good friend</b> (147); <b>his Lordship</b> (135);  <b>my honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.} (130);          (the) <b>right worshipful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.} (122);</p>
<b>A4. actions</b>	<p>{[write]} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody} (703);          {[go]} <b>to</b> {NP: destination, e.g., a person, a place or a thing} (493);          {[hear]} <b>of</b> {NP} (426); {[hear]} <b>from</b> {NP: somebody} (303);          {[take]} (POSS. PRON) <b>leave</b> (of {NP: somebody}) (275);          {[come]} <b>to</b> {NP: (somebody as) destination} (228);          {[come]} <b>from</b> {NP for location} (220); {[come]} <b>up</b> (207);          {[deal]} (ADJUNCTS) <b>with</b> {NP mostly for person} (206);          {[send]} <b>for</b> {NP: somebody} (189); {[write]} <b>unto</b> {NP: somebody} (184);          {[begin]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (183);          {[pray]} <b>for</b> {NP: somebody or something} (170);          {[speak]} <b>with</b> {NP: somebody} (170);          {[give]} {NP: somebody} <b>leave</b> (to {V-inf}) (167); {[come]} <b>in</b> (160);          {[fall]} <b>out</b> (155); {[acquaint]} {NP: somebody} <b>with</b> {NP: something} (154); {[endeavour]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (154); {[speak]} <b>of</b> {NP} (154);          {[think]} <b>of</b> {NP} (152); {[come]} <b>down</b> (142); {[look]} <b>for</b> {NP} (136);          {[come]} <b>home</b> (131); {[give]} (NP: somebody) {DET} <b>account of</b> {NP} (130); {[dispose]} <b>of</b> {NP} (125);          {[make]} (DET) <b>use of</b> {NP: something useful} (118); {[come]} <b>over</b> (117);  <u>[tell] {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE}</u> (486);          {[desire]} {NP: somebody} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (341); {[desire]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} (325);</p>
<b>A5. part of an entity</b>	<p><b>the rest</b> (of {NP}) (666); <b>one of</b> {NP} (563); [part] <b>of</b> {NP} (483);  <b>some of</b> {NP} (442);  <b>the rest of</b> {NP} (280)</p>
<b>A6. general/context-based</b>	<p><b>such a</b> {NP} (519); <b>the said</b> {NP} (397); <b>the one</b> (143)</p>

(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory

### A1. abstract entities

In EModE letters, FSs referencing abstract entities cover various topics. The most frequent one, “**the parliament**” in [1] is a government institution. Other institutions, organisations, clubs, unions, etc., are also treated as abstract entities. More examples of less frequent FSs referencing institutions and organisations include “**the King’s Bench**”, “**the Star Chamber**”, “**the House of Commons**”, etc.

[1] **the parliament** (242)

The last moneth the parlement assembled in Ireland,  
 (CHAMBER,I,456.036.1625)

EModE letters also employ FSs to reference God and other religious beings or concepts, such as “**the Almighty**” and “**good will**”. Among less frequent ones not listed in Table 6.5.2.a, there are sequences such as “**the Grace of God**”, “**God’s blessing**”, and “**the Devil**”. A wider range of abstract entities is referenced by less frequent FSs, including festivals, holidays or seasons (e.g., “**Lady Day**”, “**the spring**”), directions (e.g., “**the west**”), and a piece of information (e.g., “**a word**”, “**good news**”, “{DET} **few lines**”). FSs in these groups are also mostly idiomatic or function fixedly as a single word, such as “**the King’s Bench**”, “{DET} **few lines**”, “**Lady Day**”, and “**the public**”.

## A2. physical entities

Contrary to FSs in the group of abstract entities, those in the group “A2. physical entities” are used to reference entities that have physical representations, i.e., being tangible and/or visible, except for people. For example, in the corpus of EModE letters, the most frequently mentioned physical entities are letters (e.g., [2]), physical copies of letters or other written documents (e.g., [3]), and written records or documents enclosed in letters (e.g., [4]). Therefore, such sequences could be considered genre-specific. Some less frequent sequences also cover topics such as celestial bodies/objects (e.g., “**the sun**” and “**the earth**”) and the physical world in general (e.g., “**all the world**”).

[2] **a letter from** {NP: writer of the letter/place} (155);

- a. Since my writing this I have **a letter from Captain Willshaw** which much troubles me he being a man of great worth, and one for whom I have an extra kindnes, while on the other hand I cannot be less concern’d for any thing where you are. (PEPYS,57.033.444)
- b. I receaue even now **a lettre from Amsterdam**, by which it is written, that the kinge of Denmark hath stayed in the Sound a great number of shipps, and will suffer none to passe except he promise, or put in bands, not to goe either to Spaine or to Portugall; (LEYCEST,254.062.2055)

[3] {DET} **copy of** {NP: written documents, e.g., letter} (147)

- a. Right Reverend, Yours of the 21 of June, with the enclosed, which were for his hollynes, and the other for the protector, the thyrd for Card. Buff. and the 4<sup>th</sup> = **a copy of a letter from M=r= Parker**, to the protector, as it seemeth, (FITZHER,28.004.110)
- b. And you must also remember to bringe vp **the copie of the bill** which Sir Edmunde Paston your selfe and the other feoffees did nowe last of all exhibit vnto the Chancery against mr Iermy. (PASTONK,69.035.605)



- [4] **the enclosed** (NP: documents come with the letter) (86)
- a. Dear and my ever hon=d= Friend, **The inclosed**, from Mr. Frost, is from Mr. Coghlin (JONES,194.009.286)
  - b. **The inclosed paper** may inform you how seasonable yo=r= presence had beene w=th= us at this time, or may be yet. (JONES,185.004.126)
  - c. and, 3. gives you **the inclosed account of my time**, spent according to your charge. (BASIRE,239.010.410)

Regarding the syntactic structure, FSs referencing letters and documents tend to be more flexible than those used as names of specific objects; for instance, the realisations of FSs in [2a–b], [3a–b], and [4a–c]. For example, the sequence “**the enclosed** (NP: documents come with the letter)” has one optional and a rather semantically broad variable part. Its fixed part *the enclosed* can be used alone, referencing anything (e.g., another letter, money, or books) coming along with a letter, and the exact entities can be deduced from the context; for instance, it is a letter from a third person in [4a]. This happened often in scenarios, for example, when the recipient was travelling when a letter arrived and the person who received the letter might choose to redirect the letter to its intended recipient at another address or return the letter to its sender. In either case, the redirected or returned letter was often enclosed in a brief letter explaining the incident (Daybell 2012).

Moreover, the enclosed documents can be documents other than letters from a third person (Daybell 2012) and they are specified via the variable part; for example, they can be a piece of paper as in [4b] and additional information given outside the main body of a letter as in [4c].

### A3. person

EModE letters frequently use FSs to reference a specific person such as “**the king**” and noble titles such as “(the) **Lord** {NP: name}”, “(the) **Lady** {NP: name}”, “{DET} **Earl of** {NP for place name}”, “{DET} **King of** {NP: place name}”, and “{DET} **Duke of** {NP: place name}”. The following part demonstrates a few examples listed in Table 6.5.2a.

One might argue that “**the king**” in [5] should not be included because it is fully transparent and regular. However, I argue that “**the king**” is different from phrases like *the lord* in terms of predictability of semantics. When interpreting who the king is, one can rely not only on the textual context but also

on some knowledge of the ruling class, while when interpreting who the lord is, one can only rely on the discourse before the term in the same letter or in previous letters, for *the lord* can be used to refer to any nobleman. For example, in an extract from a letter (see [5]) by Sir Thomas Meautys (c. 1590–1649, a government official, see “Meautys, Sir Thomas”, the *DNB*) to his cousin Jane, Lady Bacon, the term *the Lord* in the first half of the letter extract was mentioned for the first time in that particular letter despite the use of the definite article. Yet as indicated in the extract the identity of *the Lord* was mentioned in previous letters from Meautys to Lady Bacon and was only known by the two people. However, although the sequence *the King* in the second half of the extract is mentioned for the first time in this letter as well, according to the date of the letter (c. 1632) and their high social rank in England, it is highly likely that they were referring to King Charles I (c. 1625–1649). Likewise, the less frequent multi-word items such as “**the queen**”, “**the Cardinal**”, “**the Pope**”, “**the Marshal**”, “**the French king**” are identified as FSs.

- [5]     **the king** (1161);  
           and having no better way to satisfy the Lord I mentioned, that I had  
           dealt clearly with him in doing my endeavor,  
           (CORNWAL,184.117.1650)  
           [...] Yt is, I conceave, no newes to you, that on Friday last we resolved  
           in the howse on giving **the King** 5 subsidies, the time not then agreed  
           on, (CORNWAL,185.117.1653)

Examples of the most frequent FSs referencing royal and noble titles are presented in [6] and [7]. In both cases, the fixed parts, *Lord* and *Earl of*, indicate the social ranks and are often preceded by the definite article as in [6a] and [7a]. Sometimes when the sequences occur after the names of persons, the article can be omitted, as in [6b] and [7b]. Moreover, both sequences contain one variable part after the fixed part, providing additional information regarding the identity of the persons, which can be their family names (e.g., [6a–b]), or place names such as names of castles, manors, and counties. (e.g., [7a–b]). In addition, some of their realisations are frequent enough to be identified as FSs as well. For example, “**the Earl of Essex**” is one of the realisations and subordinate sequences of “{DET} **Earl of** {NP for place name}”, occurring 37 times in the letters; “**King of France**” and “**King of Spain**” of “{DET} **King of** {NP: place name}” occur 34 times and 78 times, respectively.

- [6] (the) **Lord** {NP: name} (1001);
- a. but upon sufficient information they were these, Prince Robert, Duke Mawrice, **the Lord Digby**, Commissary Wilmot, Sir Lewes Dives, Sir William [...] Russell, and Mr. Hastings. (WHARTON,21.008.434)
  - b. At my arrivall my Lord of Orrery setled me such an interest with Mr Secretary Bennett, now **Lord Arlington**, as makes me dayly obliged to him for favors, (CONWAY,239.066.1890)
- [7] {DET} **Earl of** {NP for place name} (304);
- a. The King, with the Lord Hamilton, the Lord Hume, the Chancelor Metland and some others did mete in the feildes at a place appointed with **the Earle of Angus, the Earle of Huntley and the Earl of Errole**, with Sir James Chisholme; where they had conference together and appointed to mete againe either at St. Johnstowne or at some other convenient place, where the Lordes promised to clere themselves of such calamious reportes as had bene made of them. (VERSTEG,195.013.509)
  - b. In the Church there lyes Talbot **Earle of Shrewsbury** and divers other of our English nobility. (CONWAY,57.011.323)

Another form observed in the most frequent FSs of “A3. person” is “**Sir Thomas**” in [8], which is a realisation of the HONORIFIC TITLE + (FIRST NAME) + SURNAME construction. It is also used vocatively in EModE letters, which is discussed in Section 6.6.2 about the last primary function category “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. Less frequent FSs in the group with the same structure and usage as vocative expressions include “**Mr Thomas**”, “**Sir Arthur**”, “**Sir James**”, “**Mr Nathaniell**”, etc.

- [8] **Sir Thomas** (329)  
 I have written to **Sir Thomas Barrington** to bring Mr Goodwin with him when hee comes downe, when God willing, itt shall appeare I will doe what is fitt. (BARRING,34.001.9)

It seems to be quite common for frequent FSs in the group “A3. person” to be used multi-functionally in EModE letters. They mostly serve additional functions such as expressing the writer’s attitude towards someone. For example, in addition to the sequence “**Sir Thomas**” mentioned above, the sequence “**your Lordship**” implies the writer’s respectful attitude towards the person being addressed and is also used as a vocative; the sequence “{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship’s, etc.} **most affectionate** (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, friend, etc.})” is also used to express the writer’s affection towards the addressee, mostly as salutations at the end of letters.

Less frequent personal referential expressions are also worth discussing. Firstly, some sequences take the form of the HONORIFIC TITLE + POSITION/ SOCIAL ROLE construction; for example, “**the Lord Treasurer**”, “(my/the) **Lord Chief Justice**”, “**Mr Attorney**”, and “**Mr Secretary**”. Sometimes, they can be followed by a person’s name, such as in [9b] below. In addition, they are also mostly used as vocative expressions.

[9] **Mr Secretary** (72)

- a. Upon wt I heard from **Mr Sec**, and from 2 or 3 others abt ye search made after Plunkett’s papers, and his being imprisoned [...] as twas reported (ESSEX,91.022.570)
- b. My Lord, your father, I conceive, may by enquiry of **Mr. Secretary Nicolas** doe mee greate favour therein. (HATTON,I,30.013.218)

Secondly, some less frequent personal referential expressions do not identify a specific person but a group of people sharing the same characteristics. Such sequences often contain rather open variable parts. For example, the sequence, “{DET} **people of** {NP: quality or identity}”, can be realised without a determiner when *people* is a plural noun, as in [10a–b]; the determiner can also contain a modifier, as in [10c]; and when *people* refers to an ethnic group or all people from the same culture or nation, the determiner can be the indefinite article *a*, as in [10d]. For the noun phrase conveying the characteristics of *people*, it can be as general as *all sorts* in [10a], a place of origin as in [10b], a period as in [10c], or other specific qualities as in [10d].

[10] {DET} **people of** {NP: quality or identity} (34)

- a. It is likewyse easier to be conceived then sett downe here, the vast confusion of crowde of **people of all sorts** which offered to presse into the Dukes Palace to see soe noble a sight as Norwich ne’re before was honored with; (CORIE,33.013.146)
- b. Be carefull to have y=e= Intayle of y=e= Statua broken to y=e= Citty and **People of Rome**, and the Statua delivered out of y=e= Territory, w=ch= y=e= Patroni are to see done, and even offered it. (ARUNDEL,369.061.832)
- c. not that she is at all handsome but infinitely vertuous and discreet, of a sober and a very different humor from most of **the Young People of these times**, but has as much witt and is as good [...] company as any body that Ever I saw. (OSBORNE,33.014.664)
- d. [...] that the Romans finding it considerable for the fertility of the soyle, being **a people of great ingenuity and industry** made the first sea banks for its preservation from the spring tides wch might otherwise overflow it. BROWNE,318.061.1191

Thirdly, some less frequent personal referential expressions, such as “**an honest man**” and “**I my self**”, are fully transparent in semantics and regular in syntax, hence cannot be distinguished from other lexical units, like collocations, created following grammatical rules. However, these collocations reflect frequent and conventional form-meaning/function mapping. For example, one can hardly see “**an honest man**” in [11] being converted to *a man who is honest* in EModE letters. As for “**I my self**<sup>16</sup>” in [12], the reflexive pronoun *myself* is used conventionally after *I* for simple emphasis. Similar sequences found in the corpus include “**young man**”, “**the gentleman**”, “**my very good friend**”, etc.

[11] **an honest man** (35)

This George Barker, having alwaies ben accompted **an honest man**, hath fallen to his decaye by such occasyon as some compassion ought justly to be had of him, (BACON,III,105.348.6012)

[12] **I my self** (37)

and I do beseche God to graunt hym as quiett and peaceable a yere withas good and gracious favor of her Maiestie as **I my selff** and my brethern the Shereffs now being have hytherto had, and as I trustshall have. (ORIGIN2,290.031.482)

[13] **no body** (39)

Well, in earnest, I must profess this to you, that I will yelde to **no bodie** in my well wishing and affection to you both, and all yours; (ARUNDEL,345.055.747)

Lastly, some multi-word units in EModE are written as one word in PDE; for example, the sequence “**no body**” in [13]. Multi-word units as such are identified as FSs. More examples found in the corpus of EModE letters are “**them selves**” and “**our selves**”.

#### A4. action

In EModE letters, referential FSs that identify actions are mostly verb phrases followed by prepositions and noun phrases. The main verbs are almost fully

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<sup>16</sup>The reflexive pronoun *myself* was often written separately as two words in EModE (as in the example [12]), but the one-word form was also very common. The present study endeavours to unite the spelling variation in EModE but also intends to maintain the traces of word formation, i.e., from collocations to separately written compounds to single words. Therefore, during the normalisation process, the study tends to keep words like *my self*, *them selves*, *no body* (as in the example [13]) and other words written as one word in the PDE separate. However, it is inevitable to overlook some words due to a large amount of workload, even though the normalisation is supported by the software VARD2. Nevertheless, because such kinds of words only count for a tiny part of the word count of the corpus, statistical errors of counting FSs caused by the normalization of these words could be seen as nonsignificant, and hence negligible.

productive, i.e., they follow regular syntactic rules. The formulaicity of these sequences lies in the relationship between the main verb and the preposition and the semantic restrictions of the noun phrase. There are two form patterns. One is the V + PP construction, and the other is the V + PARTICAL+ NP construction.

Regarding the first form pattern, the two constituents in the construction form conventional collocations and are more predictable compared with their other collocates. For example, the FS [14] below is about the action of letter writing, and it also indicates the recipient via the prepositional phrase construction *to* + NP. The noun phrase denotes, for most of the time, a person.

- [14] {[write]} **to** {NP: somebody} (703);
- a. but I did send him away in such hast as I coulde not have time to **write to anie but those** that to of necessitie I must, as I commanded him to tell you. (ARUNDEL,344.055.736)
  - b. Deare mother I desire pardon for my longe silenc in **wrighting to you**; (BARRING,55.013.248)
  - c. My Lord **hath written to the Ambassador** at Constantinople to assist you there. (ARUNDEL,336.048.663)
  - d. Monser Russel **ret to me** in Genuary, (BASIRE,133.003.125)

Moreover, the FS [14] is to some extent idiomatic and conventional in expressing meaning. Firstly, it is not explicitly mentioned that it is a letter being written. Secondly, the sequence is more common (i.e., 703 instances) in the corpus of EModE letters compared with other forms expressing the same meaning. There are only 15 instances of “{[write]} **a letter to** {NP: somebody}”. In addition, there are 118 instances of other collocations of the verb *write* and the noun *letter*, but they do not form a structural pattern.

Furthermore, FSs in the form of the V + PP construction are at the fuzzy transitional boundary between FSs and non-formulaic, multi-word units. Comparing the FS “{[write]} **to** {NP: somebody}” in [14] above with the multi-word unit [*say*] *to* and observing their concordance lines presented in Figures 6.5.2a–b, one can notice that the lexical item after the preposition in “{[write]} **to** {NP: somebody}” is predictable. Among 722 instances of [*write*] *to*, there are 703 instances being followed by noun phrases indicating a person. Besides, the verb *write* in realisations of the FS is in the active voice only. Therefore, [*write*] *to* is identified as the FS in [14] because it occurs in predictable semantic and syntactic contexts, and it is irregular in syntax and highly frequent in expressing a specific meaning.

However, the lexical item following *[say] to* can have various kinds of syntactic structures. As presented in Figure 6.5.2b, the lexical item can be an infinitive as part of the NP + *is said* + *to*-INFINITIVE, as in *the Parliament is said to be laid aside till May*. It is also possible that the lexical item and the preposition *to* together belong to a different syntactic unit than the verb *say*; for example, in *There is no power here as they say to compel one man to right another [...]*, the verb *say* is part of parenthesis *as they say*, and *to compel* serves as a postmodifier after the abstract noun *power*. Another possibility is that *[say] to* is followed by a noun phrase indicating a person, as in *it was delivered as Gray says to his mother*. Therefore, *[say] to* is not an FS because it is not followed by semantic elements that are predictable even without sufficient contextual information.

**Figure 6.5.2a: Concordance lines of *[write] to* in the corpus of EModE letters**

or no. ALLEN,10.001.32 But I may perhaps	write	to S. Frances about it if our
I may possibly devise as well in	writing	to the students as to their governors
to make an atonement. ALLEN,15.002.81 I have	written	to Father General also, ALLEN,15.002.82 and wil
in your house: ALLEN,16.002.118 but if he	writes	to me again Salvo meliori iudicio non
did let me see also what you	wrote	to him concerning the same matter: wherein
still. ALLEN,17.002.135 On the other side Hughe	writes	to me, and to D. Bristow more
sins. ALLEN,18.002.142 I thought not good to	write	to the whole company general letters, for
practises of the other. ALLEN,18.002.144 But I	write	to Mr. Barret of whose honesty and
I had best send these so ill	written	to his grace having none here that
satisfy thy expectation, and my promise, I	write	to thee at this time, though I
letter from your lordship and my lady,	written	to our little boy, for whom and
I have desired my cousin Cauffeld to	write,	to appoint how you may direct your
of the business, than what Mr Lake	wrote	to me from Highgate. ARUNDEL,97.020.257 We
as you desired. ARUNDEL,336.048.662 My Lord has	written	to the Ambassador at Constantinople to assist
Mr Petty My Lord commanded me to	write	to you to let you know that
by these to excuse me for not	writing	to you by Dinlie, ARUNDEL,344.055.735 but I
as I could not have time to	write	to any but those that of necessity
I have not seen, ARUNDEL,345.056.765 but she	writes	to me that her poor Lord, even
But the King has comanded me to	write	to you to know, from him, whether
noble letter. ARUNDEL,369.061.835 Mr Boothouse has	written	to me freely offering what somes I
I will, ARUNDEL,369.061.836 and by this I	write	to him to assist you with what
is done. ARUNDEL,369.061.839 You do well to	write	to my Son of Tom: Killegrewe's business,
case you do not, my Lord has	written	to the Sir Vercellini and Mr Price,

**Figure 6.5.2b: Concordance lines of *[say] to* in the corpus of EModE letters**

In the mean time the Parliament is	said	to be laid aside till May, HOLLES,II,298.068.1720
the clock; HOLLES,II,300.068.1765 and the Parliament is	said	to hold, the dependence thereof upon the
soldiers, besides mariners and sailors, who are	said	to be very scarce, few to be
the town, it was delivered as Gray	says	to his mother, HOLLES,II,324.083.2197 this old woman
HOLLES,II,353.095.2596 for two of the galleons are	said	to be very rich, HOLLES,II,353.095.2597 and we
tread; HOLLES,II,377.104.2905 for as a plain countryman	said	to Mr. Treasurer going to the election,
of the Parliament: HOLLES,II,377.104.2911 the Queen is	said	to be with child, a fair induction
instance and proof of what he had	said	to me, he fell upon your Lordship's
his best apparel, HOLLES,III,397.110.3084 this fellow is	said	to be come over, HOLLES,III,397.110.3085 you know
with power, none. HOLLES,III,397.110.3097 The Treasurer is	said	to govern all, HOLLES,III,397.110.3098 and these hard
better bargain: HOLLES,III,407.114.3251 this I have already	said	to Shipman, HOLLES,III,407.114.3252 but he is so
government HOLLES,III,408.115.3287 and remember what I	said	to you HOLLES,III,408.115.3288 and think not to
and Jeffreys and that yesterday her man	said	to my man she would speak with
paid to whom I pleased- HOSKYNS,83.016.532 I	say	to you. HOSKYNS,83.016.533 I could do no
same confirmed by some witnesses, which is	said	to differ much from my certificate. HUTTON,165.052.739
Jesuits in his majesty's time is now	said	to be a good service, and that
of affairs there, being resolved as he	says	to lay down Arms, and get beyond
JONES,215.019.554 I have little more presently to	say	to you, because I am at a
There is no Power here as they	say	to compel one man to right another
boot. KNYVETT,116.029.1045 I know not what to	say	to Hapton farm or what we shall
KNYVETT,135.035.1369 I shall think of something to	say	to her the next. KNYVETT,135.035.1370 There is
it is shrewdly written. KNYVETT,138.036.1412 It is	said	to be done by one mr Lovell,
had a fight wherein the King is	said	to have had the better. KNYVETT,165.044.1928 He

FSs referencing actions in the second form pattern, i.e., the V + PARTICLE+ NP construction, are more fixed in terms of the relationship between the main verb and the preposition. As discussed above, in the first type of form, i.e., the V + PP construction, the main verb and the following preposition can be treated as conventional collocations, and the preposition is followed by noun phrases only, forming a prepositional phrase. However, in the second type of form, the verb and the preposition do not form collocations but function as one word whose meaning is usually different from the meaning of the verb and the preposition, i.e., a phrasal verb or multi-word verbs (Claridge 2000). For instance, the sequence “{[hear]} **of**” follows the same syntactic rules as regular verbs, and it is clear what kind of object it takes (e.g., [15a–c]). Because phrasal verbs consist of more than one word, the relationship between their components is relatively fixed, and they are mostly idiomatic, multi-word units as such are identified as FSs in the present study.

- [15] {[hear]} **of** {NP} (426);
- a. But the moony I **can not yet heare of**. (ALLEN,11.001.43)
  - b. I **have not yet hard of my mastife bitche** which hath lost me the kepinge of henes and capons. (BACON,I,244.175.3076)
  - c. I pray the Commend me very kindly to the most worthy docter; and to good mr Robert : and thy owne self, though last of all yett not least of all, to me; espetially **heeringe of thy well doinge**, which dothe so much comfort me, [...] (PASTONK,78.048.878)

There is one more point worth making about FSs formed by phrasal verbs. The form of EModE phrasal verbs is to some extent more flexible than their counterparts in PDE; for example, the FS “{[deal]} (ADJUNCTS) **with** {NP mostly for person}” allows optional lexical items inserted between the verb and the preposition. Examples in [16a–b] show that the FS is realised in continuous form, while [16c] is an example of the sequences containing adjuncts that carry additional information about how the action *to deal with* is performed.

- [16] {[deal]} (ADJUNCTS) **with** {NP mostly for person} (206)
- a. I perceave, also, that the princes of Germany ar mervellosly gladd of **hir majesties dealing with the king of Spayn**. (LEYCEST,129.035.1160)
  - b. For it was trusted with a waterman, who as I found afterwards **had dealt with a stronger kind of liquor**, and could not give me any good account, what was become of it. (DUPPA,5.003.22)
  - c. Your Father **did not deale altogether soe kindly with mee**, (FLEMING,69.015.247)



Further forms could be observed among identification/focus sequences that reference actions. Most of them are semantically opaque or idiomatic, such as “{[take]} (POSS. PRON) **leave** (of {NP: somebody})”, “[put] {NP: somebody} **in mind** (of {NP: something needs to be reminded})”, “[take] **notice of** {NP}”, and “[take] **care**”; others tend to be more transparent in semantics, such as “[tell] {NP: somebody} **that** {CLAUSE}”. For example, the FS [17] has three variable parts: a regular verb *take* that is allowed for inflection, a personal pronoun that forms the object of the verb together with the noun *leave* in the fixed part, and an optional *of*-POSSESSIVE construction as a postmodifier of the object. The sequence is idiomatic, because it refers to the action of departing from somebody (e.g., [17a]; *leave*, n.1. P2. a. (a), in the *OED Online*). The meaning is only minimally detectable from its components. In extended use, the sequence is often found in the closing part of an EModE letter, announcing that the writer was about to finish the letter. The concordance data of the sequence show that for this particular use, the sequence is always realised in the simple present tense, such as the realisations in [17b–d].

- [17] [take] (POSS. PRON) **leave** (of {NP: somebody}) (275);
- a. When **I took leave of my Lord Chancellor of England**, hee treated mee very civilly, and as if I needed not to feare oppression from his hands; (PETTY,7.001.20)
  - b. So with the remembrance of my humbel duti to your Lo=p= and my [...] lady, beseching you both for your blesings to me and my boys, **I humbly take my leve** (ARUNDEL,51.008.82)
  - c. Thus comyttinge your honours to the kepinge of almightie God, **we humblie take our leave**. (BACON,II,299.307.5319)
  - d. And thus **I take my leave of your grace**. (PAGET,134.034.773)

Moreover, “[tell] {NP: somebody} **that** {CLAUSE}” in [18] has a literal and transparent meaning, referring to the action of telling or delivering information. It is also used as a reporting clause, categorised under the last primary category “IV. Special Communicational Functions” (e.g., [18a–b]).

- [18] {[tell]} {NP: somebody} **that** {CLAUSE} (486);
- a. **You are to tell Blackeman that** he repayer up hether with all spede imediatelie uppon the receipte of this letter; (BACON,I,226.164.2899)
  - b. To tell your Lordship how absolute a power you have over me were to speak something that lookes so like what others speake that mean not what they say, that instead of **telling your Lordship that** I am entirely your servant, I would have **your Lordship tell me that** I am so: (CONWAY,232.063.1834)

### A5. part of an entity

EModE letters employ FSs to identify parts of a group or entities. Same as in EModE dialogues (see Section 6.5.1), these FSs in letters reveal two lexical-grammatical patterns: QUANTIFIER + *of* + NP (e.g., “**one of {NP}**” and “**some of {NP}**”) and NP1 + *of* + NP2 (e.g., “{[part]} **of {NP}**” and “**the rest (of {NP})**”). For examples, they are realised as in [19], [20], [21a–c], and [22a–b].

[19] **one of {NP}** (563);  
and mey Bol, Bevis hee hath lost **one of his eyes**  
(HENSLO,F83.001.7)

[20] **some of {NP}** (442);  
I do not doute by my L=d= Clarendon, and **some of his friends** heere,  
will discreditt me and my affaires as much as they can,  
(MINETTE,147.025.386)

[21] {[part]} **of {NP}** (483);  
a. it is **part of a letter** from that party to me.  
(CONWAY,216.053.1598)  
b. & as a benefactor hath rebuilt **a part of that old colledge**.  
(BROWNE,136.024.484)  
c. [...] that if you will take the paines to get one, to come from **the furthest parts of the kingdom** to make it a Christian,  
(OXINDE,I,249.148.2397)

[22] **the rest (of {NP})** (666);  
a. [...] I hope y=u= will obserue y=t= golden Rule amongst y=e= **Rest**  
& make my Case y=r= owne & [...] (FERRAR,312.038.826)  
b. and told me that he would confere with Mr St. John and **the rest of his frends** and see what maye be don further to give satisfaction, [...]  
(BARRING,131.084.1483)

The fixed part of FSs in this group may also contain words like *first* and *best*, implying an additional hidden meaning of comparison between some entities with other entities of the same kind (e.g., [23a–b], [24]).

[23] **the first of {NP}** (45)  
a. til then, let not wordes worke my discredite without bettre profe then is to be had for the contentes of **the first of these iii lettres**.  
(HASTING,14.006.124)  
b. I received an Order from the Chancery dated **the first of February** Instant, the makers whereof I have no reason to revile.  
(PETTY,19.008.185)

[24] **the best of {NP}** (44)  
But **the best of the sport** was, accused Car of having in Lincolnshire instigated severall gentlemen & ministers whom S=r= Ph: named, for a new P=t=. (MARVELL,345.014.393)

## A6. general/context-based

EModE letters also employ FSs which do not specify what an entity is or which part of an entity is in focus. For example, the sequence “**such a** {NP}” emphasises the following noun phrase which can be anything (e.g., [25]); “**the said** {NP}” focuses on something or somebody mentioned in previous discourse (e.g., [26a–c]). The sequence “**this particular**” is fixed and idiomatic. It is used as deixis to reference and emphasise an entity mentioned in the previous discourse (e.g., [27a–c]). Its use is similar to “**the said**” in [26c]. Other FSs in this group but less frequent are, for example, “**the very** {NP}”, “**nothing else**”, “**nothing more**”, and “**such thing**.”

[25] **such a** {NP} (519)

for tho I had a great respect for my Lord of Ossory and a particular desire to serve him, yet had **such a direction** come into Ireland I would have represented against it and not have past it without a second command; (ESSEX,48.007.195)

[26] **the said** {NP} (397)

- a. But that he might the better judge howe much **the sayd Ambr fayled** in that report wch he made of those wourdes wch he sayd yor honor used of the Kinge, [...] (EDMONDE,414.023.560)
- b. Nowe for as much that as I doe take it **the said houses and Lande** by my vncler Clemente as it doth appeare by his will are intayled vnto me in Reuertion after Sir Edmonde Paston. I doe request **the said Sir Edmonde** to stay the makinge of any lease of **the said Landes and Tenementes** vntill I doe talke **the said Sir Edmonde** (PASTONK,43.006.72)
- c. in this station my humble request is if yo=r= Ex=cie= judge it fitt that if **the said** be not allowed me towards my chardges [...] in repayreing hither, the repaym=t= thereof may be respited untill I am called away hence, [...] (JONES,270.045.1107)

[27] **this particular** (37)

- a. If I can gett any good informac~on as to **this particular** before y=e= returne of my broth=r= [...] Ile com~unicate it, As also any thing else that may seeme acceptable. (FLEMING,265.100.1677)
- b. [...] by which means he only is excluded from justice, and favour; all others wherosever not without sum astonishment **at this particular** free and untroubled: (HOLLES,I,119.038.942)
- c. Object. 6. – That I have geven the Lord President cause of exception against me, and therefore it pleaseth your Honors to use me no more **in this particular**. (HUTTON,166.052.756)

## B. imprecision

Not many FSs of this kind were found in EModE letters. Sequences that occur more often than average ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times) are presented in Table 6.5.2b.

**Table 6.5.2b: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “B. imprecision” \***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>B. imprecision</b>	<b>any thing</b> (685); <b>the other</b> (606); <b>any other</b> {NP} (314); <b>the like</b> (307); <b>any of</b> {NP: pl.} (233); <b>some other</b> {NP} (198); <b>or any</b> {NP} (187); <b>or else</b> (185); <b>an other</b> {NP} (149); <b>any such</b> {NP} (144); {DET} <b>kind of</b> {NP} (127); (all) <b>other things</b> (126); <u><b>all other</b></u> {NP} (159)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory.

Imprecision sequences could be identified by looking at whether they contain words that express imprecision or uncertainty. Table 6.5.2b shows that the most common word is *any*, for instance, in sequences such as “**any thing**”, “**any of** {NP}”, “**any such** {NP}”, “**any man**”, and “**any body**”. Other words used to hint at imprecision include *or*, *else*, *like*, and *kind of*.

### C. specification of attributes

Table 6.5.2c presents FSs in EModE letters, which describe attributes of entities and whose frequencies of occurrence are above average ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times). Sequences describing quantities and intangible attributes dominate in this subcategory.

**Table 6.5.2c: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “C. specification of attributes” \***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>C1. quantities</b>	<b>all the</b> {NP} (1116); {NUM} <b>of</b> {NP: plural} (945); <b>a little</b> (429); <b>no more</b> (355); <b>all my</b> {NP} (341); <b>as much</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE} (320); <b>all this</b> (NP) (241); <b>all your</b> {NP} (233); <b>at least</b> (226); <b>all his</b> {NP} (188); <b>so much as</b> {COMP} (186); <b>these two</b> (175); <b>as much as</b> {CLAUSE} (169); <b>much of</b> {NP} (159); <b>all our</b> {NP} (149); <b>too much</b> (141); <b>much more</b> (130); <u><b>all other</b></u> {NP} (159);
<b>C2. tangible attributes**</b>	{[be]} <b>made of</b> {NP: material} (78)
<b>C3. intangible attributes</b>	<b>the last</b> (608); <b>the next</b> (566); <b>the first</b> (496); <b>my own</b> (486); <b>more than</b> {COMP} (433); <b>your own</b> (359); <b>as well</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE} (357); <b>his own</b> (352); <b>as well as</b> {CLAUSE} (220); <b>no other</b> (181); <b>in haste</b> (179); {DET} <b>cause of</b> {NP: mostly negative things} (174); <b>their own</b> (173); {COMP: a superlative or an inclusive or exclusive expression; an interrogative word or phrase} <b>in the world</b> (155); <b>mine own</b> (151); <b>the rather</b> (147); <b>the contrary</b> (140); <b>together with</b> {NP} (138); <b>in hand</b> (122); <b>her own</b> (119)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory. \*\*There is only one FS in the group “C2. tangible attributes”, so it is listed here despite its frequency being below average.

#### C1. quantities

Firstly, FSs describing quantities are often used as modifiers before noun phrases (e.g., [28] – [30]). Note that in [29], the FS “**all other** {NP}” is used multi-

functionally. That is, it is used to vaguely refer to *accidents* not mentioned in the text, regardless of what kind of accidents, and to emphasise the quantity of the other possible accidents, i.e., all of them. Therefore, the sequence is an example of FSs describing the quantity of an imprecise entity.

[28] (no) **more of** {NP} (111)

- a. The truth is, I can say **noe more of any thing**, (HATTON,I,28.012.190)
- b. I deferred this my due acknowledgment in hope to have found out **something more of Dr John Dee**; (BROWNE,298.055.1075)

[29] **all other** {NP} (159)

but I hope at my next returne into the cuntry to present you with this and **all other accidents** which shall happen this Parlament in better method (WENTWOR,64.020.337)

[30] {NUM} **of** {NP: plural} (415)

- a. but as for **those 2 of yours** you mention I am apt to beleve it was onely my forgetfulness to acknowledg to you my receipt of them. (PEPYS,76.041.533)
- b. **Two or three of the last ships** that came thence bring nothing but discomfort, (CHAMBER,I,367.024.944)

Moreover, some of the sequences in this group have a more flexible form. For example, the sequence in [31] has two variable parts and is discontinuous. Lexical items that fit into the variable parts have no specific restrictions on the semantics and syntax.

[31] **as much** (COMP) **as** {CLAUSE} (320)

- a. For, in the King's chapel there, and in four other dioceses besides, the liturgie is accepted with all alacritie, and performed with **as much diligence as any where among us**. (COSIN,I,221.038.1291)
- b. For my own parte, I will not endure suche another yeares service, with so many crosses and wantes, and so litle asistaunce every waye, yf I were sure to gayne **as muche as all these provinces are worthe**. (LEYCEST,419.088.2725)

Secondly, some FSs describing quantities can be used as both modifiers and predicates or in the same way as single-word adjectives and adverbs. For example, the sequence “**too much**” is used as a predicate in [32a], as a modifier in a noun phrase without a noun head in [32b], and as a modifier in a normal noun phrase in [32c]. Other less frequent sequences of this kind found in the corpus of EModE letters include “**thus much**”, “**not much**”, “**no less**”, “**a few**”, “**a little**”, “**much less**”, “**these few**”, “**not a little**”, and so on. They could be treated as multi-word adjectives and adverbs.

[32] **too much** (141)

- a. neither have I more to say which may allso be **too muche** if too taedious but to give your Lordship the account of my conference with Sir Thomas Lakes, [...] (HOLLES,I,77.019.501)
- b. and I can well satisfy my selfe I thanke God that I have already done **too much**, to have any more flung away upon him. (PEPYS,160.071.1112)
- c. it cost me **too much shame**. (TIXALL,21.006.161)

The last obvious type of FSs concerning quantities are phrases of numbers, such as “{NUM} **hundred** {[pound]}” in [33]. It is quite flexible, containing two variable parts: the first can be any number and the second is a unit of currency. It is formulaic because it represents the way how numbers larger than one hundred are said and how money is counted in EModE. In addition, the currency unit can be in either singular (e.g., [33a]) or plural form (e.g., [33b]) in EModE, regardless of what the {NUM} is, hence a sign of irregular syntax. Other examples include “**three or four**” and “**two or three**”. I argue that, instead of being actual numbers or exact counts of something, they are more like the kind of expressions used to make a rough estimate of the amount of something. Nevertheless, there are sequences of exact numbers, such as “**a hundred**” and “**the two**”. I count them as FSs because of the tight relationships between their components and their frequencies of occurrence.

[33] {NUM} **hundred** [pound] (101)

- a. and the Lord Montague that hath paide reasonable well for recusancie bestowed **fifteen hundred pound** in apparell for his two daughters. (CHAMBER,I,425.032.1402)
- b. and the difference of a few dayes may in or out of my way **half a hundred pounds**. CORNWAL,160.102.1437

## C2. tangible attributes and C3. intangible attributes

Tangible attributes concern the physical characteristics of an entity, for example, colour, material, smell, shape, etc. The only FS found in the corpus of EModE letters describes the material of an entity, as in [34a–b] below. This sequence is also the only one of this kind found in EModE dialogues.

[34] {[be]} **made of** {NP: material} (78)

- a. to eat **nothing made of milk**, nor very young flesh: little broath, butt such wherin rosemarie, marigolds, thyme is boyled; (BROWNE,290.053.1036)
- b. And shall speedilie be donne before dice **are made of my bonnes** as hath been thretened: (STOCKWE,II,38.073.1366)

Intangible attributes concern abstract features of an entity. Firstly, some referential FSs are about the order of an entity among others, for instance, “**the last**”, “**the next**”, and “**the first**”. They are used as modifiers (e.g., [35a]) or as a noun phrase (e.g., [35b]).

[35] **the last** (608)

- a. This is the duplicate of my letter **the last weeke**.  
(ARUNDEL,406.065.929)
- b. and I hope it shall **bee the last in that kind** that shall pas between us: (CORNWAL,233.146.2025)

Secondly, some referential FSs are about ownership, which are in the form of POSS. PRON + *own*. I find examples such as “**my own**”, “**his own**”, and “**their own**”. Similar to sequences about ordering, those about ownership are also mostly used as modifiers (e.g., [36a]) or as noun phrases (e.g., [36b]). FSs like those in [35], [36], and other intangible attribute sequences listed so far behave like multi-word adjectives and adverbs. Similar to the quantity FS in [32] and the others mentioned above, they are fixed in the form-meaning relationship and complete in semantics.

[36] **my own** (486)

- a. Did I not retire to **my owne howse** [...] in peace and quiett, and when I could do no further good, yet would not contribute to anie of the fatall evils w=ch= must follow? (WESA,3.005.109)
- b. I can act nothing in order to your comfort, **or my owne**.  
(TIXALL,23.007.179)

Thirdly, the FS [37] concerns the degree of a certain attribute. The fixed part *more than* takes a variable part in various forms; for example, the adjective *ordinary* implying the degree of *kindness* in [37a] and the verb phrase in [37b] implying that *to bee in danger of loosing her* is of greater possibility compared to *to have lost the others*. In [37c], the fixed part *more than* modifies the following prepositional phrase and intensifies the degree of *in common sort*.

From the perspective of form, in addition to the above continuous sequence, the intangible attribute sequences describing degrees of an attribute can also be discontinuous. For instance, the sequence “**as well (COMP) as {CLAUSE}**” consists of two variable parts. Lexical items in the first variable part are usually compared with those in the second (e.g., [38a–d]). Either part is not restrained in syntax; for example, they can be noun phrases and prepositional phrases (e.g., [38a]), predicates (e.g., [38b]), past participles (e.g., [38c]), or verb

phrases and clauses (e.g., [38d]). The fixed part of the sequence can also be realised in a continuous form, having the first variable part moved before the fixed part, such as realisations in [38e–f]. In this case, the variable parts can also be in various forms, such as noun phrases (e.g., [38e]), clauses (e.g., [38f]), and verb phrases (e.g., [38g]). Particularly, in [38g], the FS implies the degree to which extent an action is completed.

[37] **more than** {COMP} (433)

- a. You must give me leave only to tell you, wher ther is such true desert, as none doubts butt is ther, who knowse her, you can not reward it better, then **by a more than ordinary kindnes**; (TIXALL,59.022.413)
- b. L'Amant Absent has in my opinion a Mistresse, soe much beyonde any of the rest that to bee in danger of loosing her, **is more then to have lost the others**, (OSBORNE,82.037.1910)
- c. First, I am so assured, and my sonn also, of your lordships honorable good will towards hym, **more than in common sort**, as I forbear to wryte any more, but, breffly, to recommend hym to your protection, [...]. (LEYCEST,44.013.362)

[38] **as well** (COMP) **as** {CLAUSE} (357);

- a. and it may bee **as well a want of sence in mee as of Passion**; (OSBORNE,157.063.3637)
- b. It is probable I was **as well able to go through the whole as the hardest part**. (COSIN,I,9.005.122)
- c. and he hathe come hither **as well appointed as any that hathe commen over**. (LEYCEST,115.032.1103)
- d. Att leaste my meaninge is therby to showe prooffe that my penn cann **aswell be paynfull in morall poetrie as itt hathe bene hetherto over curious in expressing of lighte affections**. (BACON,II,3.194.3385)
- e. and so doth no bodye else in the cuntry, the comon opinion passing you nowe under Sir John Sauile's character and that there is **a Thomas as well as a John** for the king. (WENTWOR,301.092.1576)
- f. but when I was with him **I thought him as well as ever I saw him** since I knew him. (PRIDEAU,59.006.212)
- g. and they must redeeme themselves **as well as they can**. (CHAMBER,I,466.038.1731)

Fourthly, in EModE letters, FSs are also used to describe the certain status of an entity. I found frequent sequences such as “**in haste**” and “**in earnest**” as well as less frequent ones such as “**in writing**”, “**in health**”, “**at length**”, “**at liberty**”, and “**at large**”. They seem to be mostly complete prepositional phrases led by *in* and *at*, and their semantics tend to be opaque. Moreover, they can be used like normal adjectives and adverbs. For example,



realisations of the sequence “**in haste**” in [39a–c] occur at various positions in a unit of discourse.

[39] **in haste** (179);

- a. I am now **in hast** going about my busines,  
(OXINDE,I,272.159.2685)
- b. And so, havng my handes fullar than I can delyver by M=r= Secretoryes infyrmite, I am constreynd to scribe **in hast**.  
(CECIL,50.005.64)
- c. **In hast**, I giue you this asurance that I am Your most affectinat mother, Brilliana Harley. (HARLEY,61.019.630)

Moreover, there are some more common intangible attributes conveyed by less frequent sequences not listed in Table 6.5.2c. Some of them are prepositional phrases with the head *by*, such as “**by (the) means of {NP: something}**”, “**by way of {NP}**”, “**by sea**”, and “**by this bearer**”. They describe the method of doing something (e.g., [40a–b]). Another intangible attribute concerns logic or relationship between entities, expressed by FSs, such as “**{[be]} contrary to {NP}**” (e.g., [41a–b]). Moreover, FSs can be used to inform the existence of an entity, such as “**no such {NP}**”, “**not any {NP}**”, and “**no other**”, which are in the form of the NEGATIVE + DETERMINER + N construction or the NEGATIVE + PRON construction. For example, the realisations of “**no such {NP}**” states the existence of an entity described in the previous discourse (e.g., [42a–b]).

[40] **by (the) means of {NP: something}** (29)

- a. but I heare that **by meanes of the Lord Treasurer** he made his peace the next day. (CHAMBER,II,492.067.3019)
- b. Neither have I anie inheritaunce of lande which maie not without breache of Gode’s lawe be solde unto anie of hir kynred, moche more possessed **by the meanes of maryadge**. (BACON,I,148.115.1944)

[41] **{[be]} contrary to {NP}** (95)

- a. you will needes deceive your selfe **contrary to your owne knowledge**, (STUART,164.012.340)
- b. Ther fore yf it be soo, **yt is contrary to yower promyse**
- c. (BACON,II,190.251.4479)

[42] **no such {NP}** (82)

- a. for I was shutt out of the p~liam=t= by a vote before, my offence being that I durst not forswear my selfe positivelie to obey an order, though manie went contrarie to there order no oath [...] compelling them neither, w=ch= for all that **have no such sentence**.  
(WESA,4.005.118)
- b. I protest I haue **no suche** in your realme, (ROYAL1,66.021.367)

Furthermore, unlike the FSs discussed above so far, which are about the intangible attributes themselves, there is a group of less frequent referential FSs naming the categories of intangible attributes, such as “**the title of {NP}**”, “**the occasion of {NP}**”, “**the value of {NP}**”, “**the manner of {NP}**”, and “**{DET} cause of {NP: mostly negative things}**”. They are often fully transparent in semantics. Containing at least one variable part, they are all in the same form, i.e., the NP (attribute) + *of* + NP construction. Most of them do not explicitly specify the semantic field of the variable part. Only the meaning of the fixed part could provide a little clue in this regard. For example, the noun phrase in the variable part of the sequence “**the title of {NP}**” could be any entity that has a title, such as a person or a book. It is more obvious in the sequence “**{DET} cause of {NP: mostly negative things}**” that the noun phrase in the second variable part refers more likely to something negative, bad, unexpected, or unwelcomed, for instance, *troubles* in [43].

[43] {DET} **cause of {NP: mostly negative things}** (174)  
but the same is increased greatly by the mallice and troublesome setting on of one Granger, an attorney, who hath byn **the cheife cause of all this troubles**. (PARKHUR,234.072.1289)

#### D. time/place/text reference

The last subcategory of referential expression sequences consists of mostly temporal, spatial, and textual deixis. EModE letters employ much more FSs to reference time than a place or a piece of text. Table 6.5.2d presents FSs in this group which occur more frequently than average ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times).

**Table 6.5.2d: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “D. time/place/text reference” \***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
D1. time	{at/before/by/for/etc.} <b>this time</b> (517); <b>this day</b> (447); <b>the {NUM} of {MONTH}</b> (332); <b>in the mean</b> {season/space/time/while} (318); <b>not yet</b> (303); <b>at this time</b> (277); <b>in the mean time</b> (275); <b>as yet</b> (275); <b>as soon</b> (COMP) <b>as {CLAUSE}</b> (230); <b>as soon as {COMP}</b> (226); <b>a year</b> (217); <b>this week</b> (191); <b>last week</b> (185); <b>this morning</b> (147); <b>but now</b> (145); {about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning</b> (of {NP: time or event}) (145); (the/this) <b>next week</b> (145); <b>at present</b> (139); {ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of November</b> (131); <b>for the present</b> (130); <b>this month</b> (128); {ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of February</b> (128); (not/so) <b>long since</b> {COMP} (125); {ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of May</b> (124); <b>so soon as</b> {COMP} (123); {at/for/in/etc.} <b>a time</b> (118); {ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of October</b> (117); {ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of December</b> (117) <b>and then</b> (425); <b>and now</b> (299);
D2. place	<b>out of {NP}</b> (1198); <b>at London</b> (237); <b>in England</b> (187); <b>in London</b> (165);

	<b>at home</b> (143); <b>from thence</b> (138); <b>in the country</b> (127)
<b>D3. text</b>	<b>I (have) received your letter</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.} (121)
<b>D4. multi-functional</b>	{at/in/to/etc.} <b>the end</b> (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object}) (290); <b>the end of</b> {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object} (133)

(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory.

### D1. time

The temporal deixis FSs in the EModE letters have four aspects of emphasis, i.e., general or uncertain periods of time, specific periods of time, dates, and hours. Firstly, many FSs referencing general or uncertain periods of time are prepositional phrases, i.e., the PREP + NP construction, such as “{at/before/by/for/etc.} **this time**”, “**in the mean** {season/space/time/while}”, “{about/at/in/etc.} **the beginning** (of {NP: time or event})”, and “{at/for/in/etc.} **a time**”. These sequences are conceptual metaphors according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), i.e., time is a point on a line. For example, the sequence provides a reference point on a timeline, and the prepositions in the variable part points to different positions on the timeline. Realisations in [44a–c] start with prepositions *at*, *by*, and *for* and reference the current period of time that is at the same position as *this time*; the realisation in [44d] with *before* reference a period of time preceding *this time*; the realisation in [44e] with *about* reference a period of time preceding or following *this time*. The realisation in [44f] is another conceptual metaphor, time is a container. The referenced period is contained in *this time*.

[44] {at/before/by/for/etc.} **this time** (517)

- a. therefore I shall say littell to you **at this tyme**, but that I hope ye belieue that it is not my want of affection to your affaires, but Oxensternes want of instruction, that hes made him haue so ill successe hithertoo in his negotiations, of which I hope alreddie you haue had some accounte; (CHARLES,6.006.60)
- b. My deare and beloued Daughter I had hoped **by this time** your good husband and sweete selfe, would haue bin thinking of your returne to your Gidding, (FERRAR,305.035.714)
- c. thearfore I will put it to silence **for this time** onely adding a short but most hearty prayer for your prosperity in all kindes (STUART,184.021.574)
- d. [...] I should have seen you hear **before this tyme**, whear you have not so true a friend as you shall ever find your sad servant, L. Bedford. (CORNWAL,67.045.595)
- e. but as farr as I see, they vanish as vapors use to do, which **about this time of the year**, having not virtue enough from the sun to raise them higher, fall suddainly back again to the earth from whence they came. (DUPPA,110.052.881)

- f. Neverthelesse, he was not exclaied on, but rather pittied of the people, in such sorte as the lyke **in this tyme** hathe not bene sene. (VERSTEG,57.002.59)

Similarly, the FS [45], though more flexible, can be used to describe various positions on the timeline relative to the beginning of an event (e.g., [45a–b]) or a period of time (e.g., [45c–d]). The sequence can also be realised more vaguely without the second variable part that specifies a reference event (e.g., [45e–f]).

- [45] {about/at/in/etc.} **the beginning** (of {NP: time or event}) (145)
- a. I resolve God willing to be in London **about the beginning of the next terme**, (BROWNE,301.056.1084)
  - b. but **before the beginning of Easter terme** he hath promysed to take your woke in hande. (PARKHUR,164.030.541)
  - c. With the next shippes God willing I purpose to goe, which I hope wilbe ready **at the beginning of the weeke** at Gravesend, (BARRING,148.099.1683)
  - d. **In the beginning of July**, I was visited extreamly with the gout in both my legs, from which affliction I have not been wholly free for ten days space, (HARLEY,241.075.1925)
  - e. And thus having enlarged this letter more then I purposed **at the begining**, I comend me also unto you, (VERSTEG,234.018.746)
  - f. and as the world **in the beginning** was a chaos, and confusion of all things, till the laws of God, of nature, of man, gave eache creature, and thing his proper separation, the one from the other, [...]  
(HOLLES,II,167.053.1262)

Moreover, some FSs referencing general or uncertain periods of time do not reveal a form pattern, such as “(not/so) **long since** {COMP}”, “**so soon as** {COMP}”, “**and then**”, “**not yet**”, “**as yet**”, “**a year**”, “**every day**”, and “**for ever**”. Among them, sequences without variable parts can be treated as multi-word adjectives/adverbs since they are completely fixed, for example, “**every day**” and “**for ever**” are written as one word in the PDE.

Secondly, FSs expressing a more specific period of time have the highest degree of fixedness in form, and most of them consist of only the fixed part. These sequences can be noun phrases (e.g., “**this day**”, “**this week**”, “**last week**”, “**this morning**”, “**this month**”, and “**the last week**”), prepositional phrases (e.g., “**at this time**”, “**at present**”, “**on Monday**”, and “**for the present**”), or combinations of a conjunction and an adverb (e.g., “**and now**” and “**but now**”). Among them, sequences in the form of prepositional phrases reflect the same conceptual metaphors as those in [44] and [45].

Thirdly, FSs of temporal deixis expressing dates are all in similar forms but with minimum variations. For example, the more abstract ones are “**the {NUM} of {MONTH}**” and “**{ORDINAL NUM} day of {NP: month name}**”. Less abstract sequences are “**{ORDINAL NUM} (day) of November**”, and “**{ORDINAL NUM} (day) of February**”, specifying the month. Some realisations of these FSs are presented in [46a–c] and [47a–b]. In the corpus of EModE letters, they often date the letters (e.g., [46a–b] and [47a]). Their positions might be at the beginning (e.g., [46a]) or the end of the letters (e.g., [46b, 47a]).

[46] **the {NUM} of {MONTH}** (332)

- a. In Yarmouth **the 22 of April** 1583. (BACON,II,239.283.4870)
- b. From Whitehall **the .24. of December**. (STUART,208.039.871)
- c. S=r= Your letter dated y=e= **19 of April** I received with the enclosed, which according to your order I delivered immediately after it came to my hand. (FLEMING,317.129.2145)

[47] **{ORDINAL NUM} day of {NP: month name}** (40)

- a. At Hertfforde **the xv day of November** 1582.  
(BACON,II,215.260.4604)
- b. I received your letter at Canterburie **the 4th day of June** last past.  
(OXINDE,I,66.039.484)

Lastly, one less frequent FS of temporal deixis is used to report hours, i.e., “**{NUM} of the clock**”. Examples of its realisations are presented in [58a–c]. In addition to the common use (e.g., [58a–b]), the sequence appears at the end of a letter, indicating the exact time when the letter was written (e.g., [58c]).

[48] **{NUM} of the clock** (64)

- a. onely the last night, about **8 of the clock**, the stables of the Horseguard neare Whitehall were [...] set on fire, and burnt down, to the value of. (COSIN,II,157.077.1961)
- b. But this morning, **betwixt 3 or 4 of y=e= clocke**, I got up  
(HATTON,I,140.044.1062)
- c. Good Friday morninge at **6 of the clocke**, 1619.  
(ARUNDEL,154.024.324)

## D2. place

As indicated in Table 6.5.2d, FSs of spatial deixis are prepositional phrases. Most of them are semantically and syntactically complete; for instance, “**at London**”, “**in England**”, “**in London**”, “**at home**”, “**from thence**”, and “**in the country**”. Seldomly, spatial deictic FSs consist of a variable part, for example, “**out of {NP}**” and the less frequent “**from the court at {NP: place name}**”.

In EModE letters, some spatial deictic FSs are functionally related to the format of letter-writing, such as “**from the court at** {NP: place name}”. Its realisations occur at the end of letters before the date (e.g., [49a–b]), sometimes before salutations and the writer’s signature (e.g., [49b]).

- [49] **from the court at** {NP: place name}
- a. **from y=e= Cort at Whithall** the xxxj=th= of decem. 1597.  
(EDMONDE,321.018.418)
  - b. **From the court at Grenwych** the 6. of March, 1585.  
(LEYCEST,159.044.1482)  
Your lordships assuredly, as anye, W. Burghley.  
(LEYCEST,159.044.1483)

### D3. text

Among as textual deixictic FSs in EModE letters, “**I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}” could be seen as one of the genre-specific sequences. Firstly, by observing the concordance lines of the sequence, I found that when the verb *receive* is realised in the present perfect tense (e.g., [50a–c]), the sequence is exclusively used in the opening of letters in the corpus and preceded directly by salutations. Conversely, when the verb is in the past simple tense, the sequence occurs both in the opening and the body of letters (e.g., [50d–f] and [50g–h], respectively). Secondly, the sequence is multi-functional. It is not only used to point at a piece of text but also to suggest that the following discourse is about the letter. Its use as a topic introduction/focus sequence (“II. Discourse Organisers”) has been discussed in detail in Section 6.4.2.

- [50] **I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.} (121)
- a. May it please yor hono=r=. **I have received yor lre of the xv=th= of Marche** by the which I fynde my obligacons infinitely to encrease, [...] (BRYSKET,20.002.31)
  - b. Jack, **I have received your letter by Mr Harris**, and the other of the 29 of this present, according to your stile,  
(HOLLES,I,95.028.790)
  - c. **I have received your letter, dated the xxv=th= daie of the last moneth**, [...] signifieng thereby the receipt of mine of the xxj=th=, whearebie I gave your Grace to understand of hir Majestie’s purpose to have the Lord of Sesford to be sent unto yowe, to be safelie kept at Busshopsthorp, or some other place without the citie.  
(HUTTON,122.037.476)
  - d. Brother, **I received your letter with your unkind token**, which I think I did not deserve, I haveing been as forward, if not forwarder, to a peacable end then any body els; (CORNWAL,191.121.1704)

- e. Loueing Unckle **I rec~d yo=r= letter**, 3 shirts, and shillings, which you sent me **by Peter Burneyeats**, which if thanks can any way countervaile, they shall never be wanting, (FLEMING,114.027.426)
- f. Mistris Carleton: At my comming to towne on Friday last **I received your letter of the 13=th= of this present**, (CHAMBER,I,543.044.1966)
- g. I sent Sir Thomas his letter to Oysterley, wher he was to remayne all Christmas, **befor I received your letter**. (BACON,I,182.136.2430)
- h. As to w=t= your L=dsp= saith concerning him, he was gone that morning towards London **when I received your letter**, (HATTON,I,217.067.1696)

Less frequent FSs in this group are mostly prepositional phrases, led by *in* and *by*. For example, the study identified some FSs closely related to letter-writing, such as “**in my last** ([letter])”, “**in answer to** {NP: something, e.g., letter, question, desire, etc.}”, and “**by your letters**”. Others like “**in this case**” and “**in this manner**” are also shared by EModE dialogues.

#### **D4. multi-functional**

The most frequent FS, which has more than one deictic use, is “{at/in/to/etc.} **the end** (of {NP: time, event, a path, or a long object})”. Its variable parts indicate that it can be used both as a temporal deixis and a spatial deixis. Other FSs in this group have the same multi-functional use.

### **6.6. Formulaic sequences serving special communicational functions**

#### **6.6.1. Dialogues**

As presented at the beginning of Section 6.2 regarding the statistics of functions served by FSs (see Table 6.2a), it is interesting to see that in EModE dialogues, FSs serving special communicational functions are not dominant among the four primary functions. Even though dialogues are highly interactive, EModE speakers used the fewest types of FSs from this category. They are also the least frequent, whose average frequency of occurrence is only 45.97 times in the corpus, much lower than the average frequency ( $M_{freq.} = 60.13$  times). However, the primary function category “IV. Special Communicational Functions” contain the most types of multi-functional FSs, compared with the other three primary categories. This section presents the main form patterns of FSs in each subcategory of communicational functions. Most FSs listed in Table 6.6.1 occur more than 60 times.

**Table 6.6.1: Frequent FSs in EModE dialogues: “IV. Special Communicational Functions” \***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A. politeness routines/social maintenance</b> <b>A1. gratitude</b>	{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you</b> (for {NP}) (105); <b>I thank you</b> (for {NP: something}) (83)
<b>A2. apology**</b>	{[be]} <b>sorry that</b> {CLAUSE} (17); {[be]} <b>sorry for</b> {NP} (15); <b>I am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}} (32)
<b>A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines**</b>	((God) give you) (a) <b>good morrow</b> (54); {[be]} <b>glad to see</b> {NP: mostly somebody} (22); {you/thou/ye} <b>are welcome</b> (22); <b>God be with</b> {[you]} (21); <b>How do you</b> (do)? (20); {if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}} (53); {[take]} {NP: person} <b>by the hand</b> (32) <b>I am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}} (32);
<b>B. simple inquiry</b>	<b>Where</b> {[be]} {NP}? (169); <b>how to</b> {V-inf} (81); <b>What do you</b> {V-inf}? (65); <b>how many</b> {COMP}? (63); <b>What say you</b> (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})? (75); ({wh-WORD}) <b>would you</b> {COMP}? (61)
<b>C. reporting clauses</b>	{[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} (285); <b>further says</b> {that-CLAUSE} (109)
<b>D. exclamation</b>	<b>What</b> {[a]} {NP} {COMP} (111); <b>how now</b> (61)
<b>E. term of abuse**</b>	<b>an ass</b> (30)
<b>F. vocative expressions</b>	<b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name}) (759); <b>your Grace</b> (61)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory. \*\*There are no FSs in the groups “A2. apology”, “A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines”, and “E. term of abuse” occurring more than 60 times. For demonstration, several FSs in the groups are randomly selected as examples.

## **A. politeness routines/social maintenance**

### **A1. gratitude**

The most common way of expressing gratitude in EModE dialogues seems to be the FS, “{I/we} (humbly/etc.) **thank you** (for {NP})”. The fixed part, *thank you*, hints at the meaning/function of the sequences, while the variable parts provide emotional emphasis and information regarding what the gratitude is expressed for (e.g., [1a–d]).

- [1] {I/we} (humbly/etc.) **thank you** (for {NP}) (105)
- I thank you** sir hartily. (*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. E1R)
  - Fare ye well Syrs: **We doe thanke you for your good company**. (*Familiar Dialogues*, D1HEBELL, p. E3V)
  - I humbly thanke you for what favour I have already received**. (*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 49)
  - Gentlemen, I wish you well home every one to his own house, I pray God to keep you in good health.  
**We thank you, Landlord**. (*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 226)



It is also possible to use the noun, *thanks*, to express gratitude. The only sequence containing this word in the corpus is “{[[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})}/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., hearty, humble, many, etc.}} **thanks for** {NP: reason for thanks}”. The fixed part, *thanks for*, precedes a noun phrase providing information regarding for what reason the speaker was grateful. It also commonly collocates with verbs such as *give* and *return* on its left side as in [2a–c]. There are also cases where the fixed part is not preceded by any lexical elements, as in [2d].

- [2] {[[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})}/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., hearty, humble, many, etc.}} **thanks for** {NP: reason for thanks} (23)
- a. Not to day, Sir, **I give you thanks for your civility.**  
(*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 227)
  - b. Here she made a small stop, expecting that Schiarra should return some answer, but into such an extasie had his joy transported him, that **he was not so sensible of his happiness as to return a due thanks for it**, [...] (*The English Lovers*, D3FDAUNC, p. 1.2.40)
  - c. **Sir I bring you thanks for this great curtesie**, And if you please to enter I dare presume, My mistrisse will affoord you gracious welcome, (*Ram-Alley*, D2CBARRE, p. B2R)
  - d. **thanks for your Princely favour**, and gracing me thus, which am not any way to doe your Majesty service, [...] (*Marianvs*, D3FMARIA, p. 28)

## A2. apology

EModE speakers resorted to FSs containing the word, *sorry*, to apologise in face-to-face conversation. Only three types of FSs are found in the corpus and they all have low frequencies of occurrence. One of them, “**I am sorry** {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}”, is multi-functional. Its fixed part, *I am sorry*, can be followed by various types of compliments. Most commonly, it can be a *to*-infinitive (e.g., [3a]), a *that*-CLAUSE (e.g., [3b–c]), or a prepositional phrase led by *for* (e.g., [3d–e]). Regardless of the form, its realisations in [3b–d] perform the function of apologising, while the realisations in [3a] and [3e] serve a more general politeness function, specifically showing regrets or sympathy.

- [3] **I am sorry** {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}} (32)
- a. **I am sorry to hear it**, I did rather expect, **that you should have acknowledged it**; Here are two able witnesses that can testifie it against you, your denying your own hand, which is so manifestly proved, will be a great discredit to what you say; you acknowledged it at two severall times.  
(*Connor Ford Macguire*, D3TMACGU, p. 26)

- b. **I am sorie that I make you tarie so longe.**  
(*Schoolemaister*, D1HFDESA, p. 86)
- c. **I am sorry I can give no better account of my Journey to you;** therefore pray, if you have any thing more to say, let me know it before I go. (*Papists*, D3WBROOK, p. 10)
- d. Give me thy hand **I am sorry for it**, I cry thee mercy I tooke my markes amisse: Ile give thee thy due for that efaith I thinke thou wert ever shamelesse, have I hit the Naile on the head now Smith, are you pleased: [...] (*Vpright*, D3HOTJ, p. B2V)
- e. Mr. Phillips came in when the Bottle was almost ended. But by and by some Friends came in, and they asked him, What News, Sir? Said he, I hear of no News but a cruel Assassination upon Mr. Arnold, but for my part **I am sorry for it**: But, said he, if any thing should be upon Mr. Arnold, it is a very strange thing.  
(*Trial of John Girles*, D4TGILES , p. 32)

#### A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines

The majority of FSs in the subcategory do not have a specific functional focus. They are also not compositional, comparing their semantics with pragmatics. For example, there are many types of FSs in the corpus of EModE dialogues that can be used to greet each other in informal and/or formal situations. The fixed part of the sequence “((God) give you) (a) **good morrow**” can either stand alone in the form of a minor sentence as in [3a] or as the indirect object after the sequence *God give you* as in [3b]. Regarding its usage, the sequence can be used to greet when people meet in the morning, either in formal situations as in [3a] or among people who are more closely related as in [3b].

- [3] ((God) give you) (a) **good morrow** (54)
- a. Ber. **Good morrow my host, good morrow good Monsieur Rowle.**  
Ro. **Good morrow to you sir,**  
(*Humerous Dayes Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. E1R)
  - b. Haue you saluted your Father and your Mother? haue you forgotten that?  
Where is he?  
He is in the shoppe.  
**God geeue you good morow my father, and all your companie:**  
father geeue mee your blessing if it please you.  
(*Schoolemaister*, D1HFDESA, p. 66)

Another example of FSs used as greetings is “**How do you (do)?**” in [4]. It does not specify a particular time of the day when it can be used, unlike the one in [3] above. However, it is used more often in respectful situations or among people with higher social ranks (e.g., [4a–b]). In addition, it can be used together

with other FSs of greetings; for example, in the realisation [4b], the sequence is used in combination with *Good morow*, a realisation of the sequence [3] above.

- [4] **How do you** (do)? (20)
- a. T Sir, **how doe you doe this morning?**  
H Sir, ready to doe you any seruice.  
(*The French Tongve*, D2HFWODR, p. 188)
  - b. Good morow Dame, **how do you to day?** God a mercie  
(*Iack of Newberie*, D2FDELON, p. B2V)

In formal situations, EModE speakers from the upper class seemed to lower their social status in order to greet each other in a polite and respectful manner. For example, they might say “**your servant**” as a minor sentence in a scenario such as [5a] where some of the speakers might be new to the group. However, when *your servant* is used in a major sentence (e.g., [5b]), it is highly likely to maintain its literal meaning and not be used formulaically.

- [5] **your servant** (19)
- a. Enter M. William, Rash, Plush, and Gregory.  
[...]  
O. Gent. Master Rash.  
Rash. **Your servant**, good deed law, Gentlewoman.  
L. Mal. Master Plush.  
Plush. My name is Plush; Master my Title, and Sir, a Title, that may be.  
(*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. C1R)
  - b. \*and **when will you goe vnto your seruaunt** fayre Lady? When he is sicke and I am whole (*Sundrie Flowres*, D1FGASCO, p. 277)

Some FSs show courtesy and maintain interpersonal relationships regardless of situations and/or the speakers’ social status. For example, realisations of the sequence “**God be with** {[you]}” in [6a–c] appear among speakers whose relationships vary from formal and respectful to closer and more affectionate.

- [6] **God be with** {[you]} (21),
- a. **God b’w’yee Sir**, if I can serve you any way, I shall be very ready.  
Sir, you oblige mee very much.  
I am your humble servant.  
(*True Advancement*, D3HFMAUG, p. 233)
  - b. Then Master thanke that good deed, for this good turne, and so **God be with you all**. (*The Old Wiues Tale*, D1CPPEELE, p. F3R)
  - c. Farewell sweet Barbara, for the kindnesse thou hast showne me at this time, for all thy former kindnesse, and these sweet kisses, I rest by thee to be commanded, whensoever, wheresouer, and in whatsoever thou pleasest, and so sweet Barbara for a while **God be with thee**. (*Deuill of Edmonton*, D2FBREWE, p. D1V)

Sometimes, an FS of this kind might be used ironically. For example, in [7a] the sequence “{[be]} **glad to see** {NP: mostly somebody}” occurs in a conversation between friends, possibly when toasting. In [7b] the speaker used the sequence as a general courtesy routine before expressing gratitude with another FS. Moreover, [7c] is a special case where the speaker expressed a third person’s intention to maintain the social relationship with the listener. However, in [7d] the sequence is used to express the speaker’s wish or desire to *see that Gentleman Sir Thomas Dolman in the Court*, who had some evidence against the speaker. Since having to defend oneself in court means that the person is facing legal problems, which is not normally something to be glad about, the realisation of the sequence in [7d] might be interpreted as being ironic and/or being willing to face any accusations. Therefore, it is more fitting to see the example in [7d] as a realisation of a more abstract FS “{[be]} **glad to** {V-inf}”, which is found in the corpus of EModE dialogues and tagged with the labels “B1. desire/willingness” and “B13. feeling” (“I. Stance Expressions”).

- [7] { [be] } **glad to see** {NP: mostly somebody} (22)
- a. What Goodcoll my old friend, my companion and familiar acquaintance, wel met, **I am glad to see thee in health**: ho Tapster fill vs a dosen of beere, for weele be mery yfaith:  
(*Knight*, D1FSHARP, p. A4V)
  - b. **I am glad to see your Worships well**: I thanke you for my Venison Master Shallow. (*Merry Wiues*, D2CSHAKE, p. 39C2)
  - c. I must go and see him. He spoke to me of you. **He will be glad to see you**. He esteems you very much. He saith you are very generous.  
(*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 236)
  - d. **\*I am mighty glad to see that Gentleman Sir Thomas Dolman in the Court**, for I think he was upon my Examination before the Councel, and this man that gives now in Evidence against me, there told the King, he never saw me before; and he is extreamly well acquainted with me now, and hath a World of Intimacy.  
(*Edward Coleman*, D3TCOLEM, p. 30)

Moreover, some FSs connoting politeness and social maintenance routines also have a place in other primary categories. For example, the FS in [8] is a polite offering (e.g., [8a]) and often occurs as a polite request (e.g., [8b–d]).

- [8] {if/may} **it please** {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}” (53)
- a. Ca. Iaques, I prethee fill me a cup of canary, three parts water  
Le. You shall haue all water and **if it please you**.  
(*Humerous Dayes Myrth*, D1CCHAPM, p. E2R)

- b. My intent was not to repine at my owne easie charges, especially to performe so necessarie a dutie. **If it please you to forget my foolish speches and scattering questions, beginning where the matter brake off, you shall fauour me**; in that I haue a speciall desire to heare at the full, you hauing so notablie entred into the declaration thereof. (*Questions*, D1HOOB, p. C3V)
- c. L. of Som. For the Declaration which I lately sent to the King, and particularly the Word (Mercy), which is now so much urg'd against me, it was the Lieutenant's; [...] And for the Words, (That I did consent to and endeavour the Imprisonment of Sir Thomas Overbury) it is true, for the Reason there alledg'd.  
Mr. Attorney. **May it please your Grace, my Lord here hath had a most gracious Hearing, and hath behav'd himself modestly and wittily.**  
L. High-Steward. If you have any more to say, my Lord, you shall be heard at length; we will not straiten you in Time.  
L. of Som. For Loubell, I never saw him but twice: [...] (*Trial of Robert Carr*, D2TCARR, p. 347C2)
- d. and **maie it please this honourable Court to heare us speake the truth**, we will shew you what was donne, and, free us of the contempt of authority, wee did nothing but what you will allow us to doe. (*High Commission*, D2THIGHC, p. 284)

Likewise, the FS “{I} **am afraid** {(that-CLAUSE)}/to {V-inf}” in [9] is often used to introduce a topic, an event, or a situation unpleasant to the listener or someone else in a conventional and socially acceptable way, i.e., by expressing a kind of apologetic or regretful feeling. For example, its realisation in [9a] emphasises the speaker’s reluctant and regretful feeling towards something distasteful to him. The speaker in [9b] stated an unpleasant fact about being unable to finish all the work in the foreseeable future. The speaker in [9c] regretfully stated that he could neither take an oath nor accept an accusation. Therefore, the FS [9] serves three primary functions: “I. Stance Expressions” (“B13. feeling”), “II. Discourse Organisers” (“A. topic introduction/focus”), and “IV. Special Communicational Functions” (“A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines”).

[9] {I} **am afraid** {(that-CLAUSE)}/to {V-inf} (14)

- a. Th’art a pertish thing: And -- **I’m afraid**, have beene distastfull to him: I’m halfe afraid on’t Girle: -- we must be wise; [...] (*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. D3V)
- b. King. Now Honesty, hast thou done, is here all?  
Honesty. O no, my Lord, for there are so many behind, That **I am affraide my worke will neuer haue an end**: But I see by the Priests lookes, he lackes company, Stay a while, my Lord, Ile fetch another presently. (*To Knowe Knaue*, D1CKNAVE, p. G3R)

- c. KING'S ADVOCATE. "I doe accuse you, take your oath and you shall knowe your accusation."  
 S. JONES. "I am afraid to take God's name in vaine, I knowe noe other worship then God hath appointed."  
 (*High Commission*, D2THIGHC, p. 292)

## B. simple inquiry

As presented in Table 6.6.1, it seems to be more common for EModE speakers to obtain information via FSs than to achieve other communicational purposes, not only because there are more types of FSs in the subcategory "B. simple inquiry" but also because individual sequences in the subcategory occur more frequently in the corpus than others. Moreover, Table 6.6.1 shows that frequent FSs of simple inquiries are all in the form of *wh*-questions, so are the majority of less frequent ones.

Regarding function, EModE speakers asked for various kinds of information via FSs, for example, location (e.g., "**Where** {[be]} {NP}?"), method (e.g., "**how to** {V-inf}"), quantity (e.g., "**how many** {COMP}?"), and so on. Some of these sequences are multi-functional. For example, the sequence "**What say you** (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?" asks about someone's opinion towards something (e.g., [10a-c]), so it features also in the subcategory "B. topic elaboration/clarification" ("II. Discourse Organisers"). The sequence "({wh-WORD}) **would you** {COMP}?" asks about someone's wish or desire (e.g., [11a-c]), so it is tagged with the function label "B1. desire/willingness" ("I. Stance Expressions").

- [10] **What say you** (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})? (75)
- a. Q. **What say yow for mariage:** did not yow marie one Boman and his wife/in the Fleet?  
 A. No/neither is mariage a part of the ministers office.  
 (*Examinations*, D1MBARRO, p. C2R)
- b. Att. Gen. **VWhat say you of Mr. Watson?**  
 Iaquel. I think he was there.  
 (*Trial of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 41)
- c. Capt. [...] for the defence of the subject matter of it, **what say you to the twitting the King with his Coronation Oath?** that delinquents may be brought to punishment, and then the Parliament was to sit as long as they pleased.  
 Tom. I believe it an unjust charge, as to the main; for though possibly some might be so indiscreet as to name that Oath, not with that due respects to his Majesty, [...]  
 (*Piper and Captain*, D4HOEP, p. 7)

[11] ({wh-WORD}) **would you** {COMP}? (61)

- a. Foot, **what would you haue me do**, my land is gon, My credit of lesse trust then Courtiers words, To men of iudgment, and for my debts I might deserue a Knight-hood; what's to be done?  
(*Ram-Alley*, D2CBARRE, p. A3R)
- b. **How would you weigh them?** (*Schoolemaster*, D1HFDESA, p. 108)
- c. Go to then, what if you could make him of a wine-bibber, a sober person; [...] of a prophane creature, a religious and zealous Christian, **would you not do it?** (*Looking Glasse*, D2HOSNAW, p. E2R)

### C. reporting clauses

Only eight FSs as reporting clauses were found in EModE dialogues. Half of them are associated with the “A. topic introduction/focus” function (“II. Discourse Organisers”) because the reported speech might contain new topics. For example, only found in witness testimonies, the sequence “**further says** {that-CLAUSE}” reports what a person says and indicates that it is a new piece of information (e.g., [12a–b]). Moreover, the sequence “(as) **I conceive** {COMP}” reports what the speaker wanted to say and draws the listener’s attention to it (e.g., [13a–c]). The sequence could also express that the speaker’s certainty about a reported statement (e.g., [13c–d]), via the verb *conceive* (*conceive*, v. I. in the *OED Online*). Therefore, it is also tagged as “A1. certain/known” (“I. Stance Expressions”).

[12] **further says** {that-CLAUSE} (109)

- a. This deponent saies, that the banes were askid betwene the said Thomas and Eleine twice or thrise, [...]; **and further saies, that Thomas Snelson, havinge gotten Eleine with Child, desired this deponent to take her into his house for a fortnight**, [...]  
(*Bishop’s Court*, D1WCHEST, p. 59)
- b. **And this Informant further saith, That comming into his own Yard that night, he espied a black thing, proportioned like a Cat**, onely it was thrise as big, sitting on a strawberry-bed, and fixing the eyes on this Informant; [...] (*County of Essex*, D3WESSEX, p. 3)

[13] (as) **I conceive** {COMP} (25)

- a. **I conceive it was carried on by Mr. Drake, that is now absent**; and in Scotland, by one Baily. (*Triall of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 33)
- b. I cannot tell that, I say, **as I conceive**, that Master Ienkyns, and Master Case were there, but positively I cannot say it, [...].  
(*Trial of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 40)
- c. Yes, if I may be allowed that which **I conceive to be my birth right and priviledge**, to consult with counsell, [...]  
(*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 28)
- d. I believe they were, **I conceive so**, I profess I cannot remember, I believe Mr. Jenkyns was there. (*Trial of Mr Love*, D3TLOVE, p. 42)

#### D. exclamation, E. terms of abuse, and F. vocative expressions

The most common exclamative FS in the corpus EModE dialogues is “**What** {[a]} {NP} {COMP}”. It expresses the surprising nature of an entity or entities (*what*, pron., adv., int., adj.1, conj., and n. III. 7. in the *OED Online*), as exemplified in [14a–c] below.

- [14] **What** {[a]} {NP} {COMP} (111)
- God for thy passion **what a beast am I**, To scar the bird that to the net would flie. (*How a Man May Chuse*, D2CHEYWO, p. D4V)
  - What a dreadful thing 'twould be To be hurry'd back to Hampshire!** (*The Man of Mode*, D3CETHER, p. 34)
  - What an inhumane Villain's this!**  
(*A Mad Couple*, D3CBROME, p. E2R)

There is only one FS used as a term of abuse, “**an ass**”. It is arguable whether it should be classified as an FS at all because it is a simple noun phrase that could occur in various syntactic contexts. However, it is often used as an insult in EModE dialogues. Therefore, I accept the sequence as being formulaic in the present study (e.g., [15a–c]).

- [15] **an ass** (30)
- Bea. Shall I be taught how to aduance my torch,  
W. S. Whats the matter Leiftenant.  
Gen. **Your Lieftenants an asse.**  
Bea. **How an asse;** die men like dogs.  
W. S. hold gentlemen.  
Bea. **An asse, an asse.**  
(*Ram-Alley*, D2CBARRE, p. E1R)
  - Fail. How Madam!  
Isa. **Art thou such an Ass as not to perceive thou art abused:** this beating I contriv'd for you: you know upon what account; [...]  
(*The Wild Gallant*, D3CDRYDE, p. 24)
  - thou makest much babling in the Pulpit, and all thy wit is not worth a straw: for **I have an Asse that is far wiser than thou art**, and thou makest here much ado of Heaven and Hell, [...]  
(*Sack-full of News*, D3FNEWES, p. A2R)

The last types of FSs found in EModE dialogues are vocatives. They are mostly multi-functional since they are referrees of persons (“III. Referential Expressions”) and many express either an affectionate or respectful attitude towards the addressee such as “**my dear** {NP: somebody}”, “**my Lord** ({NP: family name})”, and “**your Grace**”. Therefore, they are also tagged as “B5. affection” or “B6. respect” (“I. Stance Expressions”).



## 6.6.2. Letters

Descriptive data presented at the beginning of Section 6.2 indicates that EModE letters employ more FSs serving special communicational functions than those serving as discourse organisers. They are also more frequent on average than their counterparts in EModE dialogues.

### A. politeness routines/social maintenance

In EModE letters, the primary category, “IV. Special Communicational Functions”, is dominated by FSs used as politeness routines or to maintain social relationships among communication participants. Table 6.6.2a lists FSs that occur more frequently than average ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times).

**Table 6.6.2a: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “A. politeness routines/social maintenance” \***

Function label	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>A1. gratitude</b>	{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you</b> (for {NP}) (289); ({[give]/[return]/etc.} {NP: person})/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., hearty, humble, many, etc.} <b>thanks for</b> {NP: reason for thanks} (228); {I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you for</b> {NP} (198); <b>I thank you</b> (for {NP: something}) (154)
<b>A2. apology</b>	<u>{I} <b>am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}</u> (160); <u><b>I am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}</u> (151)
<b>A3. salutation</b>	<b>To my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody} (588); <b>Your most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, faithful, humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.} (541); <b>I rest</b> (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend}) (387); {I/we} (ever) <b>rest your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, ever loving, ladyship’s, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, uncle, son, servant, husband, etc.} (363); {POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) <b>service to</b> {NP: somebody} (325); <b>To the right</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.} (306); <b>I rest your</b> {MODIFIER: affectionate, assured, dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend}) (242); <b>your loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, father, friend, etc.} (234); {your {NP: somebody}}/{yours} <b>to command</b> (213); {I} <b>commend</b> {me/myself/my {NP: love, duty, service, etc.}} {to/unto} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, my lady, etc.} (197); <b>your assured</b> (loving) {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.} (195); <b>Your very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, loving, etc.} {NP: brother, friend, etc.} (191); <b>To the right honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.} (187); <b>Your most affectionate</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.} (186); (after/with) (my/our) (very/most/right) <b>hearty commendations</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody}) (161); {I} <b>commit you</b> ({unto/to} {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}) (160); <b>I commit</b> {NP: somebody, e.g. you, thee, your lordship, you and yours, etc.} {to/unto} {God/{NP: e.g. God’s protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.} (146); {I} <b>commit you to</b> {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of

	the Almighty/etc.} (131); {I} <b>remain your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, ladyship's, most dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, son, servant, etc.} (130); <b>To my very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, good, loving, worthy, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, son, etc.} (124); {I} <b>commend me to</b> {NP: somebody} (118);
<b>A4. farewell</b>	<b>I</b> (humbly/most humbly/will/etc.) <b>take my leave</b> (212);
<b>A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines</b>	{I} {pray/beseech} {NP: e.g., God Almighty, God, the Lord of heaven} <b>bless you</b> (185); <b>God bless</b> {NP: somebody} (144); {[be]} <b>glad to hear</b> {that-CLAUSE} (123); {I} <b>wish you</b> {COMP} (119); {I} <b>am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}} (160); <u><b>I am sorry</b></u> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}} (151) <u>{if/may} <b>it please</b></u> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}} (150); {let me/I (do/earnestly/must/etc.)} <b>entreat you</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}} (121)

(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory

### A1. gratitude

As presented in Table 6.6.2a, gratitude is exclusively expressed by FSs containing the verb *thank* and the plural noun *thanks*. These sequences are mostly highly flexible. For example, in the fixed part of the FS [1] below, the verb phrase *thank you* is often modified by various adverbs such as *humbly* and *heartily* (e.g., [1a]). This realisation is also followed by a clause explaining the reason behind the gratitude. Gratitude can also be expressed towards something via a prepositional phrase led by *for* (e.g., [1b]).

[1] {I/we} (humbly/etc.) **thank you** (for {NP}) (289)

- a. Good Captaine Stockwell. **I hartelie thanke you** that though Beale hath failed both me and vou in payment of the monie he borrowed of my Lady, yet you have not failed me. (STOCKWE,I,64.041.780)
- b. **I thank you much for my porposs pye.** (ARUNDEL,59.010.119)

The FS [2] is more flexible regarding the lexical items in its variable parts. Its fixed part contains the noun *thanks* which can be the indirect object of a ditransitive verb, such as *give* and *return* in [2a–b], or a direct object as in [2c]. Alternatively, *thanks* can be part of a prepositional phrase led by *with* (e.g., [2d]). In any of the cases, the noun *thanks* can be modified by adjectives such as *heartly*, *humble*, *many*, etc. In addition, the reason behind the writer's gratitude is conveyed by the prepositional phrase led by *for* (e.g., [2b–c]).

[2] {[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., heartly, humble, many, etc.} **thanks for** {NP: reason for thanks} (228)

- a. May it please your Excellence, It might perhaps seem fit for me to seek out words to **giue your Excellence thanks** for my selfe. (MARVELL,304.001.2)

- b. Dear Madam, As full of just sorrow as my hart can bear, **I retorne you affectionat thanks for your kind sending.**  
(CORNWAL,65.045.582)
- c. And in myne oppinion **Maister Bacon deservethe greate thanckes for his advartizement**, the which I wyll declare unto my Lordes of the Councell [...] (BACON,I,205.149.2702)
- d. [...] but in the meane time to intreate that you will please to stand my freind to his Ma=tie=, in case you can have any fit opportunitie so farr to represent my condition unto him **w=th= my most bounden thanks for this great favour**, as to desire that, though many of my predecessors in this office have had the dignitie of knighthood conferr'd upon them, his Ma=tie= will excuse me therein;  
(HATTON,I,149.047.1163)

## A2. apology

In EModE letters, FSs conveying apologies are mostly marked by fixed parts that contain the adjective *sorry* or the verb *excuse*. Take the FS [3] for example, the fixed part *sorry that* precedes a subordinate clause, which communicates what the writer was apologising for. The fixed part of the FS [4] is often used in company with clauses conveying request or desire; for instance, *you must* in [4a], *I beseech you* in [4c], and *I pray* in [4d]. In other cases, the fixed part *excuse me* itself is used in imperative clauses (e.g., [4b, e]). When there is a need to indicate the reason behind the apology, the sequence is often followed by a prepositional phrase led by *for* (e.g., [4a–b]) or a clause (e.g., [4e]). Sometimes, when the apology is made to a third person other than the recipient of the letter, a prepositional phrase led by *to* is attached (e.g., [4c]).

[3]    {[be]} **sorry that** {CLAUSE} (75)

- a. My deare, **I am sorry that my first letter from Southold, w=ch= went by land, advized the of our 2 days stay, whereas we have bine heere 4 days, and shall stay 3 or 4 longer.**  
(HADDOCK,15.009.258)
- b. and said **he was sorry that he had bene so long of our religion**,  
(VERSTEG,204.015.609)
- c. **I am hartily sorry that my mother should take any offence**,  
(OXINDE,I,258.151.2480)

[4]    {pray/hope/etc.} **excuse me** (to {NP: somebody}) {for {NP: something not good}/{that-CLAUSE}} (62)

- a. **You must excuse me for using this language**,  
(CORNWAL,253.155.2197)
- b. **Excuse me to m=r= Lambert for not writing**  
(STOCKWE,I,71.046.922)
- c. **I beseech you excuse me to my wife** by your letter,  
(BARRING,214.153.2631)

- d. If through any occasion [...] there be default, **I pray excuse me** (OXINDE,I,204.127.1870)
- e. and **excuse me**, that I may in helth do the Church and you service long. (COSIN,I,84.023.876)

Moreover, FSs of apologies are used extendedly or more generally to express politeness or to maintain the relationship among interlocutors. In EModE letters, this occurs commonly with FSs containing the adjective *sorry*, which is polysemous, expressing meanings such as being apologetic, regretful, grieved, waxed, feeling remorse, having sympathy or pity, etc. (*sorry*, adj. (and int.), and n.1, A. adj. (and int.) 2., 3., and 5. in the *OED Online*). The adjective *sorry* in any of the senses occurs in the same syntactic context, i.e., it is used in the predicate and collocates with almost the same constituents, such as prepositional phrases led by *for*, clauses, infinitives, etc. Therefore, FSs like the two presented in Table 6.6.2a are often polysemous as well. For example, realisations of the sequence “{I} **am sorry** {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}” in [5a–c] express how grieved, vexed, or regretful about something. The sequence can also be used to apologise, such as its realisations in [5d–f]. In addition, the second half of [5b], *soryer for wantinge his company*, could be apologetic as well; because by reading through the letter, the context implies that the writer had invited a guest (i.e., *he*) for a visit, there was a possibility for going to *the Cambridge Play on Tuesday* together, but the guest could not arrive on the day expected, so the writer was regretful for the guest missing the play and sorry for suggesting a schedule that was inconvenient for him. Lastly, the realisation in [5g] expresses pity or sympathy towards something unwelcome or an unpleasant situation.

- [5] {I} **am sorry** {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP} (160)
  - a. **I am sorry to heer my horss is so vnfortunate,**  
(KNYVETT,106.025.803)
  - b. He writes unto me wee shall not see him before Thursday at Theobaldes, (ARUNDEL,97.020.262)  
**I am sory he will miss the Cambridge Play on Tuesday,** at Royston, but **soryer for wantinge his company.**  
(ARUNDEL,97.020.263)
  - c. There is not any newes in these parts that I heare of.  
(OXINDE,I,33.016.187)  
**I am sorrye for our overthrow at Isle of Reyes,**  
(OXINDE,I,33.016.188)  
that is all the talk now here and of the desperate disease of our Commonwealth at home. (OXINDE,I,33.016.189)

- d. **I am sorry to trouble you with the discomfortable dealings of our treasurer here;** (LEYCEST,264.064.2141)
- e. **I am sorie I cannot come w=th= such hast** to you as with I desire, and you request. (STOCKWE,I,25.010.167)
- f. I here say that my brother Cocke reteaned some counsell with owt your consent. Whereof **I am sorye**, (BENTHAM,173.006.40)
- g. Sweet Hart, I receiued yo=e= letter by Murdock, by w=ch= I vnderstand the troublesome proceedinge of o=e= business, **for w=ch= I am sorry**, but especially; **for the tediousness that you ar affected w=th= by reason of the trouble in yt & you longe stay by yt;** (CORNWAL,104.069.917)

However, the semantics of the variable part might restrict the use of the sequence in some cases. For example, when the fixed part of the sequence [5], *I am sorry*, is followed by a particular infinitive *to hear*, the sequence loses its apologetic sense but mainly expresses sympathy towards what is heard. This collocation is identified as an FS in the present study, as in [6]. As exemplified in [6a], the verb *hear* can be part of a phrasal verb *hear of*, and its object is often something unpleasant, like bad news. The fixed part *sorry to hear* can also take a subordinate clause which describes an unpleasant event with greater details; for instance, the realisation in [6b]. Both variant forms of the FSs are used specifically to express being grieved, vexed, or regretful. The example [5a] above is also a case of such use. In addition, the sequence might be only used as a cliché to say in response to someone's misfortune, the writer may or may not be actually feeling the way as the sequence literally expresses. In other words, textual and social context still play an important role in the interpretation of the FS [6], although it is more semantically and pragmatically restricted than [5].

[6]     {[be]} **sorry to hear** {of {NP: something bad}/{that-CLAUSE}}  
 (53)

- a. **I was sory to heere of tom harstons beinge ill,**  
 (PASTONK,77.047.849)
- b. My deer Hart, **I am infinitely sorye to heer that you have been so ill of y=r= olde trouble.** (KNYVETT,68.009.220)
- c. **I am only sorry to hear no better newse of my country;**  
 (TIXALL,56.021.394)

### A3. salutation

More than half of the FSs in the subcategory “A. politeness routines/social maintenance” are found as expressions of salutation in EModE letters. One possible reason is that the format of letter-writing requires expressions of salutation in the opening and/or closing part of a letter.

FSs of this use may have various forms. The first possible form pattern is the *to* + MODIFIER + NP (somebody) construction. They state who the recipient is, such as the sequence “**To my** {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody}” and “**To the right** {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}”. Corpus data reveals that the sequence can occur at the end (e.g., [7a, c] and [8a–b]) or the beginning of a letter (e.g., [7b] and [8c]), which seem to be different from the contemporary convention of letter-writing in English. However, the positional variation may also be an editorial problem when manuscripts were digitised. In the Early Modern period when envelopes were not yet in use, letters were normally folded “to form an oblong packet” and “sealed with wax and floss” (Daybell 2012, 48–49) to keep the content confidential, hence information regarding recipients was normally written “onto the unfolded side before sealing” (6), including the recipient’s name and address, and postal directions. There is also physical evidence showing it is a common practice to write the FS at the end of a letter, for instance, two printed copies of original manuscript letters in Gordon (2016, 97) and Burlinson (2016, 160).

[7] **To my** {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody} (588)

- a. **To my assured good friend Master Dudley Carleton** attendaunt on the Lord Ambassador for her Majestie at Paris. (CHAMBER,I,32.001.54)
- b. **To my beloued sonne William Paston** these whersoever he be: deliver Norwich (PASTONK,92.069.1367)
- c. **To my sonne Nathaniell Bacon.** (BACON,I,216.156.2825)

[8] **To the right** {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.} (306)

- a. **To the right worpf Sr Hamon Le Strange Baronett, my honord friend, these present** (BROWNE,289.052.1031)
- b. **To the Right wo. M=r= P Stonere Maio=r= of the t of Sowthampton d [...]** (CLERK,172.006.73)
- c. **To the Right Honorable and my singler good Lorde the Lorde High Tresorer of England etc.** (HART,77.002.21)

Realisations of the FSs [7] and [8] also vary greatly according to the relationship between the writer and the recipient. According to Daybell (2012), EModE letters can be addressed by “short perfunctory instructions to personal messengers” or by “more elaborate, honorific superscriptions” (146). Corpus

data provides further evidence of this trend. Realisations in [7a–c] indicate that the recipients were the writers’ friends or sons, hence a very intimate relationship. The use of the first-person possessive pronoun *my* as well as modifiers like *assured good* and *beloved* further indicates that the relationship is quite close and friendly. Correspondingly, their forms are getting shorter and simpler from [7a] to [7c]. To the other extreme, the FS [8] occurs mostly in formal letters, letters exchanged among people of higher social ranks or letters written to someone who is socially superior to the writer. As exemplified in the FS itself and examples of realisations in [8a–c], the recipient can be, for instance, a friend, the writer’s aunt, *Maio=r= of the t of Sowthampton*, the *Lorde High Tresorer of England*, or the God, and these people are often addressed by their full title and name. The modifiers are often honorific adjectives conventionally collated with *the right*, for example *honourable*, *worshipful*, *reverend*, etc. Therefore, compared with [7a–c], [8a–c] are longer and more complex in form and more elaborate and honorific in meaning. In addition, there are more instances of [8] at the end of EModE letters (e.g., [8a–b]) than those occurring at the beginning of letters (e.g., [8c]).

The second possible form pattern is the *Your* + MODIFIER +NP (somebody) construction, such as the sequence “**Your most** {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, faithful, humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}” in [9]. Unlike FSs in [7] and [8], this sequence mostly precedes superscriptions of the writer at the end of letters. The sequence can be divided into three parts. The first part is the second person possessive pronoun *your* in the fixed part of the sequence, itself often used in respectful terms of address (see discussion in Section 6.3). The second part contains the superlative forms of adjectives which have the connotations of being respectful, honorific, affectionate, and intimate, for instance *affectionate*, *assured*, *dutiful*, *faithful*, *humble*, *loving*, and so on. These adjectives are sometimes used jointly, for instance in [9b, d]. The third part is a noun phrase, representing how the writer addresses themselves. Depending on the relationship between the writer and the recipient, it can be as direct and explicit as in [9a], or humbler and more respectful as in [9b–d]. Oinonen’s paper (2012) finds that in EModE letters, letter writers tended to lower their social class deliberately to be the recipients’ servants; therefore, forms like realisations in [9b–d] generally express deference.

Interestingly, the expression *your servant* is found to be used as a common way of greeting in EModE dialogues, suggesting that the same FS could have different functions in different text types. The expression is identified as an FS (see Section 6.6.1).

- [9] **Your most** {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, faithful, humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.} (541)
- a. **Your most affectionate friend**, C. R. (HAMILTO,255.004.68)
  - b. I am, My Lord, **Your most faithfull and humble servant**, C. L. (HATTON,I,100.030.712)
  - c. and that this entercourse may continue between us is the hearty desire of **your most affectionat tru freind and servant**, Br: Sarum (DUPPA,183.068.1138)
  - d. I haveing nothing more of Newes to present you with, with all our most humble Dutys: Respects, and Serveces to you **I remaine Your Most faithfull and Obedient Servant** B st Michel for his Majesties Service. (PEPYS,17.004.107)

The third pattern could be seen as a kind of structure extended from the second form pattern above, i.e., the *Your* + NP (somebody) + VP (*to*-INFINITIVE) construction. The infinitives are predictably *to command* and *to serve*, providing an alternative way for the writer to deliberately lower their position in order to be polite and respectful; for example, “{your {NP: somebody}}/{yours} **to command**” in [10] and “{NP: somebody, e.g., your affectionate friend, yours, etc.} **to serve you**” in [11]. Similar forms are also identified in (Oinonen, 2012).

- [10] {your {NP: somebody}}/{yours} **to command** (213)
- a. in hast **i rest Your ever lovinge brother to command** Adam Oxinden (OXINDE,I,190.116.1752)
  - b. **Yours more assured to command** John Heydon. (BACON,III,102.346.5998)
- [11] {NP: somebody, e.g., your affectionate friend, yours, etc.} **to serve you** (101)
- a. Sir, **your affectionate freind to serve you**, T. C. (CORIE,35.013.169)
  - b. Thus **I rest as ever Y=r= L=ps= most affectionat=ly= to serve you** Dudley Carlton. (ARUNDEL,133.022.293)
  - c. And iff there be anything wherein I may serue yo=u= **I euer am Yo=rs= to serue yo=u=**. (FLEMING,15.003.49)

The form pattern can be further extended into the SUBJ + V + *Your* + MODIFIER (optional) + NP (somebody) + VP (*to*-INFINITIVE, optional) construction. For example, the above two FSs are sometimes preceded by *I rest*



(e.g., [10a], [11b]) and *I ever am* (e.g., [11c]). Realisations in [10a] and [11b] are also realisations of the FS, “**rest** (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})” in [12].

- [12] **I rest** (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend}) (387)
- This with my hartie remembrance to your wife and your selfe, with thanks for all your care, **I rest your a sured loving frend** Hester Lambert. (STOCKWE,II,7.052.1038)
  - Thus, wishinge you well in any thinge becomes me, **I rest accordingly, Your lovinge freind to my uttermoste**, P. Wyllughby. (HUTTON,130.040.511)
  - I doe eftsoones entreate your [...] favoure for thys tyme prefxed, at which tyme God wylling I wyll attend you; tyll when, and then, and always, **I rest, &c.** (HUTTON,218.058.852)
  - And now, deare mother, hoping and praying for that happie hower, **I restt, and ever shall, Your most obedient sonne**, F. Cornwallleis. (CORNWAL,231.144.2011)
  - So **I rest, in hast, Your most affectinat Mother**, Brilliana Harley. (HARLEY,53.018.594)

These instances provide more evidence that FSs are constructions since some FSs can be combined with, or embedded in, other FSs. For example, the realisations in [12d–e] are examples of the FS [9] being used to complete the variable part of the sequence in [12]. Similarly, the sequence “{I} **remain your** {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, ladyship’s, most dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, son, servant, etc.}” in [13] could be seen as containing FSs in the form of the *Your* + MODIFIER +NP (somebody) construction. These structural relationship among FSs are discussed in greater detail in Section 8.1, Chapter 8.

- [13] {I} **remain your** {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, ladyship’s, most dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, son, servant, etc.} (130)
- I affectionately remayne Your freind and servant** Tho. Smyth. (SMYTH,128.023.279)
  - I** humbly desire the signification of yo=r= pleasure in this particular, (JONES,298.061.1431)  
and **remayne Yo=r= Lo=pp’s= most humble servant**, John Jones. (JONES,298.061.1432)
  - I remain, Y=r= very assured frend** Arundell and Surrey. (ARUNDEL,428.070.971)

Moreover, the SUBJ + V part of the above construction is realised mostly with *I rest* (e.g., [10a], [11b], [12]), *I (ever) am* (e.g., [11c]), and *I remain* (e.g.,

[13a–c]). More examples of less frequent FSs in a similar structure are “**I am yours**” and “**I am your** {MODIFIER: e.g., (most/very/truly) affectionate, faithful, humble, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, brother, etc.}”.

Another group of FSs for salutations convey explicitly or implicitly a sense of good wishes, greeting, or prayers. In terms of the form, they can be abstracted into the fifth type of form pattern, i.e., the SUBJ (mostly *I*) + V + OBJ (NP: somebody or something positive) + PP (optional) construction. The choice of verbs in this construction is limited, and the most common ones include *commend*, *commit*, *leave*, *remember*, and *present*. The verbs might decide what the prepositional phrase would be. Firstly, the FS [14] is one of the most frequent sequences presented in Table 6.6.2a. Its fixed part, the verb *commend*, precedes a variable part that can be either the singular first-person pronoun in its objective (e.g., [14a]) or reflexive form (e.g., [14b]), or a noun phrase with the singular first-person possessive pronoun (e.g., [14c]). The noun phrase can convey anything the writer would like to offer to the recipient, commonly with a positive tone, for instance, *love*, *duty*, *service*, and so on. Secondly, the verb *commend* can be used to convey greetings or as salutations in the form of “to commend somebody to somebody else” (*commend*, v. 5. in the *OED Online*). Realisations of this use are quite common in the corpus of EModE letters (e.g., [14a–b]). Moreover, the verb *commend* can also be used in the form of “to commend something to somebody” as salutations or greetings, which is widespread in the corpus, as presented in [14c], although the use is not yet recorded in the *OED*. Thirdly, corpus data show that the FS [14] allows the insertion of optional adverbial phrases as in [14a, c], and it can also be used without a subject and as part of a larger clause as in [14b]. Nevertheless, such variations in its realisations would not affect its formulaic status.

[14] {I} **commend** {me/myself/my {NP: love, duty, service, etc.}}  
 {to/unto} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, my lady, etc.} (197)

- a. Sweet Madam, **com~ende me affectionatly to M=r= Bacon**,  
 (CORNWAL,77.051.683)
- b. I praii you let me **commend mii self to Mr Haiset** if he be in  
 Norwich. Also to Mr Moore, whose letter I delivered to Mr Justice  
 Windham. (BACON,III,38.325.5606)
- c. Whatsoever els I maye have of busynes I shall referre it unto our  
 meeting: wherefore at present not willing more to trouble you, **I  
 humbly commend my best love and service unto you**, with my  
 duty unto my Grandmother. (OXINDE,I,59.030.373)

In another example, the FS [15] uses the verb *commit* in the fixed part, which means “to commend or entrust” somebody “to God, a saint, etc.; by means of prayer; to present to God for blessing, protection, etc.” (*commit*, v. I. 2. in the *OED Online*). The semantics of the FS inherits the sense of the verb *commit* in its fixed part. Concordance of the fixed part *commit you* shows that the verb phrase collocates commonly with religious nouns or noun phrases, such as *God*, *the Almighty*, *the Lord*, *the protection of God*, *the tuition of Almighty God*, and other variants or related expressions of these terms (e.g., [15a–c]). The sequence is like a prayer to express the letter writer’s good wishes for the recipient. For the pragmatics of the sequence, it is often used as a salutation in the closing part of a letter, together with other expressions functioning to maintain social relationships, such as *with my many thankes for your honorable intertainementz of my late embassade* in [15a], *w=th= my prayers vnto the Allmightie* in [15b], and *with my most hartly well wyshynge* in [15c]. Therefore, serving as a social relationship maintenance device, the FS [15] is tightly bound to the format of letter writing and a particular part of a letter.

- [15] {I} **commit you** {unto/to} {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.} (160)
- a. And thus, with my many thankes for your honorable intertainementz of my late embassade, **I commit you to God**, who euer preserue you from al iuel counsel, and send you grace to folow the best. (ROYAL1,64.020.357)
  - b. Thus, w=th= my prayers vnto the Allmightie to presarue y=o= and all yo=rs= in these dangerous times from all calamities, **I commit yo vnto His protection**, (CORNWAL,305.192.2759)
  - c. and with my most hartly well wyshynge, **comitt you to the protection of Almighty God**. (WENTWOR,42.008.73)

In addition, among less frequent FSs for salutations not listed in Table 6.6.2a, there are more sequences in the same structure but contain different verbs. For example, “**I leave you** (to {NP: God or something, e.g., God’s protection, etc.})” is similar to the sequence [15] since it is another case of ending a letter with a salutation explicitly expressing prayer and wish. The sequence “(I pray (thee/you)) **remember me** {to {NP: somebody}}” is used as a final greeting or salutation to the recipient or a third person.

The last type of form involves noun phrases in the fixed part. They can be further divided into two groups. One group contains FSs used in combination with or as a part of the FSs [14], [15], and others in a similar structure. For

example, the fixed part of the FS [16] collocates conventionally with verbs, which are the fixed parts of sequences like those in [14] and [15]. As the selected realisations of the FS [16] demonstrate, its fixed part *protection of* can be the object of various verbs, such as *commend* in [16a], *commit* in [16b–c], *recommend* (as a variation of *commend*) in [16d], and *leave* in [16e].

- [16] {VP: e.g., [commend]/[commit] {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} to} {the} **protection of** {NP: phrases referring to God, e.g., Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.} (94)
- a. So with remembrance of my best service to your goode Lady **I commend you and all yours to the protection of the Almighty.** (CHAMBER,I,299.019.796)
  - b. And so w=th= my right hartie comendacons to you all **I comytt you to the blessed proteccon of the Almighty** (STIFFKE,78.001.5)
  - c. and soe in hast, **committing you to the protection of Allmightie God**, I rest Your loving and dutifull sonne Henrie Oxinden (OXINDE,I,152.091.1312)
  - d. So **recommending you unto the protection of God**, I rest, Your most affectinat frinde, Brilliana Harley. (HARLEY,184.053.1522)
  - e. Thus **leaving yow to the protection of owr most blessed saviour** I rest yowrs in all duty and service Your assuredly loving son William Meux (BARRING,88.039.752)

Moreover, realisations of the FS [17] can function as lexical items that complete the variable parts of other salutation sequences or expressions in the form of the SUBJ (mostly *I*) + V + OBJ (NP: somebody or something positive) + PP (optional) construction; for example, the realisations in [17a–c]. Realisations in [17b–c] show that the writer can end a letter by not only making their own salutations to the recipient, but also making salutations on behalf of other people.

- [17] {POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) **service to** {NP: somebody} (325)
- a. I beg you Madame present **my very humble and affectionate service to my Lord.** (CONWAY,199.043.1311)
  - b. My wife tenders **her dewtye and service to you**, desyring your excuse for her not waiteing on you haveing no horses of her owne and being so lately perplext with those hyred, as Tobie knowes. (BARRING,124.079.1403)
  - c. & remember **their affectionat love & service to your lordship.** (PORY,69.001.56)

Therefore, by comparing these realisations and structures of FSs [16] and [17] with those of the FSs [14], [15], and the others mentioned above, one can notice that these FSs have overlapping lexical items regarding either their form

or their semantics, or both. More examples of FSs of this kind among the less frequent ones included, for instance, “**love and service**”, “{POSS. PRON} **duty to you**”, and “{my} **respects to** {NP: somebody}”. They are examples supporting the arguments that FSs in EModE reflect a horizontal network, discussed in detail in Section 8.1, Chapter 8.

The other group of FSs, whose fixed parts are (part of) noun phrases, are (sometimes optionally) preceded by prepositions *after* and *with*. In the corpus of EModE letters I found, for instance, “(after/with) {DET} **commendations to** {NP: somebody}” and “(after/with) **my hearty** {NP: commendations, thanks, prayers, etc.} (to/unto {NP: somebody})”, as presented in Table 6.6.2a. The noun phrases in the fixed parts of these sequences denote mostly greetings (e.g., [18a–e], [19a–b, e]), wishes, thanks (e.g., [19d, g]), prayers (e.g., [19c]), service (e.g., [18b], [19f]), duty, etc. The noun phrases are also frequently modified by adjectives such as *heartly* (e.g., [18a, c], [19a–g]) and *humble* (e.g. [18d]). Sometimes, the FSs like [18] and [19] indicate explicitly the receiver of salutations, i.e., the recipient of letters themselves (e.g., [18a–c, e] and [19b, d–e]) and/or other people (e.g., [18a–b, d–e], [19f]), via prepositional phrases introduced by *to* or *unto*. In most cases, realisations of these FSs occur in the closing part of letters as minor sentences, but occasionally they are embedded in other FSs (e.g., [19f–g]).

- [18] (after/with) {DET} **commendations to** {NP: somebody} (103)
- a. And so in hast, **with my hartiest comendacons to M=rs= Stockwell, yourself, & all your frendes**. I comend you to God. (STOCKWE,I,22.007.119)
  - b. So **with the remembrance of my service to my Lady and commendations to Master Horne** I commit you to God. (CHAMBER,I,596.048.2185)
  - c. **After my hartie comendacions to yo=r= good Lordshippe**, here enclosed I sende you a Lettre of M=r= Asshetones which shuld have bene delyvered some dayes sythens. (ORIGIN2,267.029.397)
  - d. **My humble comendacions to good M=rs=**. Hutton. (HUTTON,91.021.282)
  - e. And so **with commendations to yourself and Mr. Rhoane**, I commend you both to God 's protection. (COSIN,I,2.001.17)

- [19] (after/with) **my hearty** {NP: commendations, thanks, prayers, etc.} (to/unto {NP: somebody}) (99)
- a. **After my harti Comendations**. S=r=. this are to praye you ffor the better preferment of her ma=tis= svis to take ssutche order w=th= the cappetens or w=th= the ouners or ostes [...] (CLERK,195.010.109)

- b. **After my hartie comendacions to yo=r= good Lordshippe**, here enclosed I sende you a Lettre of M=r= Asshetones which shuld have bene delyvered some dayes sythens. (ORIGIN2,267.029.397)
- c. I will conclude as I begane **with my hartie prayers to the almighty** for all true hapines to be mulltiplied to the bothe now and ever (PASTONK,66.031.528)
- d. So w=t= **my hartie thanks to yo=r= good L.** remayning alwayes as I have just cause yo=rs=, do so committ you to Gods keping. (ORIGIN2,267.029.404)
- e. **My hartie commendacions remembred to your good worshippe**, thes may be with thanks for your paynes hitherto, to desyre your further helpe and furtherance in my suets now at London yf you tarrye there this terme tyme [...] (BENTHAM,173.006.39)
- f. **Present my hearty service to Sir John Lowther** (PETTY,23.011.249)
- g. Honoured Sr, Yours of Oct. 27th wth that learned discourse inclosed, came safe to my hands the last weeke, for wch **I returne you my hearty thanks**, being highly satisfied therewith. (BROWNE,305.057.1094)

#### A4. farewell

EModE letter writers often marked the finishing of their letters via FSs that bid farewell; for instance, the FS [20]. Firstly, lexical items in the variable part are mostly adverbs modifying the verb phrase in the fixed part, *take my leave*. The most frequent adverb is *humbly* or its superlative form (e.g., [20b]). The optional variable part can also mark the future tense of the verb phrase (e.g., [20c]). Secondly, in some cases, the sequence is realised as part of a larger discourse unit (e.g., [20b, d]). Thirdly, some realisations of the FS are identified as FSs due to their high frequency and dispersion, such as “**I take my leave**” in [20a] and “**I humbly take my leave**”. Lastly, the sequence [20] is metaphorical, for the letter writer departs from the activity of writing a letter as if departing from a place or a person.

[20] **I** (humbly/most humbly/will/etc.) **take my leave** (212)

- a. and so for thys tyme **I take my leave**, recommending you to gods holly protection, and resting yours in the old manner. (FITZHER,69.010.301)
- b. And so **I most humblie take my leaue** ffrom Mantes the of Januarie 1523 (EDMONDE,134.007.142)
- c. Thus, referring ye for the rest to Mr. Davyson at his coming, **I wyll take my leave**, protestyng my hole care and endeavour his to doe hir majestie acceptable servyce, or elles God not to lett me lyve, yf otherwyse yt shuld be. (LEYCEST,65.018.615)
- d. And thus **I take my leave** of your grace. (PAGET,134.034.773)

Moreover, EModE letter writers also, but less frequently, used semantically more transparent FSs to close a letter; for instance, “**I bid** {thee/you/your {NP: nobility}} (ADJUNCTS: e.g., (most/very) heartily, etc.) {farewell/well to fare/adieu/good night}”, “**I bid you farewell**”, “{I} {heartily} **bid you farewell**”, and “(and so/thus) **fare you (heartily) well**”. Among three variable parts of the FS [21], one is for second-person pronouns and other second-person vocatives as the direct object, for instance, *thee* in [21a], *you* in [21b–e], and *your worship* in [21f]. The second variable part is for adjuncts that are optionally used to provide additional information or to modify the predicate; for instance, *in haste* in [21a] and *heartily* in [21e]. The third one is for expressions of farewell in various situations as the indirect object of the verb *bid*; for instance, *farewell* in [21a–b, f], *good will* in [21a], *well to fare* in [21c], *good night* in [21d], and *adieu* in [21e].

- [21] **I bid** {thee/you/your {NP: nobility}} (ADJUNCTS: e.g., (most/very) heartily, etc.) {farewell/well to fare/adieu/good night} (93)
- a. and so **in hast I bide the farwell good will**; (PASTONK,81.052.996)
  - b. and so **I bid you farewell** from my hous~ at foston this ix of November. (HENSLO,F85.003.36)
  - c. And thus **I bid you well to fare**. (PARKHUR,232.070.1267)
  - d. **I bidd you good night**, (PETTY,59.030.817)
  - e. So being driven to make use of my own Eyes in writing this, **I bid you heartily adieu**, (PEPYS,80.043.574)
  - f. Thus commyttyng my causes to yor good helpe and you to the good gwydyngs of all allmighty God, **I bydd your worshipp fayre well**. (BENTHAM,173.006.51)

#### A5. other general politeness or social maintenance routines

It is clear and explicit that the sequence [22] is used by the letter writer to make good wishes or to express the hope for something good to happen to the recipient on a specific occasion, which is a common social maintenance routine (e.g., [22a–c]). The reason that this sequence is not assigned with a functional label, particularly as wishes, is because, beyond the literal function as a wish, its main or more central function in the context of EModE letters could be as a conventional routine to end a letter (e.g., [22c]).

- [22] {I} **wish you** {COMP} (119)
- a. and having opportunities to see and heare what the temper of the world is towards you, **I cannot but wish you well in Port, or rather upon the firm Land, and to have very little or nothing at all left to the mercy and good will of others**. (PETTY,35.020.456)

- b. but **wish you a prosperous voyage** (ESSEX,146.044.1055)
- c. Soe w=th= my harty thanks for your kind letter, **I wish you a healthful & safe journey to your own home,** (FLEMING,70.015.257)

Compared with [22], the positions where the FS [23] occurs are more flexible; for instance, at the end of a letter (e.g., [23a, d–e]), at the beginning of a letter (e.g., [23b]), and in the middle (e.g., [23c]). It is noteworthy that when the sequence is used at the end of letters, it is part of the letter-ending format (e.g., [23a, d–e]). In some cases, the sequence can be realised to express gratefulness (e.g., [23c]).

- [23] {I} {pray/beseech} {NP: e.g. God Almighty, God, the Lord of heaven} **bleſs you** (185)
- a. **I pray God bleſs you.** (PETTY,17.007.159)
  - b. **I beſich god of his marcy bleſs you;** (BROWNE,20.004.63)
  - c. [...] and by this ambassade make you know how grateful ſuche newes wer to me, **beſichen God to bleſs you** withe ſuche benedictions as he beſtoith with largiſt giſtes, and make your contentementz long and prosperous. (ROYAL1,60.019.334)
  - d. **God of heaven bleſs you and Florence and all yours,** (SMYTH,124.021.256)
  - e. So **God bleſs you,** (ORIGIN3,322.041.485)

Moreover, the FS [24] is an example that some semantically transparent FSs are used to perform functions different or extended from their meanings. In terms of form, its fixed part, *glad to hear*, precedes a subordinate clause. The clause conveys a piece of information or news about somebody that is considered delightful, as exemplified in [24a–d]. Via this sequence, the writer expresses their concern for somebody’s wellbeing by explicitly expressing their happiness or pleasure when receiving favoured information about the person, hence a way to maintain a social relationship with someone.

- [24] {[be]} **glad to hear** {(that-CLAUSE)} (123)
- a. **I am gladdē to heare all are ſoe well.** (ARUNDEL,343.054.726)
  - b. **I am glad to hear that his Maieſty is ſo kind to one that hath ſo frankly ventured Life & Limb in his ſervice;** (FLEMING,190.062.1064)
  - c. and **I ſhould bee gladd to heare that all things were well ſetled unto my brother and ſiſter’s mutuell comfort.** (BARRING,188.127.2176)
  - d. If ought needes ſay I wondered what was become of you; (SMYTH,129.025.301)  
yet **am glad to heare you ſtand ſo fayrely promiſed,** (SMYTH,129.025.302)



FSs of politeness or social maintenance routines can be multi-functional. For example, the FSs [25] can be embedded in (indirect) requests, hence also labelled as “B6. request” (“I. Stance Expressions”). With a closer examination of the form, the sequence can be part of a conditional clause structure which indirectly makes a request to somebody (e.g., [25a–c]). In such cases, realisations are sometimes followed by a clause indicating the outcome in favour of the person if the request is fulfilled. The subject of the clause corresponds to the object of the preceding conditional clause and the predicate is mostly in the form of *shall* + V (e.g., [25a–b]). In other cases, the sequence [25] starts with the modal verb *may*, which is not often followed by clauses indicating the expected outcome of a request, but by lexical items indicating what the request is (e.g., [25d–e]). It is noteworthy that the realisation in [25f] might not necessarily be a request. Concordance data show many instances of [25f] that are mostly used at the very beginning of some letters and followed by a vocative expression. It is possible that the structure *may it please you* + VOCATIVE is an FS in its own right and only a politeness routine, particularly as part of the letter-writing format. It is also possible that the realisation in [25f] is a case of ellipsis, with constituents such as *to read my letter* or *to hear me say* being omitted. More data is needed to determine a more plausible explanation.

- [25] {if/may} **it please** {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}} (150)
- a. but if on the sodain you cannot acomodate yourselfe with a convenient house for them all, **if itt please you to lett me have your companie heare while you are provideing yourselfe with a convenient dwelling for your hole companie**, you shall do me a very great pleasure, and, though my Lord should be in towne, no whitt straiten me, (CORNWAL,61.042.535)
  - b. And **if it please=1 your Majesty to examine the whole course of my life** your Majesty shall finde Gods grace hath mightily wrought in me poore silly infant and wretch that how soever others have taken wiser wayes, [...] (STUART,126.004.49)
  - c. And **if it please yor honor I shall playnelie tell you what iudgement manie make thereof**, (EDMONDE,348.020.458)
  - d. **Maye yt please her Ma=tie= that I may knowe her pleasure for suche Englishshemen as are here, or others that come.** (ORIGIN2,200.025.341)
  - e. **May it please you to send me my trunke**, BASIRE,256.012.481
  - f. **May it please yow**, Sir, the church of Himsworth, a towne not farre from mee is at this present void of a pastore, (WENTWOR,126.031.494)

It requires, however, much more effort to determine if the FS “**give me leave** (to {V-inf})” in [26] shall be considered as a case of social maintenance routines. The reason is that the distinction between its semantic meaning and pragmatic meaning/function is rather fuzzy, hence requiring much context information to decide if there is more than what is said. For example, the realisation in [26a] is used after the modal verb *must* and expresses its literal meaning, i.e., asking permission or requesting the right condition to do something. It is a rather direct request. Similarly, the realisation in [26b] is used in the imperative form. The context before and after implies that it seems to be a response to the questions or curiosity of *Your ladyship* regarding the writer’s *unwonted absence* and the *paper deputie*, and the writer expresses via the FS his need for permission or possibility to talk to *David* and his brother about the matter. The following part of the letter seems to explain why the writer could not give an answer (i.e., *a just, happily a knowne and open cause*) to her ladyship right away in the letter, because *the report extends and gathers stronger and stronger, which causes me this day to stand behind the hangings and not be seene any way countenancing so great a busines which happily may want strength to bring it forth to see the light* (BARRING,64.019.365). Therefore, it seems that the realisation in [26b] is also a literal use.

[26] **give me leave** (to {V-inf}) (99)

- a. but if you bee Resolutely bent not to yeild y=or= consent as hoping i will undertake to keepe house for any but our selves, **you must giue mee leaue freely to declare my Resolution**, wich is that i will not undertake the taske upon any termers, (FERRAR,308.036.757)
- b. Madame Your ladiship may wonder at this unwonted absence! And also aske what meanes this paper deputie? (BARRING,63.019.360)  
**Give me leave** deare madame **to say with David to his brother in the field**; is there not a cause? (BARRING,64.019.361)  
A just, happily a knowne and open cause, I am sure, to your ladiship who as an angell of God discerneth wisely a known and open cause. (BARRING,64.019.362)
- c. And now, my Lord, **give me leave to tell you** how sore it presseth upon the zeale I have to serve you that my condition in this place affords me noe meanes to performe it, as I infinitely desire it might. (WESA,2.001.12)
- d. but, Madam, **give me leave to desire you most humbly**, if not for your own sake, yet for your children’s sake, for my pore children’s sake, nay, even for God’s sake, that you will be pleased to come up to this towne and aske the advise of our phisitians here, who say that the waters at Tunbrige are extreame good for your condition. (CORNWAL,296.188.2690)

- e. Good aunte **First give mee leave to thanck yow for your favourable remembrance in your late letters unto mee with gould**, which came aptely to relieve mee in a greate strayte; (BARRING,89.041.771)
- f. Now **further giue mee leaue to trouble your Ladyship with a few lynes concerning my selfe**. (WENTWOR,219.068.947)
- g. **If they would give me leave** and if I might uppon those faire and Christian termes, I would be glad to come to my house at London, where I should be able to enlarge myselfe further then now I dare where nothing can pass w=th=out search. (WESA,7.007.162)

By comparison, the realisation in [26c] also appears in an imperative clause, asking for permission to tell the recipient something. Unlike [26b], it is followed by a complement conveying details about what the writer wanted to say. In other words, the requested action has already been taken before the permission is given, and the functional emphasis of [26c] is not on asking for permission, but on introducing the requested action itself, in this case, *to tell you*. Therefore, the realisation in [26c] should not be interpreted as a direct command or request, but as a case of negative politeness strategy. The FS is realised in the same way in [26d–f], i.e., the imperative forms are not interpreted literally as requests for permission to desire, to thank, and to trouble, but as a device to indicate that these actions are to be performed in a polite and socially acceptable manner.

The last example of how the FS [26] can be realised is presented in [26g]. Here the realisation, without the infinitive, is part of a conditional clause. Together with another following conditional clause, it is suggested that permission is requested to say something *uppon those faire and Christian termes*. The request is softened via the conditional clauses, i.e., a positive politeness strategy. Since the requested action has taken place at the same time as the request was made, the realisation is also a case where the FS is used as a general politeness or social maintenance routine. All in all, even though the interpretation regarding the function of the FS [26] relies heavily on the context, the mapping of form and meaning/function is conventional.

In addition, some less frequent FSs are also worth mentioning. The FS [27] is an example of apologetic expressions being used as a politeness or social maintenance strategy in EModE. Such use of the expression is still active in PDE with an emphasis mainly on being polite “in situations where a person has not

heard what was said” (Aijmer 1996, 84; as cited in Jacobsson 2001, 189) rather than actually apologising for something. However, in EModE the expression was found in Jacobsson’s (2001) study as “the general purpose apology-expression of that period” (189). Jacobsson investigated apologies in EModE dialogues and found that instead of *sorry*, the expression *pardon* occurs “in nearly half of the apologies in the CED” (194) along with *excuse me* and *forgive me/forgiveness*, whereas *sorry* is often an expression of regret. Jacobsson also argued that *pardon* might be associated with negative politeness, especially in comedies and between 1680 and 1719, a period “marks the peak of social distance in English society” (194).

Moreover, linguistic evidence from the corpus of EModE letters show that the FS [27] is used in various syntactic context; for instance, in combination with an FS of request (e.g., [27a]), as the predicate in a subordinate clause (e.g., [27b]), in the imperative form (e.g., [27c]), and as part of an FS of polite requests (e.g., [27d]). These examples reveal that the interpretation of the function of the sequences relies heavily on the context, which is in the same situation as the sequence [26].

[27] **pardon me** (48)

- a. Sir, as for my owne comynge unto you **I praye you pardon me.**  
(BACON,I,73.054.985)
- b. therefore **I hope she will pardon me.** (KNYVETT,60.004.73)
- c. **Pardon me**, my good Lorde, **in being ever thus bolde with you seing it procedeth out of my unfeyned love**, which I professe and protest is so fast and firmly settelled in my brest towards you as, [...] (HASTING,108.038.908)
- d. **It may please your Lordship to pardon me** if writing now in hast with a minde distracted with the severall cares of a householder, and those that this remove, and newyearstide adde thearto, I omitt somm times that which weare perchance more materiall to write then that I write and forgett many things which according to the manner of us that have onely after-wittes comme not to minde till your letters be gonne and then are too ancient newes to be sent by the next  
(STUART,190.028.631)

Lastly, the FS [28] below is often used as part of a request in various syntactic contexts; for instance, in combination with another FS of request (e.g., [28a]), in the imperative form (e.g., [28b]), in the infinitive form and as part of an FS of request (e.g., [28c]), and in a conditional clause that makes an indirect request (e.g., [28d]). Semantically, the sequence asks somebody to send

information or news, most possibly via letters. However, the sequence denotes a much stronger pragmatic sense that expresses explicitly the writer’s desire to hear from somebody about something, i.e., a willingness to communicate and to keep in touch. Therefore, the FS is labelled as a general politeness or social maintenance routine, a function that is related to or extended from its semantics.

- [28] **send me word** {CLAUSE} (73)
- a. If all bee at an end **I pray send mee word**. (BARRING,45.006.101)
  - b. **Send me word**, wheather you reseae them, and wheather they be good. (HARLEY,31.013.366)
  - c. but I much desier dayly to be w=th= you, wherfore **I desier you to send me word by the next** whether my cominge may be inconuenient or not, & how longe you meane to stay. (CORNWAL,99.064.868)
  - d. **If you send mee word what time you will be at London**, I will if my occasions wil permit steale up and meete you there, [...]  
(OXINDE,I,169.099.1469)

To summarise, in EModE letters, FSs serving as strategies for politeness and social maintenance are highly diverse in form. The form and function combination are often genre-specific. It also seems that they are often not exclusive for one function nor have a clear cut among various functions when they are used multi-functionally. Their functions are highly contextual and reflect a prototypical trend, ranging from more literal or semantic-related functions to more schematic or semantic-extended functions. This prototypical nature of their functions is reflected via the dynamic syntactic contexts in which they occur.

**B. simple inquiry, C. reporting clauses, D. exclamation, and F. vocative expressions**

Corpus data shows that there are no formulaic terms of abuse occurring in EModE letters. Table 6.6.2b presents FSs as simple inquiries, reporting clauses, exclamations, and vocative expressions, which occur more than the average frequency ( $M_{freq.} = 116.20$  times.) in the corpus.

**Table 6.6.2b: Frequent FSs in EModE letters: “B. simple inquiry”, “C. reporting clauses”, “D. exclamation”, and “F. vocative expressions” \***

Subcategories	FSs and their raw frequency of occurrence in parentheses
<b>B. simple inquiry</b>	<b>how to</b> {V-inf} (182); <b>how much</b> {COMP} (123)
<b>C. reporting clauses</b>	<u>{[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} (486); (as) <b>it is said</b> {that-CLAUSE} (151)</u>

D. exclamation	<b>I thank God</b> (241)
F. vocative expressions	<b>your Lordship</b> (2442); <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name}) (1717); <b>her Majesty</b> (1534); <b>your ladyship</b> (897); <b>your Honour</b> (627); <b>His Majesty</b> (612); <b>my Lady</b> ({NP: family name}) (543); <b>my Lord of</b> {NP: place name} (456); <b>Sir Thomas</b> (329); <b>my dear</b> {NP: somebody} (323); <b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.} (315); <b>my good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.} (296); <b>your Grace</b> (281); (the) <b>right honourable</b> {NP: somebody} (266); <b>the right honourable</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., and his very good, singular good, very good, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, the lady, Sir, etc.} (228); <b>Your Majesty</b> (216); <b>Sir John</b> (199); <b>my very good lord</b> (195); <b>Sir William</b> (186); <b>your Worship</b> (168); <b>his Lordship</b> (135); <b>my honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.} (130); (the) <b>right worshipful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.} (122)

(Continuing from the previous page)

Note: \*Underlined FSs appear in more than one subcategory

## B. simple inquiry

FSs of simple inquiries in EMode letters begin with the question word *how*. In addition to the two frequent FSs presented in Table 6.6.2b, the study also identified less frequent ones such as “**how long** {COMP}” and “**how well** {COMP}”. These sequences are mostly used as indirect questions; for instance, realisations of the FS “**how to** {V-inf}” in [29a–b] and those of the sequence “**how much** {COMP}” in [30a–e]. Among these examples, many realisations of the two FSs are used together with the verb *know* (e.g., [29a–b], [30a, c, e]).

[29] **how to** {V-inf} (182)

- a. Cozen, **How to answe~~r~~ your letter punctually as I would doe I know nott**, having an ill memorie, and your letter nott about mee; (OXINDE,I,301.168.3049)
- b. I shall write to him the next opportunity and procure a copy if it be possible, of the second volume of Des Cartes letters, **if SI may know how to send it**. (CONWAY,191.039.1201)
- c. Than **how to credit that so oft hath deceived?** (ROYAL1,91.025.478)

[30] **how much** {COMP} (123)

- a. he is indetted to me, (HOLLES,II,326.085.2295)  
**Boote knows how muche**, (HOLLES,II,326.085.2296)
- b. I pray therfore sende me worde to what time they haue pay'd it, and so **how much I haue receaved from them**, as likewise **how much is in truth in arreare to that time**, that I may be able as well to say **how much they haue failed of making good what they promised**, as to acknowledge what I haue receaved. (CHARLES,10.003.31)
- c. **how much hurte it maye be to me you Cno not**, (STOCKWE,II,27.069.1304)

- d. and therefore that I give not your Ladship quite out I must needs break of, it being also impossible for me to expres **how much I am Madame Y=r= Honours affectionately devoted Servant Henry More.** (CONWAY,500.095.2765)
- e. and **you know how much it concerns mee to stande upon this in respect of all the tythes of Flamsteed**, that would be but in an ill condition by this example, soe that what I am putt upon now is upon necessity. (BARRING,250.189.3357)

### C. reporting clauses

In EModE letters, most reporting clauses are at the same time identified as topic introduction/focus sequences under the primary category “II. Discourse Organisers”, for example, “(as) **it is said** {that-CLAUSE}” in Table 6.6.2b. Some less frequent ones are “(as) **it is thought** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**as he says**”, “(as) **it is reported** {that-CLAUSE}”, “(as) **I am informed** {that-CLAUSE}”, and “(as) **I am persuaded** {that-CLAUSE}”. A quick examination of these FSs reveals that most of them are in the same (or at least similar) form that can be abstracted into a construction, i.e., the SUBJ + V (in passive) + that-CLAUSE construction. The fixed parts of these sequences commonly contain reporting verbs such as *say*, *report*, and *inform* and verbs related to giving thoughts such as *think* and *persuade*.

Based on subjects, the FSs can be impersonal and personal. Impersonal FSs have a dummy subject *it*, for instance, “(as) **it is said** {that-CLAUSE}”. The sequence is used to report information from an unknown source (see example [4] in Section 6.4.2). Personal FSs have a specific person as the subject, mostly the letter writer (i.e., *I*); for instance, “(as) **I am informed** {that-CLAUSE}”. In this case, the fixed part, *I am informed*, can occur in various syntactic contexts, such as preceding a subordinate clause (e.g., [31a]), being part of a conditional clause (e.g., [31b]), or independently as a parenthesis (e.g., [31c]). Alternatively, the fixed part can be joined with other lexical items via a conjunction *as*, which normally precedes a subordinate clause as in [31d–e] or is used parenthetically as in [31f].

- [31] (as) **I am informed** {that-CLAUSE} (43)
  - a. Worthy S=r= **I am informed that there is a Tene~m=t= in the Township of Brinkinnalt neare unto y=e= Dee River**, which yo=r= father S=r= Edward Trevo=r= bought of one Winter [...], (JONES,223.024.640)
  - b. Y=e= Duke is not gone as you have herd, **if I am informed rightly**; (HATTON,I,182.056.1415)

- c. My verye singuler good lords, I am to render most hartye and humble thankes unto you, for that, **I am informyd**, hit hath pleaseide you to be meanes to hir most excellent majesty, to quallyfye hir hard conceatt agenst my pore servyce donne here.  
(LEYCEST,162.045.1484)
- d. And as **I ame enfourmed the said Johnson hathe soulede his shipp to one Mr Mowmford of Wifton, your deputie**,  
(BACON,II,80.216.3681)
- e. Forasmoche as **I am informed that you have appoynted a courte to be holden and kept at Her Majestes manor of Wighton where you be Stewarde**, at the which courte it is thought there wilbe som question of the title which is made by Mr Lychfelde to certen copie holde lande holden of the saide manor, [...]  
(BACON,II,230.275.4756)
- f. But the Archbishop, as **I am informed**, has suppressed this designe,  
(CONWAY,235.065.1869)

The second kind of reporting FSs comes in the form of the *as* + SUBJ + V construction (e.g., [32]), indicating the source of information. Conventionally, they report the information by preceding a clause as in [32a] or being a parenthesis as in [32b].

[32] **as he says** (36)

- a. and **as he saith**, meat and drink is not all that he must have,  
(OXINDE,I,303.170.3108)
- b. Since I writt first unto you Mr. Hotham when I litle expected such a comand by a command from y=e= parliam=t=, **as he saith**, hath seased on my howse, and all I have, to the valew of som l. in money and goodes, (WESA,7.007.171)

#### D. exclamation

Most of the exclamatory sequences found in the corpus of EModE letters have something to do with God. Two kinds of structure are observed. One is to express gratitude to divine providence in various forms such as “**I thank God**”, “**thanks be to God**”, and “**God be thanked**”. The other is in the form of prepositional phrases such as “**by God’s** {NP: assistance, blessing, goodness, grace, help, etc}” and “{by/through/with} **God’s grace**”. Moreover, these FSs are multi-functional. Expressions like these also are used to express feelings or desire (*God*, P1. a (a) and (b). in the *OED Online*). These observations are exemplified by sequences presented in [33] and [34].

The most frequently used exclamative FS in EModE letters is “**I thank God**” in [33], used at the happening of something desired. It occurs in various syntactic positions and contexts. It can be inserted in the main clause as a



parenthesis as in [33a]. It also commonly occurs before or after the main clause as in [33b] and [33c], respectively. The main clause normally conveys desirable and pleasant information, facts, or events that have already happened, for example, *have ther health* in [33a] and *all at his howes are well* in [33b], and it can sometimes express desires for something pleasant to happen such as *enjoy yow with me whatsoever I beare and wheresoever* in [33c]. The sequence also sometimes occurs as a full sentence followed by a prepositional phrase of *for* (e.g., [33d–e]). The prepositional phrase is used to convey the same kinds of meaning as in the main clause mentioned above (e.g., [33d]), but it could be the opposite meaning for the ironic purpose (e.g., [33e]).

[33] **I thank God** (241)

- a. My wife & children **I thank God** have ther health.  
(BACON,II,29.214.3654)
- b. **I thanke God** all at his howes are well. (HARLEY,4.005.85)
- c. and my desyres are constant to enjoy yow with me whatsoever I beare and wheresoever, **I thanke God**. (BARRING,208.147.2491)
- d. and **I thanke God for it**, that hath moved your harte so spedely and as it were before the sonne go downe to forthink your selfe of such thinges as of late were done at my house. (PARKHUR,192.046.804)
- e. and in truth **I thanck God for your hardnesse of heart and willfull blindenesse**, (STUART,175.012.453)

The second frequent FS in the group is “**by God’s** {NP: assistance, blessing, goodness, grace, help, etc}” in [34]. It is a prepositional phrase and contains a variable part that restricts its semantic elements to be nouns representing divine providence, such as *assistance*, *blessing*, *goodness*, *grace*, etc. Its realisations are mostly used parenthetically (e.g., [34a–f]). The most frequent realisation of the sequence is *by God’s grace* in [34d], which is identified as an FS as well. The surrounding discourse of these realisations contains verbs such as *shall*, *wanting*, *hope*, *may*, *will*, and *intend*, which expresses desire, intention, hope, expectation, etc.; there are also words and word sequences indicating what the desires and expectations are, such as *an endevore of requitall*, *doo her much good*, *ouercome itt*, *comforting my selfe*, *be happier then we looke for*, *see it satisfied*, *to be on Tuesday com se’night att night*, etc. It seems that the FS [34] is commonly used in a discourse expressing desires and intentions that have not yet been fulfilled, which is different from the FS [33] above. Therefore, the sequence [34] plays a role that supports or emphasises the meaning of the discourse.

- [34] **by God's** {NP: assistance, blessing, goodness, grace, help, etc} (84);
- an endevore of requitall shall **by God's assistance** never be wanting in me. (BARRING,179.122.2104)
  - S=r= - Docter Barker has put my sister into a cours of ientell fisek, which I hope **by God's blsing** will doo her much good. (HARLEY,1.001.2)
  - I shall then I trust **by God's goodnesse** ouercome itt by degrees, in the meane time comforting my selfe in thes, that whome hee correcteth hee loueth, (WENTWOR,175.047.628)
  - for si nous vivons l'age d'un veau as Marot sayes we may **by Gods grace** be happier then we looke for in being suffered to enjoy our selves with his Majesties favour. (STUART,242.057.1036)
  - I will see it satisfied **by Godes help**, w=ch= I hope will not come to xxx=s= or not above. (STOCKWE,I,33.018.302)
  - You may see how unable they are to dispose of their own tymes that attend debts and other occasions, by my no sooner sending you word when I will be with you, which now I intend, **by God's permission**, to be on Tuesday com se'night att night, & staying with you all Wensday; (CORNWAL,53.037.465)

Moreover, the exclamatory FS [35] is used to emphasise the surprising nature of something (e.g., [35a–b]) or somebody such as in [35c–d].

- [35] **What** [a] {NP} {COMP} (78)
- Hond. Deare Brother, **What a strange mixture is this world of ioy and greife**, or rather **what a weaknis**, I, so quickly moved by either. (TIXALL,38.013.263)
  - Looke before you leape into **what an endles mase or labirinth you cast yourself**, the yssue whereof you shall finde a great deale more difficult then the entrie. (CHAMBER,I,207.012.498)
  - leying before them **what a mighty enemy they had against them**, it behooved them to shew good force and good means to withstand such an enemy. (LEYCEST,60.017.532)
  - good god **what an unhappy person am I**; (OSBORNE,180.077.4219)

#### F. vocative expressions

The last group of FSs in the primary category “IV. Special Communicational Functions” are vocative expressions, which are used to address people. For example, some sequences with high frequencies are “**your Lordship**”, “**my Lord** ({NP: family name})”, “**my dear** {NP: somebody}”, “**her Majesty**”, “**his Lordship**”, “(the) **right honourable** {NP: somebody}”, “**sweet heart**”, and “**Sir Thomas**”; while the less frequent ones include “**Mr Secretary**”, “**Mr Nathanaell Bacon**”, and “**God Almighty**”. All frequent vocative FSs presented in Table 6.6.2b are multi-functional since almost all of them also function as

referential expressions of persons. Most of them additionally show respect or affection towards the addressee.

### **6.7. Summary and final remarks**

In this chapter, the study achieved its goal to systematically categorise FSs according to their functions. The functional classification taxonomy in Conrad and Biber (2005) was refined into a three-tier scheme, which includes four primary functions. Each primary function category consists of several subcategories. FSs within a subcategory were further labelled and grouped according to the specific focuses of that subcategory of function. The enhancement is also reflected in the interpretation of each function category, subcategory, and label. Especially, the study broadened the coverage of the original primary function category from “IV. Special Conversational Functions” (Conrad and Biber 2005) into the current “IV. Special Communicational Functions”, because the study takes the view that letters are a type of written communication (Daybell and Gordon 2016) and differ from spoken communication (i.e., conversations or dialogues) in degree rather than grammar (Marcus 2018). Most refined interpretations and elaborations were conducted for subcategories and function labels. The updated functional classification guarantees that there is no ambiguity between subcategories and labels, classification is straightforward, and its application for future studies by other researchers and on FSs in other text types is easy.

Results presented in Section 6.2 provide a general impression on how FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters are distributed similarly/differently across the four primary function categories. Both text types employ most types of FSs as referential expressions, reflecting that one of the key functions of language is to describe the physical world and abstract phenomena, i.e., the ideational metafunction of language (e.g., Halliday 1994; Halliday and Christian 2014). Interestingly, EModE dialogues employ the least amount of FSs to perform special communicational functions. Their relative proportion in dialogues is even lower than FSs serving the same function in letters. This finding supports the practice to broaden the realm of the primary category “IV. Special Communicational Functions. It also reflects the communicative feature of EModE letters.

Moreover, it is interesting to find that EModE letters employ the least number of FSs as discourse organisers, i.e., the textual metafunction of language (e.g., Halliday 1994; Halliday and Christian 2014), but their average frequency is much higher than FSs in the most diverse function category “III. Referential Expression”. This finding reflects that EModE letters tend to be more formulaic in organising units of discourse. All in all, it seems that EModE letters tend to be more formulaic than dialogues regarding the type and mean frequency of FSs and their proportion compared to non-FSs in texts.

This chapter exemplifies how Construction Grammar can be applied to describe FSs. Firstly, results in Sections 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 demonstrate that FSs in each primary function category and subcategory can be abstracted into several grammatical-structural patterns, or constructions with higher degree of schematicity. Within a corpus, FSs serving different primary functions or sub-functions have different grammatical structures. However, when compared between corpora, i.e., text types, FSs in the same function category or subcategory share many common grammatical-structural patterns. The abstraction grammatical-structural patterns will be discussed in greater detail in Section 7.1, Chapter 7, which focuses on how EModE dialogues and letters are distinguished via FSs from the perspective of their form.

Secondly, examination of the form-meaning/function mappings of FSs in these sections also reveals the existence of syntactic and semantic overlaps, which have been observed in other studies describing specific linguistic patterns regardless of their formulaicity (e.g., Kopaczyk 2012b; Kopaczyk 2013, Laporte 2021). Such overlaps are referred to as “horizontal” and “vertical” networks of FSs according to the type of relationships between FSs (see Sections 8.1 and 8.2, Chapter 8). Functional overlaps are also observed among FSs in both EModE dialogues and letters, mostly triggered by the vertical networks of FSs (see Section 8.3, Chapter 8). Those overlaps support the notion in the study that FSs are constructions, which, according to Construction Grammar, are components of language and form networks at various levels of abstraction.

## **7. Discussion (1): distinguishing EModE dialogues and letters via formulaic sequences**

Based on the results presented in Chapter 6, this chapter addresses the question concerning how FSs distinguish EModE dialogues and letters. Discussions are from two perspectives: form in Section 7.1 and function in Section 7.2. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted in discussions from each of the perspectives. The aim is to determine if any observed differences in the use of FSs in the two modes of communication are a matter of statistics/distribution or a matter of linguistic preference/convention. In addition, the study briefly examined one specific group of FSs which contain the word *God/Almighty* from a socio-linguistic perspective and investigated the role of God in EModE spoken and written communication.

### **7.1. A perspective of form: lexical-grammatical features**

This section starts by defining how the fixedness of form is measured in Section 7.1.1. More specifically, Section 7.1.1.1 reports the degrees of fixedness of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters, respectively. A series of statistical tests were conducted to evaluate if any observed differences were significant. Results are presented in Section 7.1.1.2. The study also looked at the fixedness of FSs in each primary function category and intended to find out if there were a difference in fixedness across the categories and if text types played a role in it. Results and discussions are presented in Section 7.1.1.3. Following the fixedness of form, the section continues in Section 7.1.2 and discusses the abstract/grammatical-structural patterns of FSs in the two corpora. Moreover, the functional classification of FSs in Chapter 6 reveal several overall trends. Generally speaking, FSs in a specific function category or subcategory have one or several common grammatical structure(s); the grammatical structures vary across categories and subcategories. Section 7.2 aims to determine if EModE dialogues and letters are distinguishable by the grammatical structures of FSs or if they are distinguishable by how FSs determine their positions on “a grammatical continuum” (Marcus 2018, 10).

#### **7.1.1. The degree of fixedness**

One of the ways to distinguish FSs from other constructions is the degree of fixedness. The concept of “fixedness” plays an active role in all procedures of

defining, identifying, and describing FSs. The present study defines fixedness of form as the variability and productivity of form (see a detailed discussion in Section 2.1.1, Chapter 2). The fixedness of an FS is measured by (1) the completeness of its syntax and semantics (i.e., the number of compulsory/optional variable parts in an FS) and (2) if the fixed part is continuous or not. For convenience, an FS may appear in the form of:

- a. a continuous fixed part and NO variable parts,
- b. a continuous fixed part and ONE variable part before or after the fixed part,
- c. a continuous fixed part and MORE THAN ONE variable part before or after the fixed part,
- d. a discontinuous fixed part and AT LEAST ONE variable part inserted in the fixed part, with/without AT LEAST ONE variable part before or after the fixed part.

FSs were grouped according to the four cases of their form (a–d) and each form group was given a score, ranging from 3 to 0. The degree of fixedness ( $D_{fxd}$ ) was calculated in the following way:

$$D_{fxd} = \frac{N(3)_{type} \times 3 + N(2)_{type} \times 2 + N(1)_{type} \times 1 + N(0)_{type} \times 0}{\Sigma N_{type}}$$

The number of FS types in each form group ( $N_{type}$ ) was timed with its corresponding score. Four resulting values were added up and then divided by the sum of FS types in four form groups ( $\Sigma N_{type}$ ), hence resulting in  $D_{fxd}$  (i.e., a value between 0 and 3). The larger  $D_{fxd}$  is, the more fixed a group of FSs regarding their form.

In addition, to know how FSs in a specific form group define the fixedness or formulaicity of a discourse ( $D_{fxd.Text}$ ), the study adopted the subsequent two-step calculation:

$$M_{freq.} = \frac{\Sigma_{instance}}{\Sigma_{type}}$$

$$D_{fxd.Text}$$

$$= \frac{M(3)_{freq.} \times 3 + M(2)_{freq.} \times 2 + M(1)_{freq.} \times 1 + M(0)_{freq.} \times 0}{\Sigma M_{freq.}}$$

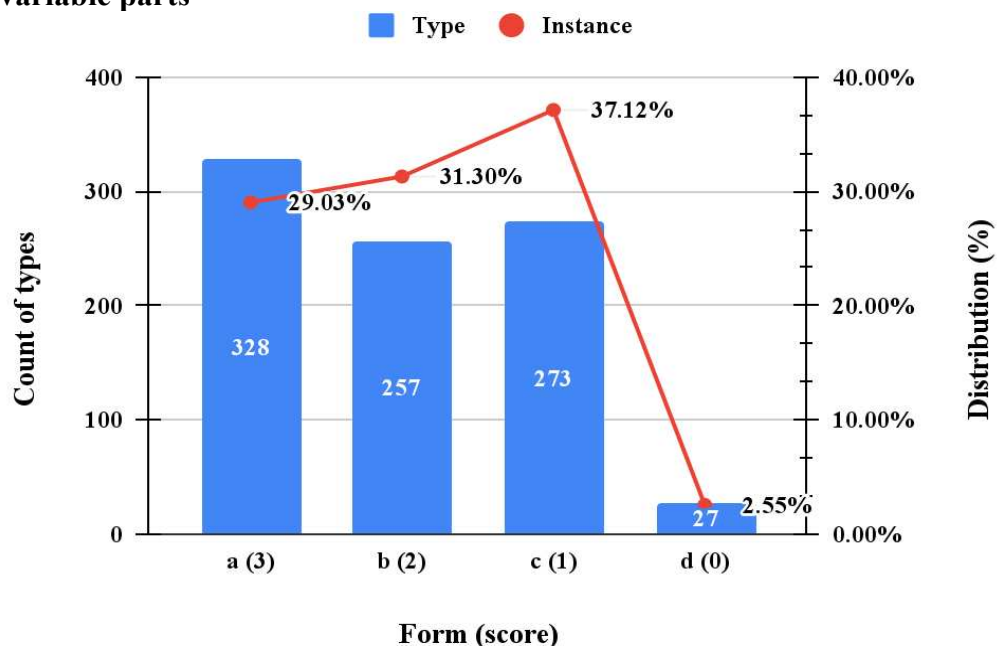
In the first step, the mean frequency ( $M_{freq.}$ ) of FSs in each form group was calculated, dividing the sum of instances by the sum of types of FSs in the group. This results in four mean frequency values. In the second step, the mean

frequency of FSs in each form group was then timed with its corresponding score. Four resulting values were added up and then divided by the sum of mean frequencies of FSs in four form groups ( $\Sigma M_{freq.}$ ), thus resulting in  $D_{fxd.Text}$  (i.e., a value between 0 and 3). The larger  $D_{fxd.Text}$  is, the more fixed/formulaic a discourse.

#### 7.1.1.1. Fixedness of formulaic sequences in EModE dialogues and letters

In the corpus of EModE dialogues, FSs have a high degree of fixedness ( $D_{fxd.} = 2.00$ ). Firstly, as shown in Figure 7.1.1.1a, more than one-third of them (328 types) are continuous and do not take any variable parts (i.e., those scored 3/group a), taking the leading position among all four cases of fixedness. Their total number of occurrences, however, drops to 29.03 per cent of all instances of FSs in the dialogue corpus, falling to the third place. Secondly, among the rest of the FSs that take at least one variable part, the majority are continuous (i.e., those scored 1 and 2 combined/group c and group b), accounting for 68.42 per cent of all instances of FSs (i.e., 59.89 per cent of all FS types).

**Figure 7.1.1.1a: FSs in EModE dialogues that contain various numbers of variable parts**

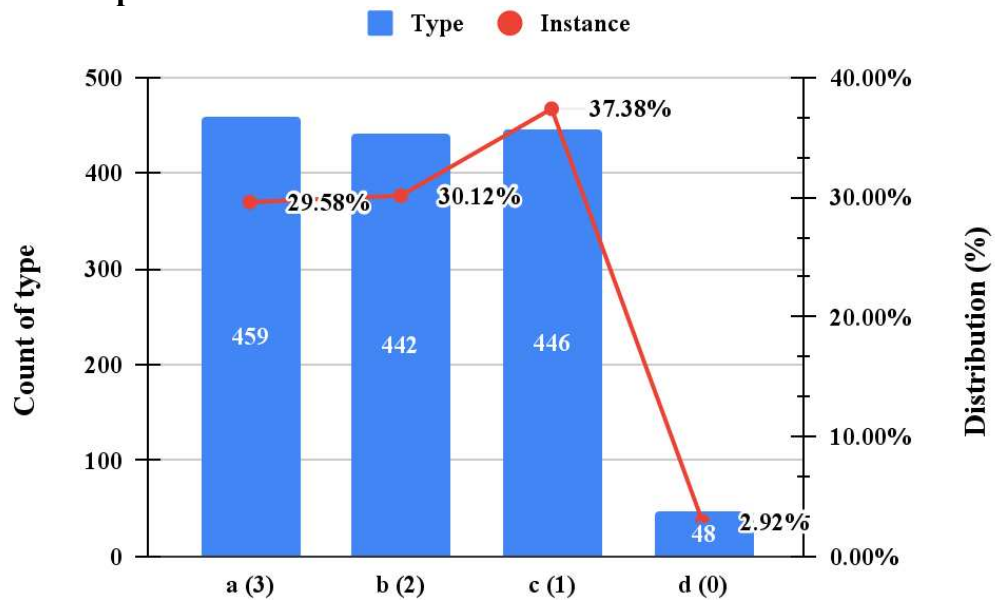


Note: The value of “Distribution” =  $\frac{\Sigma_{instance} \%}{\Sigma_{INSTANCE}}$ , in which “instance” refers to instances of FSs in a specific form group, while “INSTANCE” refers to instances of all FSs in a corpus.

Figure 7.1.1.1a also shows that the most widely distributed or used FSs are continuous and take more than one variable part (i.e., those scored 1/group c). Thirdly, there are only 27 types of FSs in EModE dialogues that are

discontinuous and have at least one variable part inserted in the fixed part (i.e., those scored 0/group d). They make up only 2.55 per cent of instances of all FSs in EModE dialogues combined.

**Figure 7.1.1.1b: FSs in EModE letters that contain various numbers of variable parts**



**Form (score)**

Note: The value of “Distribution” =  $\frac{\sum_{instance} \%}{\sum_{INSTANCE}}$ %, in which “instance” refers to instances of FSs in a specific form group, while “INSTANCE” refers to instances of all FSs in a corpus.

The degree of fixedness of FSs in EModE letters is close to but larger than the middle point between 0 and 3 ( $D_{fxd} = 1.94$ ). Firstly, Figure 7.1.1.1b shows that slightly more than one-third of all FS types have a structure that is absolutely fixed ( $N_{type} = 459$ ); i.e., they are continuous and do not take any variable parts. From the perspective of occurrence in the corpus, their distribution drops to the third place (only 29.58 per cent), revealing the same trend as those in dialogues. In other words, FSs with at least one variable part (i.e., those scored 2/group b, 1/group c, and 0/group d, respectively) are considerably more prevalent both in type and occurrence. Secondly, there is almost the same number of continuous FSs with only one variable part (i.e., those scored 2/group b) and those with more than one variable part (i.e., those scored 1/group c). However, the latter group are the most frequently used in EModE letters, accounting for 37.38 per cent of all FS use. Thirdly, the number of FSs that are discontinuous and take at least one variable part (i.e., those



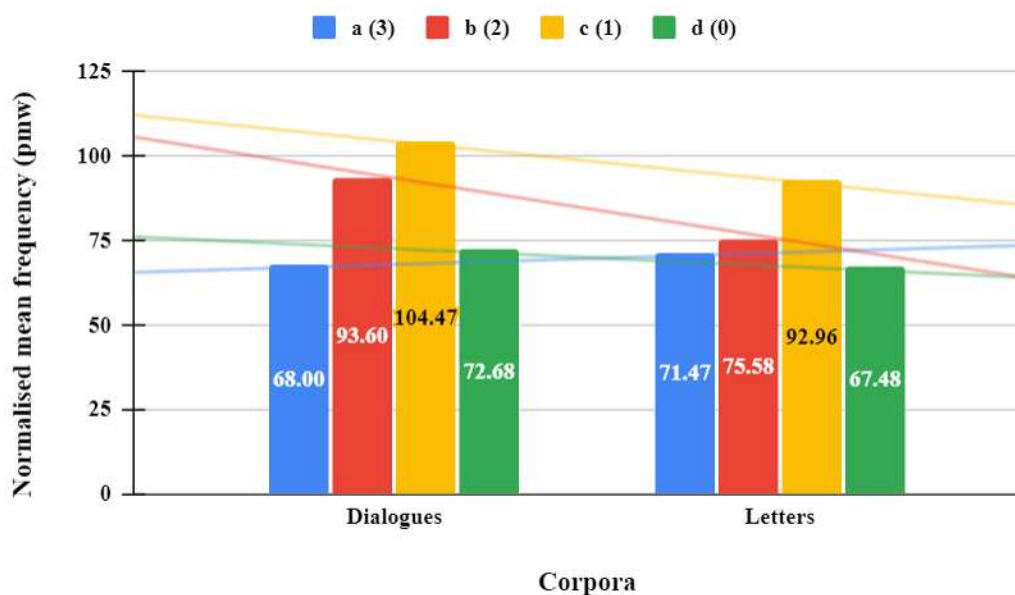
scored 0/group d) drops drastically to only 48 types. That is a mere 2.92 per cent of all FSs used in letters.

Comparing Figure 7.1.1.1a and Figure 7.1.1.1b presented in the section above, one can notice that FSs in the two corpora reveal similar trends across the four form groups (i.e., ranging from continuous and with no variable part to discontinuous and with at least one variable part). However, marginal differences can still be observed. FSs in EModE dialogues are slightly more fixed ( $D_{fxd.} = 2.00$ ) than that in letters ( $D_{fxd.} = 1.94$ ). When taking the frequency of occurrence into consideration, the fixedness of EModE dialogues, which is determined by the use of FSs, is smaller ( $D_{fxd.Text} = 1.46$ ) than that of letters ( $D_{fxd.Text} = 1.49$ ), but the difference is so small that it could be ignored. The next section examines if the differences between FSs in EModE dialogues and letters regarding the fixedness of their form are significant.

#### 7.1.1.2. Fixedness compared

For an in-depth comparison between FSs of various degrees of fixedness in EModE dialogues and those in letters, Figure 7.1.1.2 presents normalised mean frequencies ( $M_{nml.freq.}$ , i.e., times *pmw.* on average). Firstly, the most frequent FSs in both corpora are continuous and take two or more variable parts (i.e., the group c, presented by the yellow bars), and those in dialogues ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 104.47$  times *pmw.*) are more frequent than those in letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 92.96$  times *pmw.*). Secondly, FSs that are continuous and have only one variable part in both EModE dialogues and letters take the second place of mean frequency (i.e., the group b, presented by the red bars). FSs in dialogues ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 93.60$  times *pmw.*) are more frequent than those in letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 75.58$  times *pmw.*). Thirdly, FSs which are continuous and invariable (i.e., the group a, represented by the blue bars) in EModE dialogues are slightly less frequent than those in EModE letters, while it is the other way around for discontinuous FSs (i.e., the group d, represented by the green bars). In addition, the trend lines indicate that differences vary case by case. The difference in the mean frequencies of occurrence between continuous sequences with more than one variable part in dialogues and those in letters (i.e., marked by the red line) is greater than in the other three cases.

**Figure 7.1.1.2: Normalised mean frequencies of FSs with various degrees of fixedness: EModE dialogues vs. EModE letters**



**Table 7.1.1.2a: Two-way independent factorial ANOVA test: Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances (comparing the fixedness of form of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters)**

*Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances<sup>a,b</sup>*

		Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Normalised frequency (per million)	Based on Mean	4.299	7	2272	<.001
	Based on Median	2.081	7	2272	.042
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	2.081	7	1704.621	.043
	Based on trimmed mean	2.433	7	2272	.017

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Dependent variable: Normalised frequency (per million)

b. Design: Intercept + Fixedness + Corpus + Fixedness \* Corpus

To evaluate whether these observed differences and trends are significant or not, a two-way independent factorial ANOVA test is conducted. ANOVA involves a series of tests analysing the interaction between the corpus type and the degree of fixedness. Firstly, Levene's equality of error variances test (see Table 7.1.1.2a) indicates that the variance in frequencies of occurrence is not equal ( $p < .001$ , Field 2009, 436) across the various combinations of corpus type (i.e., EModE dialogue and letters) and degree of fixedness (i.e., from 3 to 0). The test result supports the previous observations that 1) FSs of four degrees of fixedness do not distribute equally within a corpus, and 2) FSs in the same form group with a certain degree of fixedness are not equally

frequent in the two corpora (e.g., continuous FSs with at least one variable part in EModE dialogues are more frequent than those in letters).

Secondly, ANOVA tests of between-subjects effects (see Table 7.1.1.2b) on the dependent variable (i.e., the normalised frequency) reveal the interaction between corpus type and the degree of fixedness. Overall, across degrees of fixedness (i.e., from 3 to 0), there is no significant difference between FSs in EModE dialogues and those in letters, as  $F(3, 2272) = .711, p = .545$ . In other words, when comparing FSs of various degrees of fixedness, the difference is not significantly related to the corpus type (i.e., dialogues and letters), and thus not related to the codes of communication (i.e., spoken and written). In addition, from the perspective of the main effect of the corpus type, the insignificant  $F$ -value ( $F(1, 2272) = .636, p = .425$ ) further indicates that among FSs of a certain degree of fixedness, the mean frequency of FSs in dialogues is not significantly different from those in letters (see trend lines in Figure 7.1.1.2a).

**Table 7.1.1.2b: Two-way independent factorial ANOVA test: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects (comparing the fixedness of form of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters)**

*Tests of Between-Subjects Effects*

Dependent Variable: Normalised frequency (per million)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	371633.060 <sup>a</sup>	7	53090.437	2.595	.011	.008
Intercept	5557087.055	1	5557087.055	271.623	<.001	.107
Fixedness	314996.156	3	104998.719	5.132	.002	.007
Corpus	13013.775	1	13013.775	.636	.425	.000
Fixedness * Corpus	43665.684	3	14555.228	.711	.545	.001
Error	46482484.748	2272	20458.840			
Total	62315605.703	2280				
Corrected Total	46854117.808	2279				

<sup>a</sup>. R Squared = .008 (Adjusted R Squared = .005)

### 7.1.1.3. Fixedness of formulaic sequences in each function category

This section looks at how FSs in each primary category vary in degrees of fixedness. Starting with FSs in the corpus of EModE dialogues, descriptive data in Table 7.1.1.3a presents the distribution of FSs with various numbers of variable parts across primary categories. From the perspective of type, there is a general trend regarding the fixedness of FSs in each primary category. Firstly, most types of FSs in the category “I. Stance Expressions” are

continuous and contain more than one variable part (i.e., the group c), while those without any variable parts (i.e., the group a) account for only 15.21 per cent of all FS types in the category. Secondly, nearly half of the FSs in the category “II. Discourse Organisers” are continuous and take only one variable part (i.e., the group b), followed by those taking no variable part (i.e., 35.40 per cent of all types in the category). Thirdly, compared with the other three primary categories, “III. Referential Expressions” contains the most types of FSs that are continuous and invariable (i.e., the group a). There are 257 types of such FSs, accounting for 46.47 per cent of all types in the category. However, referential expressions with a continuous structure and one variable part (i.e., the group b) take the second place regarding the number of types. Still, they occur more frequently on average ( $M_{freq.} = 71.50$  times). Lastly, most FSs in the fourth category “IV. Special Communicational Functions” have a continuous structure and only one variable part (i.e., the group b), accounting for 41.90 per cent of all types in the category. Meanwhile, only 25.71 per cent of all types are completely fixed (i.e., the group a).

**Table 7.1.1.3a: FSs in EModE dialogues: degree of fixedness across four primary functional categories**

	Group a (3*)		Group b (2)		Group c (1)		Group d (0)		$D_{fxd.}$
	$N_{type}$	$M_{freq.}^{**}$	$N_{type}$	$M_{freq.}$	$N_{type}$	$M_{freq.}$	$N_{type}$	$M_{freq.}$	
<b>I. Stance Expressions</b>	33	39.42	55	57.09	122	93.46	7	70.00	1.53
<b>II. Discourse Organisers</b>	40	61.18	52	72.73	19	33.00	2	38.50	2.15
<b>III. Referential Expressions</b>	257	47.80	142	71.50	135	57.24	19	42.47	2.15
<b>IV. Special Communicational Functions</b>	27	29.78	44	54.93	34	47.24	0	0	1.93

Note: \*the numbers stand for the score assigned to each form group:

3: a continuous fixed part and NO variable parts,

2: a continuous fixed part and ONE variable part before or after the fixed part,

1: a continuous fixed part and MORE THAN ONE variable part before or after the fixed part,

0: a discontinuous fixed part and AT LEAST ONE variable part inserted in the fixed part, with/without AT LEAST ONE variable part before or after the fixed part.

\*\*Mean frequency  $M_{freq.} = \frac{\Sigma instance}{\Sigma type}$

Values of  $D_{fxd}$  provide a more direct view of the degree of fixedness of FSs in each primary function category. As Table 7.1.1.3a indicates, in EModE dialogues, both FSs serving as discourse organisers and those as referential expressions have the highest degree of fixedness ( $D_{fxd.} = 2.15$ ). The least fixed

FSs are stance expressions, whose degree of fixedness is at the middle point ( $D_{fxd.} = 1.53$ ). However, the result of a significance test<sup>17</sup> indicates that values of  $D_{fxd.}$  of FSs in the four primary function categories are not significantly different from each other ( $p > .05$ ).

For FSs in EModE letters, Table 7.1.1.3b shows that, firstly, referential expressions are the most fixed of all ( $D_{fxd.} = 2.19$ ). The functional category “III. Referential Expressions” has the largest number of FSs that are continuous and invariable (i.e., the group a), which, have the lowest mean frequency of occurrence ( $M_{freq.} = 106.60$  times), though.

**Table 7.1.1.3b: FSs in EModE letters: degree of fixedness across four primary functional categories**

	Group a (3*)		Group b (2)		Group c (1)		Group d (0)		$D_{fxd.}$
	$N_{type}$	$M_{freq.}^{**}$	$N_{type}$	$M_{freq.}$	$N_{type}$	$N_{type}$	$M_{freq.}$	$N_{type}$	
<b>I. Stance Expressions</b>	42	226.17	127	121.19	168	173.67	10	112.50	1.58
<b>II. Discourse Organisers</b>	51	122.25	51	174.94	28	93.54	11	82.18	2.01
<b>III. Referential Expressions</b>	374	106.60	255	109.86	177	129.56	19	109.42	2.19
<b>IV. Special Communicational Functions</b>	83	138.40	107	98.38	158	91.49	15	64.80	1.71

Note: \*the numbers stand for the score assigned to each form group:

3: a continuous fixed part and NO variable parts,

2: a continuous fixed part and ONE variable part before or after the fixed part,

1: a continuous fixed part and MORE THAN ONE variable part before or after the fixed part,

0: a discontinuous fixed part and AT LEAST ONE variable part inserted in the fixed part, with/without AT LEAST ONE variable part before or after the fixed part.

\*\*Mean frequency  $M_{freq.} = \frac{\Sigma_{instance}}{\Sigma_{type}}$

Secondly, next on the rank are FSs in the category “II. Discourse Organisers” ( $D_{fxd.} = 2.01$ ). Among them, continuous sequences requiring no or only one variable part are equally diverse (i.e.,  $N_{type} = 51$  times in the groups a and b, respectively), but those with one variable part are more frequent on average ( $M_{freq.} = 174.94$  times). Thirdly, the least fixed FSs belong to the category “I. Stance Expressions” ( $D_{fxd.} = 1.58$ ). Most FSs in the category are continuous and have more than one variable part (i.e.,  $N_{type} = 168$  in the group c). Still, the continuous and invariable FSs (i.e., the group a) in the category occur most frequently on average ( $M_{freq.} = 226.17$  times). However, the result

<sup>17</sup> The significance tests in this section were conducted with the UCREL Significance Test System, <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/sigtest/>

of a significance test indicates that values of  $D_{fxd}$  of FSs in the four primary function categories are not significantly different from each other ( $p > .05$ ).

Finally, a comparison between the values of  $D_{fxd}$  presented in Table 7.1.1.3a and Table 7.1.1.3b indicates that FSs as stance expressions in EModE dialogues are slightly less fixed than those in letters. The same trend can be observed between FSs as referential expressions in the two types of texts. On the contrary, FSs as discourse organisers in dialogues are more fixed than those in letters. The same trend can be observed between sequences serving special communicational functions in the two corpora. However, none of these differences is significant. In other words, for each primary function category, FSs in dialogues are not different from those in letters regarding the degree of fixedness in their lexical-grammatical structure.

### 7.1.2. Abstract grammatical-structural patterns of formulaic sequences

An in-depth description of FSs in each primary function category and subcategory in Chapter 6 further reveals several preliminary observations regarding the form-meaning/function mappings of FSs. Firstly, it is common that most FSs in a particular category or subcategory have the same grammatical structure(s). For example, in EModE letters, the *as* + SUBJ + V construction is a grammatical structure explicitly and commonly shared by FSs in the subcategory “A. topic introduction/focus” (“II. Discourse Organisers”) and “C. reporting clauses” (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”), including “**as he says**”, “(as) **it is said** {that-CLAUSE}”, etc. Table 7.1.2 summarises the most explicit and common grammatical-structural patterns of FSs and their corresponding function categories and subcategories.

Secondly, it is common that a particular grammatical-structural pattern is mapped to several function categories and subcategories. For example, the *I* + V + COMP construction and its variant are mapped to both “I. Stance Expressions” (incl. “A1. certain/known”, “A2. uncertain/unknown”, “B1. desire/willingness”, and “B8. affirmation/denial”) and “II. Discourse Organisers” (incl. “A. topic introduction/focus” and “B. topic elaboration/clarification”) in EModE dialogues. Some examples of FSs in this case are “**I believe** ({that-CLAUSE})”, “**I know not** {COMP}”, “**I hope** {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, “**I warrant** {[you]} (COMP)”, respectively.

**Table 7.1.2: Common and explicit abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters across function categories and subcategories**

Abstract grammatical-structural patterns	Function	
	Dialogues	Letters
ADJ + N		I: B6.
<i>as</i> + AdjP/AdvP + <i>as</i>	III: C3	
<i>as</i> + SUBJ + V		II: A, IV: C.
BE + ADJ + COMP	I: B4	II: B4
BE + PREDICATE	I: A1, A3, B1, B2, B13 III: C3	I: A1, A3, B1, B2, B13
BE + <i>to</i> -INFINITIVE	I: B3	
combinations of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions	II: B	
conditional clauses led by <i>if</i> or <i>may</i>	I: B10	
DEMONSTRATIVE PRON + BE or ( <i>here/there</i> /DEMONSTRATIVES + BE + NP (a topic introduced) + POST MODIFIER)	II: A	II: A.
HONORIFIC TITLE + (FIRST NAME) + SURNAME		III: A3.
<i>I</i> + V + COMP or SUBJ ( <i>I</i> ) + V + COMP	I: A1, A2, B1, B8, II: A, B.	I: A1, A2, B1, B8, B10, B12, B13, II: A, B
<i>in</i> + NP	III: C3	III: C3.
<i>in</i> + NP1 + <i>of</i> + NP2	III: C3.	
(indirect) questions led by auxiliaries <i>will</i> or <i>does</i>	I: B10	
<i>let-</i> or <i>let</i> + NP (somebody) + INFINITIVE	I: B2	I: B2 II: A
minor sentences or ADV	I: B8	
multi-word subordinating conjunctions	II: B	II: B
NP	III: A1, A2, A3, A6	III: A1, A2, A3
NP1 + <i>of</i> + NP2	III: A5, C1	III: A5
NP (attribute) + <i>of</i> + NP		III: C3
POSS. PRON + ADJ + N	I: B5	I: B5
POSS. PRON + INTENSIFIER + ADJ + N		I: B5
POSS. PRON + NP (indicating social ranks)	I: B6	I: B6
POSS. PRON ( <i>my, your, his, her</i> ) + NP	III: A3	
POSS. PRON + <i>own</i>	III: C3.	III: C3.
PP	I: B8	
PP of <i>by</i> and <i>upon</i>	I: B12	
QUANTIFIER + DETERMINER (+ NP)	III: C1	
QUANTIFIER + <i>of</i> + NP	III: A5	III: A5
SUBJ + MD + INFINITIVE + COMP	I: B2	I: B2
SUBJ (mostly <i>I</i> ) + <i>pray/besech</i> + OBJ (somebody, optional)	I: B10	I: B10
SUBJ (mostly <i>I</i> ) + V + OBJ (NP: somebody or		IV: A3

something positive) + PP (optional)		
SUBJ + V + <i>Your</i> + MODIFIER (optional) + NP (somebody) + VP ( <i>to</i> -INFINITIVE, optional)		IV: A3.
the verb <i>promise</i> in the fixed part	I: B12	
<i>to</i> + MODIFIER + NP (somebody)		IV: A3
VP or V + PP or V + PARTICAL+ NP	III: A4	III: A4
<i>wh</i> -questions	II: B, IV: B	IV: B
<i>Your</i> + MODIFIER +NP (somebody)		IV: A3
<i>Your</i> + NP (somebody) + VP ( <i>to</i> -INFINITIVE)		IV: A3

(Continuing from the previous page)

Thirdly, it is also common that a particular function is mapped to several grammatical-structural patterns. For example, FSs referencing “C3. intangible attributes” (“III. Referential Expressions”) in EModE dialogues are grouped according to five grammatical-structural patterns, including BE + PREDICATE, *as* + AdjP/AdvP + *as*, *in* + NP, *in* + NP1 + *of* + NP2, and POSS. PRON + *own*. Examples of FSs in these groups are “[{be}] **made of** {NP: material}”, “**as well (COMP) as** {CLAUSE}”, “**in company** (of/with {NP: somebody})”, “**in the hearing of** {NP}”, and “**his own**”, respectively.

Fourthly, taking text types into consideration, some grammatical-structural patterns are exclusively or more explicitly featured by FSs in EModE dialogues than those in letters, or vice versa. There are two possible explanations for the distinction: size of data sources and preference of a specific text type. The first explanation is rather straight-forward. For example, for the function “B10. request”, EModE letters (1,461,538 words) employ FSs in the form of the *I* + V + COMP construction, and the verb in most of such FSs is mostly *pray* and *beseech*, forming a more lexical construction SUBJ (mostly *I*) + *pray/beseech* + OBJ (somebody, optional). FSs in the form of the *I* + V + COMP construction also use verbs *entreat*, *have*, *beg*, and *desire*, but they are less common. By comparison, EModE dialogues (692,451 words) only employed FSs specifically in the form of the SUBJ (mostly *I*) + *pray/beseech* + OBJ (somebody, optional) construction. It is legit to assume that if the corpus of EModE dialogues is larger, FSs in the *I* + V + COMP construction containing verbs *entreat*, *have*, *beg*, and *desire* could be identified.

The second explanation from the perspective of communication preference can be further discussed from two aspects. For one thing, FSs in a particular function category or subcategory are less common in one text type



than the other, hence the structural pattern they reflect is also less common in that text type. For example, the FSs referencing “C3. intangible attributes” (“III. Referential Expressions”) mentioned-above account for 11.86 per cent of all types of FSs in EModE dialogues, while only 9.10 percent in letters. Accordingly, those in dialogues explicitly represent five grammatical-structural patterns, while those in letters only explicitly represent two of them (i.e., *in* + NP and POSS. PRON + *own*) plus the NP (attribute) + *of* + NP construction. This explanation supports the argument that spoken and written communication differ in their position on the grammatical continuum rather than as grammatical dichotomous (Marcus 2018, 10). For another, some FSs are genre-specific, and their grammatical-structural pattern is also genre-specific. For example, FSs as salutations (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”) in letters can be grouped into five grammatical-structural patterns, including SUBJ + V + *Your* + MODIFIER (optional) + NP (somebody) + VP (*to*-INFINITIVE, optional), SUBJ (mostly *I*) + V + OBJ (NP: somebody or something positive) + PP (optional), *Your* + MODIFIER + NP (somebody), *Your* + NP (somebody) + VP (*to*-INFINITIVE), and *to* + MODIFIER + NP (somebody). FSs as salutations in this form patterns are identified exclusively in EModE letters; there are no FSs in EModE dialogues serving the same function, nor are there FSs in other categories have the same structure. This explanation clarifies the grammatical continuum argument by suggesting that the position of a specific text type on the continuum is a matter of communication convention and preference.

Lastly, some of the items listed in Table 7.1.2 reveals that even patterns at a full grammatical level could also vary in degrees of schematicity and abstraction. For example, some FSs can be abstracted into the BE + PREDICATE construction. Others are more specific regarding what the PREDICATE should be, such as the *to*-INFINITIVE construction and the ADJ + COMP combination. This observation strongly supported the present study’s argument that FSs are constructions in nature, and future investigation of FSs within the framework of the Construction Grammar is well supported theoretically and empirically.

In conclusion, the discussion about abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs reveal more similarities between EModE dialogues and letters

than differences. Generally speaking, the abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs and their functions represent a one-to-many and a many-to-many mappings. This is generally true for both text types. Distinctions primarily lie in communication preferences and conventions rather than clear-bounded grammatical features.

## **7.2. A perspective of function**

This section answers the question regarding how FSs distinguish EModE dialogues and letters from the perspective of function. Section 7.2.1 examines the distribution of FSs across four primary functional categories and discusses some typical FSs that characterise each mode of communication. Section 7.2.2. examines FSs that serve more than one function. The first part of this section discusses how multi-functional FSs are distributed across the four primary categories and what differences can be observed between the distributions of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters. The second part presents common combinations of functions served by multi-functional FSs in each mode of communication.

Before starting the discussion, definitions of the four primary function categories are briefly revisited (for details regarding subcategories and labels, see Section 6.1, Chapter 6). FSs in the category “I. Stance Expressions” state a language user’s knowledge status, opinions, attitudes, desires, or else related to mental status. FSs in the category “II. Discourse Markers” are mostly textual functions, such as introducing, explaining, reasoning, and organising the relationships between units of discourse. FSs in the category “III. Referential Expressions” name concrete and physical entities, abstract entities, concepts, and properties. FSs in the category “IV. Special Communicational Functions” are used to maintain social relationships among different parties involved in the communication or to facilitate their communicational interactions.

### **7.2.1. Differences of formulaic sequences across function categories**

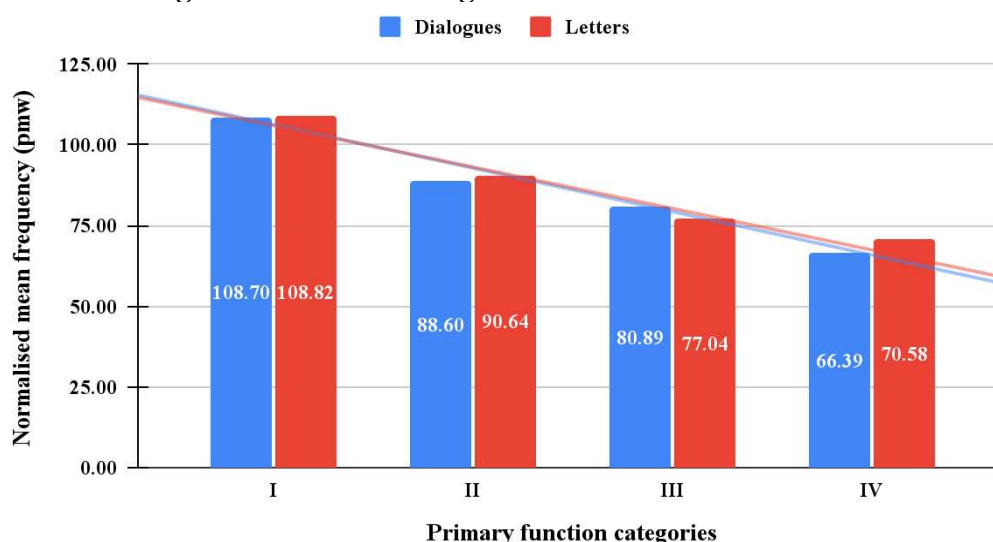
#### **7.2.1.1. Distribution differences**

As presented in Figure 7.2.1.1, the x-axis stands for four primary function categories, i.e., “I. Stance Expressions”, “II. Discourse Markers”, “III. Referential Expressions”, and “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. The y-axis in Figure 7.2.1.1 represents normalised mean frequencies of FSs

( $M_{nml.freq.}$ ), i.e., how many times an FS in each primary function category may occur per million words on average ( $pmw.$ ). The figure reveals a similar trend in the use of FSs in EModE dialogues (see the blue line) and letters (see the red line) across four primary functions. From the first primary function to the fourth, the normalised average frequencies of FSs in each category decrease steadily. Figure 7.2.1.1 also shows that in all four categories, the normalised mean frequencies of FSs found in dialogues and letters are close to each other, although in categories I, II, and IV FSs in letters are more frequent than those in dialogues, while in the third category FSs in dialogues are more frequent. Based on the above preliminary observations, a null hypothesis is suggested below:

$H_0$ : FSs are used in EModE letters as frequently as in EModE dialogues.

**Figure 7.2.1.1: Normalised mean frequencies\* of FSs across four primary function categories: EModE dialogues vs. EModE letters**



Note: \*Normalised mean frequency ( $M_{nml.freq.}$ ) refers to how many times an FS occurs per million words on average ( $pmw.$ ). It is calculated by dividing the mean frequency of FSs in a corpus by the sum of tokens in the corpus, and the result is multiplied by 1,000,000.

The Mann-Whitney test was run on the SPSS software, and the results reject the null hypothesis. Regardless of functions, EModE speakers resorted to FSs in their face-to-face conversations significantly ( $\alpha = .05$ ) more frequently on average ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 86.83$  times  $pmw.$ ) than in letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 79.51$  times  $pmw.$ ),  $U = 584001.000$ ,  $z = -2.173$ ,  $p = 0.030$ . The effect size is calculated in the following way:

$$\text{Effect size } r = \frac{z}{\sqrt{N}} \text{ (Rosenthal 1991, 19, as cited in Field 2013, 227)}$$

The calculation reveals a small effect size ( $r = -0.046 < .3$ ) (Field 2009, 550).

It is also worth examining how great the differences are between the frequencies of FSs in each type of communicational text for a particular function. The hypotheses are,

1.  $H_0$ : FSs are used in EModE letters as frequently as in EModE letters to serve as stance expressions.
2.  $H_0$ : FSs are used in EModE letters as frequently as in EModE letters to serve as discourse markers.
3.  $H_0$ : FSs are used in EModE letters as frequently as in EModE letters to serve as referential expressions.
4.  $H_0$ : FSs are used in EModE letters as frequently as in EModE letters to serve special communicational functions.

The Mann-Whitney test was run four times, i.e., one time with data of each functional category. Test results retain all four null hypotheses. Firstly, regarding the primary function “I. Stance Expressions”, the average frequency of FSs in EModE dialogues ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 108.70$  times *pmw.*) is not significantly different from that of FSs in EModE letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 108.83$  times *pmw.*),  $U = 37,469.00$ ,  $z = -.096$ ,  $p = .924$ ,  $r = -.003$ . Secondly, regarding the primary function “II. Discourse Markers”, the average frequency of FSs in EModE dialogues ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 88.60$  times *pmw.*) is not significantly different from that of FSs in EModE letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 90.65$  times *pmw.*),  $U = 8134.00$ ,  $z = -.288$ ,  $p = .773$ ,  $r = -.018$ . Thirdly, regarding the primary function “III. Referential Expressions”, the average normalised frequency of FSs in EModE dialogues ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 80.88$  times *pmw.*) is not significantly different from FSs in EModE letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 77.04$  times *pmw.*),  $U = 21571.00$ ,  $z = -1.787$ ,  $p = .074$ ,  $r = -.048$ . Lastly, regarding the primary function “IV. Special Communicational Functions”, the average normalised frequency of FSs in EModE dialogues ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 66.39$  times *pmw.*) is not significantly different from FSs in EModE letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 70.57$  times *pmw.*),  $U = 17428.00$ ,  $z = -1.335$ ,  $p = .182$ ,  $r = -.062$ .

The above quantitative analysis suggests that comparing FSs identified from the corpus of EModE dialogues and letters, FSs are more common in spoken communication than in written communication, and the difference is significant. However, when breaking down into groups according to their functions, the difference between FSs in two text types is no longer significant.

In other words, FSs in neither of the four primary categories characterise a particular mode of communication, represented by selected texts in the corpora.

### 7.2.1.2. Genre-specific formulaic sequences

Regarding the use and distribution, quantitative analysis in the previous section indicates no significant difference between FSs in EModE dialogues and those in letters across four primary function categories. However, regarding specific form-meaning/function mappings, distinctions between FSs in the two corpora are observable and worth discussing. In this section, I compared FSs that exist exclusively in EModE dialogues with those in letters (hereinafter genre-specific FSs). For this purpose, I examined ten of the most frequent genre-specific FSs in each primary category. The comparison focused on frequencies of occurrence and function. The aim is to investigate which genre-specific FSs are most frequently and exclusively employed for a primary function and which subcategories of functions are served by these genre-specific FSs.

Regarding the first primary function, “I. Stance Expressions”, Table 7.2.1.2a presents the top-ten most frequent genre-specific FSs in EModE dialogues (62 types in total). Table 7.2.1.2b shows those used in EModE letters (207 types in total). From the perspective of frequency, these genre-specific FSs in EModE letters are generally more frequent than those in dialogues. The frequencies of all ten sequences in EModE letters are above 100 times *pmw.*, and eight of them are above 200 times *pmw.* In comparison, there are only four sequences in dialogues whose frequencies are above 100 times *pmw.*, and only one of them is above 200 times *pmw.*

**Table 7.2.1.2a: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE dialogues: I. Stance Expressions**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
[1]	(I/we) <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye} {COMP}	433.24	B10			
[2]	(IMPERATIVE) <b>if you will</b> (V-inf)	145.86	B10			
[3]	<b>in faith</b>	132.86	B8; B12			
[4]	<b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	108.31	B10			
[5]	(I/let me) <b>beseech you</b> {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	96.76	B10			
[6]	<b>I warrant</b> {[you]} (COMP)	92.43	B8; B12			
[7]	<b>I</b> (dare/will) <b>warrant you</b>	90.98	B8; B12			
[8]	({wh-WORD}) <b>would you</b> {COMP}?	88.09	B1			B

[9]	<b>I beseech you</b> {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/that-CLAUDE}}	88.09	B10			
[10]	<b>Yes Sir</b>	88.09	B7			

(Continuing from the previous page)

**Table 7.2.1.2b: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE letters: I. Stance Expressions**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
[11]	<b>her Majesty</b>	1049.58	B6		A3	F
[12]	<b>your ladyship</b>	613.74	B6		A3	F
[13]	{I} <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye}	411.21	B10			
[14]	<b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	249.05	B10			
[15]	{{POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good lord</b>	237.42	B5		A3	
[16]	<b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}	215.53	B5		A3	F
[17]	{POSS. PRON} <b>loving friend</b>	211.42	B5		A3	
[18]	<b>my good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.}	202.53	B5		A3	F
[19]	(the) <b>right honourable</b> {NP: somebody}	182.00	B6		A3	F
[20]	{I} <b>pray God</b>	175.84	B1			

From the perspective of function, all of the top-ten frequent FSs exclusive in EModE dialogues and those in letters belong to the subcategory “B. attitudinal/modality stance”, but they have different focuses. Firstly, five of the ten stance expression sequences in EModE dialogues are requests ([1], [2], [4], [5], and [9]), while only two are in letters ([13] and [14]). Secondly, three stance expression sequences in dialogues are used to express affirmation/denial and/or to make an oath or a promise ([3], [6], and [7]). However, none of the ten most frequent FSs in EModE letters serves these functions. Thirdly, seven of the ten stance sequences in EModE letters are used across primary functions. Four of them express a respectful attitude ([15] – [18]), while three express affections ([11], [12], and [19]). All seven are also in the primary function category “III. Referential Expressions” and represent persons, and five of them ([11], [12], [16], [18], and [19]) are also vocatives in the primary function category “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. However, only one sequence in EModE dialogues is assigned to more than one primary function category. The sequence in [8] is a simple inquiry (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”) about the listener’s desire.

Among genre-specific FSs in the primary function category “II. Discourse Markers”, the ten most frequent ones in EModE dialogues (46 types in total) are presented in Table 7.2.1.2c and those in EModE letters (74 types in total) are presented in Table 7.2.1.2d. From the perspective of frequency, these FSs in both types of communicational texts are almost equally frequent. Three of the ten sequences in dialogues and seven in letters occur more than 100 times *pmw.*, while both dialogues and letters have two sequences that occur more than 150 times *pmw.*

**Table 7.2.1.2c: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE dialogues: II. Discourse Organisers**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
[21]	<b>I say</b> {COMP}	261.39		A		
[22]	<b>further says</b> {that-CLAUSE}	157.41		A		C
[23]	<b>What say you</b> (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?	108.31		B		B
[24]	<b>how now</b>	88.09		B		D
[25]	{I/we} (MODAL VERB) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	76.54	B8; B12	A		
[26]	<b>I will tell you</b> {COMP}	75.1		A		
[27]	([Wh-]) <b>do you think</b> {COMP}?	72.21		B		B
[28]	<b>hark you</b>	57.77		A		
[29]	<b>to this effect</b> (that-CLAUSE: result or purpose)	54.88		B		
[30]	<b>Why do you</b> {COMP}?	50.55		B		B

**Table 7.2.1.2d: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE letters: II. Discourse Organisers**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
[31]	{I} <b>am sure</b> {that-CLAUSE}	165.58	A1	A		
[32]	{I} (MODAL VERB) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	160.79	B8; B12	A		
[33]	<b>I</b> (do/do not) <b>perceive</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	143.68		B		
[34]	{SUBJ} <b>doubt not but</b> {COMP}	138.21	A1	A		
[35]	<b>I doubt not but</b> {that-CLAUSE}	125.89	A1	A		
[36]	<b>I assure</b> {NP: somebody} {that-CLAUSE}	119.74	B8; B12	A		
[37]	(as) <b>it is said</b> {that-CLAUSE}	103.32		A		C
[38]	<b>I (have) received your letter</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}	82.79		A	D3	
[39]	<b>I wrote to</b> {NP: somebody}	67.05		A		
[40]	(as) <b>it is thought</b> {that-CLAUSE}	59.53		A		C

From the perspective of function, firstly, the ten most frequent sequences in EModE dialogues are equally distributed across the two subcategories of discourse organisers, i.e., “A. topic introduction/focus” and “B. topic elaboration/clarification”; whereas only one sequence in letters elaborates or clarifies a topic ([33]) and the rest introduce or focalise a topic. Secondly, six of the most frequent discourse organiser sequences in EModE dialogues and nine in letters are multi-functional. Specifically, three of the six multi-functional sequences in dialogues ask for elaboration or clarification regarding a topic ([23], [27], [30]), and one encourages the listener to provide elaboration or clarification via an exclamative sentence ([24]). One FS in dialogues is a reporting clause that adds more information regarding a topic ([22]), there are two FSs of this kind in letters ([37], [40]). Another one in dialogues draws attention to a topic and affirms its credibility [25]. It can also be used to make an oath or promise. There are two multi-functional sequences of this kind in letters ([32], [36]). Moreover, in letters, three of the nine multi-functional discourse organiser sequences introduce a new topic and emphasise that the speaker is certain about it ([31], [34], and [35]). In addition, one sequence in letters focalises a previous letter and/or functions as textual deixis indicating the following part of the letter is a reply to that previous letter ([38]).

**Table 7.2.1.2e: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE dialogues: III. Referential Expressions**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
[41]	(after/at/by/etc.) <b>that time</b>	229.62			D1	
[42]	<b>as well as</b>	164.63			C3	
[43]	<b>the jury</b>	131.42			A3	
[44]	<b>the priest</b>	116.98			A3	
[45]	<b>old</b> {[man]}	114.09			A3	
[46]	{[say]} <b>unto</b> {NP: person}	106.87			A4	
[47]	<b>one of them</b>	102.53			A5	
[48]	{[cry]} <b>out</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}; to/upon {NP: somebody})	98.2			A4	
[49]	{[go]} <b>out</b> (of {NP: somewhere})	95.31			A4	
[50]	<b>the knight</b>	95.31			A3	

**Table 7.2.1.2f: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE letters: III. Referential Expressions**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
[51]	<b>her Majesty</b>	1049.58	B6		A3	F



[52]	(the) <b>Lord</b> {NP: name}	684.89			A3	
[53]	<b>your ladyship</b>	613.74	B6		A3	F
[54]	{[write]} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody}	481			A4	
[55]	({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good lord</b>	237.42	B5		A3	
[56]	<b>the</b> {NUM} <b>of</b> {MONTH}	227.16			D1	
[57]	<b>Sir Thomas</b>	225.11			A3	F
[58]	<b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}	215.53	B5		A3	F
[59]	{POSS. PRON} <b>loving friend</b>	211.42	B5		A3	
[60]	{[hear]} <b>from</b> {NP: somebody}	207.32			A4	

(Continuing from the previous page)

In the primary function category “III. Referential Expressions”, Table 7.2.1.2e presents the ten most frequent genre-specific FSs in EModE dialogues (195 types in total), and Table 7.2.1.2f presents the ten most frequent ones in letters (467 types in total). From the perspective of frequency of occurrence, genre-specific FSs in letters are generally more frequent than those in dialogues. All ten sequences in letters occur more than 200 times *pmw.*; however, there is only one in dialogues with a frequency above 200 times *pmw.* and seven above 100 times *pmw.*

From the perspective of function, firstly, the most frequent referential sequences in EModE dialogues focus on referencing persons ([43] – [45], and [50]) and actions ([46], [48], and [49]), whereas the main focus lies on persons in letters ([51] – [53], [55], [58], and [59]). Secondly, the referential sequences of persons in letters are mostly multi-functional. Four of them are vocatives, either showing respect ([51] and [53]) or affection ([58]) towards a person. However, none of the most frequent referential sequences in dialogues is multi-functional. Lastly, some FSs in Table 7.2.1.2f explicitly reflect their relevance to letters. FSs referencing actions in [54] and [60] concern letter exchange. By comparison, those in dialogues are about general actions. Moreover, the sequence in [58] is often realised in the opening or closing parts of letters, embedded in salutations (see “A3. salutation” in Section 6.6.2, Chapter 6.).

Outstanding differences between genre-specific FSs in EModE dialogues and those in letters can also be observed in the last primary category “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. The ten most frequent FSs in dialogues (58 types in total) are presented in Table 7.2.1.2g and those in letters (316 types in total) in Table 7.2.1.2h. From the perspective of frequency, the

ten FSs in letters are significantly more frequent than those in dialogues. They all occur more than 200 times *pmw*. There is only one in dialogues with a frequency above 200 times *pmw*. and three above 100 times *pmw*.

From the perspective of function, five of the most frequent FSs in EModE dialogues are simple inquiries ([61], [63] – [65], and [67]), two are exclamations ([66] and [69]), and one is used as a general politeness or social maintenance routine ([68]). However, none of the most frequent sequences in letters serve these subcategories of functions. Meanwhile, the ten most frequent genre-specific FSs in letters can be divided into two groups. Six of them are used as salutations ([73] – [76], [78], and [80]), while four appear as vocative expressions ([71], [72], [77], and [79]). Moreover, all four vocative expressions in letters are multi-functional in referencing persons and/or expressing respectful or affectionate attitudes. Five of the most frequent sequences in dialogues serve various combinations of functions, such as giving additional information on a topic ([62]) and asking for elaboration ([63]).

**Table 7.2.1.2g: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE dialogues: IV. Special Communicational Functions**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq.</i> ( <i>pmw.</i> )	I	II	III	IV
[61]	<b>Where</b> {[be]} {NP}?	244.06				B
[62]	<b>further says</b> {that-CLAUSE}	157.41		A		C
[63]	<b>What say you</b> (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?	108.31		B		B
[64]	<b>What do you</b> {V-inf}?	93.87				B.
[65]	({wh-WORD}) <b>would you</b> {COMP}?	88.09	B1			B
[66]	<b>how now</b>	88.09		B		D
[67]	(at) <b>what time</b> (of (the) {night/day}) {COMP}?	86.65				B
[68]	((God) give you) (a) <b>good morrow</b>	77.98				A5
[69]	<b>Why then</b>	77.98				D
[70]	<b>good</b> {[man]}	76.54			A3	F

**Table 7.2.1.2h: Top-ten most frequent FSs that exist exclusively in EModE letters: IV. Special Communicational Functions**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq.</i> ( <i>pmw.</i> )	I	II	III	IV
[71]	<b>her Majesty</b>	1049.58	B6		A3	F
[72]	<b>your ladyship</b>	613.74	B6		A3	F
[73]	<b>To my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody}	402.32				A3
[74]	<b>Your most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate,	370.16				A3

	assured, dutiful, faithful, humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}					
[75]	<b>I rest</b> (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	264.79				A3
[76]	{I/we} (ever) <b>rest your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, ever loving, ladyship's, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, uncle, son, servant, husband, etc.}	248.37				A3
[77]	<b>Sir Thomas</b>	225.11			A3	F
[78]	{POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) <b>service to</b> {NP: somebody}	222.37				A3
[79]	<b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}	215.53	B5		A3	F
[80]	<b>To the right</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}	209.37				A3

(Continuing from the previous page)

One can draw two conclusions from the above analysis of the ten most frequent genre-specific FSs in EModE dialogues and ten in letters. The first conclusion is that overall genre-specific FSs in EModE letters are more frequent than those in dialogues in three out of four primary function categories, i.e., “I. Stance Expressions”, “III. Referential Expressions”, and “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. Almost all the analysed genre-specific FSs in letters occur more than 200 times *pmw.*, while most FSs in dialogues are below 100 times *pmw.* In other words, it is more often for EModE letters than dialogues to employ genre-specific FSs to perform the three primary functions. Based on the first conclusion concerning frequency, the second conclusion is that for a particular primary function, genre-specific FSs in EModE dialogues and those in letters focus on various aspects of the function. To sum up, EModE dialogues employ genre-specific sequences to serve subcategories of functions that mostly concern requests (5 types), topic introduction/focus (5), topic elaboration/clarification (5), inquiries (5), personal references (4), general action references (3), affirmation/denial (3), oath/promise (3), etc. By comparison, in EModE letters, the subcategories of functions centre on aspects concerning topic introduction/focus (9), personal references (7), salutations (6), vocatives (4), respect (4), affection (3), etc.

### **7.2.2. Multi-functional formulaic sequences**

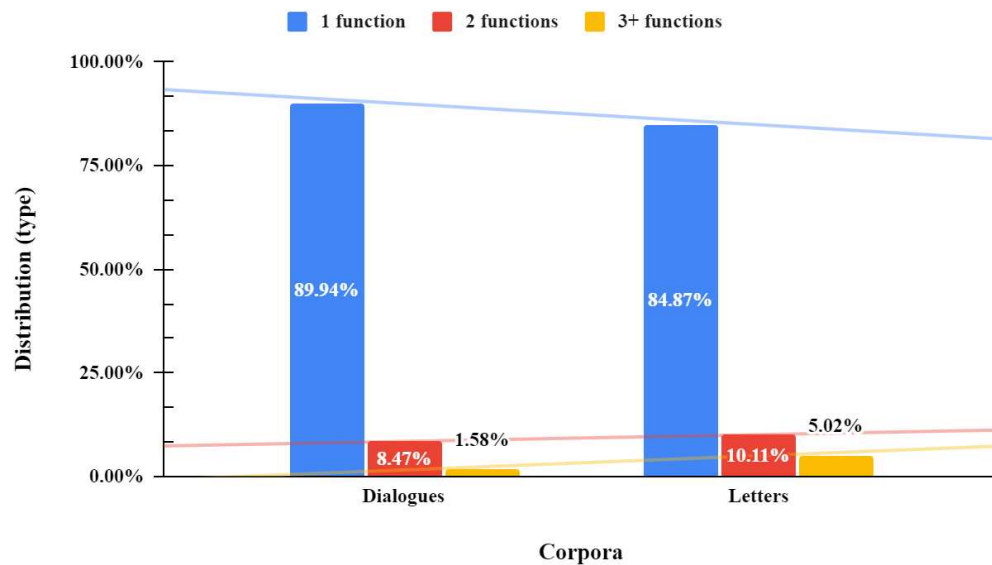
It has been noticed during the identification process that some FSs serve more than one function, and multi-functional FSs exist in both corpora. As some examples in Section 6.3, Chapter 6 demonstrated, FSs may be assigned to multiple functional categories for various reasons; for instance; components of their fixed parts, which often determine the semantics/pragmatics of a sequence, are polysemous, they are used in various situations and speech events, and some of their component lexical items contain implicatures normally associated with particular functions, etc.

This section provides a deep insight into multi-functional FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters respectively from two perspectives. Firstly, I demonstrate and compare the distributions of FSs serving various numbers of functions. The aim is to find out if there are any statistically significant differences between the use of multi-functional sequences in EModE dialogues and letters. Secondly, I discuss the most common combinations of functions served by FSs. The aim is to further investigate how FSs would (or would not) characterise the two types of communication.

#### **7.2.2.1. Distribution differences**

Regarding single-functional FSs and multi-functional FSs in EModE dialogues and letters, the first quantitative comparison considers how many types of FSs are identified in each case and how they are distributed, i.e., the diversity of single-functional sequences and multi-functional sequences. Results are presented in Figure 7.2.2.1a. The x-axis of the chart contains two columns, which stand for the two corpora: EModE dialogues and EModE letters. In each column (or corpus), values are presented individually in three cases regarding the number of functions that an FS serves: one function (the blue bar), two functions (the red bar), and three functions (the yellow bar). The study did not find any FSs that serve all four primary functions. The y-axis stands for the percentage of FS types in each case. Trend lines are also provided for better comparisons.

**Figure 7.2.2.1a: Distribution of FSs (types) according to the number of functions they serve: EModE dialogues vs. EModE letters**



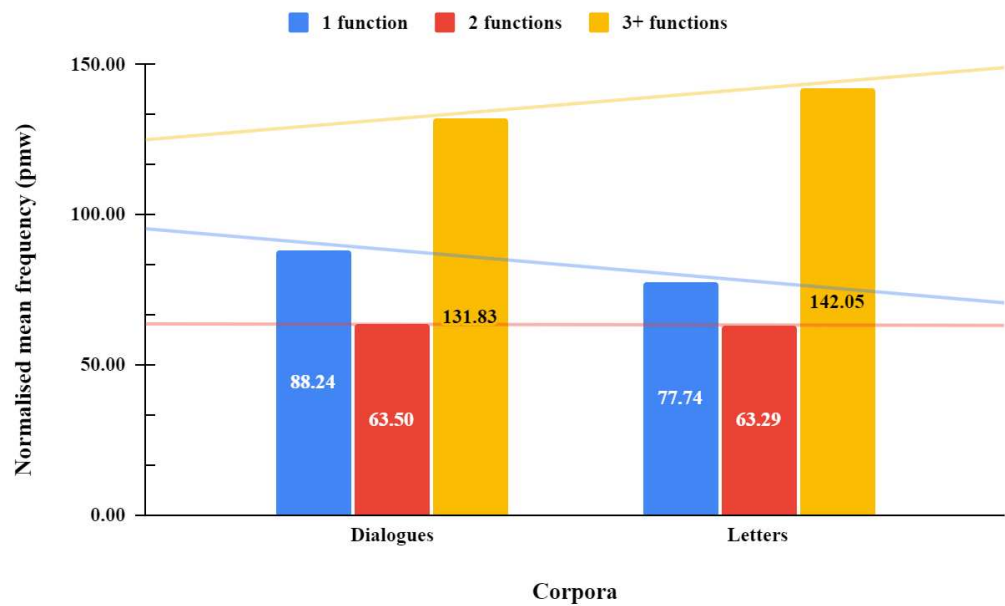
Descriptive statistics suggest that FSs serving various numbers of functions in the corpus of EModE dialogues are distributed in similar trends compared with those in the corpus of EModE letters. Most FSs in both corpora serve only one function, accounting for 89.94 per cent and 84.87 per cent of all FSs, respectively. In either corpus, there are only slightly more types of FSs serving two functions than those serving more than two functions. Moreover, the three trend lines in Figure 7.2.2.1a show that the differences between the two corpora seem to be small across all three cases concerning the number of functions.

The second comparison focuses on the mean frequency of occurrence in each one million words. Results of the comparison are presented in Figure 7.2.2.1b, in which the x-axis contains two columns, which stand for the two corpora: EModE dialogues and EModE letters. In each column (or corpus), values are presented individually in three cases regarding the number of functions that an FS serves: one function (the blue bar), two functions (the red bar), and three functions (the yellow bar). The y-axis stands for how many times an FS could occur in one million words on average (*pmw.*).

Descriptive data in Figure 7.2.2.1b suggest that when the frequency is taken into consideration, single-functional FSs and multi-functional ones in the two corpora reflect a different relationship compared with that presented in Figure 7.2.2.1a above. Firstly, tri-functional FSs have the highest normalised

mean frequencies in both EModE dialogues and letters. Such sequences in EModE dialogues are less frequent ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 131.83$  times  $pmw.$ ) than those in EModE letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 142.25$  times  $pmw.$ ). Compared with their diversity in the two corpora (see Figure 7.2.2.1a), although tri-functional FSs have the least number of type variants, they are the most repeatedly used ones in both EModE dialogues and letters.

**Figure 7.2.2.1b: Normalised mean frequencies ( $pmw.$ ) of FSs that serve only one function, two functions, and three functions: EModE dialogues vs. EModE letters**



Secondly, although the majority of FSs found in both corpora serve only one function (see Figure 7.2.2.1a), they are not the most repeatedly used ones in either corpus. Figure 7.2.2.1b shows that the normalised mean frequencies of single-functional FSs in both corpora take second place and are much lower than those serving three functions. Moreover, single-functional FSs in EModE dialogues have a higher normalised mean frequency ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 88.24$  times  $pmw.$ ) than those in letters ( $M_{nml.freq.} = 77.74$  times  $pmw.$ ).

Thirdly, trend lines in Figure 7.2.2.1b indicate that in either of the three cases of function numbers, differences between normalised mean frequencies of FSs in EModE dialogues and those in letters are small. For example, in both corpora, FSs serving two functions are almost equally frequent.

The third quantitative comparison intends to test whether the observed differences are statistically significant or not. Due to the multi-level structure of the data set and the complexity of comparison, several statistical tests were

applied. Firstly, a chi-square test was run to test if there was a relation between types of communication (i.e., EModE dialogues and letters) and the number of functions. Results presented in Table 7.2.2.1a show that there is a **significant** association between the types of communication and the number of functions served by FSs,  $\chi^2(2) = 20.48, p < .001$ .

**Table 7.2.2.1a: Chi-Square Test result: relation between text type and the number of functions served by FSs**

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	20.478 <sup>a</sup>	2	<.001	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	22.724	2	<.001	<.001		
Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test	22.168			<.001		
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.317 <sup>b</sup>	1	<.001	<.001	<.001	.000
N of Valid Cases	2280					

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 32.61.

b. The standardized statistic is 4.280.

Secondly, to test the descriptive observations regarding the relationship between frequencies of FSs with various numbers of functions and text types, a two-way independent factorial ANOVA test was conducted. Results of Levene's equality of error variances test presented in Table 7.2.2.1b indicate that the variance in frequencies of occurrence is not equal ( $p < .001$ ) across the various combinations of text types and the number of functions. The test result supports the previous observations that FSs serving the same number of functions are not equally frequent in the two corpora (e.g., single-functional FSs in EModE dialogues are more frequent than those in letters).

**Table 7.2.2.1b: Two-way independent factorial ANOVA test: Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances (the relationship between frequencies of FSs and text types)**

*Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances<sup>a,b</sup>*

		Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Normalised frequency (per million)	Based on Mean	10	5	2274	<.001

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

<sup>a</sup>. Dependent variable: Normalised frequency (per million)

<sup>b</sup>. Design: Intercept + corpus + single\_two\_three\_more\_functions + corpus \* single\_two\_three\_more\_functions

Moreover, tests of between-subjects effects on the dependent variable (i.e., the normalised frequency) reveal the interaction between text type (i.e., EModE dialogues and letters) and the number of functions. Test results in Table 7.2.2.1c suggest that regardless of text type, single-functional FSs, bi-

functional FSs, and tri-functional FSs have different frequencies of occurrence and the difference is significant ( $p = .006$ ). However, the test does not find a significant overall interaction between the type of corpus and the number of functions served by FSs,  $F(2, 2274) = .224, p = .799$ . In other words, for FSs serving a certain number of functions (i.e., zero, two, or more than three), their frequencies of occurrence in EModE dialogues are different from those in letters, but the difference is not significant enough to characterise the text type.

**Table 7.2.2.1c: Two-way independent factorial ANOVA test: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects (the interaction between text type and the number of functions)**

*Tests of Between-Subjects Effects*  
 Dependent Variable: Normalised frequency (per million)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	414377.16 <sup>a</sup>	5	82875.43	4.058	.001	.009
Intercept	2966498.37	1	2966498.37	145.260	<.001	.060
Corpus	2.19	1	2.19	.000	.992	.000
Function (1, 2, more)	210187.49	2	105093.74	5.146	.006	.005
Corpus * Function (1, 2, more)	9151.88	2	4575.94	.224	.799	.000
Error	46439740.647	2274	20422.05			
Total	62315605.703	2280				
Corrected Total	46854117.808	2279				

<sup>a</sup>. R Squared = .009 (Adjusted R Squared = .007)

Nevertheless, the ANOVA test could not break down the effect of text type on the frequency of FSs serving a specific number of functions. Therefore, FSs found in each corpus were divided into three groups: single-functional FSs, FSs serving two functions, and FSs serving three functions. The three groups were compared individually across corpora by conducting three separate Mann-Whitney tests. Three hypotheses are suggested:

1.  $H_0$ : on average, single-functional FSs occur as frequently in EModE dialogues as in EModE letters.
2.  $H_0$ : on average, FSs serving two functions occur as frequently in EModE dialogues as in EModE letters.
3.  $H_0$ : on average, FSs serving three functions occur as frequently in EModE dialogues as in EModE letters.

Test results are presented in Table 7.2.2.1d. Comparing single-functional FSs in EModE dialogues with those in letters, the former occurs more frequently than the latter, and the difference is significant,  $p = .023, r = -.051$ . The first null hypothesis is hence rejected. However, for FSs serving two functions, the difference between their average frequency of occurrence in EModE dialogues and EModE letters is not significant,  $p = .539, r = -.042$ . The second null hypothesis is hence not rejected. Similarly, FSs that serve three



functions occur less frequently in dialogues than letters, but the difference is not significant,  $p = .683$ ,  $r = -.045$ . The third null hypothesis is hence not rejected. It seems that although the mean frequency of single-functional FSs is significantly affected by text type, the effect does not spread to the two groups of multi-functional sequences. The significant difference observed between single-functional sequences in the two corpora might result from small corpus size and/or limitations in the sources of texts. Moreover, the effect sizes ( $r = \frac{z}{\sqrt{N}}$ ) of all three tests are small. Therefore, the frequencies of FSs serving various numbers of functions do not characterise a specific type of communication. The conclusion drawn from the Mann-Whitney tests corresponds to that from the ANOVA test (see Table 7.2.2.1c).

**Table 7.2.2.1d: Mann-Whitney tests (the effect of text type on frequency of FSs serving one function, two functions, and three functions, respectively)**

(i) single-functional

*Test Statistiks<sup>a,b</sup>*

	Normalised frequency (per million words)
Mann-Whitney U	442846.000
Wilcoxon W	1144366.000
Z	-2.276
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.023

a. Grouping Variable: Corpus (1: dialogue, 2: letter)

b. Some or all exact significances cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

(ii) two functions

*Test Statistiks<sup>a</sup>*

	Normalised frequency (per million words)
Mann-Whitney U	5019.000
Wilcoxon W	15030.000
Z	-.614
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.539

a. Grouping Variable: Corpus (1: dialogue, 2: letter)

(iii) three or more functions

*Test Statistiks<sup>a</sup>*

	Normalised frequency (per million words)
Mann-Whitney U	456.000
Wilcoxon W	2941.000
Z	-.408
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.683

a. Grouping Variable: Corpus (1: dialogue, 2: letter)

In conclusion, if only the amounts of various FS types (i.e., diversity) are compared, single-functional FSs dominate in both EModE dialogues and letters. Their distributions in the two corpora are significantly different, hence characterising the two types of communication. However, if frequencies of occurrence are taken into consideration (i.e., popularity), tri-functional FSs take the lead and are the most repeatedly used in both EModE dialogues and letters. Meanwhile, although a significant difference in frequency could be observed between single-functional sequences in the two corpora, how many functions served by an FS has no relationship with text types. The difference between frequencies of FSs serving a particular number of function(s) is not a factor that distinguishes EModE dialogues and letters.

#### **7.2.2.2. Common types of function combinations**

This section focuses on multi-functional FSs in EModE and discusses the common function combinations. In the corpus of EModE dialogues, there are 75 types of FSs serving two primary functions (i.e., 3,298 instances). Among them, the most popular function combination is “I. Stance Expressions” and “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. By comparison, 141 types of FSs in letters serve two primary functions (i.e., 13,043 instances), and the most common combination is “I. Stance Expressions” and “III. Referential Expressions”. For FSs serving three primary functions, there are 14 types in dialogues (i.e., 1,278 instances) and 70 types in letters (i.e., 14,533 instances). In both corpora, the most popular combination is “I. Stance Expressions”, “III. Referential Expressions”, and “IV. Special Communicational Functions”.

The present section discusses the function combinations at the lowest level of function classification, i.e., subcategories of the primary functions and function labels (see Section 6.1, Chapter 6 for the complete functional classification scheme). Table 7.2.2.2a presents all combinations of subcategories and function labels observed among multi-functional FSs in EModE dialogues and letters<sup>18</sup>. On the one hand, there are many shared function

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<sup>18</sup> Some FSs are grouped into multiple subcategories or tagged with multiple function labels under the same primary function category. They are not included for being multi-functional in analysis at the level of primary functions, but they are included in the discussion in the present section for serving more than one subcategory of function since they reflect the complexity of FSs.

combinations. For example, both EModE dialogues and letters have FSs that are classified as “B10 (I) + A5 (IV)”, “A (II) + C (IV)”, “A3 (III) + F(IV)”, and “B1 (I) + B3 (I)” etc. On the other hand, differences between multi-functional FSs in the two EModE communicational text types are observed among the most frequent function combinations. According to Table 7.2.2.2a, the top-five most common function combinations of FSs in EModE dialogues are:

1. “B1. desire/willingness (I)” and “B3. intention/prediction (I)” (15)
2. “B10. request (I)” and “A5. general politeness or social maintenance (IV)” (13)
3. “B. topic elaboration/clarification (II)” and “B. simple inquiry (IV)” (12)
4. “B6. respect (I)”, “A3. persons (III)”, and “F. vocative expressions (IV)” (11)
5. “B2. obligation/directive (I)” and “B3. intention/prediction (I)” (9)

**Table 7.2.2.2a: Frequencies of FSs in EModE dialogues (D) and letters (L) in various function combinations**

N	Combination	freq. (D)	freq. (L)	N	Combination	freq. (D)	freq. (L)
1	A1(I) + A(II)	1	7	32	B8(I) + B12(I)	8	2
2	A1(I) + A(II) + C(IV)	1	2	33	B8(I) + B12(I) + A(II)	4	4
3	A1(I) + A2(I)	2	2	34	B10(I) + A(II)	1	0
4	A1(I) + A2(I) + A4(III)	1	1	35	B10(I) + A5(IV)	13	17
5	A1(I) + A8(I)	0	1	36	B12(I) + A(II)	0	1
6	A2(I) + A(II)	2	3	37	B12(I) + A5(IV)	1	0
7	A3(I) + A(II)	0	1	38	B13(I) + A(II)	1	1
8	A3(I) + B4(I)	1	0	39	B13(I) + A(II) + A5(IV)	1	2
9	B1(I) + A4(III)	5	5	40	A(II) + B(II)	1	1
10	B1(I) + B(IV)	2	0	41	A(II) + C(IV)	3	12
11	B1(I) + B10(I)	2	4	42	A(II) + D(IV)	1	0
12	B1(I) + B12(I)	1	1	43	A(II) + D3(III)	0	10
13	B1(I) + B13(I)	1	11	44	B(II) + B(IV)	12	0
14	B1(I) + B13(I) + D(IV)	1	6	45	B(II) + C3(III)	1	1
15	B1(I) + B3(I)	15	18	46	B(II) + D(IV)	1	0
16	B1(I) + B3(I) + B(IV)	2	0	47	B(II) + D1(III)	2	2
17	B2(I) + A(II)	2	0	48	B(II) + D2(III)	2	1
18	B2(I) + B3(I)	9	10	49	B(II) + D4(III)	1	1
19	B2(I) + B3(I) + B(IV)	2	0	50	A1(III) + A3(IV)	0	1
20	B3(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)	1	0	51	A1(III) + F(IV)	0	1
21	B3(I) + B7(I)	0	3	52	A3(III) + B(III)	4	3
22	B5(I) + A3(III)	0	24	53	A3(III) + E(IV)	1	0
23	B5(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)	0	21	54	A3(III) + F(IV)	5	31
24	B5(I) + B6(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)	0	16	55	A4(III) + C(IV)	1	1
25	B5(I) + F(IV)	1	1	56	A5(III) + C1(III)	2	3

26	B6(I) + A3(III)	0	4	57	B(III) + C1(III)	3	5
27	B6(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)	11	29	58	B(III) + D2(III)	0	1
28	B7(I) + A4(III)	1	2	59	C1(III) + C3(III)	1	1
29	B7(I) + D(IV)	1	0	60	A2(IV) + A5(IV)	1	9
30	B8(I) + A(II)	3	3	61	A3(IV) + F(IV)	0	1
31	B8(I) + B(II)	1	0				

(Continuing from the previous page)

Among the 15 FSs in EModE dialogues serving the most common combination of functions, “B1 (I) + B3 (I)”, there are two structural patterns. In the first pattern, FSs contain the modal verbs *will* and *would*, such as “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}” and “**I would** (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}”. The second structural pattern is the BE + PREDICATE construction, such as “{[be]} **in hope** {of {NP: something}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, “{[be]} **loath to** {V-inf}”, “{[be]} **pleased to** {V-inf}”, and “{[be]} **ready to** {V-inf}”. These FSs are attitudinal/modality stance expressions expressing the desire, willingness, intention, and/or prediction of doing something, in the primary functional category “I. Stance Expressions”.

The second most common combination of functions, “B10 (I) + A5 (IV)”, is served by 13 FSs in EModE dialogues. They are employed to request in a polite and socially acceptable manner. Most of these FSs are in the form of an *if*-condition clause or an interrogative clause containing the word *please*, such as “{if/may} **it please** {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, “{will/does} **it please** {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, and “**if you please** (to {V-inf})”. The others do not form a general structural pattern, such as {let me/I (do/earnestly/must/etc.)} **entreat you** {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}” and “**give me leave** (to {V-inf})”.

Twelve FSs in EModE dialogues serve a combination of “B (II) + B (IV)”, which inquire for elaboration or clarification regarding certain topics. These sequences are mainly in *wh*-questions and often contain verbs such as *think*, *know*, *say*, and *mean*. Some examples are “**What say you** (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs an opinion})?”, “{[wh-]} **do you think** {COMP}?”, “**Why do you** {COMP}?”, “**What** {[mean]} {NP}?”, “**How is it** (COMP)?”, and “{How/What} **do you know** {COMP}?”.

Most of the FSs within three primary function categories are respectful vocative expressions that address a person, i.e., the combination of functions “B6 (I) + A3 (III) + F (IV)”. All of them are in the structural pattern POSS. PRON + NP (terms of nobility). Some examples are “**His Majesty**”, “**my Lady** ({NP: family name})”, “**my Lord** ({NP: family name})”, “**your Grace**”, and “**your Honour**”.

Another combination of functions within the same primary function category is “B2 (I) + B3 (I)”. There are nine FSs in EModE dialogues expressing meanings related to obligation, directive, intention and/or prediction. These sequences all contain modal verbs *shall* and *should*, such as “**you should** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}” and “**I should** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”.

By comparison, for multi-functional FSs in EModE letters, the top-five most common combinations of functions served, as presented in Table 7.2.2.2a, include:

1. “A3. persons (III)” and “F. vocative expressions (IV)” (31)
2. “B6. respect (I)”, “A3. persons (III)” and “F. vocative expressions (IV)” (29)
3. “B5. affection (I)” and “A3. persons (III)” (24)
4. “B5. affection (I)”, “A3. persons (III)”, and “F. vocative expressions (IV)” (21)
5. “B1. desire/willingness (I)” and “B3. intention/prediction (I)” (18)

The most common function combination is “A3 (III) + (IV)”. There are 31 referential expressions of persons in EModE letters used as vocatives without explicit indication of specific attitudes towards a person. Such FSs fall into two structural patterns. Some of them contain a term of title and the person’s name, such as “**Mr Bacon**” and “**Sir Henry**”. Other sequences are in the form of the construction (*my/the*) *Lord* + NP (profession position), such as “(*my/the*) **Lord Admiral**” and “(*my/the*) **Lord Treasurer**”.

The second most common function combination, “B6 (I) + A3 (III) + F (IV)”, could be seen as an extension of the previous one. FSs of this combination of functions show respect to a person. Such FSs exist in both EModE dialogues and EModE letters. As discussed earlier, this functional combination is also one of the most commonly represented by FSs in EModE dialogues, which are in the form of the construction POSS. PRON + NP (terms of nobility). However, in addition to such a structure, FSs serving the same functions in EModE letters are also in the form of noun phrases modified by

adjectives such as *honourable*, *reverend*, and *worshipful*. Examples of such FSs include “(the) **right honourable** {NP: somebody}”, “(the) **right reverend** {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}”, and “(the) **right worshipful** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}”.

The third most common combination of functions served by FSs in EModE letters is “B5 (I) + A3 (III)”. These sequences refer to persons and show affection but are not used as vocatives. All 24 of them are in the form of the noun phrase construction POSSESSIVE (optional) + ADJ + N (person) and can be divided into three groups according to the adjectives in the fixed part. The adjectives are *good*, *loving*, and *affectionate*. Some examples are:

*good*:

“({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.})  
**good brother**” (110)  
 “... **good friend**” (147)  
 “... **good lady**” (104)  
 “... **good lord**” (347)  
 “... **good mother**” (57)

*loving*:

“{POSS. PRON} **loving brothers**” (236)  
 “... **loving cousin**” (32)  
 “... **loving father**” (65)  
 “... **loving friend**” (309)  
 “... **loving husband**” (69)  
 “... **loving son**” (62)

*affectionate*:

“{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship’s, etc.} **most affectionate friend**” (37)

These examples show that the adjectives *good*, *loving*, and *affectionate* can sometimes be used interchangeably among FSs serving the combination of functions “B5 (I) + A3 (III)”.

The next combination of functions is the extension of the previous one, i.e., “B5 (I) + A3 (III) + F (IV)”. FSs serving this combination of functions are also in the form of the construction, POSSESSIVE (optional) + ADJ + N (person), but with the POSSESSIVE specified, i.e., the possessive pronoun *my*. Examples include “**my loving** {NP: somebody}”, “**my very loving** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, son, wife, etc.}”, “**my good** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.}”, and “**my very good** {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}”. It is also found that some

FSs of such kind contain the adjective *dear*, such as “(my) **dear brother**”, “(my) **dear mother**”, “(my) **dear son**”, “(my) **dear Sir**”, “(my) **most dear** (and {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, etc.}) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, etc.}”, and “**my dearest** {NP: somebody}”.

Like EModE dialogues, the combination of functions, “B1 (I) + B3 (I)”, is also one of the most common combinations of functions served by FSs in EModE letters. Most of such FSs in letters contain modal verbs *will* and *would*, such as “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}” and “**I would** (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}”, which exist also in dialogues. Likewise, another structural pattern, the BE + PREDICATE construction, is observed among FSs in both dialogues and letters. For example, “{[be]} **in hope** {of {NP: something}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}” and other sequences mentioned earlier exist in both dialogues and letters. Some FSs serving the same combination of functions exist only in EModE letters, such as “**you will be pleased** (to {V-inf})” and “**you would be pleased** (to {V-inf})”. They can be seen either as realisations of the structural pattern containing modal verbs *will* and *would*, or as realisations of the BE + PREDICATE construction.

The rest of this section is about some function combinations that are only represented by FSs in either EModE dialogues or letters. Others are outstandingly more frequent in one text type than the other. For example, FSs in EModE dialogues do not reflect the combinations such as “A1 (I) + A8 (I)”, “A3 (I) + A (II)”, “B12 (I) + A (II)”, and “A (II) + D3 (III)”. Meanwhile, FSs in EModE letters do not reflect the combinations such as “A3 (I) + B4 (I)”, “B1 (I) + B (IV)”, “B10 (I) + A (II)”, and “B (II) + B (IV)”. Extracted from Table 7.2.2.2a, 13 out of 61 combinations of functions, which are performed by at least five FSs more in one corpus than the other, are presented in Table 7.2.2.2b.

Among the function combinations presented in Table 7.2.2.2b, only the combination “B8 (I) + B12 (I)” is performed by FSs in EModE dialogues which outnumber those in letters four to one. The ones in EModE dialogues are “**I** (dare/will) **warrant you**”, “**I** (will) **warrant thee**”, “**I warrant** {[you]} (COMP)”, “**I warrant you** (COMP)”, “**I will warrant** {[you]} (COMP)”, “**in faith**”, “**I dare** (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}”, and “**I dare not** {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}”. The last two also exist in EModE

letters with similar frequencies. These sequences are used in situations when a speaker/writer needs to affirm or deny a statement, give an oath, or promise. Meanwhile, the only combination of functions that are exclusively served by FSs in EModE dialogues is “B (II) + B (IV)”. It is also one of the top-five most frequent function combinations served by FSs in dialogues. Examples are provided above.

**Table 7.2.2.2b: Function combinations that stand out either in EModE dialogues or in letters\***

Combination	freq. (D)	freq. (L)
A3(III) + F(IV)	5	31
B5(I) + A3(III)	0	24
B5(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)	0	21
B6(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)	11	29
B5(I) + B6(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)	0	16
A(II) + D3(III)	0	10
B1(I) + B13(I)	1	11
A(II) + C(IV)	3	12
A2(IV) + A5(IV)	1	9
A1(I) + A(II)	1	7
B1(I) + B13(I) + D(IV)	1	6
B8(I) + B12(I)	8	2
B(II) + B(IV)	12	0

*Note: \*The amount of FSs serving a combination of functions in a particular corpus shall be at least five types more than that in the other. \*\*“D” = “EModE dialogues”, “L” = “EModE letters”.*

The remaining 11 function combinations presented in Table 7.2.2.2b all stand out in EModE letters. Among them, four function combinations are only found to be served by FSs in letters. Starting from the most frequent combination, they are “B5(I) + A3(III)”, “B5(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)”, “B5(I) + B6(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)”, and “A(II) + D3(III)”. The first two are also among the top-five most frequent function combinations served by FSs in EModE letters, which are discussed above. Among the latter two, EModE letters employ many complex FSs as vocatives to address a specific group of recipients both affectionately and respectfully. These recipients are mostly relatives and friends of the writer or other people who maintain a closer relationship with the writer. For example, starting from the most frequent FSs, there are “**my honourable** {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}”, “(the) **right honourable my** {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, singular good, very good, etc.} {NP: somebody}”, “**the right honourable my** {MODIFIER: e.g.,



singular good, very good, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, etc.}”, and “**my honourable good** {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}”, etc. Generally speaking, they have the same abstract structure, i.e., the POSS. PRON + ADJ1 (respectful) + ADJ2 (affectionate) + NP (person) construction. Positions of the components of the construction can be slightly altered. For the last function combination (i.e., “A(II) + D3(III)”), EModE letters employ ten complex FSs to state that a letter is received and the following part is a reply to that letter, such as “**I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}”, to reference an additional document that is attached to a letter, such as “**herein enclosed** {NP}”, and to respond to a previously mentioned letter, question, request, etc., such as “**in answer to** {NP: something, e.g., letter, question, desire, etc.}”. These sequences are unique discourse markers that organise, introduce, and reference units of discourse in EModE letters.

The last seven combinations of functions are served by FSs in EModE letters which outnumber those in dialogues (see Table 7.2.2.2b). Starting from the most frequent combination, they are “A3(III) + F(IV)”, “B6(I) + A3(III) + F(IV)”, “B1(I) + B13(I)”, “A(II) + C(IV)”, “A2(IV) + A5(IV)”, “A1(I) + A(II)”, and “B1(I) + B13(I) + D(IV)”. The first two of these function combinations have been discussed in the first half of the section as the most frequent function combinations served by FSs in EModE letters. For the rest, FSs such as “{[be]} **glad to** {V-inf}” and “{would/will/shall/may/should} **be glad to** {V-inf}” express the desire or willingness of doing something and/or a kind of positive, desirous feeling. The first of the examples exists also in EModE dialogues. Topic introduction/focus and reporting functions are often served by FSs containing reporting verbs such as *say*, *inform*, *tell*, and *report*; for instance, “(as) **it is said** {that-CLAUSE}” and “**It** {[be]} **reported that** {CLAUSE}”. Other verbs concerning the status of mind and approach to get information are *think* and *hear*; for instance, “(as) **it is thought** {that-CLAUSE}” and “**I hear that** {CLAUSE}”. Although EModE dialogues also employ FSs to serve the same combination of functions, the two types of communication do not share the same types of FSs. In dialogues, they are “**further says** {that-CLAUSE}” and “**as you say**”. Moreover, the combination of functions “A2(IV) + A5(IV)” are served by FSs such as “{I} **am sorry** {to

{V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}” and “**I am sorry to** {V-inf}”. The sequence “**I am sorry** {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}” exists in both EModE dialogues and letters, but with a different frequency. They are examples of using apologetic expressions for the purpose of maintaining social relationships or being polite. Furthermore, FSs in letters such as “{I} **am confident** {that-CLAUSE}”, “**I know that** {CLAUSE}”, and “**I doubt not but** {that-CLAUSE}” serve the combination of functions “A1(I) + A(II)”, i.e., to introduce a new topic that is certain to be true or to draw attention to it. They are represented by three kinds of structural patterns, the BE + PREDICATE construction which contains adjectives of certainty such as *sure* and *confident*, the *I* + VP + *that*-CLAUSE construction which contains verbs expressing certainty such as *know* and *trust*, and the *I* + VP (negation) + *that*-CLAUSE construction, which contains the negative form of verbs expressing uncertainty such as *doubt not*. The only sequence in EModE dialogues that serves this combination of functions is “**I trust** {COMP}”, which is also in the second type of form pattern; it is also used in EModE letters. Regarding the last function combination “B1(I) + B13(I) + D(IV)”, it is more for EModE letters than dialogues to express desire and willingness via FSs in the form of exclamative sentences, such as “{by/through/with} **God’s grace**”, “**God be thanked**”, and “**thanks be to God**”. The sequence “I thank God” is employed by both letters and dialogues.

In conclusion, the examination of the most common combinations of functions served by FSs in EModE dialogues and letters indicates three main findings. Firstly, both EModE dialogues and letters employ FSs to perform several combinations of functions. It is highly common that both EModE dialogues and letters employ multi-functional FSs to express desire, willingness, and intention. The same holds for multi-functional sequences addressing a person in a respectful manner. Secondly, for some specific function combinations, FSs in one type of communication can be more diverse than those in the other. For example, EModE letters employ more multi-functional FSs as referential expressions of persons and/or as vocative expressions, with respectful or affectionate attitudes. Possible explanations for this observation are that the format specific to letter writing often requires excessive use of personal deixis to indicate the author and the recipient;

moreover, EModE letters, as a way of indirect communication with greater distance, require more personal deixis and vocatives to address readers in a way that is conventional in letter writing. Thirdly, function combinations served exclusively by FSs in EModE letters are unique to the type of communication regarding the format of letter writing, speech events exclusive to letters, and social interaction restrictions. For example, long and complex FSs are used to address recipients in the opening and/or the ending of letters and announcing that a letter is delivered successfully is a common speech event in letters. Moreover, FSs such as “**I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}” often function as textual deixis to point to previous units of discourse and hint at the content of the following discourse, and vocatives in EModE letters are often more respectful and/or affectionate.

### 7.3. Formulaic sequences with *God*: the role of God in EModE spoken and written communication

It is noticed that the word *God* occurs repetitively in some FSs in both EModE dialogues and letters. This section aims to determine the role of God in EModE written and spoken modes of communication, by examining the primary functions and the subcategories of functions these FSs serve.

**Table 7.3a: FSs with *God* and its alternatives in EModE dialogues**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
1	((God) give you) (a) <b>good morrow</b>	77.98				A5
2	<b>by God</b>	43.32	B12			
3	(I) <b>pray God</b>	41.88	B1			
4	<b>the (MODIFIER) word of God</b>	41.88			A1	
5	<b>the word of God</b>	37.55			A1	
6	<b>God be with</b> {[you]}	30.33				A5
7	<b>I pray God</b>	28.88	B1			
8	<b>I thank God</b>	25.99	B1; B13			D
9	<b>God bless</b> {NP: somebody}	24.55				A5

In EModE dialogues, there are nine FSs containing the word *God*. Only one of them occurs over 50 times *pmw*. As presented in Table 7.3a, four of these sequences are used as stance expressions, two as referential expressions, and four as expressions serving special communicational functions. There is also one multi-functional sequence, assigned to both the primary function

categories “I. Stance Expression” and “IV. Special Communicational Functions”. No sequences with the word *God* are in the primary category “II. Discourse Organisers”.

Table 7.3a also reflects that EModE speakers preferred using these FSs with the word *God* to fulfil only a few specific subcategories of functions. Firstly, all stance expressions express a speaker’s attitude, i.e., they are in the subcategory “B. attitudinal/modality stance”. For example, the sequence “**by god**” is used to make an oath or promise, and it is often preceded by discourse containing the verb *swear* (e.g., [1a]). In the corpus of EModE dialogues, most realisations of the sequence occur in two genres, namely, witness deposition (e.g., [1a, d]) and trial proceedings (e.g., [1b–c]). The long extract from a trial in [1b] indicates that the sequence “**by god**” is commonly used in a scenario where the speaker is requested to swear or take an oath; more specifically, the speech event of pleading guilty or not guilty during a trial. In [1b] the speaker *L. Col. Lilb.* pleaded not guilty to treason. A judge then asked *By whom wilt thou be tried?* for the purpose of making a judicial judgement by consideration of the evidence (*try*, v. 6. Law b. and 7a, in OED Online). The question: *By whom wilt thou be tried?* could be understood as *To whom would you submit the evidence?*, or more figuratively and in a pragmatic sense, *Who would you swear to?* or *Do you swear?*. Unaware of the legal procedure, *L. Col. Lilb.* took it literally and gave a detailed answer, naming several parties such as *the known laws of England* and *a jury*. Then one clerk reminded him that the right thing to say is *by God and your countrey*, which was then followed by several rounds of confusion and elaboration. One judge said that saying *by God and your countrey* is the form, and the other judge further explained that *The formalitie is shortly this and no more is meant by it*. Both judges’ explanations hint at the formulaic nature of the expression *by God and your/the countrey*, and the speech routine in this scenario normally goes on as demonstrated in [1c]. In addition to collocating with *the country* as in [1b–c], FS “**by god**” also collocates with *the/my peers*; for instance, the realisation in [1d].

[1] **by God**

- a. Philips was in Town. He asked him where he was, the Doctor swore, **By God** he could not tell.  
(*Inhumane Conspiracy*, D3WCROMW, p. 28)

- b. L. Col. Lilb. Well then, Sir, upon that engagement, and because, I see you are so positive in the thing -- This is my answer, that I am not guilty of any of the Treasons in manner and form [...]  
 Mr. Brought. By whom wilt thou be tried?  
 L. Col. Lilb. By the known laws of England, I meane by the liberties and priviledges of the laws of England, and a jury of my equalls legally chosen: [...]  
 One of the Clerks. You must say **by God** and your countrey, that's the forme of the law  
 L. Col. Lilb. Why must I say so?  
 Another Judg. This is the form and law of the Land, will you plead Mr. Lilburn, according to the lawes of England?  
 [...]  
 Judg Jermin. The formalitie is shortly this, to be tried **by God** and your countrie, no more is meant by it but thus, **by God**, as God is everie where present, [...]  
 (*John Lilburne*, D3TLILBU, p. 29)
- c. Mar. Then my Lord I plead not guilty.  
 Cler. How will you be tryed?  
 Mar. **By God** and the Countrey.  
 Cler. God send thee a good deliverance.  
 (*Thomas Harrison*, D3THARRI, p.5)
- d. [...] Sir Thomas Fanshaw read the Indictment and asked him whether he was guilty or not, Lord Audley answered, not guilty; Sir Thomas Fanshaw said, how wilt thou be tried? L. Audley answered, **by God** and my Peers: [...]  
 (*Earle of Castlehaven*, D2WMERVI, p. 3–4)

Moreover, three attitudinal/modality expressions express the speaker's desires. It is achieved by praying to God, such as "(I) **pray God**". Some of its realisations are listed in [2a–d], which are followed by several types of linguistic elements conveying the desire.

[2] (I) **pray God**

- a. Quick. Well! the best remedy that J can imagine for our present Calamitie, is to downe on our knees humbly, and **pray God to abate the Sicknesse, and let each true hearted Subject conjoyne with us in our supplication.** (*Stage-Players*, D3MSTAGE, p. 5)
- b. and am now comming to see if he be yet got forth of this daungerous gulfe, where I feare me is ouer plunged, **pray God he be not ouerwhelmed and and past helpe ere I come.**  
 (*Menaecmi*, D1CWARNE, p. E2V)
- c. M. Sir, I find you very happy to have a Mistris so well accomplished, **I pray God give you good success in your love.**  
 (*New and Easie French*, D3HFFEST, p. 209)
- d. Psyllus I shalbe hanged for tarying so long.  
 Manes I pray God my maister bee not flowne before I come.  
 Psyllus Away Manes, my maister doth come.  
 (*Alexander*, D1CLYLY, p. D2V)

In EModE dialogues, the FS “**I thank God**” is used multi-functionally (“B1. desire/willingness” and “B13. feeling” in “I. Stance Expressions” and “D. exclamation” in “IV. Special Communicational Functions”). It expresses a (sudden) outburst of certain feelings or emotions, for example, joy or relief when something desired has happened (e.g., [3a–b]), or anger when the speaker is offended (e.g., [3c]). In many cases, the sequence is used parenthetically (e.g., [3c]).

[3] **I thank God**

- a. but, above all, I found it hard work to get up this Hill, and as hard to come by the Lions mouths; and truly if it had not been for the good Man, the Porter that stands at the Gate, I do not know, but that after all, I might have gone back again: but now **I thank God I am here**, and I thank you for receiving of me.  
(*Pilgrim’s Progress*, D3FBUNYA, p. 56)
- b. And with that he drew his purse and gaue him ten shillings, saying: Hould thee my ould friend, take this to helpe thee, and if I had more store of white money, I promise thee thou shouldest haue more, mary **I thanke God** I haue some charge about me, more then I meane to make any man priuy to: [...]  
(*Kighnts*, D1FSHARP, p. B3V)
- c. Chauncelor. O (my good kinswoman) we haue heard enough of these matters long agoe. These supposed quarrells haue ben answered and answered againe, you come to late yea faith with your baskett of Apples now. [...]  
Woman. I was **I thank God** busied in my vocatio~, and so I might haue ben still, had not you sommoned me the~ce by your officer. [...] (*Churching of Women*, D2HOCHUR, p. 40–41)

Secondly, the two FSs in the primary function category “III. Referential Expressions” are used as a reference to abstract entities. For example, the sequence “**the (MODIFIER) word of God**” refers particularly to the divine communication in the Church, esp. the Bible or passages of it (*word*, n. and int. II. in the *OED Online*).

Lastly, in the primary function category “IV. Special Communicational Functions”, three FSs with the word *God* are used to maintain social relationships between speakers in many ways. The sequence “((God) give you (a) **good morrow**” sends greetings from God, particularly during the morning (*good morrow*, n. and int, in the *OED Online*). The sequence “**God be with** {[you]}” is an expression of good wishes (*God* n. and int. P1. c (a) (ii) in the *OED Online*) by indicating the presence and company of God to somebody. The sequence “**God bless** {NP: somebody}” confers the blessing from God.

Comparing to EModE dialogue, it seems that God plays a more active role in letters as a written mode of communication. As presented in Table 7.3b, there are 57 FSs in EModE letters containing the words *God*. Unlike EModE dialogues, there are also 15 FSs containing the word *Almighty* (15 types). In some cases, these two words occur together in the same FS. Moreover, the two words may occur at various positions, either in the fixed part of an FS (e.g., “**God Almighty**”, “{intend/purpose} **God willing**”, etc.) or in the variable part as a possible lexical item to complete the sequence (e.g., “{I} **commend you** (to {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.})”, etc.). In addition, four of the FSs in Table 7.3b exist also in EModE dialogues; they are “{I} **pray God**”, “**I thank God**”, “**I pray God**”, and “**God bless** {NP: somebody}”. Frequency-wise, one FS in Table 7.3b occurs more than 200 times *pmw*, seven between 200 and 100 times *pmw*, and 11 between 100 and 50 times *pmw*.

**Table 7.3b: FSs with *God* and its alternatives in EModE letters**

N.	FSs	<i>nml. freq. (pmw.)</i>	I	II	III	IV
1	<b>To the right</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}	209.37				A3
2	{I} <b>pray God</b>	175.84	B1			
3	<b>I thank God</b>	164.89	B1; B13			D
4	<b>I pray God</b>	164.21	B1			
5	{intend/purpose} <b>God willing</b>	137.53	B1; B13			
6	<b>the Almighty</b>	134.11			A1	
7	{I} {pray/beseech} {NP: e.g., God Almighty, God, the Lord of heaven} <b>bless you</b>	126.58				A5
8	{I} <b>commit you</b> {unto/to} {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}	109.47				A3
9	<b>I commit</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, your lordship, you and yours, etc.} {to/ unto} {God/ {NP: e.g., God’s protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	99.89				A3
10	<b>God bless</b> {NP: somebody}	98.53				A5
11	{I} <b>commit you to</b> {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}	89.63				A3
12	{I} <b>commend you</b> (to {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.})	72.53				A3
13	<b>I commit you to</b> {God/{NP: e.g. God’s protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	72.53				A3
14	<b>Almighty God</b>	68.42			A1	
15	{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} {to the} <b>protection of</b> {NP: phrases referring to the God, e.g.,	64.32				A3

	Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.}					
16	<b>I commend</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, you and all yours, etc.} to {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	60.89				A3
17	<b>By God's</b> {NP: assistance, blessing, goodness, grace, help, etc}	57.47	B1; B13			D
18	(if/if it) (may/shall) <b>please God</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	56.11	B1			
19	<b>God bless you</b>	52.68				A5
20	{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} <b>to the protection of</b> {NP: phrases referring to the God, e.g., Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.}	49.26				A3
21	<b>God Almighty</b>	48.58			A1	F
22	{I} <b>commit you to God</b>	46.53				A3
23	{I} <b>humbly thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	43.79				A1
24	{I} <b>commend you to</b> {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.}	41.74				A3
25	<b>God be thanked</b>	41.74	B1; B13			D
26	{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} <b>to the protection of the Almighty</b>	40.37				A3
27	<b>I purpose</b> (God willing) <b>to</b> {V-inf}	39	B3			
28	<b>I commend you to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	38.32				A3
29	<b>I commit you to God</b>	38.32				A3
30	<b>I humbly thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	38.32				A1
31	<b>it shall please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, God, your Majesty, etc.} (to {V-ing})	36.95	B1			
32	<b>I leave you</b> (to {NP: God or something, e.g., God's protection, etc.})	34.89				A3
33	{I} {humbly} <b>besech God</b> {to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	34.21	B1			
34	<b>it</b> (has/had) <b>pleased God</b> (to {V-inf})	33.53	B4			
35	<b>God knows</b>	32.16	A2; B8			
36	{at/to} <b>the</b> (most/right) <b>Reverend Father in God</b>	31.47				A3
37	{I} <b>bless God</b> {for {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	31.47				A5
38	(the) <b>right reverend</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}	30.79	B6		A3	F
39	(if/if it) (may/shall) <b>please God to</b> {V-inf}	29.42	B1			
40	(my/our) <b>good God</b>	29.42			A1	
41	<b>I bless</b> {God/the Lord} {COMP}	28.05				A5
42	<b>I beseech God</b> {to {V-inf}/ {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	27.37	B1			
43	{by/through/with} <b>God's grace</b>	26.68	B1; B13			D
44	<b>thanks be to God</b>	26.68	B1; B13			D



45	{I/we} (most/very/humbly and) <b>heartily thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	26				A1
46	<b>by God's grace</b>	25.32	B1; B13			D
47	{beseech/pray/beseeching/praying/prayers} {God/the Lord} <b>to bless you</b>	24.63				A3
48	{I} <b>pray to God</b> (COMP)	24.63	B1			
49	{to/by/in} <b>the</b> (MODIFIER) <b>Grace of</b> (almighty) <b>God</b>	24.63	B12	A		
50	<b>beseeching God</b> {to {V-inf}/of{NP}/ {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	23.95	B1			
51	<b>God keep you</b>	23.95				A5
52	<b>it has pleased God</b> (to {V-inf})	23.95	B4			
53	(the) <b>Grace of God</b>	23.26			A1	
54	{I} <b>praise God</b>	22.58	B1			
55	<b>my God</b>	21.89			A1	
56	<b>I leave you to</b> {NP: God or something, e.g., God's protection, etc.}	21.21				A3
57	<b>God's blessing</b>	20.53			A1	
58	<b>the Grace of God</b>	20.53			A1	
59	<b>I praise God</b>	19.84	B1			

(Continuing from the previous page)

Moreover, these FSs in EModE letters serve all four primary functions and there is a greater diversity regarding the subcategories of functions. Firstly, as presented in Table 7.3b, there are 24 FSs in the primary category “I. Stance Expressions”, and all of them are attitudinal/modality stance expressions. As many as 19 types of attitudinal/modality stance expressions express desires towards something or the willingness to take a kind of action. More than one-third of them are multi-functional. Five of them also express a certain kind of feeling when they are used as exclamative sentences; for example, the FS “**By God's** {NP: assistance, blessing, goodness, grace, help, etc}”.

Another multi-functional sequence in the category “I. Stance Expressions”, “(intend/purpose) **God willing**”, expresses the letter writer's desire or willingness to do something (e.g., [4a]). It can also express the meaning of intention (e.g., [4b–c]) and prediction (e.g., [4d]). In either case, the phrase *God willing*, often as a parenthesis, adds that the successful fulfilment of the desire or intention is allowed by God or dependent upon God's providence (*God*, n. and int. P1. a. (d) (ii) in the *OED Online*).

[4] ([intend]/[purpose]) **God willing**

- a. I doe eftsoones entreate your favoure for thys tyme prefyxed, at which tyme **God wylling** I wyll attend you; tyll when, and then, and always, I rest, &c. (HUTTON,218.058.852)
- b. [...] upon which newes I have sent a curryer this daye back to my Lord, to advertis him of the present estate of the place, & to lett him know that one Tusedaye morning by bracke of the daye, **God willing**, I pourpose to bee att the army. (CORNWAL,134.085.1186)
- c. but now I will craue pardon to make use of Mr Greene and hereby to desire that if I may doe your Lordship any servyce at London, I may receave the honore of your comaunds before Tuesday next, being the day I intend, **God willing**, to beeginne my journey. (WENTWOR,183.052.677)
- d. [...] ile leave and flie itt, and quitt all the praemises to wait on and serve you, which **God willing** shall bee some time the next weeke. (OXINDE,I,235.144.2238)

Furthermore, God also presents in stance expressions that make promises (e.g., “{to/by/in} **the** (MODIFIER) **Grace of** (almighty) **God**”), state the ability to do something (e.g., “**it has pleased God** (to {V-inf})”), and express respect (e.g., “(the) **right reverend** {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}”).

In addition, the stance expression “**God knows**” is multi-functional. It indicates that the following statement is certain or known by the speaker, or the opposite (*God*. n. and int.: d. (b) *God knows*, in the *OED Online*). For example, in [5a], “**God knows**” is used as a parenthesis. According to the context, the *fatell newes* is about *the loss the Sound and the greate distresse of that king*; therefore, the FS in [5a] is a realisation of its “A1. certain/known” use. It also expresses that a letter writer is not certain about something. As exemplified in [5b], the sequence is followed by an indirect question *when yt will downe again*, asking about a future event that might or might not happen.

[5] **God knows**

- a. We have here also **God knowes** the fatell newes of the loss of the Sound and the greate distresse of that king; (WENTWOR,277.085.1388)
- b. but when yt is once up, **God knowes when** yt will downe again. (CHAMBER,II,212.057.2596)

Secondly, there is only one *God*-sequence in the primary function category “II. Discourse Organisers”. The sequence, “{to/by/in} **the** (MODIFIER) **Grace of** (almighty) **God**”, is used multi-functionally as a

parenthesis that draws attention to a statement (e.g., [6a–b]), which is often an oath or promise (e.g., [6c]).

[6] {to/by/in} **the** (MODIFIER) **Grace of** (almighty) **God**

- a. for i hope **by the grace of God** and your prayers for mee i shall doe as well in any other whatsoever, that i may live in a credible way. (OXINDE,I,300.167.3042)
- b. If you will raise foote att the present, to encounter this armie of Newcastles, to raise the seige, and to inable vs to fight him, wee doubt not **by the grace of God** but that wee shalbe able to releiue the towne and beate the enimie onn the other side Trent; whereas if somewhat bee not donn in this, you will see Newcastles armie march vp into your bowells, beinge now as it is on this side Trent. (CHARLES,11.007.120)
- c. Forasmuch as a kinsman of my lorde and a cosen of myne doe intend, **by the grace of God**, to marrye together vppon Sondaghe nexte, I am therefore bould to desyre you, that you would take the paynes to be here againste that tyme, and to bestowe a shorte sermon vppon vs, suche as for the short warning you have maye suffise for that audience. The which ended, or before, att your discretion, I muste further intreate you to helpe to sollemnize that mariage. (HUTTON,56.002.14)

Thirdly, among nine FSs in the primary function category “III. Referential Expressions”, eight are references of abstract entities, denoting either the God himself (e.g., “**the Almighty**” and “**Almighty God**”) or God’s providence (e.g., “(the) **Grace of God**” and “**God’s blessing**”).

Moreover, the sequence “(the) **right reverend** {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}” is multi-functional, i.e., a reference to a person and a respectful vocative expression. The sequence is an incomplete noun phrase, and the word *God* occurs in its variable part as a possible schematic element to complete the sequence. Its realisations in [7a–b] present a conventional way to address God respectfully in EModE letters. It is important that realisations of the sequence in the exact form as [7a–b] only occur as part of a larger FS, which serve as a resolution in the opening or closing of a letter.

[7] (the) **right reverend** {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}

- a. To **the right Reverend father in God**, my very good Lord, the Lord Bishopp of Duresme, these. (COSIN,I,84.023.887)
- b. To the Right honorable and **Right reverend father in God** my very good Lord my Lord bishop of Lincoln at Buggden. (HOLLES,III,488.133.3747)

Lastly, as many as 35 *God*-sequences in EModE letters are in the fourth primary function category “IV. Special Communicational Functions”, the most common subcategory of functions is “A. politeness routines/social maintenance”. Most of the FSs in this subcategory focus on a specific aspect of politeness. Eighteen of them occur as salutations exclusively in EModE letters, such as “**To the right** {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}”, “{I} **commit you** {unto/to} {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}”, “{I} **commend you** (to {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.})”, “{beseech/pray/beseeching/praying/prayers} {God/the Lord} **to bless you**”, and “**I leave you to** {NP: God or something, e.g., God’s protection, etc.}”. Another three sequences in this subcategory express gratitude, such as “{I} **humbly thank** {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})”. Six other FSs in the subcategory do not have a specific focus, so they are labelled as expressions of “A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines”, such as “**God bless** {NP: somebody}”, “{I} **bless God** {for {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, and “**God keep you**”. Among them, the sequence “**God bless** {NP: somebody}” exists also in EModE dialogues.

Moreover, there are six *God*-sequences in EModE letters serving as exclamative, such as “**I thank God**” and “**God be thanked**”. Among them, the sequence “**I thank God**” exists also in EModE dialogues. All these sequences are multi-functional, functioning as attitudinal/modality stance expressions of desires and feelings. In addition, two other FSs in the fourth primary category are vocatives as a way to address God, including “**God Almighty**” and “(the) **right reverend** {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}”.

To sum up, the image of God was more active in written communication than in spoken communication during the EModE era. In other words, written communication is characterised by FSs containing the words *God* and/or *Almighty*. One can draw four more specific conclusions from the discussion in this section. Firstly, there are considerably more *God/Almighty*-sequences in EModE letters, and only four such sequences are in both EModE letters and dialogues. Secondly, *God/Almighty*-sequences in EModE letters are generally more frequent than those in dialogues. Thirdly, *God/Almighty*-

sequences in both types of communication serve many common functions, such as expressing desire/willingness, making oath/promise, expressing certain feelings, referencing God and/or his providence, maintaining social relationships, and exclamation. Lastly, functions served exclusively by *God/Almighty*-sequences in EModE letters are intention/prediction, topic introduction/focus, salutation, gratitude, and vocatives.

#### **7.4. Summary and final remarks**

In conclusion, the answer to the question “do FSs characterise EModE dialogues and letters?” is not a simple “yes” or “no”. Different answers were found when the question was investigated from various perspectives (i.e., form vs. function) and with different analysis methods (i.e., quantitative vs. qualitative).

From the perspective of form, comparison between EModE dialogues and letters regarding the use of FSs was first conducted on the degree of fixedness, which was measured by how many variable parts an FS requires and if the fixed part of an FS is continuous or not. On the one hand, although descriptive data regarding the mean frequency of occurrence show that FSs in EModE dialogues vary across four form groups in a way similar to those in letters, the form of FSs in dialogues is generally more fixed (i.e.,  $D_{fxd}$ ) than that in letters (see Section 7.1.1.1). Yet from the perspective of text types, dialogues are less fixed or formulaic (i.e.,  $D_{fxd.Text}$ ) than letters. On the other hand, the results of the two-way independent factorial ANOVA test suggest that the text type (i.e., EModE dialogues and letters) is not the deciding factor that causes the differences in degrees of fixedness (see Section 7.1.1.2). Therefore, from the perspective of the degree of fixedness, the differences between FSs identified from the two corpora are not significant enough to distinguish EModE dialogues and letters.

Moreover, descriptive data in Section 7.1.1.3 indicates that their degrees of fixedness vary across four primary function categories. In EModE dialogues, FSs in both categories, “II. Discourse Organisers” and “III. Referential Expressions”, are the most fixed, while in letters the most fixed FSs are those in the category “III. Referential Expressions”. However, the results of statistical tests suggest that such differences are not significant and there is no

correlation between text type and the fixedness of FSs in each primary function category.

Comparison between EModE dialogues and letters was further conducted on the abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs. More similarities than differences are observed. Regarding similarities, firstly, it is true for both text types that most FSs in a particular category or subcategory have the same grammatical structure(s). Secondly, a particular grammatical-structural pattern can be mapped to several function categories and subcategories. Thirdly, a particular function can be mapped to several grammatical-structural patterns. Lastly, it also holds for both text types that even patterns at a full grammatical level can also vary in degrees of schematicity and abstraction. Regarding differences, some grammatical-structural patterns are exclusively or more explicitly featured by FSs in EModE dialogues than those in letters, or vice versa. Distinctions primarily lie in communication preferences and conventions rather than clear-bounded grammatical features.

From the perspective of function, descriptive data in Section 7.2.1.1 reveals an overall difference between the frequency of FSs in EModE dialogues and the frequency of those in letters, regardless of functions. The difference is significant, suggesting an overall correlation between text types and frequency of FSs. However, the distinction became much less evident when comparing the two text types regarding FSs within a specific function category. The findings suggest that there is no explicit correlation between text types of the use of FSs for specific purposes.

Similarly, differences between EModE dialogues and letters can be observed from the perspectives of the diversity of multi-functional FSs and their popularity, which reflect opposite trends. That is to say, in both corpora, single-functional FSs dominate in terms of type, while tri-functional FSs dominate in terms of frequency. Results of statistical tests in Section 7.2.2.1 suggest that the two text types can be distinguished regarding the use of single-/multi-functional FSs when only the diversity (i.e., the count of types) is measured. However, differences between the two text types regarding the average frequencies of single-/multi-functional FSs are marginal. Therefore, the number of functions served by FSs is statistically not a decisive factor to

distinguish EModE dialogues and letters.

Nevertheless, qualitative analyses indicate that instead of statistical distinctions, EModE dialogues and letters differ in the use of FSs at the lexical level and the choice of form. Since FSs are defined in the present study as conventional mappings of form and meaning/function, EModE dialogues and letters differ regarding which mappings are conventional. Evidence provided in this chapter (see Section 7.2.1.2) includes that in each primary function category, EModE dialogues favour certain FSs over others, and so do EModE letters. Moreover, for each primary function, genre-specific FSs cluster in only a few specific subcategories with only a few functional focuses. It is at this secondary and tertiary level of functions that the two text types are distinguished by genre-specific FSs.

Qualitative analysis of multi-functional FSs also reveals that EModE dialogues and letters can be distinguished by common combinations of functions (see Section 7.2.2.2). Although multi-functional FSs in both text types serve several common combinations of functions, the distinction is greater and mostly lies in the fact that EModE letters rely heavily on multi-functional FSs to comply with letter-writing conventions.

Chapter 7 closes with a socio-linguistic examination of *God/Almighty*-FSs. Results suggest that the image of God is popular in both EModE dialogues and letters, but its occurrence is more prevalent in letters. *God/Almighty*-FSs in letters are more diverse in type and more frequent. Furthermore, *God/Almighty*-FSs in dialogues do not function as discourse organisers, while those in letters are spread across all four primary function categories. Lastly, although some functions are served by *God/Almighty*-FSs in both types of communication, the role of God expands in letters because of those *God/Almighty*-FSs existing exclusively in letters.

## **8. Discussion (2): networks of formulaic sequences with a Construction Grammar explanation**

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters vary in terms of the degrees of fixedness, completeness, compositionality, and idiomaticity. Chapter 2 also argues that FSs are constructions and hence can be explained by the Construction Grammar (e.g., Goldberg 2006, 2013, etc.). Chapter 7 demonstrates that the two text types are different from each other regarding the form and function of FSs, in terms of quality rather than quantity. Examples of FSs discussed in Chapter 6 also reveal interaction and internal relationship between FSs at various levels of abstraction. These observed interaction and internal relationship represent two types of networks: a horizontal network (see Section 8.1) and a vertical network (see Section 8.2). The vertical network of FSs results in three types of deviation in functions, i.e., function extension, specification, and shifting (see Section 8.3). The present chapter discusses the observations under the theoretical framework of the Construction Grammar. The core tenets of Construction Grammar reflected in the discussions are (Goldberg 2013a, 15–31):

- A network of constructions: Phrasal constructions, words, and partially filled words (aka morphemes) are related in a network in which nodes are related by inheritance links.
- Crosslinguistic variability and generalization: Languages are acknowledged to vary in wide-ranging ways. The crosslinguistic generalizations that do exist are explained by domain-general cognitive processes or by the functions of the constructions involved.
- Usage-based: Knowledge of language includes both items and generalizations, at varying levels of specificity.

### **8.1. A horizontal network: embedding, attaching, and joining**

The present study defines a horizontal network of FSs as the structural and functional relationship among FSs regardless of their degrees of abstraction and how they are used together to form discourse. A small case study has been conducted with samples from both corpora of EModE dialogue and letters to examine the horizontal network of FSs in the two types of EModE communication. For the sake of representativeness, I extracted the first two text samples or a maximum of eight pages from two random files in each genre of dialogues. The samples were made sure to evenly spread across the period of EModE under examination. For EModE letters, I extracted the first two letters



from files of letter collections dated from various periods of EModE. Names of these files are provided in Table 8.1.

By reading through samples of both EModE dialogues and letters, three types of relationships between FSs are observed to form a horizontal network. They are embedding, attaching, and joining. Appendix 7 lists all FSs in the examined texts that represent the three types of horizontal networks. The horizontal network of FSs indicates that FSs as a group of constructions are, like the other types of constructions, building blocks of discourse.

**Table 8.1: Source files where samples of EModE dialogues and letters were extracted for the examination of a horizontal network of FSs**

Date	File name	
	EModE dialogues	EModE letters
D1: 1560-1600	D1THICKF.txt (Trial proceedings)	allen.txt
	D1WNOTOR.txt (Witness deposition)	hart.txt
	D1CPEELE.txt (Comedy)	
D2: 1600-1640	D2FJOHNS.txt (Fiction)	charles.txt
	D2HOMAXE.txt (Handbook)	cornwal.txt fitzher.txt
D3: 1640-1680	D3CTB.txt (Comedy)	corie.txt
	D3TNEWES.txt (Fiction)	haddck.txt
	D3HOSPIR.txt (Handbook)	hamilto.txt
D4: 1680-	D4TCELLI.txt (Trial proceedings)	petty-ed.txt
	D4WYORK-ed.txt (Witness deposition)	prideau.txt

### 8.1.1. Embedding

The phenomenon of embedding appears to be the most prevalent kind of horizontal network among groups of FSs found in EModE dialogues and letters. Some FSs, regardless of fixedness, length, and degree of abstraction, are components of the other sequences or their realisations. From the perspective of the position where one FS is embedded in another, in most cases, the embedded FS (hereinafter FS<sub>2</sub>) occurs in the variable part of the main FS (hereinafter FS<sub>1</sub>), as in example [1]. In rare cases, FS<sub>2</sub> is embedded in the fixed part of FS<sub>1</sub>, as in example [2].

- [1] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I think** (COMP: e.g. (that) {CLAUSE})  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **we must** {V-inf} {COMP}  
 and therefore **I think we must have recourse to the hyghest**,  
 where of you shall heare more at my next oportunity.  
 (FITZHER,13.002.36)

- [2] FS<sub>1</sub>: **Your Lordship's most humble** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, etc.}  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **your Lordship**  
**Your Lordshippe most humble, and servaunt** if I were worthy/Mary Hart. (HART,78.002.59)

From the perspective of how close FS<sub>1</sub> is related to FS<sub>2</sub>, in many cases, FS<sub>2</sub> has a direct syntactic and semantic relation with FS<sub>1</sub>. For example, in the case of [1] above, FS<sub>2</sub> is one possible candidate to fill in the variable part, hence completing FS<sub>1</sub> as the speaker/writer's opinion. In example [3] below, FS<sub>2</sub> is an indirect object of the main verb *tell* in FS<sub>1</sub>.

- [3] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I cannot tell** ({wh-CLAUSE})  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **some of** {NP}  
**Some of the choicest things I cannot tell you**, not beeing his auditor; (PRIDEAU,8.001.34)

In other cases, the embedded FS<sub>2</sub> is syntactically and semantically remote from FS<sub>1</sub> or is only part of lexical items that are used to fill the variable part(s) of FS<sub>1</sub>. In example [4], FS<sub>2</sub> can be realised in possessive form as the determiner in a noun phrase which is in the variable part of FS<sub>1</sub>. In example [5], FS<sub>2</sub> is indirectly embedded in the variable part of FS<sub>1</sub> as the subject of a subordinate clause. As demonstrated in the text extracted from a letter, *Your Majesty* in FS<sub>2</sub> is not what the writer felt confident about, but the information conveyed by the subordinate clause which is the variable part of FS<sub>1</sub>. Likewise, in example [6], FS<sub>2</sub> is embedded in the second variable part of FS<sub>1</sub> as the predicate of the infinitive *be*.

- [4] FS<sub>1</sub>: **according to** {NP}  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **my Lord** ({NP: family name})  
 [...] and that yt may yet more playnly appeare vnto you how yt frameth with my daunger travayle and good will, although I could not bring thinges to passe **according to my L. desire**, I have here a lettre which Hedley wrate to Captain Tremain at his beying here whiles my L. James was in ffraunce, [...] (HART,68.001.1)

- [5] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I am confident** {that-CLAUSE}  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **Your Majesty**  
**and I am confident your Majestie thinkes whosoever is faulty to me is so to you**; (CHARLES,6.001.9)

- [6] FS<sub>1</sub>: {[seem]} **to** (V-inf)  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **a man of** {NP: quality or identity}  
 Hickford, **you seem to be a Man of Knowledge and Learning**, you have been indicted, and are now arraign'd according to Order of Law; [...] (*Robert Hickford*, D1THICKF, p. 118C1)

Sometimes, there is more than one layer of embedding. For example, in [7], FS<sub>2</sub> is directly embedded in the last variable part of FS<sub>1</sub>, and FS<sub>3</sub> is directly embedded in the second variable part of FS<sub>2</sub>.

- [7] FS<sub>1</sub>: {I} **pray** (to {NP: somebody}) {COMP}  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: (with/pray remember/pray present/etc.) **my humble service to** {NP: somebody}  
 FS<sub>3</sub>: **my Lord** ({NP: family name})  
**I pray present my humble services to my Lord** with assurance of my endeavours to obey his comands punctually in whatsoever he shall please {in} to employe me. (CORIE,24.001.4)

Function-wise, in cases of embedding involving FSs with different functions, it tends to be the FS of the outermost layer that contributes its function to the discourse. For example, FS<sub>1</sub> “**I cannot tell** ({*wh*-CLAUSE})” in [3] above is an epistemic stance expression describing the speaker/writer’s uncertainty towards something and a discourse organiser providing a piece of information or drawing attention to a topic, while FS<sub>2</sub> “**some of** {NP}” is an expression referring to part of an entity or entities. Their realisations form the discourse; for instance, the realisation *Some of the choicest things I cannot tell you, not beeing his auditor* (PRIDEAU,8.001.34) as a whole inherits the function of FS<sub>1</sub>, i.e., expressing uncertainty towards a topic.

However, it is also possible that both the outermost FS and the embedded FSs contribute their functions to the discourse. Taking [1] for example, FS<sub>1</sub> “**I think** (COMP: e.g., (that) {CLAUSE})” is a discourse organiser, marking that the particular unit of discourse is about the writer’s opinion, while FS<sub>2</sub> “**we must** {V-inf} {COMP}” is a stance expression of obligation or directive, which conveys the opinion itself. Therefore, in the discourse, such as *and therefore I thinke we must have recourse to the hyghest, where of you shall heare more at my next oportunity* (FITZHER,13.002.36), both FSs work together to express the speaker/writer’s opinion on certain obligations.

In addition, in both texts of EModE dialogues and letters examined in the qualitative analysis, “I. Stance Expressions” is the primary function most commonly served by FSs (i.e., FS<sub>1</sub>s) that contain other FSs (i.e., FS<sub>2</sub>, FS<sub>3</sub>...FS<sub>n</sub>). In particular, the subcategories of functions are “B1. desire/willingness”, “B2. obligation/directive”, “B3. intention/prediction”, and “B10. request”. The second most common kind of function belongs to the category “II. Discourse Organisers”, including both subcategories “A. topic introduction/focus” and “B.

topic elaboration/clarification”. There are also some FSs belonging to the subcategories “A4. action”, “C1. quantities”, and “C3. intangible attributes” (“III. Referential Expressions”) as well as “A3. salutation” and “B. simple inquiries” (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”).

### 8.1.2. Attaching

It is observed that some FSs are attached to others providing additional information. As demonstrated in the example [8], the FS “**no more**” (i.e., FS<sub>2</sub>) is attached after the second variable part of the FS “**I will (not) {V-inf} {COMP}**” (i.e., FS<sub>1</sub>), modifying the infinitive *trade*. Likewise, in [9], FS<sub>2</sub> is attached after FS<sub>1</sub> as an adverbial of the verb phrase *take’t*.

[8] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I will (not) {V-inf} {COMP}**  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **no more**  
**I will trade no more in glittering performances**  
 (PETTY,6.001.12)

[9] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I will not {V-inf} {COMP}**  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **in earnest**  
**But I’le not take’t in earnest.**  
 (*The Covntrie Girle*, D3CTB, p. B1V)

The attaching of FSs is also observed to take place together with embedding. For example, the FSs “**my singular good lord**” (FS<sub>2</sub>) and “**{DET} Lord {NP: position name}**” (FS<sub>3</sub>) in [10] are both embedded in the variable part of the sequence “**To the right honourable {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.}**” (FS<sub>1</sub>). In the meantime, FS<sub>3</sub> is attached after FS<sub>2</sub>, providing additional information regarding the identity of the said lord.

[10] FS<sub>1</sub>: **To the right honourable {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.}**  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **my singular good lord**  
 FS<sub>3</sub>: **{DET} Lord {NP: position name}**  
**To the Right Honorable and my singlar good Lorde the Lorde High Tresorer of England etc.** (HART,77.002.21)

### 8.1.3. Joining

The reading of EMode dialogues and letters samples reveals that in certain types of discourse, FSs of the same function category sometimes work together for the purpose of emphasis. Both FS<sub>1</sub> and FS<sub>2</sub> in example [11] are stance expressions. More specifically, with different focuses, “**I doubt not {COMP}**” is an epistemic stance expression stating that the speaker/writer is certain about a

piece of information. In turn, “(as) **it is true** ({that-CLAUSE})” is an attitudinal/modality stance expression affirming a statement. When used jointly as in the extract in [11], they emphasise the certainty of the statement, *yow never knew of Mr. Seatons request before it was made*.

- [11] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I doubt not** {COMP}  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: (as) **it is true** ({that-CLAUSE})  
 My Lord of Rosse did lett me see allso what yow wrote to him concerning the same matter: wherin yow say as **I doubt not but it is trewe that yow never knew of Mr. Seatons request before it was made.** (ALLEN,17.002.129)

Moreover, it is observed that the joint use of multiple FSs to serve one discourse function also involves FSs from different functional categories. For example, it is a common practice in EMode that “**I pray you**”, an FS of requests (“I. Stance Expressions”), appears before a question. As [12] exemplifies, the combination of “**I pray you**” and an FS of simple inquiry (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”) serves the purpose of requesting specific information or an answer.

- [12] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I pray you**  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **how many** {COMP}?  
 and **I pray you, how many Oxen or Horse will your Plough require to be drawne with?**  
*(Plowing and Setting, D2HOMAXE, p. B2R)*

In addition, the joining of FSs also occurs together with embedding and/or attaching. As exemplified in [13], both “**I am sure** {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}” and “**no doubt**” are epistemic stance expressions. They are used jointly in the same discourse expressing certainty. In this particular case, the two sequences can be used interchangeably without altering the meaning of the whole discourse, and the use of two different FSs of the same function might be for the purpose of avoiding repetition. Meanwhile, “**or other**”, a referential expression of imprecise entities, is embedded indirectly in the variable part of “**I am sure** {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}”. It indicates that there might be other entities in addition to *some round*.

- [13] FS<sub>1</sub>: **I am sure** {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **or other**  
 FS<sub>3</sub>: **no doubt**  
**I am sure thou art not without some round or other, no doubt but Clunch can beare his part.**  
*(The Old Wiues Talk, D1CPEELE, p. A4V)*

In EModE letter writing specifically, the opening often consists of three FSs. A letter may start with a respectful or affectionate vocative expression (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”), such as the FS<sub>1</sub> in [14]. Then it may continue with a referential expression specifically mentioning that a letter has been successfully delivered, such as the FS<sub>2</sub> in [14]. The sequence may also act as a discourse organiser, suggesting that the following part of the letter is a reply to the received letter, for the letter continues by *and rest much comforted to see your good resolution and courage in gods cause [...]* (FITZHER,4.001.2), *I have read the copy of your letter* (FITZHER,4.001.3), *and lyke it singularly well* (FITZHER,4.001.4), etc. In addition, it is often helpful to specify which letter is received by mentioning the date, hence the FS<sub>3</sub> in [14] is embedded directly in the second variable of FS<sub>2</sub>.

- [14] FS<sub>1</sub>: (the) **right reverend** {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **I (have) received your letter** {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}  
 FS<sub>3</sub>: {ORDINAL NUM} (day) **of March**  
**Right Reverend Syr. I have received your letter of the 14 of March,** (FITZHER,4.001.1)

In another type of discourse, i.e., the closing of EModE letters, there are two main FSs used jointly; for example, FS<sub>1</sub> and FS<sub>2</sub> in [15]. FS<sub>1</sub> is a referential expression describing an intangible attribute. In the context of letter-writing, it refers to the way a letter was written and sent. It is worth noting that, according to Daybell (2012), *in haste* is claimed to be often used by letter writers to apologise for ending a letter, while in some cases the sequence was only used rhetorically or for deferential effect (47). The second main FS is often a salutation (“IV. Special Communicational Functions”), such as FS<sub>2</sub> in [15], which embeds a third FS in its last variable part. Often, FS<sub>3</sub> can stand alone as a salutation at the end of a letter. Optionally, there is a fourth FS after FS<sub>3</sub> as an adverbial. In example [15], FS<sub>4</sub> is a discourse organiser, leading to a clause that emphasises the friendship between the letter writer and the recipient.

- [15] FS<sub>1</sub>: **in haste**  
 FS<sub>2</sub>: **I rest** (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})  
 FS<sub>3</sub>: **your assured friend**  
 FS<sub>4</sub>: **as long as**  
 Thus, being **in hast, I rest y=r= assured frend as long as you are as I take you to be,** Ja. Cornwaleys. (CORNWAL,2.002.14)

## 8.2. A vertical network: superordinate and subordinate formulaic sequences

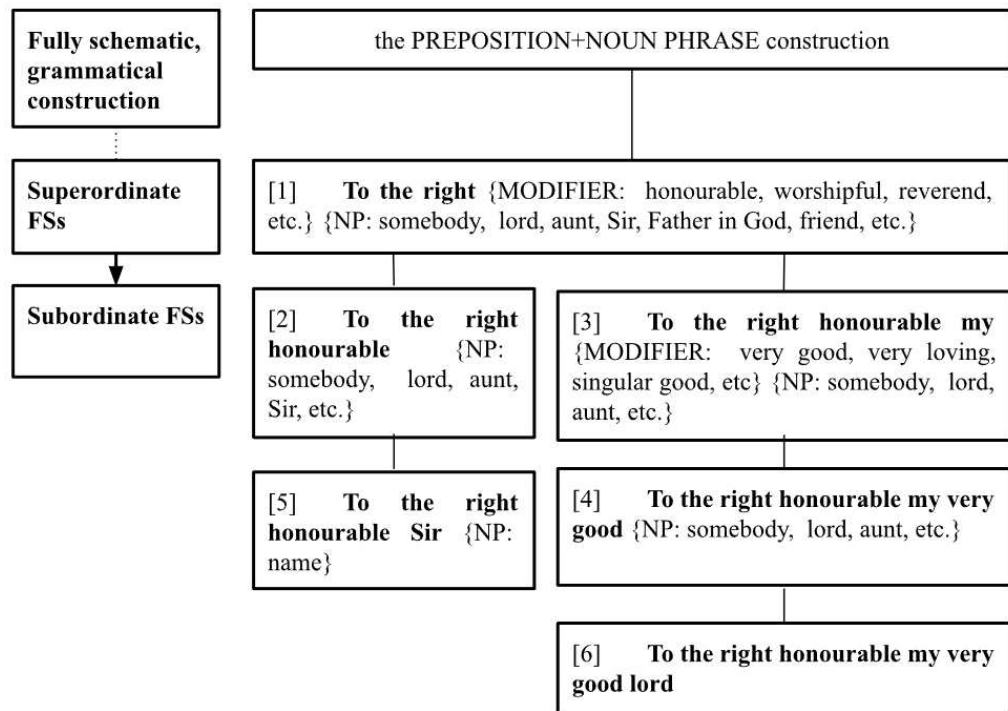
As constructions, FSs distinguish from each other regarding their degree of abstraction, which is reflected structurally by the number of variable parts. That is to say, the more variable parts an FS has, the more abstract/schematic it is. Among FSs identified from both EMode dialogues and letters, some FSs have the same grammatical structure but vary in degree of abstraction, for example:

- [1] **To the right** {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}
- [2] **To the right honourable** {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.}
- [3] **To the right honourable my** {MODIFIER: e.g., very good, very loving, singular good, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, etc.}
- [4] **To the right honourable my very good** {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, etc.}
- [5] **To the right honourable Sir** {NP: name}
- [6] **To the right honourable my very good lord**

The above six FSs are identified from the corpus of EMode letters and used as salutations. The fixed part of the sequence [1] is *to the right*, which is also part of the fixed part in the other five sequences. There are two variable parts in sequence [1] following the fixed part. One is a noun phrase for the recipient of a letter, the other modifies the noun phrase. All the other five sequences specify one or both variable parts in different ways. The sequence in [2] is a partial realisation of the sequence in [1], stating the adjective *honourable* as the chosen modifier. The variable part, a noun phrase for the recipient, remains in sequence [2]. The sequence [3] indicates that the modifier can be a combination of the possessive pronoun *my* and other adjective phrases which are open for choice. The sequence [4] specifies the modifier to be *honourable my very good*, added after the fixed part in the sequence [1] *to the right*. The sequence [5] specifies both the modifier as *honourable* and the title of the recipient as *Sir*, but the name of the recipient remains to be provided in the variable part. The sequence [6] is fully lexical, and it can be seen as a realisation of the sequence in either [1], [3] or [4].

A syntactic analysis of these FSs [1] – [6] reveals that they have the same schematic form, i.e., the PREP + NP construction. Figure 8.2a presents their relationship as a vertical network. To elaborate on the vertical network of FSs, the present study introduces a pair of concepts: superordinate FSs and subordinate FSs. The FS [1] and the like, which are closer to the fully schematic/grammatical construction, are recognised as superordinate FSs. The others are more lexical and further away from the fully grammatical construction, such as sequences [2] – [6]. They are recognised as subordinate FSs. Meanwhile, Figure 8.2a shows that the relationship between superordinate and subordinate FSs can be multi-layered; for example, the sequence [2] is a subordinate FS relative to the sequence [1], but it is a superordinate FS relative to the sequence [5].

**Figure 8.2a: A vertical network: superordinate and subordinate FSs**

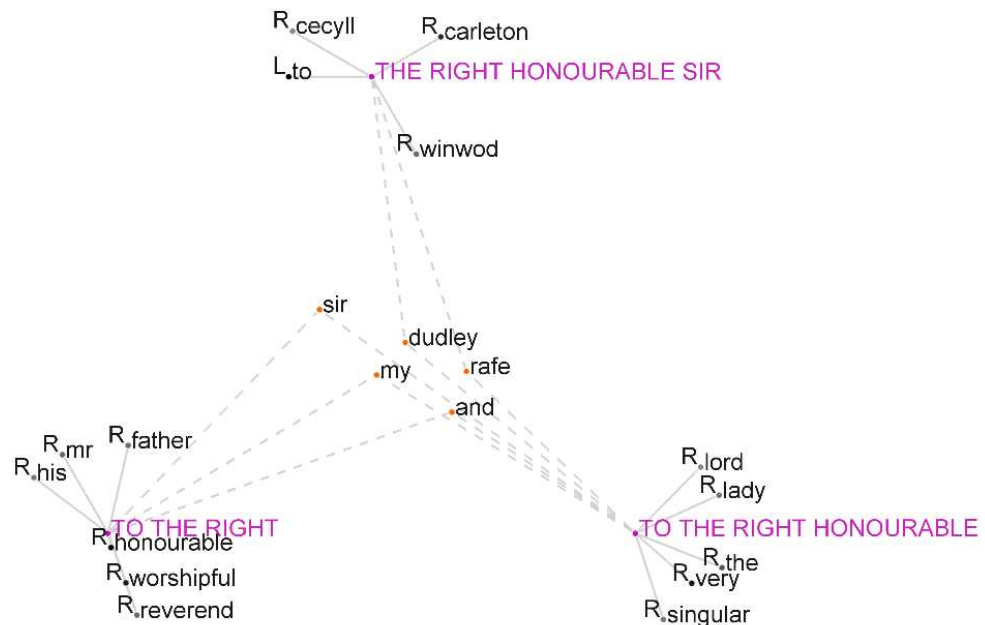


One might suggest that only the superordinate sequence [1] should be counted as an FS and included in the statistical analysis because realisations of sequence [1] are mostly the same realisations of sequences [2] – [6]. However, I argue that all six sequences shall be included as individual FSs for three reasons. Firstly, they are identified independently via different LBs (see the identification procedure in Section 4.2, Chapter 4). The fixed parts of all the FSs in [1] – [6] are LBs of various lengths retrieved from the corpora, namely, TO THE RIGHT, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY, TO



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR, and TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD.

**Figure 8.2b: Collocations of bundles TO THE RIGHT, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, and THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR in EModE letters\***



Note: R (on the right side of the LB), L (on the left side of the LB).  
 \*Generated with #Lancsbox 5.0.

Secondly, each of these bundles is surrounded by different lexical items that form different lexical patterns. For example, the bundles TO THE RIGHT, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, and THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR all contain a complete or part of a noun phrase. Figure 8.2b demonstrates the first two words on the right side of the three LBs with a Mutual Information 3 value above 9.5. The shortest bundle TO THE RIGHT contains an incomplete modifier of a missing noun phrase. The LB most likely precedes adjectives *honourable*, *worshipful*, and *reverend* which are part of a modifier led by *the right*. On the second right position, the bundle is most likely followed by noun phrases starting with determiners *his*, *my*, and *mr*, as well as nouns such as *father* and *sir*. Meanwhile, the bundle TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE has a complete modifier of the missing noun phrase. As demonstrated in Figure 8.2b, the bundle directly collocates with nouns such as *sir*, *lord*, and *lady*, but not with the noun *father*. Therefore, although the FS “**To the right honourable** {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.}” in [2] is a subordinate sequence of “**To the right**

{MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}" in [1] and they have some common realisations in the corpus, FS [2] has a more restricted use than [1] depending on who the recipient of a letter is. Likewise, in Figure 8.2b, the bundle THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR most likely precedes names of a person who is certainly a man of high social rank due to the vocative *sir*. Therefore, the subordinate FS “**To the right honourable Sir** {NP: name}” has more restricted use.

Therefore, superordinate FSs and their subordinate sequences may be used in different contexts due to different lexical items allowed to complete or accompany them. This is the third reason why both superordinate sequences and their subordinate sequences shall be listed. For one thing, some subordinate FSs have different functions than their superordinate FSs. For example, the sequence “**I will say** (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})” makes a statement, while its superordinate sequence “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}” expresses desire, willingness, and/or intention. For another, functions of the subordinate FSs of the same FS might be different from each other. For example, the subordinate sequence “**I will never** {V-inf} {COMP}” specifies that a speaker/writer does not want to do something. This phenomenon of an FS functionally deviating from its superordinate FS or from other subordinate FSs of the same superordinate FS is discussed in-depth in Section 8.3.

For the above reasons, even though FSs [2] – [6] are under the same superordinate FS [1], they represent different form-meaning/function mappings. The hierarchy of superordinate-subordinate FSs hence reflects one of the central tenets of the Construction Grammar, knowledge of language consists of a network of constructions at various levels of abstraction (e.g., Goldberg 2013; Hilpert 2014; etc.).

One more issue regarding superordinate and subordinate FSs, which is worth discussing in this section, is that not all FSs identified in EModE dialogues and letters represent the superordinate-subordinate relationship. This is possibly due to the size of corpora used in the study. However, the identified pairs of superordinate and subordinate FSs still indicate that it is a prevalent phenomenon in both types of texts. For example, there are 89 superordinate FSs in dialogues, paired with 154 subordinate FSs. Together, they account for roughly 27.46 per cent of all FSs identified in EModE dialogues. The three most frequent

superordinate FSs are “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”, “**let** {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}”, and “{POSS. PRON} **own**”. The corresponding subordinate FSs are presented in Table 8.2a. The full list of superordinate and subordinate FSs in EModE dialogues is presented in Appendix 8.

**Table 8.2a: Top-three frequent superordinate FSs and corresponding subordinate FSs in EModE dialogues**

Superordinate FSs	Freq. 1*	Subordinate FSs	Freq. 2*
<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	2417.50	<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	2417.5
		<b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	228.17
		<b>I will tell you</b> {COMP}	75.10
		<b>I will never</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	49.10
		<b>I will tell thee</b> {COMP}	27.44
		<b>I will show you</b> {COMP}	24.55
		<b>I will say</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})	21.66
		<b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	1210.19
<b>let me</b> {V-inf}	319.16		
<b>let me see</b> {COMP}	44.77		
<b>let us see</b> {COMP}	25.99		
<b>let me know</b> {COMP}	24.55		
{POSS. PRON} <b>own</b>	948.80	<b>your own</b>	199.29
		<b>his own</b>	303.27
		<b>mine own</b>	111.20
		<b>my own</b>	105.42
		<b>their own</b>	90.98
		<b>her own</b>	64.99
		<b>our own</b>	41.88

Note: \*They are normalised frequencies of occurrence (pmw.).

Meanwhile, there are similar amounts of superordinate and subordinate FSs in EModE letters, i.e., about 33.19 per cent of all sequences identified in the corpus. There are 149 superordinate FSs in letters, paired with 314 subordinate FSs. The three most frequent superordinate FSs are “**I shall** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”, “{POSS. PRON} **own**”, and “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”. The corresponding subordinate FSs are presented in Table 8.2b. The full list of superordinate and subordinate FSs in EModE letters is presented in Appendix 9.

EModE dialogues and letters employ many common superordinate FSs. There are 42 superordinate FSs existing in both corpora; for instance, two out of the three most frequent superordinate FSs, “{POSS. PRON} **own**” and “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”. The shared superordinate FSs account for 47.19 per cent of all superordinate sequences in dialogues and 28.19 per cent in letters.

**Table 8.2b: Top-three frequent superordinate FSs and corresponding subordinate FSs in EModE letters**

Superordinate FSs	Freq. 1*	Subordinate FSs	Freq. 2*
<b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1271.26	<b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1271.26
		<b>I shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	140.26
		<b>I shall ever</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	36.95
		<b>I shall never</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	31.47
{POSS. PRON} <b>own</b>	1172.74	<b>my own</b>	332.53
		<b>your own</b>	245.63
		<b>his own</b>	240.84
		<b>their own</b>	118.37
		<b>mine own</b>	103.32
		<b>her own</b>	81.42
		<b>our own</b>	45.16
<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1142.63	<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1142.63
		<b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	186.79
		<b>I will say</b> (COMP: e.g. {that-CLAUSE})	20.53

Note: \*They are normalised frequencies of occurrence per million words (pmw.).

Both text types also share many subordinate FSs. The 42 shared superordinate FSs cover 85 subordinate FSs in dialogues and 91 in letters. Among them, 65 subordinate sequences exist in both corpora. As Tables 8.2a and 8.2b indicate, the superordinate sequence “{POSS. PRON} **own**” corresponds to the same subordinate sequences in both dialogues and letters, which vary in frequencies.

However, some of the superordinate FSs shared by both text types do not correspond to the same subordinate sequences. For example, the sequence “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}” has only two subordinate sequences in letters, but six in dialogues. The two subordinate sequences in letters, i.e., “**I will not** {V-inf} {COMP}” and “**I will say** (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})”, also exist in dialogues, along with the other four subordinate sequences as their synonyms, such as “**I will never** {V-inf} {COMP}” and “**I will tell thee** {COMP}”, respectively. One reason might be that the two corpora differ greatly in size and one particular subordinate sequence is simply not caught in a corpus. The other reason might be that some more lexical subordinate sequences in one corpus might serve functions specific to that particular type of communication. It is also possible that one type of communication prefers one subordinate sequence over another serving the same function. The following section discusses in detail how

subordinate sequences might differ from their superordinate sequence and their fellow subordinate sequences regarding the functions they serve in EModE dialogues and letters.

### 8.3. Differences between superordinate and subordinate formulaic sequences: function extension, shifting, and specification

#### 8.3.1. Function extension

As a result of the vertical network of FSs (see Section 8.2), there are three major types of function deviation among some groups of superordinate and subordinate FSs in both EModE dialogues and letters. They are function expansion, shifting, and specification. The most common is function expansion, by which the present study means that in addition to the function served by the superordinate FS, some of its corresponding subordinate sequences gain new functions.

There are seven instances of function expansion in EModE dialogues and 12 instances in letters. For example, the sequence “**let** {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}” (i.e., *sup.* in [1]) serves as an expression of obligation or directive in both EModE dialogues and letters. One of its corresponding subordinate sequences (i.e., *sub.* in [1]), “**let me see** {COMP}”, can be seen as one of its possible realisations. The subordinate sequence is used specifically and literally as a directive to be allowed to see something, as in [1a–b]. In other cases, the sequence can be used to lead a statement, as in [1c–d].

- [1]    *sup.*    **let** {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}  
       *sub.*    **let me see** {COMP}
- a. Mis. Ar. There was a curtsie, **let me see’t againe**. I that was well. (*How a Man May Chuse*, D2CHEYWO, p. F4R)
  - b. I could wish you would **lett me see your answer to him**, (CONWAY,408.077.2236)
  - c. yet indeed this present age hath gotten the start of all precedent times for ingratitude, hypocrisie, hardnesse of heart, neglect of lawdable Arts (and Customes,) and indeed want of common honesty; but **let mee see**, I was about to ask thee how the Gaolers use him (for that was our argument before) but 'tis needlesse discourse for if his professed and obliged friends, are so ingratefully cruell, a man may almost conclude it as an Article that his wit or honesty will but little prevaile with the Keepers without that which makes the Mare to goe. (*Vvit and Vvealth*, D3MWIT, p. 12)
  - d. And now having said thus much, **let me see** by your patient sufferance of this liberty and what I imagine to bee alsoe Truth, whether others might have more patiently borne with you. (PETTY,55.027.749)

The sequence “{DET} **Lord** {NP: position name}” is identified in EModE dialogues only. It is used as a referential expression for persons, as in [2a]. Its only corresponding subordinate sequence, “**my Lord** {NP: position name}”, serves to express respect towards the person, a meaning motivated by the possessive pronoun *my*. As a result, taking the realisation in [2b] for example, the sequence extends its function as a respectful vocative expression in a request.

- [2] *sup.* {DET} **Lord** {NP: position name}  
*sub.* **my Lord** {NP: position name}
- a. and that the Design was to have faln upon the Guards in Whitehall and elsewhere, and to kill the Protector, and then to secure the City of London, and to compell **the Lord Mayor** to proclaim Charls the second King;  
*(Inhumane Conspiracy, D3WCROMW, p. 75)*
  - b. L. of Som. Then I have no more to say; but humbly beseech you **my Lord High-Steward**, and the rest of the Lords, to be Intercessors to the King for his Mercy towards me, if it be necessary. *(Trial of Robert Carr, D2TCARR, p. 348C1)*

Among groups of superordinate and subordinate FSS exclusively in EModE letters, “(the) **right worshipful** {NP: somebody, e.g. brother, friend, cousin, etc.}” is a referential expression of persons and a respectful vocative expression (e.g., [3a]). Sometimes, the noun phrase in the second variable part contains a modifier that emphasises the relationship between the letter writer and the addressee (e.g., [3b]). Corpus data show that many realisations of the modifier form a syntactic and semantic pattern, *my* + MODIFIER (e.g., *assured*, *very good*, etc.), hence a subordinate sequence “(the) **right worshipful my** {MODIFIER: e.g., *assured*, *very good*, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}”. Via the pattern *my* + MODIFIER (e.g., *assured*, *very good*, etc.), the subordinate sequence gains a function as an attitudinal stance expression, showing affection and closeness to the addressee, as in [3c].

- [3] *sup.* (the) **right worshipful** {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}  
*sub.* (the) **right worshipful my** {MODIFIER: e.g., *assured*, *very good*, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}
- a. Too **the right wourshipfull Mr Narthanyll Baken**, justice of peace, at Coktharpp. (BACON,II,16.205.3551)
  - b. **Right worshipfull and very reverend frend**, My last letter, I feare me, gave you small content, (FITZHER,55.008.236)
  - c. To **the right worshipfull my approued good and louing father Sir William Wentworth Barronett** giue thes.  
(WENTWOR,51.013.130 ID)

Another superordinate FS identified only in EModE letters, “{[be]} **very glad** {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}”, is an attitudinal stance expression of feelings, specifically, gladness (e.g., [4a]). Due to the wide range of forms that can be placed in its second variable part, there are various semantic possibilities. One of its corresponding subordinate sequences “{[be]} **very glad to** {V-inf}”, specifies via the infinitive that the feeling is expressed towards a type of action, i.e., being glad to do something. Therefore, the meaning and function of the subordinate sequence extends to express a desire and willingness to do something (e.g., [4b]).

- [4] *sup.* {[be]} **very glad** {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}
- sub.* {[be]} **very glad to** {V-inf}
- a. **I am very gladde y=u= have taken a Newe Gardner**, and will make Highgate somewhat handsomer, (ARUNDEL,97.020.249)
  - b. but this towne is so very sickly a place, that **I am very glad to quitt it**, though not so much for my owne sake that am continually very ill in what part soever of the world {in} I am as to preserve those in health that yet I blesse god are so with me. (CONWAY,191.040.1213)

### 8.3.2. Function shifting

The second kind of function deviation between superordinate and subordinate FSs is function shifting. In the present study, function shifting refers to the phenomenon in which the subordinate FSs serve different functions than their superordinate FSs. Function shifting is different from function extension discussed in the previous section as the subordinate sequences do not keep the function served by its corresponding superordinate sequence.

There are six instances of function shifting in EModE dialogues and nine in letters. For example, both text types employ the superordinate FS, “**I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}”, to express desire, willingness, and/or intention (e.g., [5a–b]). When the infinitive in the second variable part is realised specifically with the verb *say*, for example, the realisations in [5c–d] express the speaker’s and the letter writer’s desire and intention to speak in a semantic sense. However, pragmatically, sometimes the sequence *I will say* is used as a parenthesis or leads a *that*-clause to make a statement or draw attention to what is going to be said. Realisations of the superordinate sequence like those in [5e–f] themselves map a more lexical form with a function different from that of the superordinate sequence, hence the subordinate sequence “**I will say** (COMP: e.g., {that-

CLAUSE}}” whose function shifts from “B1. desire/willingness” and “B3. intention/prediction” (i.e., “I. Stance Expressions”) to “A. topic introduction/focus” (i.e., “II. Discourse Organisers”).

- [5] *sup.* **I will** (not) {V-inf} {COMP}  
*sub.* **I will say** (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})
- a. Duke. You handle me hardly, you would so trap me by Circumstance, and infer upon me that she was the Queen’s Enemy, and so make me a Traitor. **I will answer directly to the whole Matter of my Dealing with her.**  
*(Duke of Norfolk, D1TNORFO, p. 89C2)*
  - b. Out of pure pittie to you, **I will not trouble you any longer,**  
*(CONWAY,36.009.208)*
  - c. Mr. Just. Dolb. Well **I will say no more,** call another Witness.  
*(Robert Green, D3TGBH, p. 58)*
  - d. What hath been done in the west is yet so much in the darke, as **I will say nothing ‘till it be more cleerly vnderstood,**  
*(KNYVETT,134.035.1338)*
  - e. Madam (qd. the Kt.) to my knowledge, this **I will say,** my Father being a Courtier in some regard, wherby J came familiar with y=e= Prince, and as youth will make choise of some one to participate with, so it pleased the Prince loving my Father well, to use my co~pany in all his exercises, through which I saw his demeanour, [...] *(Marianvs, D3FMARIA, p. 171-172)*
  - f. and though perhaps my Brother may expect I should serve him in it, yet if you give VP mee comission, **’le say** I was ingaged before hand for a freind and leave him to shift for himself.  
*(OSBORNE,50.023.1104)*

In EModE dialogues only, the superordinate FS, “{that/it} **is no matter**”, is a general description of the status of something (i.e., “C3. intangible attributes” under “III. Referential Expressions”). One of its realisations, as well as a corresponding subordinate FS, “**it is no matter**”, expresses disapproval towards something (i.e., “B7. approval/disapproval” under “I. Stance Expressions”), such as in [6].

- [6] *sup.* {that/it} **is no matter**  
*sub.* **it is no matter**
- a. Wilbraham. **That is no matter,** it was a comfort to him, being the Queen’s Enemy, to be the Factor, and to have the Countenance and Distribution of it at his pleasure: Beside that, you may be sure he would not let all pass without some share to himself. *(Duke of Norfolk, D1TNORFO, p. 115C2)*
  - b. Slen. I, you spake in Latten then to: but **’tis no matter;** Ile nere be drunk whilst I liue againe, but in honest, ciuill, godly company for this tricke: if I be drunke, Ile be drunke with those that haue the feare of God, and not with drunken knaues.  
*(Marry Wiues, D2CSHAKE, p. 40C2)*



Moreover, in EModE letters only, “{[give]} {NP: somebody} **leave** (to {V-inf})” as a superordinate FS is a general referential expression of a type of actions. It is one of the most abstract sequences, i.e., with the highest degree of schematicity, since it behaves like a regular multi-word verb. However, when its first two variable parts are realised with the infinitive form *give* and the first-person pronoun *me*, the resulting subordinate sequence “**give me leave** (to {V-inf})” shifts its function from “A4. action” (i.e., “III. Referential Expressions”) to “B10. request” (i.e., “I. Stance Expressions”) and “A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines” (i.e., “IV. Special Communicational Functions”); for instance, the realisations in [7c–d]. In comparison, realisations in [7a–b] do not function as a specific way for the letter writer to make a request politely, but keep the literal sense of the superordinate FS, i.e., giving permission.

- [7] *sup.* {[give]} {NP: somebody} **leave** (to {V-inf})  
*sub.* **give me leave** (to {V-inf})
- a. he havynge bene bounde for Sir Thomas Rearsby for the payment of a MC=li= **Sir Thomas hathe geven him leave to pay bothe the pryncipall and interest**, or else to have laine by the heeles for his labor. (WENTWOR,43.009.78)
  - b. Mr Secretary I cannot omitte by these fewe lines to give y=u= very many thankes for y=r= kinde letter; but yet a little to expostulate w=th= y=u=, **the mienes y=u= use in givinge me leave to expresse the least part of the thankfullnes I owe y=u=**, and will ever lay up in my Hart to pay y=u=,if God give me y=e= occasion. (ARUNDEL,341.052.704)
  - c. And now, **my Lord, give me leave to tell you how sore it presseth upon the zeale I have to serve you that my condition in this place affords me noe meanes to performe it**, as I infinitely desire it might. (WESA,2.001.12)
  - d. But **give me leave**, I besech you, but not to hinder the speediest that I can getting of what we have promised to your La=p=, to wish that the frendshipp might be before, (CORNWAL,234.146.2033)

Last but not least, sometimes function shifting is a special case of function extension. The extended function of a subordinate FS is highly related to, or directly generated from, its corresponding superordinate sequence. For example, both realisations of “{[give]} {NP: somebody} **leave** (to {V-inf})” in [7a–b] convey the literal basic meaning of allowing somebody or giving someone permission to do something. They are specific realisations of the action referenced by the superordinate FS, regarding whom the permission is granted and what the person is allowed to do. Meanwhile, realisations of the same

sequence in [7c–d] are also realisations of its corresponding subordinate sequence “**give me leave** (to {V-inf})”. They maintain the basic function performed by [7a–b]. Particularly, in realisation [7c], it is specified that the action is to request permission to say something, which is said before the permission is granted. Hence, it is pragmatically a strategy of politeness rather than an actual request. In [7d], the expression *give me leave* is used before another FS of requests, for requesting permission to make a request, hence it can also be seen as a strategy of politeness. Both realisations of “**give me leave** (to {V-inf})” in [7c–d] show that the sequence does not function as a mere reference to the action of requesting permission. Compared to the superordinate sequence, the subordinate sequence is provided with more semantic information regarding the action, and its use is closely associated with a specific socio-linguistic convention in a speech community; i.e., asking for permission before doing something is a polite behaviour, and the linguistic form that references the action thus becomes a cliché, a politeness routine. In short, function shifting in this case could be seen as a product of function extension and the loss of the basic original function.

### 8.3.3. Function specification

Among superordinate FSs that serve multiple functions, some of their subordinate FSs specify one (or more) of the functions. There is only one instance of function specification in EModE dialogues and three in letters.

The superordinate FS, “**I know** (not) {COMP}”, is employed in both EModE dialogues and letters. It comments on the speaker’s and letter writer’s knowledge status, i.e., “A1. certain/known” and “A2. uncertain/unknown” (“I. Stance Expressions”). One of its corresponding subordinate FSs, “**I know not what** {COMP}”, specifies that the speaker and letter writer do not know something (e.g., [8a–b]). Another subordinate FS, “**I know not but** {COMP}”, specifies that the speaker and letter writer are uncertain about a piece of information conveyed in the discourse following the conjunction *but* (e.g., [8c–d]). It is also possible that the sequence *I know not* is preceded by a clause conveying what the speaker/writer does not know about, while the conjunction, *but*, introduces a clause conveying what else the speaker/writer knows about instead (e.g., [8e]). Therefore, realisations [8c–e] also reflect function extension.

- [8] *sup.* **I know** (not) {COMP} (A1; A2I)  
*sub.1* **I know not what** {COMP} (A2I)  
*sub.2* **I know not but** {COMP} (A2I, AII)
- a. I lacke silke, **I know not what is become of y=e= cushen canuas all my golde and siluer is done**, I want more blacke yarne, I haue not enough of blewe cruell.  
*(The French Garden, D2HFERON, p. F3V)*
  - b. Touching the advertisement from the Haghe **I know not what to aunswer**. (CHAMBER,I,395.027.1095)
  - c. they make a wise and witty Man in the World, a Fool upon the Stage you know not how; and 'tis therefore I hate'em too, for **I know not but it may be my own case**; for they'l put a Man into a Play for looking a Squint  
*(The Country-Wife, D3CWYCHE, p. 39)*
  - d. Besides, **I know not but I may hereafter have occasion to use a or 2000=l= to imploy upon an office or the like**, (OXINDE,I,274.160.2711)
  - e. To bed went he againe & left her to shift for her selfe til morning: **how they agreed when they came together, I know not, but you may iudge she scarce tooke it patiently**.  
*(Deuill of Edmonton, D2FBREWE, p. F3V)*

The FS “(my/the) **Lord Treasurer**” is identified only in EModE letters in the present study. It is multi-functional and used as a reference for persons (e.g., [9a–b, d]), and/or a vocative (e.g., [9c]). Its corresponding subordinate FS “**the Lord Treasurer**” is fully lexical, it is also a realisation of the superordinate sequence, i.e., the example provided in [9d]. Compared to the superordinate sequence, “**the Lord Treasurer**” specifies its use as a referential expression of a particular person.

- [9] *sup.* (my/the) **Lord Treasurer** (A3 III, FIV)  
*sub.* **the Lord Treasurer** (A3 III)
- a. he is not forgotten, but named to be Lord President of the counsaile, as likewise the earle of Mongomerie to be made a counsaillor, and to have the fee farme or free guift of Hatfeild Chase in Yorkeshire a matter of great value, yf his brother of Pembroke be **Lord Treasurer**, and the earle of Arundell Lord Chamberlain. (CHAMBER,II,381.063.2861)
  - b. I haue taken leaue of **my Lord Treasurer**, humbly thankinge his lordship &c. (WENTWOR,49.010.90)
  - c. **My lord-thresurer**, Mr. vyce-chamberlyn and I dyd deale verry effectually with her for the sending over of the pyoners, (LEYCEST,344.078.2439)
  - d. that this refusall of y=e= Speaker is a contrivance of y=e= **L=d= T=r=** to secure himself by occasioning a rupture betwixt y=e= King and Parliament, [...] (HATTON,I,181.055.1392)

#### **8.4. Summary and final remarks**

This chapter provides ample qualitative linguistic evidence that FSs are constructions for how strongly they represent the conventional mapping of form and/or function. As language is a network of constructions, a substantial proportion of language is formed by a network of a special group of constructions, i.e., a network of FSs. The first piece of evidence to support this argument is that FSs identified from EModE dialogues and letters form a horizontal network according to how some sequences are embedded in, attached to, and/or joined with others, either in terms of lexical-grammatical structure or of their (collective) role(s) in linguistic interaction. The second piece of evidence is that although FSs vary in the degree of abstraction, they are interconnected by a fully schematic, grammatical construction; hence a vertical network of superordinate FSs and subordinated FSs. The evidence contributes to conclusions that the relationships among FSs are complex, FSs are highly interactive among themselves, and the interaction among FSs may result in the alteration of their form; hence the alteration of the condition of use and their actual functions in discourse. Such conclusions further strengthen the validity of the definition of FSs suggested at the beginning of Chapter 2 in the present study:

A formulaic sequence is a multi-word unit that forms a semantic unit and serves as a frequent and conventional mapping of form, meaning, and/or function; formulaic language is a collection of different formulaic sequences that vary in degree of fixedness, syntactic (ir)regularity, (non-)compositionality, and idiomaticity.

That is to say, the form, meaning, and function of an FS depend on and restrict each other.

Furthermore, from the perspective of comparing FSs in EModE dialogues and those in letters, the above complex relationships among FSs are not specific to either spoken or written communication. The differences between FSs in the two types of communication only lie in individual cases. That is to say, some sequences in one text type may be absent in the other, but the kinds of macro-relationships they reflect might not be absent in that text type.

## **9. Conclusion**

Motivated by the observation that FSs are prevalent in PDE speech and writing, the ambiguity in defining the linguistic phenomenon, the methodological challenges in the identification of FSs, and the lack of insights in FSs in EModE spoken and written discourse, the present doctoral project is the first attempt to investigate on the form-meaning/function mapping of FSs systematically and comprehensively in EModE dialogues and letters with massive and representative datasets. The outcomes of the study successfully fulfil all research goals, including the clarification of the theoretical framework, better elaboration of FSs as an important linguistic phenomenon with a great degree of independence, and most importantly, filling the giant gap in the field of formulaic language study. All these were achieved via a refined semi-automatic corpus-assisted approach to identifying FSs and a Construction Grammar approach to understanding FSs. More precisely, by “semi-automatic”, the present study means that both computationally generating recursive multi-word units and manually selecting qualified items as FSs are equally important to the identification of FSs. By accepting FSs as constructions, the linguistic phenomenon finally gained equal status as other lexical-grammatical items.

### **9.1. Summary of the main findings**

The findings of the present study confidently answered three sets of research questions concerning the existence of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters, their functions, and the distinction between the two text types regarding the use of FSs. Findings and discussions (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8) reveal one characteristic of FSs: they are extremely complex, yet an essential part of language and communication. Therefore, answers to the research questions are also complex. Quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted to reveal both structural and functional features of FSs and how they distinguish EModE dialogues and letters accordingly. More specifically, the aspects of FSs under examination include the functional classification of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters, the fixedness of all FSs in EModE dialogues and letters and the fixedness of FSs in each primary category, abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs across function categories and subcategories, genre-specific FSs, multi-functional FSs and common function combinations, *God/Almighty*-FSs, and networks of FSs.

The results of the analyses jointly answered the three sets of research questions in various ways. The first set of questions concerning their general status of existence is:

- [1] Are there FSs in spoken and written communication in EModE (i.e., dialogues and letters)?
- a. How many types of FSs can be identified from EModE dialogues and letters?
  - b. How frequently are FSs used in EModE dialogues and letters?
  - c. What are the lexical-grammatical structures of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters?

Results in Chapter 6 indicate that both EModE dialogues and letters, as representatives of spoken and written communications, employ many FSs to fulfil various kinds of communicational needs. More specifically, to answer the question [1a], 953 types of FSs were identified from the corpus of EModE dialogues and 1,479 types from letters.

Regarding their frequency in question [1b], 885 types of FSs in dialogues occurred more than 20 times *pmw.*, while that number is 1395 for letters. These FSs, whose frequencies passed the threshold, were included for further analyses in the study. Moreover, FSs occur 86.83 times *pmw.* on average in dialogues. FSs in letters are less frequent, with an average frequency of 79.51 times *pmw.* The present study treats an FS as one token not only for the convenience of analysis but also for the argument that FSs are holistic units of form-meaning/function. On this basis, the total instances of analysed FSs account for only 7.68 per cent of all tokens in the corpus of EModE dialogues. For FSs in letters, the figure is 11.09 per cent.

So far, answers to questions [1a] and [1b] suggest that EModE letters are generally more formulaic than dialogues, despite that the average frequency is lower. The proportion of FSs in EModE speech and writing seems to be much lower than what is anticipated in PDE speech and writing (e.g., 58.6 per cent and 52.3 per cent in spoken and written discourse according to Erman and Warren 2000). However, since the study defined and identified FSs differently, it is hard to draw a solid conclusion that FSs play a less important role in EModE than those in PDE.

To answer the third question [1c] concerning general formal features of FSs in the two text types, the study first measured the fixedness of form by counting the number of variable parts and checking if the fixed part is continuous

(see Section 7.1.1, Chapter 7); then the study examined the abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs across function categories (see Section 7.1.2, Chapter 7). Additional insights regarding this matter were also obtained from the observation on two types of networks of FSs according to their semantic and syntactic relationships. Regarding the fixedness of form, Chapter 7 reports that FSs in dialogues have a degree of fixedness ( $D_{fxd}$ ) of 2.00, while it is 1.94 for FSs in letters. Moreover, measuring the fixedness of texts due to the use of FSs, the degree of fixedness for dialogues ( $D_{fxd.Text}$ ) is 1.46, while it is 1.49 for letters. Considering the higher the value is, the more fixed FSs or texts are, FSs themselves in EModE dialogues are more fixed than those in letters. On the contrary, the fixedness of dialogues as a text type is lower than that of letters when taking the type and frequency of FSs used in the two text types into consideration. However, the difference is not significant, i.e., there is no correlation between fixedness and text types/modes of communication.

Moreover, the examination of abstract grammatical-structural patterns of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters reveals similarities. For both text types, most FSs in a particular category or subcategory have the same grammatical structure(s). It also holds for both text types that even patterns at a full grammatical level could also vary in degrees of schematicity and abstraction, which supports the present study's argument that FSs are constructions in nature.

In addition, Chapter 8 reports two networks of FSs. A horizontal network of FSs refers to the structural and functional relationship among FSs regardless of their degrees of abstraction and how they are used together to form units of discourse. A vertical network of FSs refers to the structural and functional relationship among FSs which have various degrees of abstraction but can be abstracted into the same grammatical-structural pattern. Among FSs that reflect such a relationship, the more abstract ones are known as superordinate FSs, while the more lexical ones are named subordinate FSs.

The grammatical-structural features are mostly reflected by the horizontal network. The study observed three types of horizontal networks: embedding, attaching, and joining. Firstly, as the most prevalent horizontal network, embedding refers to the relationship in which some FSs are components of others or their realisations, regardless of their fixedness, length, and degree of abstraction. One FS can be embedded in either the fixed part or

the variable part of another. The embedded FSs can have direct/close or indirect/remote semantic/syntactic relations with the target FS. Moreover, the embedding can be multi-layer, i.e., one FS is embedded in another which is further embedded in a third FS. Secondly, some FSs are found to be attached to others to provide additional information. Attaching can also take place with embedding, forming a more complicated multi-layer structure. Lastly, the joining of FSs is more function-oriented. FSs of the same/different function occur in the same unit of discourse side-by-side and jointly work for the same purpose. In addition, to make the structural relationship even more complicated, the joining of FSs can occur together with embedding and/or attaching.

The second set of research questions is among the key interests of the present study:

- [2] What are the functions of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters?
- a. What functional classification scheme can be used to categorise FSs?
  - b. How are FSs in EModE dialogues distributed across function categories?
  - c. How are FSs in EModE letters distributed across function categories?
  - d. How meaning/function of FSs is mapped to their form? In other words, what are the lexical-grammatical structures of FSs in each primary function category?

Questions in the second set were mainly answered in Chapters 6 and 7. To answer question [2a], the study modified Conrad and Biber's (2005) functional taxonomy into a three-tier functional classification scheme, including four primary function categories: "Stance Expressions", "Discourse Organisers", "Referential Expressions", and "Special Communicational Functions" (see Section 6.1, Chapter 6). They correspond to Halliday's (e.g., 1994) ideational, textual, and interpersonal metafunctions. Each primary function category contains several subcategories. FSs in subcategories can be further grouped according to the specific focuses of a function.

Question [2b] asks about the distribution of FSs in EModE dialogues across function categories and subcategories. The study identified FSs serving all four primary functions (see Section 6.2, Chapter 6), among which FSs as referential expressions have the highest degree of diversity (i.e., the greatest number of types) and distribution (i.e., the proportion among corpus tokens), followed by FSs as stance expressions. However, FSs as stance expressions have the highest degree of average popularity (i.e., mean frequency), followed by FSs



as discourse organisers. FSs serving special communicational functions take the last place from all these perspectives.

Moreover, descriptive data regarding the distribution of FSs at the level of subcategories were only reported from the perspective of diversity. In the first primary function category, there are more attitudinal/modality stance FSs than epistemic stance FSs. Specific focuses of functions served by more than 30 types of FSs are desire/willingness, obligation/directive, and intention/prediction; those by less than ten types of FSs are probable/possible, ability, affection, and threat.

In the second primary function category, there are more FSs elaborating or clarifying certain topics than those introducing or bringing focus to new topics. No specific function focus labels were assigned to FSs in these two subcategories due to the lack of clear boundaries. Both subcategories contain more than 30 types of FSs.

In the third primary function category, the most diverse subcategory is the one containing FSs that identify or draw attention to physical and abstract entities, persons, actions, and general/context-based entities. Taking second place is the subcategory containing FSs that describe attributes of entities. The subcategory containing deictic FSs takes the third place and the one referencing imprecise entities takes the last. Specific focuses of functions served by more than 30 types of FSs are persons, actions, imprecision, quantities, intangible attributes, and time; those served by less than ten types of FSs are physical entities, tangible attributes, textual deixis, and multi-functional deixis.

In the last primary function, simple inquiries and politeness routines/social maintenance are equally the most diverse subcategories, which are the only ones containing slightly more than 30 types of FSs. Only politeness routines/social maintenance FSs were further assigned with function focus labels. Hence, subcategories and specific focuses of functions served by less than ten types of FSs are gratitude, apology, reporting, exclamation, and vocative.

In addition, many FSs in EModE dialogues are multi-functional (see Section 7.2.2, Chapter 7). FSs in two primary function categories and those in three primary function categories jointly account for about ten per cent of all FS types in dialogues. There are no FSs occurring in all four primary function categories. At the level of subcategories and focuses of functions, the five most

common function combinations in terms of diversity include “B1. desire/willingness (I) and B3. intention/prediction (I)”, “B10. request (I) and A5. general politeness or social maintenance (IV)”, “B. topic elaboration/clarification (II) and B. simple inquiry (IV)”, “B6. respect (I), A3. persons (III), and F. vocative expressions (IV)”, and “B2. obligation/directive (I) and B3. intention/prediction (I)”.

Question [2c] asks about the distribution of FSs in EModE letters across function categories and subcategories. The study identified FSs serving all four primary functions (see Section 6.2, Chapter 6), among which FSs as referential expressions have the highest degree of diversity and distribution, followed by FSs serving special communicational functions in terms of diversity but by FSs as stance expressions in terms of distribution. The least diverse primary category contains FSs as discourse organisers, which are also the least distributed. Moreover, FSs as stance expressions have the highest degree of popularity on average, followed by FSs as discourse organisers. FSs serving special communicational functions take the last place in mean frequency.

Moreover, descriptive data regarding the distribution of FSs in EModE letters at the level of subcategories indicates that attitudinal/modality stance FSs are about seven times more than epistemic stance FSs in the first primary function category. Specific focuses of functions served by more than 30 types of FSs are desire/willingness, intention/prediction, affection, respect, request, and feeling; those by less than ten types of FSs are probable/possible, ability, approval/disapproval, affirmation/denial, and oath/promise.

In the second primary function category, EModE letters employ almost equal numbers of FSs elaborating/clarifying certain topics and those introducing/bringing focus to new topics. No specific function focus labels were assigned to FSs in these two subcategories due to the lack of clear boundaries. Both subcategories contain more than 70 types of FSs.

In the third primary function category, the most diverse subcategory is the one containing FSs that identify or draw attention to physical and abstract entities, persons, actions, and general/context-based entities. Deictic FSs take second place, followed by FS describing attributes of entities. The subcategory referencing imprecise entities takes the last place. Specific focuses of functions served by more than 30 types of FSs are abstract entities, persons, actions,

imprecision, quantities, intangible attributes, temporal deixis, and spatial deixis; those served by less than ten types of FSs are tangible attributes and multi-functional deixis.

In the last primary function, the most diverse subcategory contains FSs making simple inquiries, followed by vocative expressions. Only politeness routines/social maintenance FSs were further assigned with function focus labels. Hence, subcategories and specific focuses of functions served by more than 30 types of FSs are salutations, general politeness or social maintenance routines, and vocative expressions; those by less than ten types of FSs are apologies, simple inquiries, and exclamation.

Furthermore, EModE letters employ many multi-functional FSs (see Section 7.2.2, Chapter 7). FSs placed in two primary function categories account for ten per cent of all FS types in letters, and FSs in three primary categories account for five per cent. There are no FSs in all four primary function categories. At the level of subcategories and focuses of functions, the five most common function combinations in terms of diversity include “A3. persons (III) and F. vocative expressions (IV)”, “B6. respect (I), A3. persons (III), and F. vocative expressions (IV)”, “B5. affection (I) and A3. persons (III)”, “B5. affection (I), A3. persons (III), and F. vocative expressions (IV)”, and “B1. desire/willingness (I) and B3. intention/prediction (I)”.

Question [2d] about the form-meaning/function mapping was answered in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 jointly from the perspectives of abstract constructions and networks of FSs. It seems that FSs in some subcategories can be abstracted into grammatical-structural patterns at higher levels of abstraction. Firstly, there are some one-to-one mappings of patterns and functions; for example, many FSs about ability are in the form of the BE + ADJ + COMP construction. Secondly, it is more common that some patterns are mapped to multiple functions; for example, the *I* + V + COMP and/or the SUBJ (*I*) + V + COMP constructions cover FSs describing certainty, uncertainty, desire/willingness, affirmation/denial, topic introduction/focus, and topic elaboration/clarification. Thirdly, it is also common for some functions being mapped to multiple patterns; for example, FSs of salutations in EModE letters can be found in five grammatical-structural patterns: the SUBJ + V + *Your* + MODIFIER (optional) + NP (somebody) + VP (*to*-INFINITIVE, optional) construction, the SUBJ (mostly *I*)

+ V + OBJ (NP: somebody or something positive) + PP (optional) construction, the *Your* + MODIFIER +NP (somebody) construction, the *Your* + NP (somebody) + VP (*to*-INFINITIVE) construction, and the *to* + MODIFIER + NP (somebody) construction. Lastly, some grammatical-structural patterns are only found among FSs serving specific functions in one text type rather than the other, even though both text types have FSs serving the same functions. For example, both EModE dialogues and letters employ FSs to describe intangible attributes, but FSs in the form of the *in* + NP1 + *of* + NP2 construction were found only in dialogues. It is worth noting that these observations might differ when larger corpora were used., and the prevalence of certain structural pattern-function mappings in a text type is a matter of communication preference and convention rather than clear-bounded grammatical features.

Findings in Chapter 8 suggest a correlation between form and meaning/function from the perspective of horizontal and vertical networks of FSs. Within a horizontal network, some FSs can be embedded in others, and it is the outermost FSs that have a direct functional connection to the discourse. More explicitly correlation is reflected by the vertical network of FSs, in which function deviation is caused by the degree of abstraction of superordinate and subordinate FSs. Some subordinate FSs might perform distinct functions from their superordinate FSs and their fellow subordinate FSs. There are three types of function deviation: function extension, shifting, and specification. The function deviation is mainly motivated by which variable part(s) is/are realised by what lexical items, hence corresponding to the context in which the subordinate FSs are used and resulting in different functions.

Answers to the previous two sets of research questions led to addressing the last set of questions that requested a thorough comparison between FSs in EModE dialogues and letters which were accepted by the study as spoken and written modes of communication, respectively.

- [3] How do FSs characterise EModE dialogues and letters?
- a. Overall, comparing EModE dialogues and letters, which employ more FSs?
  - b. Specifically, comparing EModE dialogues and letters, which employ more FSs to serve a specific function?
  - c. Specifically, are there any FSs dominating or existing exclusively in a particular type of communication?

Answering the first question [3a], descriptive data in Chapter 7 shows that EModE letters employ more types of FSs than dialogues, the sum of their occurrence is higher, and they make up a higher proportion of tokens in the corpus. However, regarding normalised mean frequency (i.e., average occurrence per million words), FSs in EModE dialogues occur more frequently than those in letters, and the difference is statistically significant.

More precisely, the question [3b] concerns the difference between FSs in EModE dialogues and letters in each primary function category. To answer this question, normalised mean frequencies were compared in Section 7.2.1.1, Chapter 7. For the category “I. Stance Expressions”, FSs identified in the two corpora are almost equally frequent. For categories “II. Discourse Organisers” and “IV. Special Communicational Functions”, FSs in EModE letters are slightly more frequent than those in dialogues. For the category “III. Referential Expressions”, FSs in dialogues are slightly more frequent than those in letters. However, statistical tests (i.e., the Mann-Whitney test) suggested that these differences were not significant. FSs in neither of the four primary function categories characterise a particular mode of communication.

The last question [3c] inquiries about the difference between EModE dialogues and letters regarding genre-specific FSs. Descriptive data in Section 7.2.2.1, Chapter 7 indicates that more than half of FSs in each primary function category occur exclusively in either corpus. The ten most frequent genre-specific FSs in each category were analysed qualitatively. Results reveal that genre-specific FSs in EModE letters are generally more frequent than those in dialogues in three out of four primary function categories. Moreover, for a particular primary function, genre-specific FSs in EModE dialogues and those in letters focus on different aspects of the function.

In conclusion, FSs played important roles in various aspects of the EModE spoken and written communications. Their uses touch all metafunctions of language (e.g., Halliday 1994; Halliday and Christian 2014). On the continuum of abstraction of form, specific functions are conventionally mapped to forms not only much closer to the lexical extreme but also to the abstract/schematic extreme. As two individual text types, EModE dialogues and letters actually have many similarities regarding the form and function of FSs and general trends of distribution across function categories. In many ways,

statistical tests do not reveal significant differences. In other words, FSs do not statistically distinguish the two text types. However, outstanding differences between the two text types can be observed too. From the perspective of form, the distinction lies in word choice in realisations of certain FSs. From the perspective of meaning/function, the distinction lies in the kinds of functions that need FSs the most or the least and common function combinations. More precisely, EModE letters are particularly distinguished from dialogues via FSs that contribute to letter-writing routines, formatting, communication distance, and other social factors that influence the behaviour of FSs, such as the figure of God.

## **9.2. Contributions**

The present study has made contributions to various areas. First and foremost, the study provides three significant insights for the understanding of FSs. One justifies the status of FSs in the Construction Grammar. Specifically, FSs are constructions in nature and the understanding of FSs within the framework of the Construction Grammar is theoretically and empirically supported. Moreover, the study advocates a new definition of FSs under the framework of the Construction Grammar, which strives to be descriptive, inclusive, and methodologically neutral. The new definition clearly states three prerequisites for being FSs and four syntactic-semantic characteristics of FSs. Furthermore, findings in Chapter 5 support the study's arguments that LBs should not be equalised to FSs although they are testified to be functional and indicate the recursive characteristics of the language (i.e., some lexical items are reused in discourse instead of creating novel expressions). It is because only 953 types of FSs were identified out of 6,153 types of LBs in dialogues, and only 1,479 types of FSs out of 8,162 types of LBs in letters (i.e., counting for 15.49 and 18.12 per cent, respectively, including less frequent FSs). Nonetheless, the present study accepts LBs as candidates for FSs, suggesting that if a LB fulfils a series of criteria, the LB can possibly be identified as an FS. The criteria for identifying FSs is one of the methodological contributions of the study.

Secondly, the study contributes to the development of a two-phase, semi-automatic approach for the identification of FS, which guarantees the representativeness and comprehensiveness of results to a maximum degree.

Traditional methods rely on manually reading a limited number of texts and researchers' own knowledge to identify all FSs or those of a specific function in the texts, hence comprehensive but unrepresentative and subjective. By comparison, computer-assisted methods (e.g., LBs, n-grams, etc.) allow efficient processing of larger datasets but ignore essential semantic and syntactic features of FSs, hence imprecise. Moreover, the computer-assisted methods are not as objective as claimed, since the parameters for the retrieval of word sequences (e.g., frequency cut-offs and length) are often subject to researchers' own decisions. The approach of the study managed to avoid the drawbacks of existing methods by first computationally generating LBs and manually identifying FSs from them (see Chapter 4). More specifically, the study justified the frequency cut-off based on previous studies (see Kopaczyk 2012a) and a pilot study (Huang 2023), defined a length range instead of a single length for LBs, and produced detailed criteria and step-by-step guidance for the manual identification of FSs. In addition, the study also discussed in detail how EModE spellings were normalised and described how texts were prepared.

Thirdly, all findings of the study summarised in Section 9.1 contribute new insights into FSs in EModE. With a new definition of FSs and a more detailed description as mentioned above, the study conducted a systematic and exhaustive count of FSs in a corpus of EModE dialogues and one of EModE letters, which has seldom been done in a scale as large as this. The study draws a nearly complete picture of how EModE speakers employed FSs to achieve various communication purposes. Although I would admit that some analyses of the FSs are still rough and that there is still space for improvement, it is expected that many further studies can be inspired by the findings.

Moreover, the study brings research consistency. The additional quantitative and qualitative analyses of LBs generated automatically in the first phase of the procedure initiated a dialogue between the present study with previous studies adopting a LB-approach in formulaic language research (see Chapter 5). Findings support the study's arguments that LBs should not be equalised to FSs, but they can be used to identify FSs as long as certain criteria are met.

In addition, the study further clarified the distinction between written and spoken communication in the context of EModE. More specifically, since all

EModE records are written, the study elaborated how to deal with controversial text types such as play-texts and prose fiction. The proposed principle is that the distinction between spoken and written communication lies jointly in the original physical medium in which communication is conveyed (i.e., on paper or via sound wave), how communication is delivered and received (i.e., written and read, spoken and heard), and the interaction among participants of a communicative activity (i.e., whether the participants are directly or indirectly involved).

### **9.3. Avenues for further research**

#### **9.3.1. Space for improvement**

The present study surely allows space for improvement. Several issues emerged at the later stage of my research which I would have addressed differently if I had more time and resources or known better earlier. Primarily, there is a lack of a (semi-) automatic method to systematically and efficiently identify discontinuous FSs. The study accepts that FSs can be discontinuous, meaning it allows a certain number of variable parts to be inserted into the fixed part of an FS. However, the identification of discontinuous FSs in the present study was arbitrary and accidental. The WordSmith tool, which was used by the present study to generate LBs allows the automatic generation of discontinuous word sequences via “congrams” and “phrase frames”. Further efforts are needed to test the performance of these tools.

Secondly, it would be preferable, for the purpose of improving accuracy and objectivity, that at least three external viewers with profound knowledge of EModE and FSs could have been involved in the second phase of the procedure in which manual identification of FSs took place. For the current project, the manual identification was conducted only by me, the author of the thesis. Even though a clear and detailed step-by-step instruction and identification criteria was designed beforehand and constantly consulted during the process, there was still a high risk of bias due to the presence of one single viewer. Therefore, in the future when better research conditions are provided, it would be ideal to reduplicate the study with the same or larger datasets.

Thirdly, the study identified FSs that are below the frequency cut-off (i.e., 20 times *pmw.*) but did not analyse them. The study accepts that frequency of



occurrence is not a decisive feature of FSs, and an FS can occur infrequently but can represent a very common and conventional mapping for form and meaning/function. Therefore, future investigation on infrequent FSs is worth conducting to seek evidence to support the argument.

Finally, several other issues might be improved, such as the spelling standardisation rules, functional classification scheme, detailed concordance analysis of FSs, and adding more texts from new sources such as EEBO to both EModE corpora.

### 9.3.2. Extended topics

In addition to enhancing the present study, there are more investigations that could be conducted but did not due to the limited space of the doctoral project. Firstly, the present study was aware of but did not measure the development of English could also involve the development of FSs. In fact, based on Wray's (2009, 33) account of how regular novel expressions came into being irregular FSs, I reserved the possibility that the next step of the evolution of some FSs could be forming compounds. Therefore, diachronic studies on the development of certain FSs are worth conducting. Moreover, comparisons between FSs in EModE and those in PDE could provide another angle to understand the use of FSs in EModE. Similar comparisons have been conducted by Culpeper and Kytö (2010) on LBs in trials and play-texts in EModE and PDE.

Secondly, each of the four primary function categories and their subcategories deserves more thorough examinations on their own. For example, as a type of communication, how do EModE letters employ FSs to deal with communication distance? One of such FSs that have already been identified in the study is "**I have received your letter**". It would be interesting to know the use of such FSs in various types of letters.

Thirdly, in addition to the role of God, many other social factors could be investigated regarding how they may influence the use of FSs, for example, social class, gender, and communication setups. The corpora of EModE dialogues and letters used in the present study can be divided into several sub-corpus according to these genres. However, the time and resources of the doctoral research did not allow making a thorough inquiry in this regard.

Therefore, comparisons among FSs in conversations of various scenarios and among FSs in various types of letters have great research values and potential.

All in all, in the field of EModE FSs, the present study is by no means the last investigation, but the first one or the initiation of a series of research. With an overall picture of FSs in EModE dialogues and letters having been drawn, it is now the time to add more details from various aspects.

## Appendixes

### Appendix 1a: Corpus files extracted from the CED for the corpus of EModE dialogues

Note 1: the selection of texts is based on “Date 1” (speech event/first print), if “Date 1” is missing, then the selection is based on “Date 2” (publication date).

Note 2: for files that have “(ed)” after their names, only part of texts in them dating from 1560 to 1680 is extracted.

Note 3: In the column “Tt” (text type), DC = Drama Comedy, PF = Prose Fiction, DW1 = Didactic Works: Language Teaching, DW2 = Didactic Works: Other, MS = Miscellaneous, TP = Trial Proceedings, WD = Witness Depositions.

File name	(Shortened) text title	Date 1	Date 2	Tt	Author
DICCHAPM	An Humerous Dayes Myrth	1599	1599	DC	George Chapman
DICKNAVE	A Knacke to Knowe a Knaue	1594	1594	DC	Anonymous
DICLYLY	Alexander and Campaspe	1584	1584	DC	John Lyly
DICPEELE	The Old Wiues Tale	1595	1595	DC	George Peele
DICWARNE	Menaecmi	1595	1595	DC	William Warner
DIFBOORD	Mad Men of Gotam	1565	1565	PF	Andrew Boorde
DIFCOBLE	The Cobler of Caunterburie	1590	1590	PF	Anonymous
DIFGASCO	Sundrie Flowres	1573	1573	PF	George Gascoigne
DIFSHARP	Discouerie of the Knights	1597	1597	PF	Edward Sharpham
DIFTALES	Merie Tales	1567	1567	PF	Anonymous
DICHEBELL	Familiar Dialogves		1586	DW1	Jacques Bellot
DIFHDESA	The French Schoolemaister		1573	DW1	Claude Desainliens
DIFHOBEZA	Little Catechisme		1579	DW2	Theodorus Beza
DIFHODW	Certaine Godly Instructions		1580	DW2	D. W.
DIFHOGIFF	Dialogve Concerning Witches		1593	DW2	George Gifford
DIFHONICH	Lady Called Listra, and a Pilgrim		1579	DW2	Thomas Nicholas
DIFHOOB	Questions of Profitable ...		1594	DW2	O. B.
DIFHOTILN	Flower of Friendshippe		1568	DW2	Edmund Tilney
DIFMBARRO	Examinations of Henry Barrowe [etc]	1586	1593?	MS	Henry Barrowe et al
DIFMDANDO	Maroccus Extaticus		1595	MS	John Dando
DIFTHICKF	Trial of Mr. Robert Hickford	1571	1730	TP	
DIFTNORFO	Trial of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk	1571	1730	TP	
DIFTPARRY	William Parry the Traitor	1584	1585	TP	
DIFWBARKS	Witches...in the Countie of Barks.	1579	1579	WD	
DIFWCHENS	Wytches at Chensforde	1566	1566	WD	
DIFWCHEST	Bishop’s Court, Chester	1561–6	1897	WD	
DIFWDARCY	Witches, Taken at S. Oses	1582	1582	WD	
DIFWDURHA	Courts of Durham	1560–88	1845	WD	

D1WNORWI	Affray at Norwich	1583	1864	WD	
D1WNOTOR	Three Notorious Witches	1589	1589	WD	
D1WWALSH	Examination of Iohn Walsh	1566	1566	WD	
D2CBARRE	Ram-Alley	1611	1611	DC	Lording Barrey
D2CHEYWO	How a Man May Chuse	1602	1602	DC	Thomas Heywood
D2CJONSO	Bartholmew Fayre	1631	1631	DC	Ben Jonson
D2CSHAKE	The Merry Wiues of Windsor	1602	1623	DC	William Shakespeare
D2CWILKI	The Miseries of Inforst Mariage	1607	1607	DC	George Wilkins
D2FARMIN	A Nest of Ninnies	1608	1608	PF	Robert Armin
D2FBREWE	Deuill of Edmonton	1631	1631	PF	Thomas Brewer
D2FDELON	Iack of Newberie	1596–9?	1619	PF	Thomas Deloney
D2FJOHNS	Conceites of Old Hobson	1607	1607	PF	Richard Johnson
D2FKIT	Westward for Smelts	1620	1620	PF	‘Kinde Kit’
D2FRUSH	The Historie of Frier Rvsh	1620	1620	PF	Anonymous
D2HFERON	The French Garden		1605	DW1	Peter Erondell
D2HFWODR	The Marrow of the French Tongve		1625	DW1	John Wodroephe
D2HOCHUR	Concerning Churching of Women		1601	DW2	Anonymous
D2HOHOBY	Cvrry-Combe for a Coxe-Combe		1615	DW2	Edward Hoby
D2HOMAXE	New Instvction of Plowing and Setting		1601	DW2	Edward Maxey
D2HONORD	Surueyors Dialogue		1607	DW2	John Norden
D2HOSNAW	Looking Glasse for Married Folkes		1610	DW2	Robert Snawsel
D2MWORKE	Worke for Cvltlers		1615	MS	Anonymous
D2TBAST	Censure...of Dr. Bastwicke [etc]	1637	1638	TP	
D2TCARR	Trial of Robert Carr	1616	1730	TP	
D2THIGHC	High Commission	1632	1886	TP	
D2TLADYF	Trial of the Lady Frances	1616	1730	TP	
D2WDIOCE	High Commission Court... Diocese of Durham	1627–37	1858	WD	
D2WFLOWE	Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower	1618	1619	WD	
D2WMERVI	Arraignment...Earle of Castlehaven	1631	1642	WD	
D2WPENDL	Witches in the Covntie of Lancaster	1612	1613	WD	
D2WRALEI	Arraignment...of Sr Walter Rawleigh	1603	1648	WD	
D2WSOUTH	Earles of Essex and Southampton	1600	1873	WD	
D3CBROME	A Mad Couple Well Matched	1653	1653	DC	Richard Brome
D3CDRYDE	The Wild Gallant	1669	1669	DC	John Dryden
D3CETHER	The Man of Mode	1676	1676	DC	George Etherege
D3CTB	The Covntrie Girle	1647	1647	DC	Anthony Brewer
D3CWYCHE	The Country-Wife	1675	1675	DC	William Wycherley
D3FBUNYA	Pilgrim’s Progress	1678	1678	PF	John Bunyan

D3FCRISP	Don Samuel Crispe	1660	1660	PF	Anonymous
D3FDAUNC	The English Lovers	1662	1662	PF	John Dauncey
D3FFIDGE	The English Gusman	1652	1652	PF	George Fidge
D3FMARIA	Marianvs	1641	1641	PF	Anonymous
D3FNEWES	The Sack-Full of Newes	1673	1673	PF	Anonymous
D3FPARLI	The Parliament of VVomen	1646	1646	PF	Anonymous
D3HFFEST	A New and Easie French Grammar		1667	DW1	Paul Festeau
D3HFMAUG	The True Advancement of the French		1653	DW1	Claude Mauger
D3HOCARE	Covntry-Mans Care		1641	DW2	Anonymous
D3HOCOLE	Ingrossers of Coles		1653	DW2	Anonymous
D3HOPOET	Dovvnefall of Temporizing Poets		1641	DW2	Anonymous
D3HOSPIR	Spirituall Courts Epitomized		1641	DW2	Anonymous
D3HOSTAR	Star-Chamber Epitomized		1641	DW2	Anonymous
D3HOTJ	Vpright the Shoemaker		1640	DW2	T. J.
D3HOTRAV	Dialogue betwixt Three Travellers		1641	DW2	Anonymous
D3HOYARR	Coffee-House Dialogue		1679	DW2	Andrew Yarranton
D3MCOUNT	The Counters Discovrse		1641	MS	Anonymous
D3MSTAGE	The Stage-Players Complaint		1641	MS	Anonymous
D3MWHORE	The Wandring Whore		1661	MS	Anonymous
D3MWIT	VVit and VVealth		1647	MS	Anonymous
D3MWOMEN	Women Will Have Their Will		1648	MS	Anonymous
D3TCHARL	King Charls His Tryal	1648	1650	TP	
D3TCOLEM	Tryal of Edward Coleman	1678	1678	TP	
D3TGBH	Tryals of Robert Green [etc]	1678/9	1679	TP	
D3THARRI	Tryal ... of Thomas Harrison	1660	1660	TP	
D3TLILBU	Triall, of Lieut. Collonell John Lilburne	1649	1649	TP	
D3TLOVE	Triall of Mr Love	1651	1652	TP	
D3TMACGU	Triall of Connor Lord Macguire	1644	1645	TP	
D3TMODER	Tryal ... of Mary Moders	1663	1663	TP	
D3TSLING	Severall Tryals of Sir Henry Slingsby [etc]	1658	1658	TP	
D3TTURNE	Tryal ... of Col. Iames Turner	1663	1663	TP	
D3WBROOK	Late Design of the Papists	1678	1679	WD	
D3WBURY	Witches, at ... Bury St. Edmunds	1664	1682	WD	
D3WCROMW	Inhumane Conspiracy against ... Lord Protector	1654	1654	WD	
D3WESSEX	Witches ... in the County of Essex	1645	1645	WD	
D3WKNOX	Horrid Conspiracy of Thomas Knox	1679	1680	WD	
D3WMOSEL	Arraignment...of Sr. Edward Moseley	1647	1647	WD	
D3WSUFFO	Indictments for Witchcraft	1645	1929	WD	

D3WYORK	Depositions from the Castle of York 3	1655–64	1861	WD	
D4HOEP	Piper and Captain		1680	DW2	E. P.
D4TCELLI	Triall of Elizabeth Cellier	1680	1680	TP	
D4TGILES	Tryal of John Giles	1680	1681	TP	
D4WYORK (ed)	Depositions from the Castle of York 4	1680	1680–9	WD	

*(Continuing from the previous page)*

## **Appendix 1b: Corpus files extracted from the PCEEC for the corpus of EModE letters**

Note: for files that have “(ed)” after their names, only part of the texts in them dating from 1560 to 1680 is extracted.

<b>File name</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Letter</b>	<b>Edition</b>
bentham	1560-1561	16	The Letter-Book of Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1560-1561. Ed. by Rosemary O'Day and Joel Berlatsky. In Camden Miscellany 27. Camden Fourth Series, 22. London: Royal Historical Society. 1979.
hart	1561-1578	3	John Hart's Works on English Orthography and Pronunciation (1551, 1569, 1570). Part I. Ed. by Bror Danielsson. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1955.
paget (ed)	1563	1	The Letters of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547-1563. Ed. by Barrett L. Beer and Sybil M. Jack. In Camden Miscellany 25. Camden Fourth Series, 13. London: Royal Historical Society. 1974.
origin2 (ed)	1564-86	10	Original Letters, Illustrative of English History; Including Numerous Royal Letters: From Autographs in the British Museum, and One or Two Other Collections. Vol. II. Ed. by Henry Ellis. 2nd edition. London: Harding, Triphook, and Lepard. 1825.
hutton	1566-1633	83	The Correspondence of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York. With a Selection from the Letters, etc. of Sir Timothy Hutton, Knt., His Son; and Matthew Hutton, Esq., His Grandson. Ed. by J. Raine. Publications of the Surtees Society, 17. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, William Pickering; Edinburgh: Laing and Forbes. 1843.
cliffo (ed)	1568	1	Letters of the Cliffords, Lords Clifford and Earls of Cumberland, c. 1500-c. 1565. Ed. by R. W. Hoyle. In Camden Miscellany 31. Camden Fourth Series, 44. London: Royal Historical Society. 1992. Note that the PCEEC does not contain the full set of Clifford letters contained in the CEEC.
parkhur	1569-75	92	The Letter Book of John Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich Compiled during the Years 1571-5. Ed. by R. A. Houlbrooke. Norfolk Record Society, 43. Norwich: Norfolk Record Society. 1974 and 1975.
bacon	1569?-94	380	The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey. Ed. by A. Hassell Smith, Gillian M. Baker and R. W. Kenny. Norfolk Record Society, 46, 49 and 53. Norwich: Norfolk Record Society. 1978 and 1979, 1982 and 1983, 1987 and 1988.
harvey	1573	4	Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-1580. Ed. by Edward John Long Scott. Camden New Series, 33. London: Camden Society. 1884
hasting	1573-	40	The Letters of Sir Francis Hastings 1574-1609. Ed. by Claire Cross.

	1609		Somerset Record Society, 69. London: Somerset Record Society. 1969.
allen	1579-93	4	Letters of William Allen and Richard Barret, 1572-1598. Ed. by P. Renold. Catholic Record Society, 58. Oxford: Oxonian Press. 1967.
smyth	1580?-1641	33	Calendar of the Correspondence of the Smyth Family of Ashton Court 1548-1642. Ed. by J. H. Bettey. Publications of the Bristol Record Society, 35. Gloucester: Bristol Record Society. 1982.
origin3	1580?-1665	33	Original Letters, Illustrative of English History; Including Numerous Royal Letters: From Autographs in the British Museum, and One or Two Other Collections. Vol. III. Ed. by Henry Ellis. 2nd edition. London: Harding, Triphook, and Lepard. 1825.
brysket	1581-83	10	The Life and Correspondence of Lodowick Bryskett. Ed. by Henry R. Plomer and Tom Peete Cross. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1927.
leycest	1585-86	95	Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, During His Government of the Low Countries, in the Years 1585 and 1586. Ed. by John Bruce. Camden Original Series, 27. London: Camden Society. 1844.
royal1	1585-96	28	Letters of Queen Elizabeth and King James VI. of Scotland; Some of Them Printed from Originals in the Possession of the Rev. Edward Ryder, and Others from a MS. which Formerly Belonged to Sir Peter Thompson, Kt. Ed. by John Bruce. Camden Original Series, 46. London: Camden Society. 1849.
cecil	1586	6	The Bardon Papers. Documents Relating to the Imprisonment & Trial of Mary Queen of Scots. Ed. by Conyers Read. Camden Third Series, 17. London: Royal Historical Society. 1909.
holles	1587-1637	136	Letters of John Holles, 1587-1637. Vol. I. Ed. by P. R. Seddon. Thoroton Society Record Series, 31. Nottingham: Thoroton Society. 1975.
stuart	1588-1611?	71	The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart. Ed. by Sara Jayne Steen. Women Writers in English 1350-1850. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1994.
arundel	1589-1680	78	The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, "Father of Vertu in England". Ed. by Mary F. S. Hervey. Cambridge: The University Press. 1921.
clerk (ed)	1589-90	9	Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries from the Archives of Southampton. Ed. by R. C. Anderson. Publications of the Southampton Record Society. Southampton: Southampton Record Society. 1921.
edmonde	1592-99	23	The Edmondes Papers: A Selection from the Correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Envoy from Queen Elizabeth at the French Court. Ed. by Geoffrey G. Butler. London: Roxburghe Club. 1913.
versteg	1592-1617	21	The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan (c. 1550-1640). Ed. by Anthony G. Petti. Publications of the Catholic Record Society, 52. London: Catholic Record Society. 1959.
chamber	1597-1625	71	The Letters of John Chamberlain. Ed. by Norman Egbert McClure. American Philosophical Society, Memoirs, 12, Parts I-II. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1939.
wentwor	1597-1629	96	Wentworth Papers 1597-1628. Ed. by J. P. Cooper. Camden Fourth Series, 12. London: Royal Historical Society. 1973.
stiffke	1600?-09?	3	The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Norfolk as Justice of the Peace 1580-1620. Ed. by H. W. Saunders. Camden Third Series, 26. London: Camden Society. 1915.
jonson	1600?-	16	Ben Jonson. Vol. I. Corrected edition. Ed. by C. H. Herford and

	31?		Percy Simpson. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1954.
henslo	1600S	3	"Forgeries and One-Eyed Bulls: Editorial Questions in Corpus Work". Ed. by Jukka Keräaut;nen. Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 99 (2): 217-226. Helsinki. 1998. Note that the PCEEC does not contain the full set of Henslowe letters contained in the CEEC.
hoskyns	1601-29	34	The Life, Letters and Writings of John Hoskyns, 1566-1638. Ed. by Louise Brown Osborn. Yale Studies in English, 87. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937.
hatton	1601-81	76	Correspondence of the Family of Hatton Being Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton, A. D. 1601-1704. Vols. I-II. Ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson. Camden New Series, 22 and 23. London: Camden Society. 1878.
stockwe	1602-11	83	The Miscellaneous Papers of Captain Thomas Stockwell, 1590-1611. Vols. I-II. Ed. by J. Rutherford. Southampton Record Society, 32, 33. Southampton: Cox & Sharland, Ltd. 1932 and 1933.
pastonk	1603-27?	83	The Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603-1627. Ed. by Ruth Hughey. Norfolk Record Society, 14. Norwich: Norfolk Record Society. 1941.
oxinde	1607-42	175	The Oxinden Letters 1607-1642. Being the Correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and His Circle. Ed. by Dorothy Gardiner. London: Constable & Co. Ltd. 1933. Note that the PCEEC does not contain the full set of Oxinden letters contained in the CEEC.
fitzher	1608-10	10	Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert, 1608-1610. Ed. by L. Hicks. Publications of the Catholic Record Society, 41. London: Catholic Record Society. 1948.
pory	1610-32	4	John Pory: 1572-1636. The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts. Ed. by William S. Powell. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1977.
royal2	1612?-14?	2	Letters to King James the Sixth from the Queen, Prince Henry, Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth and Her Husband Frederick King of Bohemia, and from Their Son Prince Frederick Henry. Ed. by Sir Patrick Walker and Alexander Macdonald. Edinburgh: The Maitland Club. 1835. Note that the PCEEC does not contain the full set of Royal 2 letters contained in the CEEC.
cornwal	1613-44	192	The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis, 1613-1644. Ed. by Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke. London: S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, & Fley. 1842.
ferrar	1613-59?	38	The Ferrar Papers Containing a Life of Nicholas Ferrar, the Winding-sheet, an Ascetic Dialogue, a Collection of Short Moral Histories, a Selection of Family Letters. Ed. by B. Blackstone. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1938.
cosin	1617-95?	84	The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham: Together with Other Papers Illustrative of his Life and Times. Parts I-II. Ed. by George Ornsby. Publications of the Surtees Society, 52, 55. Durham, London and Edinburgh: Surtees Society. 1869, 1872.
knyvett	1620-44	45	The Knyvett Letters (1620-1644). Ed. by Bertram Schofield. London: Constable & Company. 1949.
harley	1625-66	77	Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley, Wife of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, Knight of the Bath. Ed. by Thomas Taylor Lewis. Camden Original Series, 57. London: Camden Society. 1854.
barring	1628-32	191	Barrington Family Letters, 1628-1632. Ed. by Arthur Searle. Camden Fourth Series, 28. London: Royal Historical Society. 1983.
wesa	1632-42	7	Four Letters of Lord Wentworth, Afterwards Earl of Strafford, with a Poem on His Illness. Ed. by Samuel Rawson Gardiner. In Camden Miscellany 8. Camden New Series, 31. New York: Johnson Reprint



			Corporation. 1883/1965. AND Papers Relating to the Delinquency of Lord Savile, 1642-1646. Ed. by James J. Cartwright. In Camden Miscellany 8. Camden New Series, 31. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation. 1883/1965.
charles	1634-78	9	Five Letters of King Charles II. Ed. by the Marquis of Bristol. In Camden Miscellany 5. Camden Original Series, 87. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation. 1864/1968. AND Letter of the Council to Sir Thomas Lake, Relating to the Proceedings of Sir Edward Coke at Oatlands. Ed. by Samuel Rawson Gardiner. In Camden Miscellany 5. Camden Original Series, 87. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation. 1864/1968.
conway	1640-80	98	The Conway Letters. The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends. 1642-1684. Ed. by Marjorie Hope Nicolson. Revised ed. by Sarah Hutton. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1992.
wharton	1642	8	"Letters from a Subaltern Officer of the Earl of Essex's Army, Written in the Summer and Autumn of 1642." Ed. by Sir Henry Ellis. <i>Archaeologia</i> 35: 310-334. London. 1854.
hamilto	1648-50	7	The Hamilton Papers: Being Selections from the Original Letters in the Possession of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon Relating to the Years 1638-1650. Ed. by Samuel Rawson Gardiner. Camden New Series, 27. 1880.
duppa	1650-60	76	The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham 1650-1660. Ed. by Sir Gyles Isham. Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society, 17. Lampport Hall: Northamptonshire Record Society. 1951.
fleming	1650-80	136	The Flemings in Oxford, Being Documents Selected from the Rydal Papers in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men 1650-1700. Vol. I. Ed. by John Richard Magrath. Oxford Historical Society, 44. 1904.
tixall	1650?-80?	40	Tixall Letters; Or the Correspondence of the Aston Family, and Their Friends, during the Seventeenth Century. Vol. II. Ed. by Arthur Clifford. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1815.
jones	1651-60	62	Inedited Letters of Cromwell, Colonel Jones, Bradshaw and Other Regicides. Ed. by Joseph Mayer. Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, New Series, 1. Liverpool: Adam Holden. 1861.
basire	1651-66	12	The Correspondence of Isaac Basire, D.D., Archdeacon of Northumberland and Prebendary of Durham, in the Reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., with a Memoir of His Life. Ed. by W. N. Darnell. London: John Murray. 1831. [CEECS]
osborne	1652-57?	87	The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple. Ed. by G. C. Moore Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959/1928.
marvell	1653-77	18	The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell. Vol. II: Letters. Ed. by H. M. Margoliouth. 3rd ed. Revised by Pierre Legouis. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1971.
browne (ed)	1653-80	52	The Works of Sir Thomas Browne. Vol. IV: Letters. Ed. by Geoffrey Keynes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1964.
haddock	1657-73	12	Correspondence of the Family of Haddock, 1657-1719. Ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson. In Camden Miscellany 8. Camden New Series, 31. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation. 1883/1965.
minette	1662-69	27	My Dearest Minette: The Letters between Charles II and His Sister Henrietta, the Duchesse d'Orl(e-acute)ans. Ed. by Ruth Norrington. London: Peter Owen. 1996.

pepys	1663-80	80	The Letters of Samuel Pepys and His Family Circle. Ed. by Helen Truesdell Heath. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1955
corie	1666-71	13	The Correspondence of Thomas Corie, Town Clerk of Norwich, 1664-1687. With His Annotations to Edward Browne's Travels and Other Memoranda. Ed. by Robert H. Hill. Norfolk Record Society, 27. Norwich: Norfolk Record Society. 1956.
prideau	1674-80	10	Letters of Humphrey Prideaux Sometime Dean of Norwich, to John Ellis Sometime Under-Secretary of State, 1674-1722. Ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson. Camden New Series, 15. London: Camden Society. 1875.
essex	1675-77	44	Selections from the Correspondence of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, 1675-77. Ed. by Clement Edwards Pike. Camden Third Series, 24. London: Royal Historical Society. 1913.
petty (ed)	1676-80	45	The Petty-Southwell Correspondence 1676-1687. Ed. by Marquis of Lansdowne. Reprints of Economic Classics. New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers. 1928/1967.

*(Continuing from the previous page)*

## Appendix 2: General rules for EModE spelling normalisation based on Archer et al. (2015)

(i) leaving a word form as it is

- Most names, e.g.,
  - Person names
  - Names of some small places that are not well-known, e.g., small countries, cities, towns, villages, streets, shops, etc.
  - Names of natural places, e.g., mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.
  - Other proper names.
- Foreign quotes
- Most archaisms or obsolete terms

(ii) keeping the form but normalising its spelling into one form across the spelling variants

- Some archaisms or obsolete terms that are frequent and well-known, e.g., EModE *oft*
  - Relative pronoun: EModE *the which*
  - Archaic determiners: EModE *tho* (i.e., PDE *though*), *yon*, *yond*, *yonder*, *mo/moe*
  - Adverbs:
    - Grammatical adverbs that have fallen out of daily use, e.g., EModE *afore*, *anon*, *anything*, *belike*
    - Grammatical adverbs that became literary archaisms, e.g., EModE *uneath*, *algates*
  - Some archaic personal pronouns, e.g., EModE *thou*, *thee*, *ye*
  - Some archaic conjunctions
- Foreign loans
- Dialectal terms
- And other words listed in Appendix 3

(iii) modernising the form

- Most words that rule (i) and (ii) do not apply with.
- Name of countries that were leading powers during the Early Modern period, e.g., *Spain*

### Appendix 3: Specific decisions on normalising difficult words and special cases (with glossary)

Reference taken from Archer et.al (2015), Baber (1997), Bergs and Brinton (2017), and Freeborn (1998).

#### 1. Nouns:

- Most base forms: apply the general rule (iii)
- Plural: EModE *-s* (PDE *-s*, *-es*, and zero-morpheme)
- Genitives: keep the EModE *s*-genitive and *of*-genitive and normalises only the spelling
- EModE word forms like *to morrow* and *my self* will be joined into one-word forms, like the way how they are spelt in PDE.

#### 2. Adjectives and adverbs

- Most base forms: apply the general rule (iii)
- Most comparative and superlative: apply the general rule (iii)
  - PDE *-er*, *-est*
  - PDE *more* + base form, *most* + base form
- Some EModE comparative and superlative forms with *-er* and *-est*, where they are *more* + base form and *most* + base form in PDE, and vice versa: keep the EModE forms and normalises only the spelling
- Double comparatives (e.g., *more nearer*): keep the EModE forms and normalise the spelling

#### 3. Personal pronouns

- Following the general rule (ii), EModE personal pronouns will be normalised into the following forms, including forms of some EModE personal pronouns in the unstressed position (e.g., EModE *a* or *'a*, the unstressed forms of *he*)

	1st. person sg.	2nd. person sg.		3rd. person sg.			1st. person pl.	2nd. person pl.	3rd. person pl.
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>I</i>	<i>thou</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>you/ye</i>	<i>they</i>
<b>Accusative</b>	<i>me</i>	<i>thee</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>you/ye</i>	<i>them</i>
<b>Possessive</b>	<i>mine</i>	<i>thine</i>	<i>yours</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>hers</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>ours</i>	<i>yours</i>	<i>theirs</i>
<b>Determiner</b>	<i>my/mine</i>	<i>thy/thine</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>our</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>their</i>

#### 4. Verbs

- Main verbs:
  - Most base forms: apply the general rule (iii)
  - Present tense 3rd-person singular (e.g., EModE *-eth*, *-es*): normalise to PDE *-s*
  - Present tense 2nd-person singular (e.g., EModE *-est*): normalise to PDE –
  - Simple past and past participle of weak verbs (e.g., EModE *-’d*, *-t*): normalise to PDE *-ed*

- Perfect tense: keep the EModE distinction between *to be* + past participle and *to have* + past participle and normalise the auxiliary and past participle
- Primary auxiliaries: *be, do, have*

<b>EModE forms</b>	<b>be:</b> <i>am, ist, are, was, were</i>	<b>do:</b> <i>doe, doth, dost/does, doing, did, didst/diddst, done</i>	<b>have:</b> <i>hath, hast, had</i>
<b>Normalised forms</b>	<b>be:</b> <i>am, is, are, was, were</i>	<b>do:</b> <i>do, does, do, doing, did, did, done</i>	<b>have:</b> <i>has, have, had</i>

- EModE modal auxiliaries:

<b>EModE form (base-form; 2nd. person sg.)</b>	<i>can, canst</i>	<i>couth/coud/coude, coud(e)st</i>	<i>dare, darest</i>	<i>durst, -</i>	<i>may, may(e)st</i>	<i>might/mought; might(e)st</i>
<b>Normalised forms</b>	<i>can</i>	<i>could</i>	<i>dare</i>	<i>durst</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>might</i>

<b>EModE form (base-form; 2nd. person sg.)</b>	<i>mote</i>	<i>must, -</i>	<i>shall, shalt</i>	<i>should</i>	<i>will/woll/wull, wilt</i>	<i>would, would(e)st</i>
<b>Normalised forms</b>	<i>mote</i>	<i>must</i>	<i>shall</i>	<i>should</i>	<i>will</i>	<i>would</i>

<b>EModE form (base-form; 2nd. person sg.)</b>	<i>need</i>	<i>ought, ought to</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>list</i>	<i>used, used to</i>
<b>Normalised forms</b>	<i>need</i>	<i>ought, ought to</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>list</i>	<i>used, used to</i>

## 5. Conjunctions

- Co-ordinators (*and, but, or, nor, both...and, either...or, neither...nor*): normalised following the general rule (iii)
- Co-ordinators: normalised following the general rule (ii)
  - EModE *other, nother* (alternative forms of *either* and *neither*)
  - EModE negators: *ne...nat, nat, not, nor no, neither...ne, ne...ne*
- Co-ordinators: normalised following the general rule (iii)
  - *an* (alternative form of *and* in the unstressed position)
- Subordinators: following the general rule (ii)
  - Compound subordinators: EModE *when that, after that, all though that, ere that, until that, for that, when as, where as, while as, like as, and if, an if, or ere, what time*
  - Obsolete or archaistic Subordinators: EModE *ere, or* (PDE *before*), *or ere, but* (PDE *unless*), *except* (PDE *unless*), *for* (PDE *because*), *gainst, sith, what time* (PDE *when*), *whiles, without* (PDE *unless*)

## 6. Obsolete or archaistic prepositions: normalised following the general rule (ii)

- *again* (PDE *against*), *cross* (PDE *across*), *long of* (PDE *because of*), *fro* (PDE *from*), *maugre* (PDE *in spite of*), *sans* (PDE *without*)
- *thorow/thorough* (alternative form of *through* in the stressed position)
- Preposition + adverb: *sith then* (PDE *since then*), *from thence, till now*

- Multi-word prepositions: *cross of* (PDE *across*), *out of* (PDE *beyond*, *except*), *in advance of*, *on account of*, *owing to*

7. EModE word forms with a tilde: A sample glossary of EModE word forms in CED and PCEEC with a tilde and their normalisation (A-Z)

Tilde representing <i>m</i> and <i>n</i>		Tilde in other abbreviated forms	
Original form	Normalised form	Original form	Normalised form
abjurac~on	abjuration	accom~odate	accommodate
abovemenc~oned	above-mentioned	accom~odation	accommodation
acceptac~on	acceptation	affectio~	affection
acclama~ons	acclamations	agen~st	against
circumspecc~on	circumspection	ag~st	against
conclus~ons	conclusions	am~ends	amends
<i>dep~te</i>	<i>departed</i>	<i>an~otations</i>	<i>annotations</i>
<i>disquisic~on</i>	<i>disquisition</i>	<i>an~ual</i>	<i>annual</i>
<i>elecc~ons</i>	<i>elections</i>	<i>assura~ce</i>	<i>assurance</i>
<i>eq~ty</i>	<i>equity</i>	<i>ba~ds</i>	<i>bands</i>
<i>esq~</i>	<i>esquire</i>	<i>begin~ing</i>	<i>beginning</i>
<i>estimac~</i>	<i>estimation</i>	<i>bri~ge</i>	<i>bring</i>
<i>fas~on</i>	<i>fashion</i>	<i>chau~celour</i>	<i>chancellor</i>
<i>hous~</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>circu~stances</i>	<i>circumstances</i>
<i>lett~</i>	<i>letter</i>	<i>commissio~</i>	<i>commission</i>
<i>lr~e</i>	<i>letter</i>	<i>compan~ion</i>	<i>companion</i>
<i>l~re</i>	<i>letter</i>	<i>compendiu~</i>	<i>compendium</i>
<i>menc~ons</i>	<i>mentions</i>	<i>com~andment</i>	<i>commandment</i>
<i>pc~eed</i>	<i>proceed</i>	<i>com~ons</i>	<i>commons</i>
<i>porco~ns</i>	<i>portions</i>	<i>cou~sayll</i>	<i>counsel</i>
<i>ps~umed</i>	<i>presumed</i>	<i>cyn~amo~</i>	<i>cinnamon</i>
<i>publiq~</i>	<i>public</i>	<i>deliverau~ce</i>	<i>deliverance</i>
<i>pv~ayled</i>	<i>prevailed</i>	<i>din~er</i>	<i>dinner</i>
<i>p~r=ticuler</i>	<i>particular</i>	<i>entra~ces</i>	<i>entrances</i>
<i>p~t=</i>	<i>part</i>	<i>flem~ing</i>	<i>fleming</i>
<i>p~adventure</i>	<i>peradventure</i>	<i>fre~d</i>	<i>friend</i>
<i>p~bability</i>	<i>probability</i>	<i>glem~erings</i>	<i>glimmerings</i>
<i>p~ceedings</i>	<i>proceedings</i>	<i>grau~te</i>	<i>grant</i>
<i>p~ceyve</i>	<i>perceive</i>	<i>ham~r=</i>	<i>hammer</i>
<i>p~clamations</i>	<i>proclamations</i>	<i>hi~</i>	<i>him</i>
<i>p~emptorie</i>	<i>peremptory</i>	<i>hono~r</i>	<i>honour</i>
<i>p~iudice</i>	<i>prejudice</i>	<i>imaginatio~s</i>	<i>imagination</i>
<i>p~lia=t=</i>	<i>parliament</i>	<i>impatie~ce</i>	<i>impatience</i>
<i>p~miseth</i>	<i>promises</i>	<i>impedime~t</i>	<i>impediment</i>
<i>rece~d</i>	<i>received</i>	<i>incourage~t</i>	<i>encouragement</i>
<i>req~res</i>	<i>requires</i>	<i>livi~ge</i>	<i>living</i>
<i>sat~day</i>	<i>saturday</i>	<i>may~tayne</i>	<i>maintain</i>
<i>secry~</i>	<i>secretary</i>	<i>opinion~</i>	<i>opinion</i>

s~ve	serve	pardo~	pardon
s~vants	servants	pen~y	penny
som~e	some	presu~tion	presumption
te~ptaco~n	temptation	questioni~ge	questioning
thes~	these	recko~	reckon
to~	too	reco~ciliatio~	reconciliation
tre~rs	treasures	remembr~ce	remembrance
w~yn	within	sergea~ts	sergeants
x~an	christian	seven~igh	seven-night
yo~	you	shun~e	shun
yu~	you	sum~ary	summary
		tena~nts	tenants
		tene~m=t=	tenement
		te~nants	tenants
		te~ptaco~n	temptation
		thi~ke	think
		upo~	upon
		vpon~	upon
		whe~	when
		willi~gly	willingly
		won~e	won
		you~ge	young

(Continuing from the previous page)

8. EModE word forms to be split or to be normalised to the full forms

- Contraction:
  - Future tense, e.g., EModE *I'll* (normalised to *I will*)
  - Negation, e.g., EModE *shan't* (normalised to *shall not*)
- *the+N.*: e.g., EModE *themperour* (normalised to *the emperor*)
- A sample glossary of EModE word forms in CED and PCEEC to be split or to be normalised to the full forms (A-Z)

Original form	Normalised form	Original form	Normalised form
'a	he	h'as	he has
abaddon'd	abandoned	hee'd/hee'ld	he would
abash'd	abashed	he'l/he'le/he'll/hee'l/hee'le/hee'll	he will
adu'tyse	advertise	h'is/he's	he is
ag't	against	i'aue	i have
'aive	have	i'faith/ifaith/yfaith	in faith
all-changing-word	all-changing word	Ile/i'le/i'll	I will
all's	all is	i'm/i'me	i am
althinges/althings	all things	inlikewise	in like wise
altho'in	although in	in't	in it
an'	and	is't	is it
andwe	and we	ith'ith/i'th'/i'the	in the
an-fooles	an fool's	lchief	lord chief

<i>an't</i>	<i>ain't</i>	<i>lchiefjust./lchj/lchjust./lej</i>	<i>lord chief justice</i>
<i>'appen'd</i>	<i>happened</i>	<i>ld</i>	<i>lord</i>
<i>ath</i>	<i>of the/ on the</i>	<i>'ll</i>	<i>will</i>
<i>beleev't</i>	<i>believe it</i>	<i>lpres</i>	<i>lord president</i>
<i>bellowes-mender</i>	<i>bellows mender</i>	<i>'m/'me</i>	<i>am</i>
<i>'bout</i>	<i>about</i>	<i>on't/ont</i>	<i>on it</i>
<i>bring't</i>	<i>bring it</i>	<i>o'th'/o'the</i>	<i>of the</i>
<i>butnot</i>	<i>but not</i>	<i>'scap't</i>	<i>escaped</i>
<i>b'w'yee</i>	<i>be with ye</i>	<i>shalbe</i>	<i>shall be</i>
<i>by-gar</i>	<i>by gar</i>	<i>sha'n't</i>	<i>shall not</i>
<i>by't</i>	<i>by it</i>	<i>'soever/soe're/soere</i>	<i>so ever</i>
<i>by'th/by'th'/byth'</i>	<i>by the</i>	<i>t'accept</i>	<i>the accept</i>
<i>bythee</i>	<i>by thee</i>	<i>t'advertise</i>	<i>to advertise</i>
<i>'casion</i>	<i>occasion</i>	<i>t'hast</i>	<i>thou have</i>
<i>'cause</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>thelder</i>	<i>the elder</i>
<i>'ceptin'</i>	<i>excepting</i>	<i>themperour</i>	<i>the emperor</i>
<i>'d</i>	<i>would</i>	<i>tho</i>	<i>though</i>
<i>d'ee/d'ye/d'yee</i>	<i>do ye</i>	<i>th'one</i>	<i>the one</i>
<i>'dst</i>	<i>would</i>	<i>th'only</i>	<i>the only</i>
<i>dyning-chamber</i>	<i>dining chamber</i>	<i>tis/'tis/'tys</i>	<i>it is</i>
<i>d'you</i>	<i>do you</i>	<i>t'obey</i>	<i>to obey</i>
<i>efaith</i>	<i>in faith</i>	<i>to't</i>	<i>to it</i>
<i>'em</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>t'other/th'other/tother</i>	<i>the other</i>
<i>embassbrother</i>	<i>embassador's brother</i>	<i>twas/t'was</i>	<i>it was</i>
<i>evenso</i>	<i>even so</i>	<i>'twere</i>	<i>it were</i>
<i>farethee-well</i>	<i>fare thee well</i>	<i>'twilbe</i>	<i>it will be</i>
<i>foras</i>	<i>for as</i>	<i>twill/t'will</i>	<i>it will</i>
<i>'fore-noone</i>	<i>before noon</i>	<i>'twou'd</i>	<i>it would</i>
<i>for'it</i>	<i>for it</i>	<i>was't</i>	<i>was it</i>
<i>forsomoche/forsomuch /forsomutch</i>	<i>for so much</i>	<i>weel(e)/we'l</i>	<i>we will</i>
<i>fromhensforth</i>	<i>from henceforth</i>	<i>wilbe</i>	<i>will be</i>
<i>from's</i>	<i>from his</i>	<i>wo'not</i>	<i>will not</i>
<i>give't</i>	<i>give it</i>	<i>wy</i>	<i>with you</i>
<i>good-morrow</i>	<i>good morrow</i>	<i>w'ye/w'yee</i>	<i>with ye</i>
<i>ha'n't</i>	<i>had not</i>	<i>y'are</i>	<i>you are</i>
<i>heed</i>	<i>he would</i>		

(Continuing from the previous page)



9. Superscripts:

- Normalised to their full forms
- A sample glossary of EModE superscripts in CED and PCEEC and their normalisation (A-Z)

Original form	Normalised form	Original form	Normalised form
<i>ab=t=</i>	<i>about</i>	<i>la=pp=</i>	<i>ladyship</i>
<i>abatem=t=</i>	<i>abatement</i>	<i>m=es=/ m=rise=</i>	<i>mistress</i>
<i>ac=r=</i>	<i>acre</i>	<i>m=r=</i>	<i>master</i>
<i>acc=t=/ acco=t=</i>	<i>account</i>	<i>m=tie=/ ma=tie=</i>	<i>majesty</i>
<i>accomp=a=</i>	<i>accompany</i>	<i>mons=r=</i>	<i>monsieur</i>
<i>accomplishm=t=</i>	<i>accomplishment</i>	<i>neu=r=</i>	<i>never</i>
<i>Adm=ty=</i>	<i>admiralty</i>	<i>o=e=/ o=r=</i>	<i>our</i>
<i>aff=t=/ affec=t=/ affect=e=/ affect=y=</i>	<i>affectionate</i>	<i>p=r=don</i>	<i>pardon</i>
<i>ag=t=/ ag=st=</i>	<i>against</i>	<i>p=r=sent</i>	<i>present</i>
<i>amb=r=</i>	<i>ambassador</i>	<i>p=t/ p=rt=</i>	<i>part</i>
<i>anoth=r=</i>	<i>another</i>	<i>par=m=/ par=lt=</i>	<i>parliament</i>
<i>app=r=hend</i>	<i>apprehend</i>	<i>q=rs=</i>	<i>quarters</i>
<i>B=p=/ bish=pp=</i>	<i>Bishop</i>	<i>r=d=.</i>	<i>reverend</i>
<i>Bp=cks=</i>	<i>bishoprics</i>	<i>rec=d=</i>	<i>received</i>
<i>br=lls=</i>	<i>barrels</i>	<i>s=r=</i>	<i>sir</i>
<i>bro=r=</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>serv=t=</i>	<i>servant</i>
<i>bro=s=</i>	<i>brothers</i>	<i>somew=t=</i>	<i>somewhat</i>
<i>c=d=</i>	<i>could</i>	<i>w=c=/ w=c=h/ w=ch=</i>	<i>which</i>
<i>ca=n=/ cap=en=/ cap=t/ capt=n=</i>	<i>captain</i>	<i>w=h=</i>	<i>who/ with</i>
<i>chanc=l=</i>	<i>chancellor</i>	<i>w=h=at/ w=ht=</i>	<i>what</i>
<i>Co=ll=/ coll=l=</i>	<i>colonel</i>	<i>w=n=</i>	<i>when</i>
<i>com=er=</i>	<i>commander</i>	<i>w=t=</i>	<i>what/with</i>
<i>com=rs=</i>	<i>commanders</i>	<i>w=th=</i>	<i>with</i>
<i>d=r=</i>	<i>dear/doctor</i>	<i>w=th=all</i>	<i>withal</i>
<i>espec=ly=</i>	<i>especially</i>	<i>w=th=in</i>	<i>within</i>
<i>esq=e=/ esq=ir=/ esq=r=</i>	<i>esquire</i>	<i>westm=r=</i>	<i>Westminster</i>
<i>ex=cie=/ excel=ce= excel=cie=</i>	<i>excellency</i>	<i>wor=p=full</i>	<i>worshipful</i>
<i>gen=ell=/ gen=l= gen=ll=</i>	<i>general</i>	<i>x=t=</i>	<i>Christ</i>
<i>herew=th=</i>	<i>herewith</i>	<i>x=t=masse</i>	<i>Christmas</i>
<i>herew=th=all</i>	<i>herewithal</i>	<i>y=e=</i>	<i>the/ thee</i>
<i>hon=ble=</i>	<i>honourable</i>	<i>y=o=/ y=u=/ yo=u= yo=w=</i>	<i>you</i>
<i>l=d=</i>	<i>lord</i>	<i>y=or=/ y=r=/ yo=r= yo=wr=</i>	<i>your</i>
<i>l=p=/ lo=p=/ lo=pp=</i>	<i>lordship</i>	<i>y=t=</i>	<i>that</i>
<i>l=re=/ lett=r=</i>	<i>letter</i>	<i>yo=rs=</i>	<i>yours</i>
<i>leif=t=</i>	<i>lieutenant</i>		

10. EModE words that have more than one PDE equivalent

- Their normalisation requires the help of the context
- A sample glossary of confusing EModE words in CED and PCEEC, which require the context (A-Z)

Original form	Normalised form	Original form	Normalised form
<i>an</i>	<i>and/ an</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>majesty/ majesty's/ master/ month/ Montague</i>
<i>bee</i>	<i>bee/ be</i>	<i>m=rs=</i>	<i>masters/ mistress</i>
<i>cold</i>	<i>cold/ could</i>	<i>red</i>	<i>red/ read</i>
<i>counsaile</i>	<i>counsel/ council</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>sun/ son</i>
<i>d.</i>	<i>day/ dear/ doctor/ duke</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>the/ thee</i>
<i>d=r=</i>	<i>dear/ doctor</i>	<i>the~</i>	<i>than/ them/ then</i>
<i>'ere</i>	<i>ere/ here</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>then/ than</i>
<i>h.</i>	<i>highness/ honour/ honour's/ honourable</i>	<i>ther(e)/ thar/ theare</i>	<i>their/ there</i>
<i>hard</i>	<i>hard/ heard</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to/too</i>
<i>hart</i>	<i>hart/ heart</i>	<i>w=h=</i>	<i>who/ with</i>
<i>here</i>	<i>here/ hear</i>	<i>w=t=</i>	<i>what/ with</i>
<i>hit</i>	<i>hit/ it</i>	<i>weare</i>	<i>were/ wear</i>
<i>holy</i>	<i>holy/ wholly</i>	<i>y=e=</i>	<i>the/ thee</i>
<i>la.</i>	<i>lady/ ladyship/ ladyship's</i>	<i>yt</i>	<i>it/ yet</i>

**Appendix 4: A complete functional classification scheme, including primary function categories, subcategories, and labels (a modified version based on Conrad and Biber 2005)**

<b>I. Stance Expressions</b>	<b>II. Discourse Organisers</b>	<b>III. Referential Expressions</b>	<b>IV. Special Communicational Functions</b>
<b>A. epistemic stance</b>	<b>A. topic introduction/focus</b>	<b>A. identification/focus</b>	<b>A. politeness routines/social maintenance</b>
A1. certain/known	<b>B. topic elaboration/clarification</b>	A1. abstract entities	A1. gratitude
A2. uncertain/unknown		A2. physical entities	A2. apology
A3. probable/possible		A3. persons	A3. salutation
<b>B. attitudinal/modality stance</b>		A4. actions	A4. farewell
B1. desire/willingness		A5. part of entity	A5. general politeness or social maintenance routines
B2. obligation/directive		A6. general/context-based	<b>B. simple inquiry</b>
B3. intention/prediction		<b>B. imprecision</b>	<b>C. reporting clauses</b>
B4. ability		<b>C. specification of attributes</b>	<b>D. exclamation</b>
B5. affection		C1. quantities	<b>E. term of abuse</b>
B6. respect		C2. tangible attributes	<b>F. vocative expressions</b>
B7. approval/disapproval		C3. intangible attributes	
B8. affirmation/denial		<b>D. time/place/text reference</b>	
B9. challenge		D1. time	
B10. request		D2. place	
B11. threat		D3. text	
B12. oath/promise		D4. multi-functional	
B13. feeling			

**Appendix 5: A complete list of formulaic sequences in EModE dialogues and their functional classification (A-Z)**

Formulaic sequences	Nml. freq.	I	II	III	IV
((God) give you) (a) <b>good morrow</b>	77.98				A5
([wh-WORD]) <b>do you think</b> {COMP}?	72.21		B		B
({wh-WORD}) <b>would thou</b> {COMP}?	34.66	B1			B
({wh-WORD}) <b>would you</b> {COMP}?	88.09	B1			B
(a) (MODIFIER: e.g., great, good, etc.) <b>deal of</b> {NP}	43.32			C1	
(after/at/by/etc.) <b>that time</b>	229.62			D1	
(all) <b>other things</b>	37.55			B	
(and) <b>on the other side</b>	23.11		B		
(and/but) <b>as for</b>	157.41		A		
(as) <b>I conceive</b> {COMP}	36.10	A1	A		C
(as) <b>I remember</b> {COMP}	82.32		A		C
(as) <b>it is true</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	80.87	B8			
(as) <b>it seems</b> (to/unto me) ({that-CLAUSE})	67.87	A3			
(at) <b>another time</b>	38.99			D1	
(at) <b>what time</b> (of (the) {night/day}) {COMP}?	86.65				B
(DET) <b>little time</b>	21.66			D1	
(DET) <b>long time</b>	57.77			D1	
(good/great/etc.) <b>store of</b> {NP}	30.33			C1	
(half) <b>an hour</b>	72.21			D1	
(How) <b>is it possible</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}}?	24.55				B
(I) <b>pray God</b>	41.88	B1			
(I/let me) <b>beseech you</b> {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	96.76	B10			
(I/we) <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye} {COMP}	433.24	B10			
(IMPERATIVE) <b>if thou will</b> (V-inf)	23.11	B10			
(IMPERATIVE) <b>if you will</b> (V-inf)	145.86	B10			
(Lord) <b>Chief Justice</b>	465.01			A3	
(no) <b>more of</b> {NP}	60.65			C1	
(not) <b>long after</b> ({COMP})	24.55			D1	
(not/so) <b>long since</b> ({COMP})	34.66			D1	
(the) <b>church of</b> {NP: place names}	46.21			A1	
(the) <b>Lady</b> {NP: name}	121.31			A3	
(the) <b>next day</b>	88.09			D1	
(the) <b>next morning</b>	38.99			D1	
(two or) <b>three days</b>	31.77			D1	
(two or) <b>three years</b>	28.88			D1	
{{[Act]} <b>of</b> {Indemnity/Parliament/{NP: year}}	63.54			A1	
{{[agree]} <b>with</b> {NP: an opinion, statement, action, etc., or a person}	34.66	B7		A4	
{{[be]} (not) <b>able to</b> {V-inf}	142.97	B4			
{{[be]} (not) <b>worth</b> {NP: amount of money, something valuable}	36.10			C3	
{{[be]} <b>acquainted with</b> {NP: somebody/something}	67.87	A1			
{{[be]} <b>afraid of</b> {NP}	40.44	B13			
{{[be]} <b>angry with</b> {NP: somebody}	37.55	B13			
{{[be]} <b>appointed to</b> {V-inf}	24.55	B2			
{{[be]} <b>ashamed to</b> {V-inf}	27.44	B13			
{{[be]} <b>beholding to</b> {NP: mostly somebody}	20.22			C3	

{{[be]} <b>bound to</b> {NP}}	20.22			C3	
{{[be]} <b>bound to</b> {V-inf}}	36.10	B2			
{{[be]} <b>commanded to</b> {V-inf}}	21.66	B2			
{{[be]} <b>content to</b> {V-inf}}	59.21	B1			
{{[be]} <b>contented to</b> {V-inf}}	23.11	B1			
{{[be]} <b>contrary to</b> {NP}}	37.55			C3	
{{[be]} <b>desirous to</b> {V-inf}}	25.99	B1			
{{[be]} <b>fain to</b> {V-inf}}	21.66	B1			
{{[be]} <b>far from</b> {NP/V-ing}}	53.43			C3	
{{[be]} <b>fit for</b> {NP}}	25.99			C3	
{{[be]} <b>fit to</b> {V-inf}}	43.32	B4			
{{[be]} <b>for fear</b> {that-CLAUSE}}	37.55	B13			
{{[be]} <b>for fear of</b> {NP/V-ing}}	33.22	B13			
{{[be]} <b>forced to</b> {V-inf}}	36.10	B2			
{{[be]} <b>free from</b> {NP}}	23.11			C3	
{{[be]} <b>full of</b> {NP}}	96.76			C1	
{{[be]} <b>glad of</b> {NP}}	54.88	B13			
{{[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf}}	77.98	B1; B13			
{{[be]} <b>glad to see</b> {NP: mostly somebody}}	31.77				A5
{{[be]} <b>good for</b> {NP}}	25.99			C3	
{{[be]} <b>guilty of</b> {NP: crimes}}	89.54	B13			
{{[be]} <b>in hope</b> {of {NP: something}/to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}}	27.44	B1; B3			
{{[be]} <b>in love</b> (with {NP})	98.20			C3	
{{[be]} <b>in love with</b> {NP}}	40.44			C3	
{{[be]} <b>like to</b> {V-inf}}	38.99	A3			
{{[be]} <b>loath to</b> {V-inf}}	56.32	B1; B3			
{{[be]} <b>made of</b> {NP: material}}	31.77			C2	
{{[be]} <b>not able to</b> {V-inf}}	34.66	B4			
{{[be]} <b>not there</b>	21.66			C3	
{{[be]} <b>not to</b> {V-inf}}	600.76	B3			
{{[be]} <b>pleased to</b> {V-inf}}	73.65	B1; B3			
{{[be]} <b>ready for</b> {NP}}	23.11	B1; B3			
{{[be]} <b>ready to</b> {V-inf}}	116.98	B1; B3			
{{[be]} <b>revenged on</b> {NP: somebody}}	20.22			A4	
{{[be]} <b>rid of</b> {NP: somebody, something}}	24.55	B1			
{{[be]} <b>sent by</b> {NP: somebody}}	24.55			C3	
{{[be]} <b>sorry for</b> {NP}}	21.66				A2
{{[be]} <b>sorry that</b> {CLAUSE}}	24.55				A2
{{[be]} <b>sufficient to</b> {V-inf}}	21.66			C3	
{{[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	296.05	A1			
{{[be]} <b>sure of</b> {NP}}	28.88	A1			
{{[be]} <b>sure to</b> {V-inf}}	46.21	A1			
{{[be]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	600.76	B3			
{{[be]} <b>troubled with</b> {NP}}	27.44	B2			
{{[be]} <b>very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}}	30.33	B13			
{{[be]} <b>weary of</b> {NP}}	23.11	B1			
{{[be]} <b>well known</b>	28.88	A1			
{{[be]} <b>willing to</b> {V-inf}}	60.65	B1			
{{[be]} <b>wont to</b> {V-inf}}	27.44			C3	
{{[be]} <b>worthy to</b> {V-inf: preferred or not preferred actions}}	41.88			C3	
{{[become]} <b>of</b> {NP}}	34.66			A4	
{{[begin]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	187.74			A4	

{{[call]} <b>for</b> {NP: a person or a thing that is demanded}}	63.54		A4
{{[care]} <b>for</b> {NP}}	21.66		A4
{{[chance]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	27.44		A4
{{[come]} <b>from</b> {NP for location}}	122.75		A4
{{[come]} <b>home</b>	114.09		A4
{{[come]} <b>in</b>	235.40		A4
{{[come]} <b>into</b> {NP for location}}	154.52		A4
{{[come]} <b>out</b>	36.10		A4
{{[come]} <b>out of</b> {NP}}	56.32		A4
{{[come]} <b>to</b> {NP: (somebody as) destination}}	567.55		A4
{{[come]} <b>unto</b> {NP: (somebody as) destination}}	59.21		A4
{{[come]} <b>up</b>	53.43		A4
{{[come]} <b>with</b> {NP: person}}	36.10		A4
{{[cry]} <b>out</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}; to/upon {NP: somebody})}	98.20		A4
{{[cut]} <b>off</b> {NP}}	40.44		A4
{{[deal]} (ADJUNCTS) <b>with</b> {NP: mostly for person}}	92.43		A4
{{[demand]} <b>of</b> {NP: person} {INDIRECT INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE}}	75.10		A4
{{[desire]} {NP: somebody} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	138.64	B1	A4
{{[desire]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	148.75	B1	A4
{{[endeavour]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	43.32	B1	A4
{{[enter]} <b>into</b> {NP: location/NP: a specified role, commitment, relationship, engagement, consideration, discussion, kinds of agreements, business, or practices, etc}}	49.10		A4
{{[fall]} <b>down</b>	36.10		A4
{{[fall]} <b>out</b>	109.76		A4
{{[fall]} <b>to</b> {NP/V-ing: related to a particular activity}}	40.44		A4
{{[find]} <b>out</b> {{NP: something or somebody hidden, in literal or figurative sense}/{that-CLAUSE}}}	53.43		A4
{{[gentleman]} <b>of</b> {NP: quality or identity}}	49.10		A3
{{[give]} (NP: somebody) {DET} <b>account of</b> {NP}}	44.77		A4
{{[give]} {NP: somebody} <b>leave</b> (to {V-inf})}	109.76		A4
{{[give]} {NP: somebody} <b>leave to speak</b>	21.66		A4
{{[go]} <b>about to</b> {V-inf}}	24.55	B3	
{{[go]} <b>along with</b> {NP: somebody}}	36.10		A4
{{[go]} <b>away</b>	62.10		A4
{{[go]} <b>from</b> {NP: somebody as location}}	51.99		A4
{{[go]} <b>home</b>	80.87		A4
{{[go]} <b>into</b> {NP: place}}	131.42		A4
{{[go]} <b>out</b> (of {NP: somewhere})}	95.31		A4
{{[go]} <b>to</b> {NP: destination, e.g., a person, a place or a thing}}	670.08		A4
{{[go]} <b>to bed</b>	76.54		A4
{{[go]} <b>up</b>	54.88		A4
{{[go]} <b>with</b> {NP: a person or a group}}	106.87		A4
{{[have]/[take]} (DET) <b>care of</b> {NP: somebody or something valuable}}	23.11		A4
{{[have]} {ADJUNCT} <b>reason to</b> {V-inf}}	20.22	B3	
{{[have]} {any/no/nothing/anything/one thing/one word/etc.} <b>more to say</b>	23.11		B
{{[have]} {DET} {MODIFIER} <b>opinion of</b> {NP: somebody}}	23.11	B7	
{{[have]} <b>nothing</b> {ADJUNCT} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	31.77		C3
{{[have]} <b>the honour</b> {to {V-inf}/of {NP}}}	24.55	B7	
{{[hear]} <b>of</b> {NP}}	128.53		A4
{{[hold]} <b>up</b> {NP}}	53.43		A4

{{[intend]} to {V-inf}}	64.99	B3		
{[Justice]} of (the) <b>Peace</b>	21.66		A3	
{{[know]} of {NP}}	95.31	A1; A2	A4	
{{[laugh]} at {NP}}	50.55		A4	
{[lay]} {ADJUNCT} {to/unto} {POSS. PRON} <b>charge</b>	28.88	B7		
{{[lie]} with {NP: somebody}}	75.10		A4	
{{[look]} for {NP}}	51.99		A4	
{{[look]} to {NP}}	38.99		A4	
{{[look]} upon {NP}}	93.87		A4	
{{[make]} (DET) <b>haste</b>	40.44		A4	
{{[make]} (DET) <b>use of</b> {NP: something useful}	27.44		A4	
{{[make]} <b>an end of</b> {NP}}	20.22		A4	
{[man]} of {NP: characteristics of the man}	251.28		A3	
{{[mean]} to {V-inf}}	125.64	B3		
{{[meddle]} with {NP}}	41.88		A4	
{{[need]} to {V-inf}}	41.88	B2		
{{[offer]} to {V-inf}}	37.55	B1	A4	
{[part]} of {NP}	180.52		A5	
{[pay]} (NP: a certain amount of money; somebody who receives the payment) (ADJUNCT) for {NP: the purpose of the payment}	95.31		A4	
{[plead]} (not) <b>guilty</b>	53.43		A4	
{[proceed]} to {NP/V-inf: the next subject, action, event etc}	33.22		A4	
{[promise]} (NP: somebody) to {V-inf}	77.98	B2		
{[put]} {NP: somebody} <b>in mind</b> (of {NP: something needs to be remembered})	20.22		A4	
{[put]} {NP: something or somebody} <b>into</b> {NP: location}	93.87		A4	
{[put]} <b>on</b> {NP: wearable pieces}	62.10		A4	
{[put]} <b>up</b> {NP}	24.55		A4	
{[refuse]} (ADJUNCT) to {V-inf}	69.32	B1	A4	
{[say]} <b>unto</b> {NP: person}	106.87		A4	
{[seek]} to {V-inf}	51.99	B3		
{[seem]} to (V-inf)	98.20	A3		
{[send]} for {NP: somebody}	134.31		A4	
{[sit]} <b>down</b>	67.87		A4	
{[speak]} for {NP: something or somebody}	31.77		A4	
{[speak]} of {NP}	171.85		A4	
{[speak]} to {NP: somebody}	157.41		A4	
{[speak]} with {NP: somebody}	109.76		A4	
{[take]} (POSS. PRON) <b>leave</b> (of {NP: somebody})	44.77		A4	
{[take]} {NP: person} <b>by the hand</b>	46.21	B12		A5
{[take]} {POSSESSIVE} <b>oath</b>	40.44	B12		
{[take]} <b>away</b> {NP}	73.65		A4	
{[take]} <b>heed</b> (of {NP}/{CLAUSE}/to {V-inf})	69.32		A4	
{[take]} <b>notice</b> {COMP: of {NP}; {CLAUSE}}	44.77		A4	
{[take]} <b>notice of</b> {NP}	33.22		A4	
{[take]} <b>up</b> {NP}	73.65		A4	
{[talk]} of {NP}	57.77		A4	
{[talk]} with {NP: somebody}	38.99		A4	
{[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE}	411.58		A4	C
{[think]} of {NP}	54.88		A4	
{[think]} on {NP}	44.77		A4	
{[think]} <b>so</b>	38.99	B7		
{[think]} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE}	154.52		B	

{[use]} (not) <b>to</b> {V-inf}	103.98		A4	
{[wait]} <b>upon</b> {NP: somebody}	44.77		A4	
{[woman]} <b>of</b> {NP: quality or identity}	31.77		A3	
{{[be]} in/keep} <b>company with</b> {NP: person}	23.11		C3	
{{[[give]/[return]/etc.] ({NP: person})}/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., hearty, humble, many, etc.}} <b>thanks for</b> {NP: reason for thanks}	33.22			A1
{a/the} <b>second time</b>	21.66		D1	
{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning</b> (of {NP: time or event})	62.10		D1	
{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning of</b> {NP: time or event}	40.44		D1	
{after/in/on} <b>this sort</b>	28.88		B	
{an/the/some} <b>other time</b>	34.66		D1	
{and/or} <b>such like</b>	40.44		B	
{at/before/by/for/etc.} <b>this time</b>	119.86		D1	
{at/during} (one and) <b>the same time</b>	31.77		D1	
{at/for/on/upon/etc.} <b>a time</b>	83.76		D1	
{at/in} {DET} <b>time of</b> {NP: mostly event}	64.99		D1	
{COMP: a superlative or an inclusive or exclusive expression; an interrogative word or phrase} <b>in the world</b>	119.86		C3	
{COMP} <b>no more but</b> {COMP}	20.22	B		
{COMPARATIVE} <b>than ever</b>	40.44		C3	
{DET} <b>beginning of</b> {NP: an event or time}	40.44		D1	
{DET} <b>Bishop of</b> {NP: place name}	116.98		A3	
{DET} <b>cause of</b> {NP: mostly negative things}	108.31		C3	
{DET} <b>City of</b> {NP: place names}	34.66		A1	
{DET} <b>copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}	43.32		A2	
{DET} <b>cup of</b> {NP: liquid}	33.22		C1	
{DET} <b>day after</b>	44.77		D1	
{DET} <b>day before</b>	20.22		D1	
{DET} <b>days after</b>	40.44		D1	
{DET} <b>Earl of</b> {NP: place name}	184.85		A3	
{DET} <b>few words</b>	23.11		A1	
{DET} <b>first of</b> {NP}	34.66		A5	
{DET} <b>kind of</b> {NP}	80.87		B	
{DET} <b>King of</b> {NP: place name}	27.44		A3	
{DET} <b>Lord</b> {NP: position name}	860.71		A3	
{DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	89.54		A3	
{DET} <b>other of</b> {NP}	21.66		A5	
{DET} <b>pair of</b> {NP: things come in pairs}	53.43		C1	
{DET} <b>person of</b> {NP: quality or identity}	36.10		A3	
{DET} <b>piece of</b> {NP}	98.20		C1	
{DET} <b>pot of</b> {NP}	28.88		C1	
{DET} <b>quarter of</b> {NP: mostly time}	43.32		C1	
{DET} <b>reason why</b> {CLAUSE}	23.11	B	C3	
{DET} <b>sort of</b> {NP}	30.33		B	
{DET} <b>sum of</b> {NP/NUMBER}	23.11		C1; C3	
{for/to} <b>that end</b>	21.66	B		
{how/what/whom/etc.} <b>so ever</b>	56.32		B	
{How/What} <b>do you know</b> {COMP}?	30.33	B		B
{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you</b> (for {NP})	151.64			A1
{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you for</b> {NP}	38.99			A1
{I/we} (MD) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	76.54	B8; B12	A	
{I} <b>am afraid</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	20.22	B13	A	A5



{I} <b>pray</b> ({NP: somebody}) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}	522.78	B10			
{I} <b>wish you</b> {COMP}	25.99				A5
{if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	76.54	B10			A5
{if/may} <b>it please you</b> {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	44.77	B10			A5
{if/may} <b>it please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	27.44	B10			A5
{IMPERATIVE} <b>or I will</b> {COMP}	21.66	B11			
{in/on/of/upon} <b>my conscience</b>	30.33	B8			
{let me/I (do/earnestly/must/etc.)} <b>entreat you</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	37.55	B10			A5
{never/ever} <b>in my life</b>	30.33			D1	
{not only {CLAUSE}} <b>but also</b> {CLAUSE}	31.77		B		
{NUM} (NP) <b>or more</b>	24.55			C1	
{NUM} <b>hundred</b> {[pound]}	80.87			C1	
{NUM} <b>of</b> {NP: plural}	599.32			C1	
{NUM} <b>of the clock</b>	93.87			D1	
{NUM} <b>years ago</b>	41.88			D1	
{NUM} <b>years since</b> (CLAUSE)	47.66			D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} <b>day of</b> {NP: month name}	25.99			D1	
{SUBJ} <b>doubt not but</b> {COMP}	21.66	A1			
{that/it} <b>is no matter</b>	30.33			C3	
{VP: go, come, etc} <b>along with</b> {NP: somebody}	43.32			A4	
{will/does} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	64.99	B10			A5
{will/does} <b>it please you</b> {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	63.54	B10			A5
{will/does} <b>it please you to</b> {V-inf}	49.10	B10			A5
{within/in} (a) <b>short time</b>	21.66			D1	
{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	34.66	B13			
{you/thou/ye} <b>are welcome</b>	31.77				A5
<b>a (certain/great) number of</b> {NP}	27.44			C1	
<b>a cup of</b> {NP: liquid}	28.88			C1	
<b>a day</b>	62.10			D1	
<b>a devil</b>	30.33			A1	
<b>a dozen</b>	33.22			C1	
<b>a few</b>	34.66			C1	
<b>a fortnight</b>	41.88			D1	
<b>a gentleman</b>	167.52			A3	
<b>a gentlewoman</b>	31.77			A3	
<b>a great deal of</b> {NP}	36.10			C1	
<b>a great many</b> (NP)	38.99			C1	
<b>a great while</b>	28.88			D1	
<b>a hundred</b>	59.21			C1	
<b>a kind of</b> {NP}	34.66			B	
<b>a little</b>	478.01			C1	
<b>a little before</b> (NP/{that-CLAUSE})	31.77			D1	
<b>a long time</b>	28.88			D1	
<b>a man of</b> {NP: quality or identity}	102.53			A3	
<b>a month</b>	40.44			D1	
<b>a pair of</b> {NP: something comes in pairs}	33.22			C1	
<b>a piece</b>	28.88			A6	
<b>a piece of</b> {NP}	66.43			C1	
<b>a poor man</b>	24.55			A3	

<b>a second</b>	24.55		C3	
<b>a sleep</b>	33.22		C3	
<b>a third</b>	25.99		C3	
<b>a thousand</b>	75.10		C1	
<b>a week</b>	56.32		D1	
<b>a while</b>	75.10		D1	
<b>a word</b>	105.42		A1	
<b>a year</b>	102.53		D1	
<b>according to {NP}</b>	223.84	B		
<b>after dinner</b>	28.88		D1	
<b>all her</b>	27.44		C1	
<b>all his</b>	125.64		C1	
<b>all my</b>	186.29		C1	
<b>all of {NP}</b>	21.66		A5; C1	
<b>all one</b>	21.66		B; C1	
<b>all other {NP}</b>	53.43		B; C1	
<b>all our</b>	49.10		C1	
<b>all such {NP}</b>	23.11		C1	
<b>all the {NP}</b>	657.09		C1	
<b>all the rest (of {NP})</b>	43.32		A5; C1	
<b>all the world</b>	60.65		A2	
<b>all their</b>	36.10		C1	
<b>all these (NP)</b>	102.53		C1	
<b>all this (NP)</b>	194.96		C1	
<b>all this while</b>	43.32		D1	
<b>all those (NP)</b>	46.21		C1	
<b>all thy</b>	34.66		C1	
<b>all your</b>	92.43		C1	
<b>an ass</b>	43.32		A3	E
<b>an honest man</b>	44.77		A3	
<b>an hundred</b>	38.99		C1	
<b>an other {NP}</b>	140.08		B	
<b>and afterwards</b>	56.32		D1	
<b>and again</b>	20.22		C3	
<b>and also</b>	70.76	B		
<b>and as for</b>	38.99	A		
<b>and because</b>	41.88	B		
<b>and if</b>	352.37	B		
<b>and now</b>	150.19	B	D1	
<b>and then</b>	597.88	B	D1	
<b>and therefore</b>	337.93	B		
<b>and thereupon</b>	80.87	B		
<b>and thus</b>	40.44	B		
<b>and yet</b>	242.62	B		
<b>any body</b>	38.99		A3; B	
<b>any man</b>	122.75		A3; B	
<b>any more</b>	69.32		B	
<b>any of {NP: pl.}</b>	151.64		B	
<b>any of them</b>	24.55		B	
<b>any of these</b>	20.22		B	
<b>any one (NP)</b>	28.88		B	

<b>any other</b> {NP}	122.75		B	
<b>any such</b> {NP}	124.20		B	
<b>any such thing</b>	31.77		B	
<b>any thing</b>	404.36		B	
<b>any way</b>	24.55		B	
<b>as before</b>	20.22		C3	
<b>as far</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	47.66		C3	
<b>as far as</b>	33.22		C3	
<b>as follows</b>	31.77	A		
<b>as good</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	77.98		C3	
<b>as good as</b>	30.33		C3	
<b>as if</b>	174.74	B		
<b>as long as</b>	59.21	B		
<b>as much</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	154.52		C1	
<b>as much as</b>	75.10		C1	
<b>as soon</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	88.09		D1	
<b>as soon as</b>	73.65		D1	
<b>as well</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	212.29		C3	
<b>as well as</b>	164.63		C3	
<b>as yet</b>	25.99		D1	
<b>as you say</b>	30.33	A		C
<b>at</b> (POSSESSIVE) <b>pleasure</b>	23.11	B1		
<b>at all</b>	114.09		B	
<b>at all times</b>	20.22		D1	
<b>at any time</b>	50.55		D1	
<b>at first</b>	33.22		D1	
<b>at home</b>	164.63		D2	
<b>at last</b>	122.75		D1	
<b>at least</b>	67.87		C1	
<b>at length</b>	60.65		C3	
<b>at London</b>	21.66		D2	
<b>at night</b>	83.76		D1	
<b>at once</b>	31.77		D1	
<b>at that time</b>	132.86		D1	
<b>at the bar</b>	44.77		C3	
<b>at the door</b>	31.77		D2	
<b>at the first</b>	31.77		D1	
<b>at the gate</b>	25.99		D2	
<b>at the last</b>	20.22		D1	
<b>at the same time</b>	25.99		D1	
<b>at the sign of</b> {NP}	23.11		C3	
<b>at the time</b> {appointed/of {NP: mostly event}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	31.77		D1	
<b>at this time</b>	62.10		D1	
<b>away from</b> {NP: some place or some one}	24.55		D2	
<b>away with</b> {NP: something or somebody}	34.66		C3	
<b>because of</b> {NP}	31.77	B		
<b>both of</b> {NP}	44.77		C1	
<b>but if</b>	177.63	B		
<b>but now</b>	89.54		D1	
<b>but only</b>	70.76	B		
<b>but rather</b>	27.44	B		
<b>by</b> (the) way of {NP}	31.77		C3	
<b>by and by</b>	44.77		C3	

<b>by force</b>	24.55			C3	
<b>by god</b>	43.32	B12			
<b>by my troth</b>	31.77	B12			
<b>by reason {that-CLAUSE}</b>	20.22		B		
<b>by reason of {NP}</b>	33.22		B		
<b>by the name of {NP: somebody's name}</b>	24.55			C3	
<b>by the way</b>	25.99			C3	
<b>by this means</b>	21.66		B		
<b>by way of {NP}</b>	25.99			C3	
<b>by your leave</b>	20.22				A5
<b>Clerk of the Crown</b>	24.55			A3	
<b>come hither.</b>	33.22	B2			
<b>come, come</b>	34.66	B2			
<b>diverse times</b>	21.66			C3	
<b>Do you know {COMP}?</b>	54.88				B
<b>either of {NP}</b>	28.88			B	
<b>even now</b>	37.55			D1	
<b>even so</b>	23.11		B		
<b>ever since</b>	23.11			D1	
<b>every day</b>	40.44			D1	
<b>every man</b>	73.65			A3, B	
<b>every one</b>	64.99			B	
<b>every thing</b>	28.88			B	
<b>five shillings</b>	31.77			C1	
<b>follow me</b>	20.22	B2			
<b>for ever</b>	40.44			D1	
<b>for my part</b>	67.87		B		
<b>for nothing</b>	31.77			C3	
<b>for the most part</b>	20.22		B		
<b>for want of {NP}</b>	23.11	B1			
<b>forty shillings</b>	23.11			C1	
<b>from hence</b>	21.66			D2	
<b>from thence</b>	56.32			D2	
<b>from whence</b>	46.21			D2	
<b>further says {that-CLAUSE}</b>	157.41		A		C
<b>give me leave (to {V-inf})</b>	57.77	B10			A5
<b>go to.</b>	33.22	B7			D
<b>God be with {[you]}</b>	30.33				A5
<b>God bless {NP: somebody}</b>	24.55				A5
<b>good {[fellow]}</b>	49.10			A3	F
<b>good {[man]}</b>	76.54			A3	F
<b>good {[master]}</b>	49.10			A3	F
<b>good company</b>	27.44			C3	
<b>Good Sir</b>	37.55	B7			
<b>good wife</b>	56.32			A3	F
<b>good will</b>	76.54			A1	
<b>guilty (of {NP}) or not guilty</b>	76.54			C3	
<b>guilty (PUNC.) or not (guilty)</b>	69.32			C3	
<b>had rather</b>	46.21		B		
<b>half {[a]}</b>	96.76			C1	
<b>half an hour</b>	28.88			D1	
<b>hark you</b>	57.77		A		
<b>he told me {COMP}</b>	70.76				C

her own	64.99			C3	
His Grace	21.66	B6		A3	F
His Majesty	53.43	B6		A3	F
his own	303.27			C3	
honest {[man]}	103.98			A3	
How do you (do)?	28.88				A5
How do you {COMP}?	44.77				B
How is it (COMP)?	33.22		B		B
how long {COMP}?	76.54				B
how many {COMP}?	90.98				B
how much {COMP}?	69.32				B
how now	88.09		B		D
How say you?	28.88		B		B
how to {V-inf}	116.98				B
I (dare/will) warrant you	90.98	B8; B12			
I (will) warrant thee	21.66	B8; B12			
I {[desire]} {{NP: something}/{that-CLAUSE}/{NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}}	183.41	B1			
I am content {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	27.44	B1			
I am glad {to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	66.43	B13			
I am ready (to {V-inf})	20.22	B1; B3			
I am sorry {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	46.21				A2 , A5
I am sure {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	141.53	A1			
I assure {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	51.99	B8; B12	A		
I assure you {that-CLAUSE}	44.77	B8; B12	A		
I believe ({that-CLAUSE})	137.19	A1			
I beseech (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	108.31	B10			
I beseech you {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	88.09	B10			
I cannot tell ({wh-CLAUSE})	77.98	A2			
I confess {COMP}	95.31		A		
I dare (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	102.53	B8; B12			
I dare not {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	53.43	B8; B12			
I deny {{NP: something}/{that-CLAUSE}}	27.44	B8			
I desire to {V-inf}	46.21	B1			
I do not know {COMP}	46.21	A2			
I do not think (but) {that-CLAUSE}	28.88		B		
I doubt {COMP}	34.66	A2			
I doubt not {COMP}	30.33	A1			
I fear (me) {COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}}	72.21	B13	A		
I find {COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}}	88.09		B		
I hope {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	288.83	B1			
I hope you will {VP}	28.88	B1			
I knew (not) {COMP}	96.76	A1; A2			
I know (not) {COMP}	616.65	A1; A2			
I know not {COMP}	171.85	A2			
I know not but {COMP}	20.22	A2	A		
I know not how {COMP}	24.55	A2			
I know not what {COMP}	30.33	A2			
I marvel {COMP: e.g., {wh-CLAUSE}, {that-CLAUSE}, etc.}	30.33		B		
I may (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	290.27	B3			

<b>I may not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	20.22	B3			
<b>I mean (not) to</b> {V-inf}	34.66	B3			
<b>I mean</b> {COMP}	23.11		B		
<b>I might</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	109.76	B3			
<b>I must (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	350.93	B2			
<b>I must confess</b> (to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}	21.66		A		
<b>I must needs</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	46.21	B2			
<b>I must tell</b> {[you]}	23.11		A		
<b>I myself</b>	20.22			A3	
<b>I perceive</b> {that-CLAUSE}	116.98		B		
<b>I pray God</b>	28.88	B1			
<b>I pray thee</b>	51.99	B10			
<b>I pray you</b>	333.60	B10			
<b>I pray you tell</b> (me/us) {COMP}	33.22	B10	A		
<b>I prithe</b> {{IMPERATIVE}/{INTERROGATIVE}}	72.21	B10			
<b>I promise</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	62.10	B12			
<b>I promise you</b> {that-CLAUSE}	50.55	B12			
<b>I protest</b> (unto/to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}	56.32	B8	A		
<b>I say</b> (COMP)	261.39		A		
<b>I shall (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	478.01	B2; B3			
<b>I shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	54.88	B2; B3			
<b>I should (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	342.26	B2; B3			
<b>I should not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	31.77	B2; B3			
<b>I suppose</b> {that-CLASUE}	51.99	A2	A		
<b>I swear</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}	21.66	B8; B12	A		
<b>I tell thee</b> {that-CLAUSE}	44.77	B8	A		
<b>I tell you</b> {that-CLAUSE}	90.98	B8	A		
<b>I thank God</b>	25.99	B1; B13			D
<b>I thank you</b> (for {NP: something})	119.86				A1
<b>I thank you for</b> {NP: something}	30.33				A1
<b>I think</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	420.25		B		
<b>I thought</b> {COMP}	114.09		B		
<b>I told him</b> {COMP}	63.54				C
<b>I told you</b> {COMP}	27.44				C
<b>I trust</b> {COMP}	47.66	A1	A		
<b>I warrant</b> {[you]} (COMP)	92.43	B8; B12			
<b>I warrant you</b> (COMP)	70.76	B8; B12			
<b>I will (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	2417.50	B1; B3			
<b>I will never</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	49.10	B1; B3			
<b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	228.17	B1; B3			
<b>I will say</b> (COMEPLEMENT: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})	21.66		A		
<b>I will show you</b> {COMP}	24.55		A		
<b>I will tell thee</b> {COMP}	27.44		A		
<b>I will tell you</b> {COMP}	75.10		A		
<b>I will warrant</b> {[you]} (COMP)	23.11	B8; B12			
<b>I wish</b> {COMP}	79.43	B1			
<b>I wonder</b> {COMP}	43.32		B		
<b>I would (not)</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	772.62	B1; B3			
<b>I would fain</b> {V-inf}	28.88	B1; B3			
<b>I would not</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	153.08	B1; B3			
<b>if ever</b>	25.99		B		
<b>if it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	53.43	B10			A5

<b>if it please you</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	38.99	B10			A5
<b>if not</b>	33.22		B		
<b>if you please</b> (to {V-inf})	50.55	B10			A5
<b>if you please to</b> {V-inf}	24.55	B10			A5
<b>in (the) behalf of</b> {NP: somebody or an entity made by people}	27.44			C3	
<b>in (the) presence of</b> {NP: somebody}	43.32			C3	
<b>in (the) time of</b> {NP: something going on}	46.21			D1	
<b>in bed</b>	56.32			C3	
<b>in company</b> (of/with {NP: somebody})	37.55			C3	
<b>in court</b>	40.44			C3	
<b>in danger</b> (of {NP: something unpleasant})	25.99			C3	
<b>in deed</b>	50.55			C3	
<b>in earnest</b>	25.99			C3	
<b>in England</b>	101.09			D2	
<b>in faith</b>	132.86	B8; B12			
<b>in France</b>	43.32			D2	
<b>in general</b> (terms/words)	24.55			C3	
<b>in good time</b>	20.22			D1	
<b>in hand</b>	38.99			C3	
<b>in heaven</b>	21.66			D2	
<b>in London</b>	53.43			D2	
<b>in pieces</b>	31.77			C3	
<b>in prison</b>	33.22			C3	
<b>in private</b>	20.22			C3	
<b>in regard</b> (of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE})	24.55		B		
<b>in respect</b> (of {NP})	40.44		A		
<b>in respect of</b> {NP}	27.44		A, B		
<b>in stead</b> (of {NP})	25.99		B		
<b>in stead of</b> {NP}	23.11		B		
<b>in the afternoon</b>	30.33			D1	
<b>in the behalf of</b> {NP: somebody or institute}	21.66			C3	
<b>in the church</b>	59.21			D2	
<b>in the city</b>	24.55			D2	
<b>in the country</b>	40.44			D2	
<b>in the Court</b> (of {NP: place name})	23.11			D2	
<b>in the end</b> (of {NP: a period of time or event})	36.10			D1	
<b>in the evening</b>	20.22			D1	
<b>in the hearing of</b> {NP}	25.99			C3	
<b>in the mean</b> {season/space/time/while}	80.87			D1	
<b>in the mean time</b>	54.88			D1	
<b>in the middle</b> (of {NP})	20.22			D4	
<b>in the morning</b>	115.53			D1	
<b>in the name of</b> {NP: mostly somebody}	43.32			C3	
<b>in the night</b>	36.10			D1	
<b>in the presence of</b> {NP: somebody}	40.44			C3	
<b>in the time of</b> {NP: something going on}	33.22			D1	
<b>in the town</b>	28.88			D2	
<b>in the way</b>	21.66			C3	
<b>in this case</b>	31.77			D3	
<b>in this manner</b>	31.77			D3	
<b>in this town</b>	20.22			D2	
<b>in time</b>	28.88			D1	

<b>in to</b> {NP: destination}	23.11			D2	
<b>in town</b>	28.88			D2	
<b>in truth</b> (CLAUSE: statement)	46.21	B8			
<b>in vain</b>	46.21			C3	
<b>in writing</b>	23.11			C3	
<b>indeed, Sir</b>	25.99	B7			
<b>instead of</b> {NP}	36.10		B		
<b>Is there any</b> {NP}?	23.11				B
<b>Is there no</b> {NP}?	24.55				B
<b>it is impossible</b> (for {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE})	20.22	A3; B4			
<b>it is no matter</b>	24.55	B7			
<b>last night</b>	38.99			D1	
<b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	1210.19	B2			
<b>let me</b> {V-inf}	319.16	B2			
<b>let me alone</b>	34.66	B2			
<b>let me know</b> {COMP}	24.55		A		
<b>let me see</b> {COMP}	44.77	B2	A		
<b>let us see</b> {COMP}	25.99	B2	A		
<b>many a</b> {NP}	37.55			C1	
<b>many of</b> {NP}	59.21			C1	
<b>many other</b>	36.10			B; C1	
<b>many times</b>	62.10			C3	
<b>matter of fact</b>	33.22			C3	
<b>matter of law</b>	36.10			C3	
<b>may it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	23.11	B10			A5
<b>me thinks</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	106.87		B		
<b>mine own</b>	111.20			C3	
<b>more than</b> {COMP}	194.96			C3	
<b>most of</b> {NP}	47.66			A5	
<b>much more</b>	33.22			C1	
<b>much of</b> {NP}	54.88			C1	
<b>must needs</b> {VP-inf}	98.20	B2			
<b>my dear</b> {NP: somebody}	76.54	B5		A3	F
<b>my Lady</b> ({NP: family name})	82.32	B6		A3	F
<b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name})	1096.11	B6		A3	F
<b>my Lord</b> {NP: position name}	60.65	B6		A3	F
<b>my Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	82.32	B6		A3	F
<b>my Lords</b>	76.54	B6		A3	F
<b>my own</b>	105.42			C3	
<b>near to</b> {NP}	28.88			C3	
<b>no better</b>	46.21			C3	
<b>no body</b>	64.99			A3	
<b>no but</b> {CLAUSE}	43.32	B8	B		
<b>no doubt</b>	53.43	A1			
<b>no further</b>	33.22			D4	
<b>no good</b>	33.22			C3	
<b>no great</b>	27.44			C3	
<b>no less</b>	40.44			C1	
<b>no longer</b>	60.65			D1	
<b>no man</b>	93.87			A3	
<b>no more</b>	355.26			C1	
<b>no more of</b> {NP}	25.99			C1	



<b>no more than</b> {COMP}	37.55			C3	
<b>no no</b>	70.76	B8			
<b>no not</b>	41.88	B8			
<b>no other</b>	99.65			C3	
<b>no Sir</b>	63.54	B8			
<b>no sooner</b>	24.55			D1	
<b>no such</b> {NP}	76.54			C3	
<b>none of</b> {NP}	98.20			A5	
<b>none of them</b>	23.11			A5	
<b>not all</b>	38.99			C1	
<b>not any</b> {NP}	34.66			B	
<b>not long</b> {ago/since/before/etc.}	51.99			D1	
<b>not much</b>	23.11			C1	
<b>not now</b>	34.66			D1	
<b>not only</b> {COMP}, <b>but</b> (also) {COMP}	89.54		B		
<b>not so much</b> {ADJUNCT} <b>as</b> {COMP}	37.55			C1	
<b>not so much as</b> {COMP}	21.66			C1	
<b>not very</b>	23.11			C3	
<b>not yet</b>	77.98			D1	
<b>nothing but</b> {NP}	98.20			A6	
<b>nothing else</b>	38.99			A6	
<b>now and then</b>	28.88			D1	
<b>now if</b>	21.66		B		
<b>now Sir</b>	25.99		A		D
<b>O my</b> {NP: mostly for a person}	31.77				D
<b>old</b> {[man]}	114.09			A3	
<b>on</b> (the) <b>one side</b>	21.66		B	D2	
<b>on Saturday</b>	43.32			D1	
<b>on the other side</b>	20.22		B	D2	
<b>once more</b>	27.44			C3	
<b>one another</b>	33.22			B	
<b>one day</b>	56.32			D1	
<b>one of</b> {NP}	530.00			A5	
<b>one of them</b>	102.53			A5	
<b>one of these</b> {NP}	21.66			A5	
<b>one thing</b>	64.99			B	
<b>one word</b>	59.21			A1	
<b>or any</b> {NP}	70.76			B	
<b>or any other</b>	25.99			B	
<b>or else</b>	150.19			B	
<b>or if</b>	40.44		B		
<b>or not</b>	129.97		B		
<b>or other</b>	57.77			B	
<b>ought</b> (not) <b>to</b> {V-inf}	147.30	B2			
<b>ought not to</b> {V-inf}	23.11	B2			
<b>our own</b>	41.88			C3	
<b>out of</b> {NP}	854.93			D2	
<b>out of doors</b>	30.33			D2	
<b>out of town</b>	24.55			D2	
<b>pardon me</b>	60.65				A5
<b>poor</b> {[man]}	76.54			A3	
<b>presently after</b>	36.10			D1	
<b>rather than</b>	41.88		B		

seven years	20.22		D1	
several times	62.10		C3	
Sir William	36.10		A3	F
so great a {NP}	28.88		A6	
so long as {COMP}	24.55	B	D4	
so much as {COMP}	75.10		C1	
so soon as {COMP}	21.66		D1	
so that	144.41	B		
so to do	23.11		A6	
some body	28.88		A3; B	
some of {NP}	225.29		A5	
some of them	50.55		A5	
some other {NP}	82.32		B	
some time	30.33		D1	
son of {NP: identity}	28.88		A3	
such a {NP}	553.11		A6	
such a one	36.10		A6	
such a thing	28.88		A6	
such an {NP}	72.21		A6	
such thing	46.21		A6	
such things	34.66		A6	
such words	28.88		A1	
sweet heart	33.22	B5		F
ten thousand	31.77		C1	
that day	50.55		D1	
that night	67.87		D1	
the (MODIFIER) {[law]} of {NP: country or authority}	76.54		A1	
the (MODIFIER) word of God	41.88		A1	
the (very) same day	31.77		D1	
the {[judge]}	124.20		A3	
the best of {NP}	31.77		A5	
the Bishop (of {NP: place})	129.97		A3	
the Church of {NP: place names}	34.66		A1	
the contrary	56.32		C3	
the Council	69.32		A1	
the court	480.90		A1	
the day of {NP}	21.66		D1	
the dead	24.55		A3	
the death of {NP: living beings (or in metaphorical sense)}	28.88		C3	
the Devil	398.58		A1	
the Earl of {NP: place name}	164.63		A3	
the earth	40.44		A2	
the end (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object})	132.86		D4	
the end of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object}	49.10		D4	
the fear of {NP}	20.22		A1	
the first	262.83		C3	
the first of {NP}	20.22		A5	
The first time	31.77		C3	
the gentleman	138.64		A3	
the gentlemen	34.66		A3	
the gentlewoman	33.22		A3	
the holy {NP: religious institute or entity}	76.54		A1	
the Holy Ghost	37.55		A1	

<b>the jury</b>	131.42		A3	
<b>the king</b>	586.32		A3	
<b>the knight</b>	95.31		A3	
<b>the last</b>	145.86		C3	
<b>the law of {NP: country or authority}</b>	21.66		A1	
<b>the like</b>	124.20		B	
<b>the morning</b>	122.75		D1	
<b>the most part</b>	24.55		A5	
<b>the next</b>	251.28		C3	
<b>the next day</b>	85.20		D1	
<b>the next morning</b>	36.10		D1	
<b>the night</b>	88.09		D1	
<b>the one</b>	137.19		A6	
<b>the other</b>	506.90		B	
<b>the other day</b>	24.55		D1	
<b>the parliament</b>	66.43		A1	
<b>the Peace of the Church</b>	27.44		A1	
<b>the place where {CLAUSE}</b>	38.99		D2	
<b>the poor man</b>	20.22		A3	
<b>the priest</b>	116.98		A3	
<b>the prince</b>	89.54		A3	
<b>the prisoner</b>	90.98		A3	
<b>the queen</b>	103.98		A3	
<b>the rest (of {NP})</b>	272.94		A5	
<b>the rest of {NP}</b>	72.21		A5	
<b>the said {NP}</b>	2083.90		A6	
<b>the second</b>	86.65		C3	
<b>the sight of {NP}</b>	31.77		C3	
<b>the space of {NUM} {NP: a period of time, e.g., hours, days, months, years, etc.}</b>	46.21		D1	
<b>the sun</b>	54.88		A2	
<b>the third</b>	59.21		C3	
<b>the three</b>	44.77		C1	
<b>the time of {NP}</b>	70.76		C3	
<b>the two</b>	62.10		C1	
<b>the very {NP}</b>	102.53		A6	
<b>the word of God</b>	37.55		A1	
<b>their own</b>	90.98		C3	
<b>there {[be]}</b>	1538.01	A		
<b>there {[come]} {NP}</b>	38.99	A		
<b>these {[be]}</b>	92.43	A		
<b>these three</b>	25.99		C1	
<b>these two</b>	46.21		C1	
<b>this {[be]}</b>	635.42	A		
<b>this day</b>	131.42		D1	
<b>this last</b>	20.22		C3	
<b>this morning</b>	88.09		D1	
<b>this night</b>	54.88		D1	
<b>this way</b>	49.10		C3	
<b>three or four</b>	36.10		C1	
<b>thus much</b>	20.22		C1	
<b>to day</b>	88.09		D1	
<b>to heaven</b>	27.44		C3	

<b>to morrow</b>	83.76			D1	
<b>to night</b>	56.32			D1	
<b>to the contrary</b>	28.88		B		
<b>to the end</b> {that-CLAUSE: with "may", "might"}	37.55		B		
<b>to the purpose</b>	25.99		B		
<b>to this effect</b> (that-CLAUSE: result or purpose)	54.88		B		
<b>too late</b>	30.33			D1	
<b>too long</b>	21.66			D4	
<b>too much</b>	83.76			C1	
<b>truly Sir</b>	60.65	B7			
<b>trust me</b>	47.66	B12			
<b>two days</b>	33.22			D1	
<b>two or three</b>	103.98			C1	
<b>two years</b>	50.55			D1	
<b>up and down</b>	43.32			C3	
<b>upon</b> {POSSESSIVE} <b>oath</b>	86.65	B12			
<b>upon my oath</b>	23.11	B12			
<b>we may</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	121.31	B3			
<b>we must</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	105.42	B2			
<b>we shall</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	183.41	B2; B3			
<b>we should</b> {V-ing} {COMP}	70.76	B2; B3			
<b>we will</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	264.28	B1; B3			
<b>we would</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	37.55	B1; B3			
<b>well then</b>	33.22		B		
<b>What</b> {[a]} {NP} {COMP}	160.30				D
<b>what</b> {[mean]} {NP}?	38.99		B		B
<b>What did</b> {[you]} {V-inf}?	27.44				B
<b>What do thou</b> {V-inf}?	24.55				B
<b>What do you</b> {V-inf}?	93.87				B
<b>what else</b>	23.11		B		B
<b>what if</b>	33.22		B		B
<b>What is it</b> (COMP)?	60.65				B
<b>What is that</b> (COMP)?	47.66				B
<b>What news?</b>	44.77				B
<b>What say thou</b> (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?	25.99		B		B
<b>What say you</b> (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?	108.31		B		B
<b>What say you to</b> {NP: something needs opinion}?	40.44		B		B
<b>What shall I</b> {V-inf} {COMP}?	38.99	B2; B3			B
<b>What shall we</b> {V-inf} {COMP}?	30.33	B2; B3			B
<b>What think you</b> (of {NP: something needs opinion})?	34.66		B		B
<b>What will you</b> {V-inf}?	41.88	B1; B3			B
<b>What would you</b> {V-inf}?	20.22	B1; B3			B
<b>Where</b> {[be]} {NP}?	244.06				B
<b>Why do you</b> {COMP}?	50.55		B		B
<b>Why Sir</b>	27.44				D
<b>Why so</b>	25.99				D
<b>Why then</b>	77.98				D
<b>wise</b> {[man]}	24.55			A3	
<b>with all my heart</b>	66.43	B1; B12			
<b>with patience</b>	20.22			C3	
<b>would</b> (not) <b>have</b> {VP: past participle}	303.27	B3			

<b>would gladly</b> {V-inf}	21.66	B1; B3			
<b>would have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	77.98	B1; B10			
<b>would not have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	21.66	B1; B10			
<b>yes my Lord</b>	46.21	B7			
<b>Yes Sir</b>	88.09	B7			
<b>yet if</b>	25.99		B		
<b>you are welcome</b>	27.44				A5
<b>you must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	244.06	B2			
<b>you must not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	20.22	B2			
<b>you shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	664.31	B2; B3			
<b>you shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	72.21	B2; B3			
<b>you should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	199.29	B2; B3			
<b>young man</b>	77.98			A3	
<b>your Grace</b>	88.09	B6		A3	F
<b>your Honour</b>	33.22	B6		A3	F
<b>your Lordship</b>	72.21	B6		A3	F
<b>your own</b>	199.29			C3	
<b>your servant</b>	27.44				A5
<b>your Worship</b>	46.21	B6		A3	F

**Appendix 6: A complete list of formulaic sequences in EModE letters and their functional classification (A-Z)**

Formulaic sequences	Nml. freq.	I	II	III	IV
({I} {VP: e.g., rest, remain, etc.}) {your} (ADDITIONAL MODIFIER: e.g., most, humble, etc.) <b>obedient son</b>	60.21				A3
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good brother</b>	75.26	B5		A3	
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good cousin</b>	32.84	B5		A3	
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good friend</b>	100.58	B5		A3	
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good friends</b>	43.79	B5		A3	
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good lady</b>	71.16	B5		A3	
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good lord</b>	237.42	B5		A3	
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good mother</b>	39.00	B5		A3	
({POSSESSIVE} {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, very, etc.}) <b>good sister</b>	32.16	B5		A3	
({the lords/one/etc.} of) {his Majesty's/her Majesty's/her Highness/etc.} <b>most honourable privy council</b>	21.89			A1	A3
(a) (MODIFIER: e.g., great, good, etc.) <b>deal of</b> {NP}	69.79			C1	
(a) <b>little more</b>	26.00			C1	
(after/with) (my/our) (very/most/right) <b>hearty commendations</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody})	110.16				A3
(after/with) (my/our) (very/most/right) <b>hearty commendations to</b> {NP: somebody}	35.58				A3
(after/with) {DET} <b>commendations to</b> {NP: somebody}	70.47				A3
(after/with) {my/our} <b>very hearty</b> {salutations/commendations}	27.37				A3
(after/with) {my/our} <b>very hearty commendations</b>	26.68				A3
(after/with) <b>my hearty</b> {NP: commendations, thanks, prayers, etc.} (to/unto {NP: somebody})	67.74				A3
(after/with) <b>my hearty commendations</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody})	44.47				A3
(after/with) <b>my humble duty remembered</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody})	28.05				A3
(after/with) <b>my very hearty commendations</b>	26.00				A3
(after/with/pray remember/pray present/with remembrance of/etc.) <b>my humble duty to</b> {NP: somebody}	27.37				A3
(after/with/present/etc.) (my) <b>most humble duty</b> (to {NP: somebody})	19.84				A3
(all) <b>other places</b>	31.47			B	
(all) <b>other things</b>	86.21			B	
(and so/thus) <b>fare you</b> (heartily) <b>well</b>	47.21				A4
(and) <b>on the other side</b>	29.42		B		
(and/but) <b>as for</b>	183.37		A		
(as) <b>I am informed</b> {that-CLAUSE}	29.42		A		C
(as) <b>I am persuaded</b> {that-CLAUSE}	36.95	A1	A		C
(as) <b>I am told</b> {that-CLAUSE}	24.63		A		C
(as) <b>I conceive</b> {COMP}	62.95	A1	A		C
(as) <b>I remember</b> {COMP}	59.53		A		C
(as) <b>it is reported</b> {that-CLAUSE}	22.58		A		C
(as) <b>it is said</b> {that-CLAUSE}	103.32		A		C

(as) <b>it is thought</b> {that-CLAUSE}	59.53		A		C
(as) <b>it is true</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	40.37	B8			
(as) <b>it seems</b> (to/unto me) ({that-CLAUSE})	142.32	A3			
(DET) <b>little time</b>	29.42			D1	
(DET) <b>long time</b>	39.68			D1	
(half) <b>an hour</b>	34.21			D1	
(I pray (thee/you)) <b>remember me</b> {to {NP: somebody}}	44.47				A3
(I pray (thee/you)) <b>remember me to</b> {NP: somebody}	29.42				A3
(I rest) <b>Your loving brother</b>	39.00				A3
(I rest) <b>Your loving friend</b>	39.68				A3
(I) <b>pray present my</b> {NP: something, e.g., humble duty, service, love, etc.} (to/unto {NP: somebody, e.g., my lady, my cousin, etc.})	20.53				A3
(I) <b>rest your loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, son, friend, mother, etc.}	21.89				A3
(if) <b>it may please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	42.42	B10			A5
(if) <b>it may please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	26.00	B10			A5
(if/if it) (may/shall) <b>please God</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	56.11	B1			
(if/if it) (may/shall) <b>please God to</b> {V-inf}	29.42	B1			
(in/in the) <b>mean while</b>	31.47			D1	
(Lord) <b>Chief Justice</b>	47.21			A3	
(my) <b>dear brother</b>	79.37	B5		A3	F
(my) <b>dear friend</b>	25.32	B5		A3	F
(my) <b>dear mother</b>	65.68	B5		A3	F
(my) <b>dear Sir</b>	44.47	B5		A3	F
(my) <b>dear sister</b>	49.95	B5		A3	F
(my) <b>dear son</b>	59.53	B5		A3	F
(my) <b>most dear</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, etc.}) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, etc.}	34.89	B5		A3	F
(my/our) <b>good God</b>	29.42			A1	
(my/the) <b>Lord Admiral</b>	28.74			A3	F
(my/the) <b>Lord Bishop</b> (of {NP: place name})	35.58			A3	F
(my/the) <b>Lord Chamberlain</b>	25.32			A3	F
(my/the) <b>Lord Chancellor</b>	43.11			A3	F
(my/the) <b>Lord Chief Justice</b>	30.79			A3	F
(my/the) <b>Lord Keeper</b>	45.16			A3	F
(my/the) <b>Lord Mayor</b>	30.11			A3	F
(my/the) <b>Lord Treasurer</b>	101.95			A3	F
(my/the/our) <b>Lord Lieutenant</b>	23.95			A3	F
(no) <b>more of</b> {NP}	75.95			C1	
(not/so) <b>long since</b> ({COMP})	85.53			D1	
(our/the) <b>Lord Jesus</b> (Christ)	23.26			A1	
(the) <b>Grace of God</b>	23.26			A1	
(the) <b>King's Bench</b>	25.32			A1	
(the) <b>lack of</b> {NP: something}	31.47			C3	
(the) <b>Lady</b> {NP: name}	631.53			A3	
(the) <b>Lord</b> {NP: name}	684.89			A3	
(the) <b>most part of</b> {NP}	22.58			A5	
(the) <b>next day</b>	66.37			D1	
(the) <b>next morning</b>	24.63			D1	
(the) <b>Queen of</b> {NP: place name}	28.05			A3	
(the) <b>right honourable</b> {NP: somebody}	182.00	B6		A3	F

(the) <b>right honourable and my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., singular good, very good, etc.} <b>lord</b>	21.21	B5; B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right honourable my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, singular good, very good, e.g.,} {NP: somebody}	56.79	B5; B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right honourable my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, lady, uncle, etc.}	47.21	B5; B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right honourable my very good lord</b>	26.00	B5; B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right honourable Sir</b> {NP: name}	40.37	B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right reverend</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, father in God, Sir, etc.}	30.79	B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right worshipful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}	83.47	B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right worshipful my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, very good, e.g.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}	32.16	B5; B6		A3	F
(the) <b>Star Chamber</b>	39.00			A1	
(the/this) <b>next term</b>	54.05			D1	
(the/this) <b>next week</b>	99.21			D1	
(two or) <b>three days</b>	23.26			D1	
(with/pray remember/pray present/etc.) <b>my humble service to</b> {NP: somebody}	30.11				A3
{[accept]} <b>of</b> {NP}	50.63			A4	
{[acquaint]} {NP: somebody} <b>with</b> {NP: something}	105.37			A4	
{[be]} (not) <b>able to</b> {V-inf}	351.68	B4			
{[be]} <b>acquainted with</b> {NP: somebody/something}	60.21	A1			
{[be]} <b>apt to</b> {V-inf}	26.68	B3			
{[be]} <b>ashamed to</b> {V-inf}	21.21	B13			
{[be]} <b>assured</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}}	67.74	A1			
{[be]} <b>beholding to</b> {NP: mostly somebody}	26.68			C3	
{[be]} <b>bold to</b> {V-inf}	47.89	B1			
{[be]} <b>bound to</b> {NP}	42.42			C3	
{[be]} <b>bound to</b> {V-inf}	43.79	B2			
{[be]} <b>capable of</b> {NP/V-ing}	24.63	B4			
{[be]} <b>careful of</b> {NP: somebody or something need good care, or something draws attentive interest}	39.00			C3	
{[be]} <b>commanded to</b> {V-inf}	21.89	B2			
{[be]} <b>content to</b> {V-inf}	73.21	B1			
{[be]} <b>contented to</b> {V-inf}	34.89	B1			
{[be]} <b>contrary to</b> {NP}	65.00			C3	
{[be]} <b>desirous to</b> {V-inf}	79.37	B1			
{[be]} <b>driven to</b> {{NP: some action}/{V-inf}}	39.00	B1			
{[be]} <b>fain to</b> {V-inf}	36.95	B1			
{[be]} far from {NP/V-ing}	60.89			C3	
{[be]} <b>fit for</b> {NP}	61.58			C3	
{[be]} <b>fit to</b> {V-inf}	89.63	B4			
{[be]} <b>for fear of</b> {NP/V-ing}	23.26	B13			
{[be]} <b>forced to</b> {V-inf}	74.58	B2			
{[be]} <b>free from</b> {NP}	22.58			C3	
{[be]} <b>full of</b> {NP}	73.21			C1	
{[be]} <b>glad of</b> {NP}	52.68	B13			
{[be]} <b>glad that</b> {CLAUSE}	34.89	B13			
{[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf}	266.84	B1; B13			
{[be]} <b>glad to hear</b> {that-CLAUSE}	84.16				A5
{[be]} <b>glad to hear of</b> {NP: something good}	40.37				A5
{[be]} <b>glad to hear that</b> {CLAUSE}	21.89				A5



{{[be]} <b>glad to see</b> {NP: mostly somebody}}	31.47			A5
{{[be]} <b>good for</b> {NP}}	32.16		C3	
{{[be]} <b>guilty of</b> {NP: crimes}}	29.42	B13		
{{[be]} <b>in good health</b>	38.32		C3	
{{[be]} <b>in hope</b> {of {NP: something}/to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}}	39.00	B1; B3		
{{[be]} <b>in love</b> (with {NP})	31.47		C3	
{{[be]} <b>like to</b> {V-inf}}	143.00	A3		
{{[be]} <b>loath to</b> {V-inf}}	70.47	B1; B3		
{{[be]} <b>made of</b> {NP: material}}	53.37		C2	
{{[be]} <b>not able to</b> {V-inf}}	55.42	B4		
{{[be]} <b>not to</b> {V-inf}}	75.95	B3		
{{[be]} <b>obliged to</b> {NP/V-ing}}	33.53	B2		
{{[be]} <b>pleased to</b> {V-inf}}	240.16	B1; B3		
{{[be]} <b>pleased with</b> {NP}}	33.53	B13		
{{[be]} <b>ready for</b> {NP}}	26.68	B1; B3		
{{[be]} <b>ready to</b> {V-inf}}	180.63	B1; B3		
{{[be]} <b>sensible of</b> {NP: something}}	38.32		C3	
{{[be]} <b>sent by</b> {NP: somebody}}	57.47		C3	
{{[be]} <b>so far from</b> {NP/V-ing}}	24.63		C3	
{{[be]} <b>sorry for</b> {NP}}	39.68			A2
{{[be]} <b>sorry that</b> {CLAUSE}}	51.32			A2
{{[be]} <b>sorry to</b> {V-inf}}	68.42			A2, A5
{{[be]} <b>sorry to hear</b> {of {NP: something bad}/that-CLAUSE}}	36.26			A2, A5
{{[be]} <b>subject to</b> {NP}}	26.68		C3	
{{[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	260.00	A1		
{{[be]} <b>sure to</b> {V-inf}}	44.47	A1		
{{[be]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	74.58	B3		
{{[be]} <b>troubled with</b> {NP}}	43.79	B2		
{{[be]} <b>unwilling to</b> {V-inf}}	26.68	B1		
{{[be]} <b>very desirous</b> {to {V-inf}/of {NP}}	19.84	B1		
{{[be]} <b>very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}}	113.58	B13		
{{[be]} <b>very glad to</b> {V-inf}}	63.63	B1; B13		
{{[be]} <b>very glad to hear</b> {of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}}	31.47			A5
{{[be]} <b>very sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	57.47			A2, A5
{{[be]} <b>weary of</b> {NP}}	34.21	B1		
{{[be]} <b>well known</b>	25.32	A1		
{{[be]} <b>willing to</b> {V-inf}}	111.53	B1		
{{[be]} <b>wont to</b> {V-inf}}	19.84		C3	
{{[become]} <b>of</b> {NP}}	34.21		A4	
{{[begin]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}}	125.21		A4	
{{[come]} <b>down</b>	97.16		A4	
{{[come]} <b>from</b> {NP for location}}	150.53		A4	
{{[come]} <b>home</b>	89.63		A4	
{{[come]} <b>in</b>	109.47		A4	
{{[come]} <b>into</b> {NP for location}}	79.37		A4	
{{[come]} <b>out</b>	30.79		A4	
{{[come]} <b>out of</b> {NP}}	47.21		A4	
{{[come]} <b>over</b>	80.05		A4	
{{[come]} <b>to</b> {NP: (somebody as) destination}}	156.00		A4	
{{[come]} <b>unto</b> {NP: (somebody as) destination}}	32.16		A4	

{{[come]} <b>up</b>	141.63		A4	
{{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} {to the} <b>protection of</b> {NP: phrases referring to the God, e.g., Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.}	64.32			A3
{{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} <b>to the protection of</b> {NP: phrases referring to the God, e.g., Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.}	49.26			A3
{{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} <b>to the protection of the Almighty</b>	40.37			A3
{{[complain]} <b>of</b> {NP: something or somebody unpleasant}	37.63		A4	
{{[confer]} <b>with</b> {NP: somebody}	36.95		A4	
{{[consider]} <b>of</b> {NP}	42.42		A4	
{{[deal]} (ADJUNCTS) <b>with</b> {NP: mostly for person}	140.95		A4	
{{[desire]} {NP: somebody} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	233.32	B1	A4	
{{[desire]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	222.37	B1	A4	
{{[dispose]} <b>of</b> {NP}	85.53		A4	
{{[do]} <b>well to</b> {V-inf}	51.32	B7	A4	
{{[endeavour]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	105.37	B1	A4	
{{[enter]} <b>into</b> {NP: location/NP: a specified role, commitment, relationship, engagement, consideration, discussion, kinds of agreements, business, or practices, etc}	60.89		A4	
{{[fail]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	62.95		A4	
{{[fall]} <b>out</b>	106.05		A4	
{{[find]} <b>out</b> {{NP: something or somebody hidden, in literal or figurative sense}/{that-CLAUSE}}	51.32		A4	
{{[gentleman]} <b>of</b> {NP: quality or identity}	43.79		A3	
{{[give]} (NP: somebody) {DET} <b>account of</b> {NP}	88.95		A4	
{{[give]} {NP: somebody} <b>leave</b> (to {V-inf})	114.26		A4	
{{[go]} <b>away</b>	58.16		A4	
{{[go]} <b>into</b> {NP: place}	69.11		A4	
{{[go]} <b>to</b> {NP: destination, e.g., a person, a place or a thing}	337.32		A4	
{{[go]} <b>with</b> {NP: a person or a group}	65.68		A4	
{{[have]/[take]} (DET) <b>care of</b> {NP: somebody or something valuable}	44.47		A4	
{{[have]/[take]} (DET) <b>care to</b> {V-inf}	25.32		A4	
{{[have]/with/without} <b>much ado</b>	23.26		C3	
{{[have]} (no) <b>need of</b> {NP}	26.68	B2		
{{[have]} {ADJUNCT} <b>reason to</b> {V-inf}	56.11	B3		
{{[have]} <b>cause to</b> {V-inf}	28.05	B3		
{{[have]} <b>occasion to</b> {V-inf}	39.00	B3		
{{[hear]} <b>from</b> {NP: somebody}	207.32		A4	
{{[hear]} <b>of</b> {NP}	291.47		A4	
{{[intend]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	143.00	B3		
{{[Justice]} <b>of</b> (the) <b>Peace</b>	20.53		A3	
{{[know]} <b>of</b> {NP}	51.32	A1; A2	A4	
{{[lay]} <b>out</b>	37.63		A4	
{{[lay]} <b>upon</b> {NP: somebody}	34.21		A4	
{{[look]} <b>for</b> {NP}	93.05		A4	
{{[look]} <b>to</b> {NP}	27.37		A4	
{{[look]} <b>upon</b> {NP}	62.26		A4	
{{[make]} (DET) <b>use of</b> {NP: something useful}	80.74		A4	
{{[make]} <b>bold to</b> {V-inf}	28.05	B1		
{{[make]} <b>no doubt</b> {(but) {CLAUSE}/of {NP}/to {V-inf}}	22.58	A1		
{{[make]} <b>use of</b> {NP: something useful}	53.37		A4	
{{[man]} <b>of</b> {NP: characteristics of the man}	135.47		A3	

{[mean]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	207.32	B3			
{[meddle]} <b>with</b> {NP}	28.74			A4	
{[need]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	36.26	B2			
{[offer]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	42.42	B1		A4	
{[part]} <b>of</b> {NP}	330.47			A5	
{[pay]} (NP: a certain amount of money; somebody who receives the payment) (ADJUNCT) <b>for</b> {NP: the purpose of the payment}	54.05			A4	
{[pray]} <b>for</b> {NP: somebody or something}	116.32			A4	
{[promise]} (NP: somebody) <b>to</b> {V-inf}	121.79	B2			
{[put]} {NP: somebody} <b>in mind</b> (of {NP: something needs to be remembered})	60.21			A4	
{[put]} {NP: somebody} <b>in mind of</b> {NP: something needs to be remembered}	41.05			A4	
{[put]} {NP: something or somebody} <b>into</b> {NP: location}	75.95			A4	
{[refuse]} (ADJUNCT) <b>to</b> {V-inf}	65.68	B1		A4	
{[say]} <b>of</b> {NP}	45.16			A4	
{[seek]} <b>to</b> {V-inf}	52.68	B3			
{[seem]} <b>to</b> (V-inf)	140.95	A3			
{[send]} <b>for</b> {NP: somebody}	129.32			A4	
{[set]} <b>forth</b>	26.68			A4	
{[set]} <b>out</b>	33.53			A4	
{[set]} <b>up</b> {NP: something}	28.74			A4	
{[speak]} <b>of</b> {NP}	105.37			A4	
{[speak]} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody}	78.68			A4	
{[speak]} <b>with</b> {NP: somebody}	116.32			A4	
{[take]} (POSS. PRON) <b>leave</b> (of {NP: somebody})	188.16			A4	
{[take]} <b>away</b> {NP}	54.05			A4	
{[take]} <b>care</b>	43.79			A4	
{[take]} <b>notice</b> {COMP: of {NP}; {CLAUSE}}	46.53			A4	
{[take]} <b>notice of</b> {NP}	26.68			A4	
{[take]} <b>order</b>	59.53			A4	
{[take]} <b>up</b> {NP}	66.37			A4	
{[talk]} <b>of</b> {NP}	32.84			A4	
{[talk]} <b>with</b> {NP: somebody}	45.16			A4	
{[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE}	332.53			A4	C
{[think]} <b>fit to</b> {V-inf}	41.05	B7		A4	
{[think]} <b>good to</b> {V-inf}	91.68	B3; B7			
{[think]} <b>of</b> {NP}	104.00			A4	
{[think]} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE}	138.89		B		
{[use]} (not) <b>to</b> {V-inf}	73.89			A4	
{[wait]} <b>on</b> {NP: somebody}	54.74			A4	
{[wait]} <b>upon</b> {NP: somebody}	58.16			A4	
{[write]} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody}	481.00			A4	
{[write]} <b>unto</b> {NP: somebody}	125.89			A4	
{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})/(with)} <b>hearty thanks</b> (for {NP: reason for thanks})	30.11				A1
{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})/(with)} <b>humble thanks</b> (for {NP: reason for thanks})	38.32				A1
{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})/(with)} <b>many thanks</b> (for {NP: reason for thanks})	49.26				A1
{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., hearty, humble, many, etc.}} <b>thanks for</b> {NP: reason for thanks}	156.00				A1
{a/this} <b>good while</b>	24.63			D1	
{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning</b> (of {NP: time or event})	99.21			D1	

{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning of</b> {NP: time or event}	72.53			D1	
{and/or} <b>such like</b>	49.26			B	
{at/about} <b>the same time</b>	26.00			D1	
{at/before/by/for/etc.} <b>this time</b>	353.74			D1	
{at/for/in/etc.} <b>a time</b>	80.74			D1	
{at/in} {DET} <b>time of</b> {NP: mostly event}	50.63			D1	
{at/to} <b>the (most/right) reverend Father in God</b>	31.47				A3
{beseech/pray/beseeching/praying/prayers} {God/the Lord} <b>to bless you</b>	24.63				A3
{by/through/with} <b>God's grace</b>	26.68	B1; B13			D
{commend/present/remember/with} <b>my service to</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., all my friends, my aunt, my lady, etc.}	75.26				A3
{COMP: a superlative or an inclusive or exclusive expression; an interrogative word or phrase} <b>in the world</b>	106.05			C3	
{COMP: e.g., I can} <b>certify you</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	24.63	B8	A		
{COMP: e.g., I have sent you} <b>here enclosed</b> {NP: something}	34.21		A	D3	
{COMPARATIVE} <b>than ever</b>	49.95			C3	
{could/shall/should/will/would} <b>be very glad to</b> {V-inf}	21.21	B1; B13			
{DET: e.g., my, our, etc.} <b>love to all</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., my friends, etc.}	24.63				A3
{DET: e.g., my, our, etc.} <b>love to my</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, etc.}	43.11				A3
{DET: e.g., my, our, etc.} <b>love to you</b>	22.58				A3
{DET} <b>advantage of</b> {NP}	19.84			C3	
{DET} <b>Archbishop of</b> {NP: place name}	29.42			A3	
{DET} <b>beginning of</b> {NP: an event or time}	78.00			D1	
{DET} <b>benefit of</b> {NP: something}	43.11			C3	
{DET} <b>Bishop of</b> {NP: place name}	132.05			A3	
{DET} <b>cause of</b> {NP: mostly negative things}	119.05			C3	
{DET} <b>certainty of</b> {NP}	19.84			C3	
{DET} <b>change of</b> {NP}	20.53			C3	
{DET} <b>copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}	100.58			A2	
{DET} <b>Countess (of</b> {NP: place name})	54.74			A3	
{DET} <b>County of</b> {NP: place name}	29.42			A1	
{DET} <b>day after</b>	26.68			D1	
{DET} <b>days after</b>	34.89			D1	
{DET} <b>days before</b>	26.68			D1	
{DET} <b>days since</b>	32.16			D1	
{DET} <b>Dean of</b> {NP: place name}	41.74			A3	
{DET} <b>devoted servant</b>	22.58			A3	
{DET} <b>Duke of</b> {NP: place name}	189.53			A3	
{DET} <b>Earl of</b> {NP: place name}	208.00			A3	
{DET} <b>few days</b>	43.79			D1	
{DET} <b>few lines</b>	32.16			A1	
{DET} <b>first of</b> {NP}	46.53			A5	
{DET} <b>increase of</b> {NP}	56.11			C3	
{DET} <b>interest in</b> {NP}	28.05			C3	
{DET} <b>kind of</b> {NP}	86.89			B	
{DET} <b>King of</b> {NP: place name}	198.42			A3	
{DET} <b>Lady of</b> {NP: place name/family name}	46.53			A3	
{DET} <b>last of</b> {NP}	30.11			A5	
{DET} <b>Lord</b> {NP: position name}	597.32			A3	
{DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	368.11			A3	
{DET} <b>Lords of</b> {NP: name of institution}	19.84			A3	

{DET} <b>low countries</b>	64.32			A1	
{DET} <b>other of</b> {NP}	57.47			A5	
{DET} <b>pair of</b> {NP: things come in pairs}	35.58			C1	
{DET} <b>people of</b> {NP: quality or identity}	23.26			A3	
{DET} <b>person of</b> {NP: quality or identity}	26.68			A3	
{DET} <b>piece of</b> {NP}	52.68			C1	
{DET} <b>Prince of</b> {NP: place name}	53.37			A3	
{DET} <b>quantity of</b> {NP}	21.21			C3	
{DET} <b>reason why</b> {CLAUSE}	19.84		B	C3	
{DET} <b>sort of</b> {NP}	31.47			B	
{DET} <b>success of</b> {NP}	20.53			C3	
{DET} <b>sum of</b> {NP/NUMBER}	35.58			C1; C3	
{DET} <b>Town of</b> {NP: place name}	34.21			A1	
{for/to} <b>that end</b>	24.63		B		
{his/her/your} <b>Majesty's most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., dutiful, honourable, humble, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., servant, Privy Council, subject, etc.}	29.42				A3
{his/her/your} <b>Majesty's service</b>	26.00			A1	
{his/her} <b>Majesty's pleasure</b>	27.37			A1	
{how/what/whom/etc.} <b>so ever</b>	26.68			B	
{I/we} (ever) <b>rest your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, ever loving, ladyship's, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, uncle, son, servant, husband, etc.}	248.37				A3
{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you</b> (for {NP})	197.74				A1
{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you for</b> {NP}	135.47				A1
{I/we} (most/very/humbly and) <b>heartily thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	26.00				A1
{I/we} (most/very/humbly and) <b>heartily thank you</b> (for {NP: something})	21.89				A1
{I/we} <b>bid</b> {you/your {NP: nobility}} (most/very) <b>heartily farewell</b>	28.05				A4
{I} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank your</b> {NP: nobility} (for {NP: something})	27.37				A1
{I} (MD) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	160.79	B8; B12	A		
{I} (most) <b>humbly take my leave</b>	77.32				A4
{I} {(most) humbly} <b>beseech your</b> {NP: noble status} {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/that {CLAUSE}}	64.32	B10			
{I} {(most) humbly} <b>beseech your lordship</b> {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/that {CLAUSE}}	24.63	B10			
{I} {heartily} <b>bid you farewell</b>	32.84				A4
{I} {humbly} <b>beseech God</b> {to {V-inf}/of {NP}}/{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	34.21	B1			
{I} {humbly} <b>beseech you</b> {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}}	171.74	B10			
{I} {humbly} <b>beseech you to</b> {V-inf}	30.11	B10			
{I} {pray/beseech} {NP: e.g., God Almighty, God, the Lord of heaven} <b>bless you</b>	126.58				A5
{I} <b>acknowledge myself</b> {COMP: e.g., to {V-inf}, {NP}, etc.}	21.21		A		
{I} <b>am afraid</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	45.84	B13	A		A5
{I} <b>am confident</b> {that-CLAUSE}	47.89	A1	A		
{I} <b>am glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	131.37	B13			
{I} <b>am glad to</b> {V-inf}	42.42	B1; B13			
{I} <b>am glad to hear</b> {of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	32.84				A5
{I} <b>am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	109.47				A2, A5
{I} <b>am sorry to</b> {V-inf}	24.63				A2, A5

{I} <b>am sure</b> {that-CLAUSE}	165.58	A1	A		
{I} <b>am very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	56.11	B13			
{I} <b>am very glad to</b> {V-inf}	30.79	B1; B13			
{I} <b>am very glad to hear</b> {of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	19.84				A5
{I} <b>am very sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	39.68				A2, A5
{I} <b>am your most</b> {MODIFIER: affect/affectionate/dutiful/faithful/humble/loving/true/etc.} {NP: servant/brother/etc.}	23.95				A3
{I} <b>am yours</b>	34.89				A3
{I} <b>bless God</b> {for {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	31.47				A5
{I} <b>commend</b> {me/myself/my {NP: love, duty, service, etc.}} {to/unto} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, my lady, etc.}	134.79				A3
{I} <b>commend me to</b> {NP: somebody}	80.74				A3
{I} <b>commend my</b> {NP: love/service/etc.} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody}	23.26				A3
{I} <b>commend you</b> (to {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.})	72.53				A3
{I} <b>commend you to</b> {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.}	41.74				A3
{I} <b>commit you</b> {unto/to} {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}	109.47				A3
{I} <b>commit you to</b> {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}	89.63				A3
{I} <b>commit you to God</b>	46.53				A3
{I} <b>humbly beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	53.37	B10			A5
{I} <b>humbly beseech your</b> {NP: nobility} {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	23.26	B10			A5
{I} <b>humbly thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc.} (for {NP: something})	43.79				A1
{I} <b>humbly thank you</b> (for {NP: something})	23.26				A1
{I} <b>praise God</b>	22.58	B1			
{I} <b>pray</b> ({NP: somebody}) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}	526.84	B10			
{I} <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye}	411.21	B10			
{I} <b>pray God</b>	175.84	B1			
{I} <b>pray to God</b> (COMP)	24.63	B1			
{I} <b>remain your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, ladyship's, most dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, son, servant, etc.}	88.95				A3
{I} <b>wish you</b> {COMP}	81.42				A5
{if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	102.63	B10			A5
{if/may} <b>it please you</b> {{to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	36.95	B10			A5
{if/may} <b>it please you to</b> {V-inf}	20.53	B10			A5
{if/may} <b>it please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	50.63	B10			A5
{in/on} <b>my behalf</b>	28.74			C3	
{intend/purpose} <b>God willing</b>	137.53	B1; B3			
{let me/I (do/earnestly/must/etc.)} <b>entreat you</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	82.79	B10			A5
{my} <b>respects to</b> {NP: somebody}	25.32				A3
{never/ever} <b>in my life</b>	26.68			D1	
{not only {CLAUSE}} <b>but also</b> {CLAUSE}	21.21		B		
{NP: direct relatives} <b>in law</b>	49.95			A3	
{NP: somebody, e.g., your affectionate friend, yours, etc.} <b>to serve you</b>	69.11				A3
{NP: somebody} <b>to be commanded</b>	29.42				A3

{NP: something, e.g., affection, love, duty, commendations, thankfulness, etc./somebody} <b>remembered to</b> {NP: somebody}	42.42			A3
{NP: something, e.g., affection, love, duty, etc./somebody} <b>remembered unto</b> {NP: somebody}	30.79			A3
{NP: something, e.g., letters} {[be]} <b>welcome to me</b>	19.84	B7		
{NP: something} {[come]} <b>to</b> {POSSESSIVE} {[hand]}	47.21		C3	
{NP} <b>is said to</b> {V-inf}	35.58			C
{NUM} <b>by year</b>	30.79		D1	
{NUM} <b>hundred</b> {[pound]}	69.11		C1	
{NUM} <b>of</b> {NP: plural}	646.58		C1	
{NUM} <b>of the clock</b>	43.79		D1	
{NUM} <b>thousand pounds</b>	27.37		C1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of April</b>	69.11		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of August</b>	64.32		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of December</b>	80.05		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of February</b>	87.58		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of January</b>	71.16		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of July</b>	75.95		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of June</b>	68.42		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of March</b>	75.95		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of May</b>	84.84		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of November</b>	89.63		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of October</b>	80.05		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of September</b>	54.05		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of this month</b>	52.68		D1	
{ORDINAL NUM} <b>day of</b> {NP: month name}	27.37		D1	
{POSS. PRON: 2nd P, e.g., your, your Ladyship's, etc.} <b>affectionate servant</b>	20.53			A3
{POSS. PRON: 2nd P, e.g., your, your Grace's, etc.} <b>assured loving friend</b>	52.68			A3
{POSS. PRON: 2nd P, e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, loving, etc.} <b>brother and servant</b>	26.68			A3
{POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) <b>service to</b> {NP: somebody}	222.37			A3
{POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) <b>service to you</b>	43.79			A3
{POSS. PRON} <b>duty to you</b>	21.21			A3
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving brother</b>	161.47	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving cousin</b>	21.89	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving father</b>	44.47	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving friend</b>	211.42	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving friends</b>	24.63	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving husband</b>	47.21	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving mother</b>	49.26	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving sister</b>	37.63	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving son</b>	42.42	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>loving wife</b>	25.32	B5	A3	
{POSS. PRON} <b>singular good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, lord, etc.}	31.47	B5	A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, etc.} <b>most honoured</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, lady, etc.}	56.11	B6	A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, your lordship's, etc.} <b>very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, friend, son, etc.}	160.79	B5	A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, your lordship's, etc.} <b>very loving friend</b>	70.47	B5	A3	

{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, etc.} <b>truly loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, sister, etc.}	25.32	B5		A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, her Majesty's, etc.} <b>most honourable</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, wife, etc.})	34.21	B6		A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, his, etc.} <b>very assured</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., good, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, etc.}	25.32	B6		A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most affectionate</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, friend, etc.})	164.21	B5		A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most affectionate friend</b>	25.32	B5		A3	
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most assured</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, wife, etc.})	61.58	B6		A3	
{pray/beseech/etc.} <b>excuse my</b> {NP: something not good}	22.58				A2
{pray/hope/etc.} <b>excuse me</b> (to {NP: somebody}) {for {NP: something not good}/{that-CLAUSE}}	42.42				A2
{prayers/prayer/wishes/wishing/praying/wish/send/pray} <b>health and happiness</b>	31.47				A5
{praying/prayers} <b>for your</b> (good) <b>health</b> (and {NP: e.g., happiness, prosperity, etc.})	39.68				A5
{SUB} ([have]) <b>received a letter</b> {COMP: from {NP: somebody}/{DATE}}	41.05		A	D3	
{SUB} <b>doubt not but</b> {COMP}	138.21	A1	A		
{thank {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship}/thanks} <b>for your</b> (kind) [letter]	33.53				A5
{thank {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship}/thanks} <b>for your letter</b>	19.84				A5
{to/by/in} <b>the</b> (MODIFIER) <b>Grace of</b> (almighty) <b>God</b>	24.63	B12	A		
{To} {my} <b>worthy friend</b> {NP: name}	24.63				A3
{VP: go, come, etc} <b>along with</b> {NP: somebody}	31.47			A4	
{with/remember/commend/etc.} <b>my love to</b> {NP: somebody}	49.26				A3
{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	125.89	B13			
{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad to</b> {V-inf}	81.42	B1; B13			
{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad to hear</b> {of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	23.26				A5
{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	35.58	B13			
{you/your {NP: nobility, e.g., Grace, worship, lordship, etc.}} <b>shall understand that</b> {CLAUSE}	19.84		B		
{your {NP: somebody}/{yours}} <b>to command</b>	145.74				A3
{your/thy} (most/affectionate and/etc.) <b>faithful friend</b>	49.95				A3
{your} (most/humble and/etc.) <b>faithful servant</b>	34.21				A3
{your} <b>affectionate brother and servant</b>	21.21				A3
{your} <b>affectionate sister</b>	21.89				A3
{your} <b>most faithful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., husband, servant, friend, etc.}	65.00				A3
{your} <b>truly affectionate</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, etc.}	35.58				A3
{your} <b>very affectionate</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, uncle, etc.}	24.63				A3
<b>a copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}	57.47			A2	
<b>a day</b>	47.21			D1	
<b>a few</b>	71.84			C1	
<b>a fortnight</b>	45.16			D1	
<b>a gentleman</b>	48.58			A3	



<b>a good while</b>	20.53		D1	
<b>a great deal (NP)</b>	23.95		C1	
<b>a great deal of {NP}</b>	60.21		C1	
<b>a hundred</b>	29.42		C1	
<b>a kind of {NP}</b>	26.00		B	
<b>a letter from {NP: writer of the letter/place}</b>	106.05		A2	
<b>a letter from you</b>	21.21		A2	
<b>a letter of {NP: writer, purpose, date of the letter}</b>	34.89		A2	
<b>a letter to {NP: recipient of the letter}</b>	49.26		A2	
<b>a little</b>	293.53		C1	
<b>a long time</b>	19.84		D1	
<b>a man of {NP: quality or identity}</b>	43.11		A3	
<b>a matter of {NP: the characteristics of the matter}</b>	25.32		C3	
<b>a month</b>	44.47		D1	
<b>a pair of {NP: something comes in pairs}</b>	20.53		C1	
<b>a piece</b>	21.89		A6	
<b>a piece of {NP}</b>	27.37		C1	
<b>a second</b>	23.95		C3	
<b>a thousand</b>	34.89		C1	
<b>a week</b>	55.42		D1	
<b>a while</b>	52.68		D1	
<b>a word</b>	40.37		A1	
<b>a year</b>	148.47		D1	
<b>according to {NP}</b>	343.47	B		
<b>all her</b>	35.58		C1	
<b>all his</b>	128.63		C1	
<b>all my</b>	233.32		C1	
<b>all of {NP}</b>	41.05		A5; C1	
<b>all other {NP}</b>	108.79		B; C1	
<b>all others</b>	20.53		B; C1	
<b>all our</b>	101.95		C1	
<b>all possible {NP}</b>	21.89		B; C1	
<b>all such {NP}</b>	34.89		C1	
<b>all the {NP}</b>	763.58		C1	
<b>all the rest (of {NP})</b>	56.79		A5; C1	
<b>all the rest of {NP}</b>	23.95		A5; C1	
<b>all the world</b>	43.11		A2	
<b>all their</b>	49.26		C1	
<b>all these (NP)</b>	58.16		C1	
<b>all this (NP)</b>	164.89		C1	
<b>all those (NP)</b>	50.63		C1	
<b>all your</b>	159.42		C1	
<b>all yours</b>	52.00			A3
<b>Almighty God</b>	68.42		A1	
<b>an honest man</b>	23.95		A3	
<b>an other {NP}</b>	101.95		B	
<b>and also</b>	107.42	B		
<b>and because</b>	60.89	B		
<b>and if</b>	447.47	B		
<b>and indeed</b>	44.47	B		

<b>and likewise</b>	29.42		B		
<b>and now</b>	204.58		B	D1	
<b>and then</b>	290.79		B	D1	
<b>and thereby</b>	37.63		B		
<b>and therefore</b>	539.16		B		
<b>and therein</b>	24.63		B		
<b>and thereupon</b>	23.26		B		
<b>and thus</b>	117.68		B		
<b>and whereas</b>	25.32		B		
<b>and yet</b>	304.47		B		
<b>any body</b>	69.79			A3; B	
<b>any further</b>	59.53			D4	
<b>any longer</b>	25.32			D1	
<b>any man</b>	71.84			A3; B	
<b>any more</b>	65.00			B	
<b>any of {NP: pl.}</b>	159.42			B	
<b>any one</b>	46.53			B	
<b>any other {NP}</b>	214.84			B	
<b>any such {NP}</b>	98.53			B	
<b>any thing</b>	468.68			B	
<b>any way</b>	57.47			B	
<b>as {COMP} as may be</b>	30.79			C3	
<b>as far (COMP) as {CLAUSE}</b>	56.79			C3	
<b>as far as {CLAUSE}</b>	45.84			C3	
<b>as good (COMP) as {CLAUSE}</b>	53.37			C3	
<b>as good as {CLAUSE}</b>	23.26			C3	
<b>as he says</b>	24.63		A		C
<b>as I am informed</b>	19.84		A		C
<b>as I take it</b>	21.21		B		
<b>as if</b>	121.11		B		
<b>as it seems</b>	25.32	A3	A		
<b>as likewise</b>	34.89		B		
<b>as long as</b>	54.05		B		
<b>as much (COMP) as {CLAUSE}</b>	218.95			C1	
<b>as much as {CLAUSE}</b>	115.63			C1	
<b>as soon (COMP) as {CLAUSE}</b>	157.37			D1	
<b>as soon as {CLAUSE}</b>	154.63			D1	
<b>as they say</b>	24.63		A		C
<b>as well (COMP) as {CLAUSE}</b>	244.26			C3	
<b>as well as {CLAUSE}</b>	150.53			C3	
<b>as yet</b>	188.16			D1	
<b>at {that/this} present</b>	62.26			D1	
<b>at all</b>	75.95			B	
<b>at all times</b>	19.84			D1	
<b>at any time</b>	41.74			D1	
<b>at Cambridge</b>	23.95			D2	
<b>at command</b>	35.58				A3
<b>at commandment</b>	23.95				A3
<b>at court</b>	34.21			D2	
<b>at first</b>	27.37			D1	
<b>at home</b>	97.84			D2	
<b>at large</b>	43.11			C3	
<b>at last</b>	71.16			D1	

at least	154.63		C1	
at length	32.16		C3	
at liberty	32.16		C3	
at London	162.16		D2	
at night	49.26		D1	
at Norwich	32.84		D2	
at Oxford	27.37		D2	
at Paris	28.74		D2	
at present	95.11		D1	
at sea	21.89		D2	
at Styfkey	19.84		D2	
at that time	40.37		D1	
at the court	30.79		D2	
at the first	22.58		D1	
at the last	26.00		D1	
at the least	41.05		C1	
at the same time	19.84		D1	
at the time (appointed/of {NP: mostly event})	21.89		D1	
at this present	60.89		D1	
at this time	189.53		D1	
at Westminster	21.89		D2	
at which time {CLAUSE}	19.84		D1	
at York	28.05		D2	
away from {NP: some place or someone}	19.84		D2	
because of {NP}	29.42	B		
before this time	23.26		D1	
beseeking God {to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	23.95	B1		
besides that	43.11	B		
both of {NP}	77.32		C1	
both sides	23.95		A6	
but if	209.37	B		
but now	99.21		D1	
but only	74.58	B		
but rather	36.26	B		
by (the) means of {NP: something}	19.84		C3	
by (the) way of {NP}	36.95		C3	
By God's {NP: assistance, blessing, goodness, grace, help, etc}	57.47	B1; B13		D
by God's grace	25.32	B1; B13		D
by law	19.84		C3	
by no means	26.00	B8		
by reason {that-CLAUSE}	45.16	B		
by reason of {NP}	111.53	B		
by sea	24.63		C3	
by that time {that-CLAUSE}	22.58		D1	
by the next (post/carrier/etc.)	60.21		C3	
by the post	23.95		C3	
by the way	37.63		C3	
by this bearer	52.68		C3	
by this time {that-CLAUSE}	34.21		D1	
by way of {NP}	30.11		C3	
by your letter	30.11		D3	
by your letters	19.84		D3	
copies of {NP}	20.53		A2	

diverse of {NP}	23.26		C1	
Edward Bacon	20.53		A3	
either of {NP}	49.26		B	
else where	19.84		B; D2	
ere long	35.58		D1	
ever since	65.68		D1	
every day	77.32		D1	
every man	32.16		A3, B	
every one	55.42		B	
for {POSS. PRON} own part	39.00	B		
for a time	28.74		D1	
for ever	74.58		D1	
for my (own) sake	30.11	B		
for my own part	25.32	B		
for my part	60.21	B		
for my sake	27.37	B		
for now	26.00		D1	
for that purpose	22.58	B		
for the best	23.26		C3	
for the most part	19.84	B		
for the present	88.95		D1	
for the rest	21.21	B		
for the right {honourable/reverend/etc} {NP: somebody, esp. nobles}	26.68			A3
for the time (being/to come)	23.95		D1	
for this time	47.21		D1	
for want of {NP}	69.11	B1		
Friday last	19.84		D1	
from hence	75.95		D2	
From the court at {NP: place name}	20.53		D2	
from thence	94.42		D2	
from whence	36.95		D2	
give me leave (to {V-inf})	67.74	B10		A5
God Almighty	48.58		A1	F
God be thanked	41.74	B1; B13		D
God bless {NP: somebody}	98.53			A5
God bless you	52.68			A5
God keep you	23.95			A5
God knows	32.16	A2; B8		
God's blessing	20.53		A1	
good company	29.42		C3	
good news	42.42		A1	
good success	46.53		A1	
good will	112.89		A1	
had rather	51.32	B		
half {[a]}	47.21		C1	
Hampton court	22.58		A1	
he tells me {COMP}	25.32			C
he told me {COMP}	47.21			C
her Highness	59.53	B6	A3	F
her Majesty	1049.58	B6	A3	F
her Majesty's pleasure	21.21		A1	
her own	81.42		C3	
herein enclosed {NP}	21.21	A	D3	

<b>His Grace</b>	54.74	B6		A3	F
<b>his Lordship</b>	92.37	B6		A3	F
<b>His Majesty</b>	418.74	B6		A3	F
<b>his own</b>	240.84			C3	
<b>his Royal Highness</b>	20.53	B6		A3	F
<b>honest</b> {[man]}	54.05			A3	
<b>how far</b> {COMP}	36.95				B
<b>how long</b> {COMP}	21.89				B
<b>how many</b> {COMP}	47.21				B
<b>how much</b> {COMP}	84.16				B
<b>how to</b> {V-inf}	124.53				B
<b>how well</b> {COMP}	19.84				B
<b>I (do/do not) perceive</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	143.68			B	
<b>I (have) received your letter</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}	82.79			A	D3
<b>I (have) received yours</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}	41.74			A	D3
<b>I (have) received yours of</b> {DATE}	24.63			A	D3
<b>I (humbly/most humbly/will/etc.) take my leave</b>	145.05				A4
<b>I (shall/will/can) say no more</b>	36.95			B	
<b>I</b> {[desire]} {{NP: something}/{that-CLAUSE}/{NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}}	304.47	B1			
<b>I acknowledge</b> {{NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	23.95			A	
<b>I am afraid</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	43.79	B13		A	A5
<b>I am confident</b> {that-CLAUSE}	45.16	A1		A	
<b>I am glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	121.11	B13			
<b>I am glad to</b> {V-inf}	36.95	B1; B13			
<b>I am glad to hear</b> {of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	28.05				A5
<b>I am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	103.32				A2, A5
<b>I am sorry to</b> {V-inf}	22.58				A2, A5
<b>I am sure</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	162.16	A1			
<b>I am very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	52.00	B13			
<b>I am very glad to</b> {V-inf}	26.68	B1; B13			
<b>I am very sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	38.32				A2, A5
<b>I am your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., (most/very/truly) affectionate, faithful, humble, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, brother, etc.}	62.26				A3
<b>I am your most</b> {MODIFIER: affect/affectionate/dutiful/faithful/humble/loving/true/etc.} {NP: servant/brother/etc.}	20.53				A3
<b>I am yours</b>	30.79				A3
<b>I assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	88.95	B8; B12		A	
<b>I assure</b> {NP: somebody} {that-CLAUSE}	119.74	B8; B12		A	
<b>I beg</b> {COMP}	32.16	B10			
<b>I believe</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	246.32	A1			
<b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	249.05	B10			
<b>I beseech God</b> {to {V-inf}/{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	27.37	B1			
<b>I beseech you</b> {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	142.32	B10			
<b>I beseech your</b> {NP: nobility} {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	31.47	B10			
<b>I bid</b> {thee/you/your {NP: nobility}} (ADJUNCTS: e.g., (most/very) heartily, etc.) {farewell/fare well/well to fare/adieu/good night}	63.63				A4

<b>I bid you</b> (ADJUNCTS: e.g., (most/very) heartily, etc.) {farewell/farewell/well to fare/adieu/good night}	56.11				A4
<b>I bid you farewell</b>	28.05				A4
<b>I bless</b> {God/the Lord} {COMP}	28.05				A5
<b>I cannot but</b> {V-inf}	61.58	B4			
<b>I cannot tell</b> ({wh-CLAUSE})	37.63	A2			
<b>I commend</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, you and all yours, etc.} <b>to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	60.89				A3
<b>I commend you to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	38.32				A3
<b>I commit</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, your lordship, you and yours, etc.} {to/unto} {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	99.89				A3
<b>I commit you to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	72.53				A3
<b>I commit you to God</b>	38.32				A3
<b>I confess</b> {COMP}	92.37		A		
<b>I dare</b> (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	109.47	B8; B12			
<b>I dare not</b> {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	46.53	B8; B12			
<b>I desire to</b> {V-inf}	65.68	B1			
<b>I desire you to</b> {V-inf}	43.79	B10			
<b>I do assure</b> {NP: somebody} {that-CLAUSE}	27.37	B8; B12	A		
<b>I do not know</b> {COMP}	20.53	A2			
<b>I do not think</b> (but) {that-CLAUSE}	23.95		B		
<b>I doubt</b> {COMP}	93.05	A2			
<b>I doubt not</b> {COMP}	55.42	A1			
<b>I doubt not but</b> {that-CLAUSE}	125.89	A1	A		
<b>I fear</b> (me) {COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}}	160.79	B13	A		
<b>I find</b> {COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE}}	247.68		B		
<b>I have received your letter</b>	33.53		A	D3	
<b>I have thought good to</b> {V-inf}	28.74	B3; B7			
<b>I have written to</b> {NP: somebody}	40.37		A		
<b>I hear that</b> {CLAUSE}	30.79		A		C
<b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	895.63	B1			
<b>I hope</b> {will}	56.11	B1			
<b>I hope he will</b> {VP}	21.89	B1			
<b>I hope I shall</b> {VP}	49.95	B1			
<b>I hope it will</b> {VP}	21.21	B1			
<b>I hope that</b> {CLAUSE}	23.95	B1			
<b>I hope to</b> {V-inf}	64.32	B1			
<b>I hope you will</b> {VP}	82.11	B1			
<b>I humbly beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	29.42	B10			A5
<b>I humbly take my leave</b>	47.21				A4
<b>I humbly thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	38.32				A1
<b>I humbly thank you</b> (for {NP})	19.84				A1
<b>I intend</b> {to {V-inf}}	54.74	B3			
<b>I knew</b> (not) {COMP}	66.37	A1; A2			
<b>I know</b> (not) {COMP}	713.63	A1; A2			
<b>I know no</b> {NP}	20.53	A2			
<b>I know not</b> {COMP}	292.84	A2			
<b>I know not but</b> {COMP}	22.58	A2	A		
<b>I know not how</b> {COMP}	50.63	A2			

<b>I know not what</b> {COMP}	36.26	A2			
<b>I know not whether</b> {COMP}	23.26	A2			
<b>I know that</b> {CLAUSE}	20.53	A1	A		
<b>I leave you</b> (to {NP: God or something, e.g., God's protection, etc.})	34.89				A3
<b>I leave you to</b> {NP: God or something, e.g., God's protection, etc.}	21.21				A3
<b>I long to</b> {V-inf}	29.42	B1			
<b>I make no doubt</b> {(but) {CLAUSE}/of {NP}/to {V-inf}}	19.84	A1			
<b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	539.84	B3			
<b>I may not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	36.26	B3			
<b>I mean</b> (not) to {V-inf}	41.74	B3			
<b>I mean</b> {COMP}	83.47		B		
<b>I might</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	188.16	B3			
<b>I most humbly</b> {VP: CONSTRUCTIONS for requests, e.g., beseech CONSTRUCTION, commend CONSTRUCTION, take my leave, etc.}	47.89				A5
<b>I must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	468.00	B2			
<b>I must confess</b> (to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}	45.84		A		
<b>I must needs</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	36.26	B2			
<b>I must not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	28.74	B2			
<b>I myself</b>	25.32			A3	
<b>I need</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	31.47	B2			
<b>I need not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	26.68	B2			
<b>I perceive</b> {that-CLAUSE}	130.00		B		
<b>I praise God</b>	19.84	B1			
<b>I pray God</b>	164.21	B1			
<b>I pray you</b>	329.11	B10			
<b>I presume</b> {that-CLAUSE}	51.32	A2	A		
<b>I protest</b> (unto/to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}	47.21	B8	A		
<b>I purpose</b> (God willing) to {V-inf}	39.00	B3			
<b>I received your letter</b>	48.58		A	D3	
<b>I received yours</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}	21.89		A	D3	
<b>I remain</b> (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	73.21				A3
<b>I rest</b> (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	264.79				A3
<b>I rest your</b> {MODIFIER: affectionate, assured, dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	165.58				A3
<b>I rest your most</b> {MODIFIER: affectionate, assured, dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	30.79				A3
<b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1271.26	B2; B3			
<b>I shall be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	22.58	B13			
<b>I shall ever</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	36.95	B2; B3			
<b>I shall never</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	31.47	B2; B3			
<b>I shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	140.26	B2; B3			
<b>I should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	663.68	B2; B3			
<b>I should be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	32.84	B13			
<b>I should be glad to</b> {V-inf}	22.58	B1; B13			
<b>I should not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	73.21	B2; B3			
<b>I should think</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})	21.89		B		
<b>I suppose</b> {that-CLAUSE}	122.47	A2	A		
<b>I take it</b> {COMP}	24.63		B		
<b>I take my leave</b>	58.84				A4

<b>I tell you</b> {that-CLAUSE}	25.32	B8	A		
<b>I thank God</b>	164.89	B1; B13			D
<b>I thank you</b> (for {NP: something})	105.37				A1
<b>I thank you for</b> {NP: something}	71.84				A1
<b>I think</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	724.58		B		
<b>I think that</b> {CLAUSE}	23.26		B		
<b>I thought</b> {COMP}	220.32		B		
<b>I thought good to</b> {V-inf}	25.32	B3; B7			
<b>I told him</b> {COMP}	45.16				C
<b>I told you</b> {COMP}	29.42				C
<b>I trust</b> {COMP}	167.63	A1	A		
<b>I understand that</b> {CLAUSE}	19.84		B		
<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1142.63	B1; B3			
<b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	186.79	B1; B3			
<b>I will not fail to</b> {V-inf}	23.95	B3			
<b>I will say</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})	20.53		A		
<b>I wish</b> {COMP}	195.68	B1			
<b>I wonder</b> {COMP}	30.11		B		
<b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	790.95	B1; B3			
<b>I would be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	24.63	B13			
<b>I would fain</b> {V-inf}	20.53	B1; B3			
<b>I would gladly</b> {V-inf}	33.53	B1; B3			
<b>I would have you</b> (to) {V-inf}	34.21	B1; B10			
<b>I would not</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	151.89	B1; B3			
<b>I wrote to</b> {NP: somebody}	67.05		A		
<b>I wrote to you</b>	36.95		A		
<b>if ever</b>	25.32		B		
<b>if it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	58.16	B10			A5
<b>if it please you</b> (to {V-inf})	21.89	B10			A5
<b>if not</b>	67.74		B		
<b>if you please</b> (to {V-inf})	50.63	B10			A5
<b>if you please to</b> {V-inf}	26.68	B10			A5
<b>in</b> (a/very) <b>good part</b>	23.26			C3	
<b>in</b> (the) <b>behalf of</b> {NP: somebody or an entity made by people}	25.32			C3	
<b>in</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., very} <b>good health</b>	46.53			C3	
<b>in all things</b>	35.58			C3	
<b>in answer to</b> {NP: something, e.g., letter, question, desire, etc.}	19.84		A	D3	
<b>in any thing</b>	36.26			C3	
<b>in case</b> (of {NP: something unpleasant})	53.37		A		
<b>in Christ</b>	39.68	B12			
<b>in danger</b> (of {NP: something unpleasant})	23.26			C3	
<b>in deed</b>	52.68			C3	
<b>in earnest</b>	69.79			C3	
<b>in England</b>	127.95			D2	
<b>in France</b>	41.74			D2	
<b>in general</b> (terms/words)	34.21			C3	
<b>in hand</b>	83.47			C3	
<b>in haste</b>	122.47			C3	
<b>in health</b>	55.42			C3	
<b>in heaven</b>	21.89			D2	
<b>in Holland</b>	21.89			D2	



<b>in Ireland</b>	56.79		D2	
<b>in London</b>	112.89		D2	
<b>in mercy</b>	35.58		C3	
<b>in my last</b> ([letter])	56.11		D3	
<b>in my opinion</b>	29.42	B		
<b>in my power</b> (to {V-inf})	32.16		C3	
<b>in parliament</b>	23.95		D2	
<b>in particular</b>	31.47		C3	
<b>in person</b>	21.89		C3	
<b>in question</b>	25.32		C3	
<b>in regard</b> (of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE})	112.21	B		
<b>in regard of</b> {NP}	47.89	B		
<b>in respect</b> (of {NP})	89.63	A		
<b>in respect of</b> {NP}	69.79	A, B		
<b>in Scotland</b>	32.84		D2	
<b>in that behalf</b>	21.21		D3	
<b>in that matter</b>	19.84		D3	
<b>in the afternoon</b>	23.26		D1	
<b>in the beginning</b> (of {NP: a period of time or an event})	27.37		D1	
<b>in the beginning of</b> {NP: time or event}	21.89		D1	
<b>in the behalf of</b> {NP: somebody}	21.89		C3	
<b>in the business</b>	26.68		D3	
<b>in the country</b>	86.89		D2	
<b>in the County</b> (of {NP: place name})	21.89		D2	
<b>in the Court</b> (of {NP: place name})	20.53		D2	
<b>in the end</b> (of {NP: a period of time or event})	43.11		D1	
<b>in the low countries</b>	26.00		D2	
<b>in the matter</b>	22.58		D3	
<b>in the mean</b> {season/space/time/while}	217.58		D1	
<b>in the mean time</b>	188.16		D1	
<b>in the midst</b> (of {NP: event, a period of time, place})	19.84		D4	
<b>in the morning</b>	49.26		D1	
<b>in the place</b> (of {NP: somebody}/{where-CLAUSE})	19.84		D2	
<b>in the town</b>	28.05		D2	
<b>in these parts</b>	34.21		D2	
<b>in this business</b>	27.37		D3	
<b>in this case</b>	30.11		D3	
<b>in this country</b>	23.95		D2	
<b>in this matter</b>	46.53		D3	
<b>in time</b>	67.05		D1	
<b>in to</b> {NP: destination}	55.42		D2	
<b>in town</b>	73.89		D2	
<b>in truth</b> (CLAUSE: statement)	52.68	B8		
<b>in vain</b>	21.21		C3	
<b>in writing</b>	62.95		C3	
<b>in your last</b> {[letter]}	25.32		D3	
<b>in your letter</b>	36.95		D3	
<b>instead of</b> {NP}	28.05	B		
<b>into Ireland</b>	19.84		D2	
<b>it</b> (has/had) <b>pleased God</b> (to {V-inf})	33.53	B4		
<b>It</b> {[be]} <b>reported that</b> {CLAUSE}	20.53	A		C
<b>it has pleased</b> {NP: somebody} (to {V-inf})	23.95	B1		

<b>it has pleased God</b> (to {V-inf})	23.95	B4			
<b>it is said that</b> {CLAUSE}	25.32		A		C
<b>it shall please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, God, your Majesty, etc.} (to {V-ing})	36.95	B1			
<b>just now</b>	23.95			D1	
<b>King of France</b>	23.26			A3	
<b>King of Spain</b>	53.37			A3	
<b>Lady Day</b>	23.26			A1	
<b>last night</b>	67.74			D1	
<b>last week</b>	126.58			D1	
<b>last year</b>	28.74			D1	
<b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	806.00	B2			
<b>let him know</b> {COMP}	21.21		A		
<b>let me</b> {V-inf}	257.26	B2			
<b>let me know</b> {COMP}	68.42		A		
<b>let you know</b> {COMP}	49.95		A		
<b>let you know that</b> {CLAUSE}	19.84		A		
<b>Lieutenant General</b>	23.95			A3	
<b>long before</b>	21.89			D1	
<b>love and service</b>	20.53				A3
<b>many a</b> {NP}	21.89			C1	
<b>many more</b>	30.11			C1	
<b>many of</b> {NP}	75.26			C1	
<b>many other</b>	42.42			B; C1	
<b>many others</b>	30.11			B; C1	
<b>many times</b>	32.84			C3	
<b>many ways</b>	27.37			C3	
<b>many years</b>	36.26			D1	
<b>may it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	58.84	B10			A5
<b>may it please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	41.74	B10			A5
<b>me thinks</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	97.16		B		
<b>mine own</b>	103.32			C3	
<b>Monday next</b>	19.84			D1	
<b>more and more</b>	22.58			C1	
<b>more than</b> {COMP}	296.26			C3	
<b>most of</b> {NP}	74.58			A5	
<b>Mr Attorney</b>	28.74			A3	F
<b>Mr Bacon</b>	36.26			A3	F
<b>Mr John</b>	25.32			A3	F
<b>Mr Nathanaell Bacon</b>	25.32			A3	F
<b>Mr Nathaniell</b>	23.26			A3	F
<b>Mr Secretary</b>	49.26			A3	F
<b>Mr Thomas</b>	19.84			A3	F
<b>much less</b>	43.79			C1	
<b>much more</b>	88.95			C1	
<b>much of</b> {NP}	108.79			C1	
<b>must needs</b> {VP-inf}	91.68	B2			
<b>my</b> {humble/etc.} <b>duty remembered</b>	56.11				A3
<b>my dear</b> {NP: somebody}	221.00	B5		A3	F
<b>my dearest</b> {NP: somebody}	72.53	B5		A3	F
<b>my duty remembered</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody})	20.53				A3

<b>my God</b>	21.89		A1	
<b>my good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.}	202.53	B5	A3	F
<b>my good brother</b>	22.58	B5	A3	F
<b>my good lady</b>	24.63	B5	A3	F
<b>my good lord</b>	45.84	B5	A3	F
<b>my honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}	88.95	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>my honourable good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}	52.00	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>my Lady</b> ({NP: family name})	371.53	B6	A3	F
<b>my Lady of</b> {NP: place name/family name}	23.95	B6	A3	F
<b>my last letter</b>	21.21		D3	
<b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name})	1174.79	B6	A3	F
<b>my Lord Chancellor</b>	31.47	B6	A3	F
<b>my Lord Keeper</b>	20.53	B6	A3	F
<b>my Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	312.00	B6	A3	F
<b>my Lord Treasurer</b>	62.26	B6	A3	F
<b>my Lords</b>	30.79	B6	A3	F
<b>my loving</b> {NP: somebody}	49.26	B5	A3	F
<b>my most dear</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, etc.}) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, etc.}	24.63	B5	A3	F
<b>my most honoured</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, lord, friend, etc.}	41.05	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>my much honoured</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, lord, friend, etc.}	51.32	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>my noble</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, friend, etc.}	24.63	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>my own</b>	332.53		C3	
<b>my singular</b> {NP: good friend, good lord, etc.}	28.05	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>my singular good lord</b>	23.95	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}	215.53	B5	A3	F
<b>my very good brother</b>	19.84	B5	A3	F
<b>my very good friend</b>	25.32	B5	A3	F
<b>my very good lord</b>	133.42	B5	A3	F
<b>my very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, son, wife, etc.}	71.16	B5	A3	F
<b>my very loving friend</b>	32.16	B5	A3	F
<b>Nathanaell Bacon</b>	33.53		A3	
<b>Nathaniel Bacon</b>	38.32		A3	
<b>Nathaniel Bacon Esquire</b>	22.58		A3	
<b>Nathaniell Bacon</b>	58.84		A3	
<b>Nathaniell Bacon Esquire</b>	23.26		A3	
<b>no better</b>	34.89		C3	
<b>no body</b>	26.68		A3	
<b>no doubt</b>	60.21	A1		
<b>no further</b>	52.00		D4	
<b>no good</b>	28.05		C3	
<b>no great</b>	65.68		C3	
<b>no less</b>	65.00		C1	
<b>no longer</b>	49.26		D1	
<b>no man</b>	79.37		A3	
<b>no more</b>	242.89		C1	
<b>no more of</b> {NP}	23.95		C1	
<b>no more than</b> {COMP}	41.74		C3	
<b>no other</b>	123.84		C3	
<b>no small</b>	40.37		C3	
<b>no such</b> {NP}	56.11		C3	
<b>no way</b>	35.58		C3	

<b>none of {NP}</b>	67.05			A5	
<b>not {[be]} able to {V-inf}</b>	32.16	B4			
<b>not a little</b>	35.58			C1	
<b>not any {NP}</b>	49.26			B	
<b>not as yet</b>	23.26			D1	
<b>not at all</b>	28.05	B8			
<b>not long {ago/since/before/etc.}</b>	36.26			D1	
<b>not much</b>	53.37			C1	
<b>not now</b>	30.79			D1	
<b>not only {COMP}, but (also) {COMP}</b>	117.68		B		
<b>not so much as {COMP}</b>	23.95			C1	
<b>not very</b>	39.68			C3	
<b>not yet</b>	207.32			D1	
<b>nothing but {NP}</b>	68.42			A6	
<b>nothing else</b>	28.74			A6	
<b>nothing more</b>	30.11			A6	
<b>on Friday</b>	34.89			D1	
<b>on Monday</b>	78.68			D1	
<b>on Saturday</b>	57.47			D1	
<b>on Saturday last</b>	19.84			D1	
<b>on Sunday</b>	39.68			D1	
<b>on the other side</b>	29.42		B	D2	
<b>on Thursday</b>	46.53			D1	
<b>on Tuesday</b>	57.47			D1	
<b>on Wednesday</b>	46.53			D1	
<b>once again</b>	20.53			C3	
<b>once more</b>	32.84			C3	
<b>one another</b>	28.05			B	
<b>one day</b>	28.74			D1	
<b>one Mr {NP: name}</b>	34.89			A3	
<b>one of {NP}</b>	385.21			A5	
<b>one thing</b>	39.68			B	
<b>or any {NP}</b>	127.95			B	
<b>or any other</b>	54.05			B	
<b>or at least</b>	33.53		B		
<b>or else</b>	126.58			B	
<b>or if</b>	35.58		B		
<b>or not</b>	86.21		B		
<b>or other</b>	76.63			B	
<b>or otherwise</b>	41.05		B		
<b>or rather</b>	52.00		B		
<b>other than</b>	23.95		B		
<b>others of {NP}</b>	32.16			B	
<b>ought (not) to {V-inf}</b>	104.00	B2			
<b>our own</b>	45.16			C3	
<b>our selves</b>	57.47			A3	
<b>out of {NP}</b>	819.68			D2	
<b>out of town</b>	32.16			D2	
<b>pardon me</b>	32.84				A5
<b>per annum</b>	40.37			C3	
<b>pieces of {NP}</b>	19.84			C1	
<b>present my humble {duty/service} {to {NP: somebody}}</b>	23.95				A3
<b>Principal Secretary</b>	30.11			A3	

Privy Council	27.37		A1	
rather than	78.68	B		
Saturday last	26.68		D1	
send me word {CLAUSE}	49.95			A5
seven night	36.95		D1	
shall be glad {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}}	25.32	B13		
shall do well to {V-inf}	21.21	B7		
shall not need to {V-inf}	22.58	B2		
should be glad {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/that-CLAUSE}}	41.05	B13		
should be glad to {V-inf}	28.74	B1; B13		
Sir Arthur	19.84		A3	F
Sir Edward	62.95		A3	F
Sir Francis	47.89		A3	F
Sir George	52.00		A3	F
Sir Harry	23.95		A3	F
Sir Henry	75.26		A3	F
Sir James	21.89		A3	F
Sir John	136.16		A3	F
Sir Richard	26.00		A3	F
Sir Robert	62.95		A3	F
Sir Tho.	32.16		A3	F
Sir Thomas	225.11		A3	F
Sir Walter	30.11		A3	F
Sir William	127.26		A3	F
so far as {COMP}	41.05		C3	
so good a {NP}	39.68		A6	
so great a {NP}	55.42		A6	
So I rest your {MODIFIER: affectionate, assured, dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, son, etc.}	23.26			A3
so long as {COMP}	41.74	B	D4	
so much as {COMP}	127.26		C1	
so much of {NP}	39.00		C1	
so soon as {COMP}	84.16		D1	
so that	365.37	B		
so well as {COMP}	23.95		C3	
some few {NP}	36.26		C1	
some more {NP}	23.26		C1	
some of {NP}	302.42		A5	
some other {NP}	135.47		B	
some others	33.53		B	
some part of {NP}	22.58		A5	
some such {NP}	28.05		B	
some things	28.05		B	
some time	52.68		D1	
son of {NP: identity}	27.37		A3	
such a {NP}	355.11		A6	
such an {NP}	78.00		A6	
such thing	32.84		A6	
such things	43.79		A6	
sweet heart	63.63	B5		F
ten days	19.84		D1	
thanks be to God	26.68	B1; B13		D
that day	43.79		D1	

<b>that night</b>	25.32		D1	
<b>that part of {NP}</b>	22.58		A5	
<b>the (very) same day</b>	28.74		D1	
<b>the {[judge]}</b>	46.53		A3	
<b>the {NUMBER} of {MONTH}</b>	227.16		D1	
<b>the Almighty</b>	134.11		A1	
<b>the Ambassador</b>	44.47		A3	
<b>the Archbishop of {NP: place name}</b>	22.58		A3	
<b>the benefit of {NP}</b>	30.79		C3	
<b>the best of {NP}</b>	30.11		A5	
<b>the Bishop (of {NP: place})</b>	127.26		A3	
<b>the Bishop of {NP: place}</b>	82.79		A3	
<b>the Bishops (of {NP: place})</b>	26.68		A3	
<b>the Cardinal</b>	25.32		A3	
<b>the contrary</b>	95.79		C3	
<b>the copy of {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}</b>	29.42		A2	
<b>the Council</b>	108.11		A1	
<b>the Count (NP: family name; of {NP: place name})</b>	45.84		A3	
<b>the Countess (of {NP: place name})</b>	49.95		A3	
<b>the Countess of {NP: place name}</b>	43.11		A3	
<b>the County of {NP: place name}</b>	25.32		A1	
<b>the Court</b>	218.26		A1	
<b>the Dean (of {NP: place name})</b>	41.05		A3	
<b>the death of {NP: living beings (or in metaphorical sense)}</b>	54.05		C3	
<b>the Devil</b>	31.47		A1	
<b>the Duchess (of {NP: place name})</b>	28.05		A3	
<b>the Duke</b>	85.53		A3	
<b>the Duke of {NP: place name}</b>	174.47		A3	
<b>the Dutch</b>	56.79		A3	
<b>the Earl of {NP: place name}</b>	182.00		A3	
<b>the Earl of Essex</b>	25.32		A3	
<b>the earth</b>	24.63		A2	
<b>the enclosed (NP: documents come with the letter)</b>	58.84		A2	
<b>the end (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object})</b>	198.42		D4	
<b>the end of {NP: time, event, a path, or a long object}</b>	91.00		D4	
<b>the Exchequer</b>	41.74		A1	
<b>the first</b>	339.37		C3	
<b>the first of {NP}</b>	30.79		A5	
<b>the French King</b>	45.16		A3	
<b>the gentleman</b>	43.11		A3	
<b>the gentlemen</b>	26.00		A3	
<b>the Grace of God</b>	20.53		A1	
<b>the Great Seal</b>	19.84		A2	
<b>the House of Commons</b>	19.84		A1	
<b>the justices</b>	24.63		A3	
<b>the king</b>	794.37		A3	
<b>the King of France</b>	20.53		A3	
<b>the King's Bench</b>	23.95		A1	
<b>the last</b>	416.00		C3	
<b>the last night</b>	20.53		D1	
<b>the last of {NP}</b>	21.21		A5	
<b>the last week</b>	75.26		D1	
<b>the like</b>	210.05		B	

<b>the Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	45.16		A3	
<b>the Lord Treasurer</b>	29.42		A3	
<b>the low countries</b>	62.95		A1	
<b>the manner of</b> {NP}	29.42		C3	
<b>the Marshal</b>	33.53		A3	
<b>the matter of</b> {NP: the characteristics of the matter}	21.21		C3	
<b>the morning</b>	59.53		D1	
<b>the most part</b>	39.68		A5	
<b>the next</b>	387.26		C3	
<b>the next day</b>	55.42		D1	
<b>the next morning</b>	19.84		D1	
<b>the next term</b>	37.63		D1	
<b>the next week</b>	62.95		D1	
<b>the night</b>	28.74		D1	
<b>the North</b>	47.89		A1	
<b>the number of</b> {NP}	35.58		C3	
<b>the occasion of</b> {NP}	21.21		C3	
<b>the one</b>	97.84		A6	
<b>the other</b>	414.63		B	
<b>the other day</b>	26.68		D1	
<b>the others</b>	26.68		B	
<b>the parliament</b>	165.58		A1	
<b>the particulars</b>	38.32		A6	
<b>the place where</b> {CLAUSE}	19.84		D2	
<b>the Pope</b>	25.32		A3	
<b>the post</b>	55.42		A1	
<b>the press</b>	23.26		A1	
<b>the prince</b>	130.68		A3	
<b>the Prince of</b> {NP: place name}	49.95		A3	
<b>the public</b>	39.68		A3	
<b>the queen</b>	166.95		A3	
<b>the Queen's Majesty</b>	37.63	B6	A3	F
<b>the rather</b>	100.58		C3	
<b>the rest (of</b> {NP})	455.68		A5	
<b>the rest of</b> {NP}	191.58		A5	
<b>the right honourable</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., and his very good, singular good, very good, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, the lady, Sir, etc.}	156.00	B6	A3	F
<b>the right honourable my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., singular good, very good, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, etc.}	55.42	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>the right honourable my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, etc.}	46.53	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>the right honourable my very good lord</b>	25.32	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>the right worshipful</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., my very loving, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Master, etc.}	68.42	B6	A3	F
<b>the right worshipful my</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., approved, very loving, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Master, etc.}	24.63	B5; B6	A3	F
<b>the said</b> {NP}	271.63		A6	
<b>the sale of</b> {NP}	19.84		C3	
<b>the same day</b>	28.05		D1	
<b>the second</b>	69.79		C3	
<b>the sight of</b> {NP}	21.89		C3	
<b>the spring</b>	23.26		A1	
<b>the Star Chamber</b>	33.53		A1	

<b>the sun</b>	19.84		A2	
<b>the third</b>	39.68		C3	
<b>the time of {NP}</b>	71.16		C3	
<b>the title of {NP}</b>	20.53		C3	
<b>the Town of {NP: place name}</b>	30.11		A1	
<b>the Treasurer</b>	30.79		A3	
<b>the trouble of {NP}</b>	21.21		C3	
<b>the truth of {NP}</b>	35.58		C3	
<b>the two</b>	61.58		C1	
<b>the value of {NP}</b>	26.68		C3	
<b>the very {NP}</b>	76.63		A6	
<b>the west</b>	30.11		A1	
<b>the worshipful</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., and his assured, my very loving, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, {NAME}, etc.}	73.89	B6	A3	F
<b>the writing of {NP: something written, e.g., letters}</b>	20.53		C3	
<b>their own</b>	118.37		C3	
<b>them selves</b>	52.00		A3	
<b>there {[be]}</b>	1620.21	A		
<b>these {[be]}</b>	128.63	A		
<b>these few</b>	29.42		C1	
<b>these two</b>	119.74		C1	
<b>this {[be]}</b>	375.63	A		
<b>this afternoon</b>	19.84		D1	
<b>this day</b>	305.84		D1	
<b>this enclosed</b> (NP: esp. written documents come together with a letter, e.g., letter, paper, etc.)	28.05		A2	
<b>this fortnight</b>	19.84		D1	
<b>this last</b>	95.79		C3	
<b>this month</b>	87.58		D1	
<b>this morning</b>	100.58		D1	
<b>this next</b>	33.53		C3	
<b>this night</b>	59.53		D1	
<b>this particular</b>	25.32		A6	
<b>this summer</b>	43.79		D1	
<b>this term</b>	59.53		D1	
<b>this way</b>	29.42		C3	
<b>this week</b>	130.68		D1	
<b>this winter</b>	32.16		D1	
<b>this year</b>	55.42		D1	
<b>those of {NP}</b>	45.16		A6	
<b>three or four</b>	21.89		C1	
<b>Thursday last</b>	19.84		D1	
<b>thus far</b>	27.37		C3	
<b>thus much</b>	52.00		C1	
<b>To {MODIFIER: e.g., the right worshipful, etc.} my very good brother</b>	19.84			A3
<b>To his very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, good, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, mother, etc.}	21.89			A3
<b>To my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody}	402.32			A3
<b>To my dear</b> {NP: somebody}	34.89			A3
<b>To my honourable</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., good} {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}	68.42			A3
<b>To my loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, etc.}	36.95			A3



<b>To my most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, dear, honoured, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., son, friend, mother, etc.}	28.74			A3
<b>To my much</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honoured, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, mother, etc.}	30.11			A3
<b>To my son</b>	23.26			A3
<b>To my very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, good, loving, worthy, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, son, etc.}	84.84			A3
<b>To my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, lord, etc.}	25.32			A3
<b>To my very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, son, wife, etc.}	50.63			A3
<b>To my very loving friend</b>	23.26			A3
<b>to that end</b>	23.26		B	
<b>to the (same) end (that)</b> {CLAUSE: with "may", "might"}	56.79		B	
<b>to the contrary</b>	40.37		B	
<b>To the honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lady, mother, etc.}	29.42			A3
<b>To the right</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}	209.37			A3
<b>To the right honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.}	127.95			A3
<b>To the right honourable my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., very good, very loving, singular good, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, etc.}	55.42			A3
<b>To the right honourable my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, etc.}	46.53			A3
<b>To the right honourable my very good lord</b>	25.32			A3
<b>To the right honourable Sir</b> {NP: name}	37.63			A3
<b>To the right worshipful</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., his very good, my approved, my very loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Mr, etc.}	65.68			A3
<b>To the right worshipful my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., approved, very loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., sister, friend, Mr, etc.}	24.63			A3
<b>To the worshipful</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., his very good, my approved, my very loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Mr, etc.}	62.95			A3
<b>together with</b> {NP}	94.42		C3	
<b>too late</b>	26.00		D1	
<b>too much</b>	96.47		C1	
<b>two days</b>	41.74		D1	
<b>two or three</b>	47.21		C1	
<b>two years</b>	20.53		D1	
<b>up and down</b>	25.32		C3	
<b>upon Monday</b>	25.32		D1	
<b>upon Thursday</b>	22.58		D1	
<b>we hope</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	26.00	B1		
<b>we may</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	123.84	B3		
<b>we might</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	28.74	B3		
<b>we must</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	62.95	B2		
<b>we shall</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	205.26	B2; B3		
<b>we should</b> {V-ing} {COMP}	54.74	B2; B3		
<b>we will</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	53.37	B1; B3		
<b>What</b> {[a]} {NP} {COMP}	53.37			D
<b>what so ever</b>	19.84		B	
<b>which I hope</b> {will}	24.63	B1		
<b>with (MODIFIER/DET) remembrance of</b> {NP: something, e.g., duty, service, etc.}	49.95			A3
<b>with all my heart</b>	27.37	B1; B12		
<b>with all speed</b>	24.63		C3	
<b>with my best</b> {NP: wishes, respects, commendations, etc.}	36.26			A3

<b>with my hearty</b> (NP: e.g., commendations, prayers, etc.)	34.89				A3
<b>with my hearty commendations</b>	21.89				A3
<b>with my humble</b> {NP: e.g., duty, service, commendations, etc.}	48.58				A3
<b>with the remembrance of my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., best, humble, kindest, etc.} {NP: e.g., service, love, duty, etc.}	28.05				A3
<b>Worthy Sir</b>	22.58				A3; F
<b>would (not) have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	106.05	B1; B10			
<b>would (not) have</b> {VP: past participle}	307.89	B3			
<b>would (not) have you</b> (to) {VP-inf}	59.53	B1; B10			
<b>would be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	36.26	B13			
<b>would be glad to</b> {V-inf}	23.95	B1; B13			
<b>would gladly</b> {V-inf}	42.42	B1; B3			
<b>would not have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	95.11	B1; B10			
<b>yet if</b>	41.05		B		
<b>You are pleased to</b> {V-inf}	22.58	B1; B3			
<b>you must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	152.58	B2			
<b>you shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	595.26	B2; B3			
<b>you should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	201.16	B2; B3			
<b>you will be pleased</b> (to {V-inf})	28.05	B1; B3			
<b>You will be pleased to</b> {V-inf}	25.32	B1; B3			
<b>you would be pleased</b> (to {V-inf})	19.84	B1; B3			
<b>young man</b>	27.37			A3	
<b>your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., loving/affectionate/etc.} <b>brother to serve you</b>	30.79				A3
<b>your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., most affectionate, assured, faithful, etc.} <b>friend and servant</b>	38.32				A3
<b>your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., most/loving and/etc.} <b>son</b>	52.68				A3
<b>your affectionate</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, servant, etc.}	45.84				A3
<b>your assured</b> (loving) {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.}	133.42				A3
<b>your assured friend</b>	55.42				A3
<b>your assured loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.}	55.42				A3
<b>your assured loving friend</b>	41.05				A3
<b>your dutiful</b> {NP: daughter, son, etc.}	47.89				A3
<b>your ever</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, daughter, father, etc.}	39.00				A3
<b>your faithful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., servant, friend, etc.}	32.16				A3
<b>your good lordship</b>	25.32	B6		A3	F
<b>your Grace</b>	192.26	B6		A3	F
<b>your Honour</b>	429.00	B6		A3	F
<b>Your honour's most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., bound, dutiful, faithful, humble} {NP: somebody}	21.21				A3
<b>your ladyship</b>	613.74	B6		A3	F
<b>your Ladyship's most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, dutiful, humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, etc.}	31.47				A3
<b>your letter of</b> {NP: writer, purpose, date of the letter}	39.00			A2	
<b>your letter to</b> {NP: recipient of the letter}	30.79			A2	
<b>your Lord</b>	26.68			A3	F
<b>your Lordship</b>	1670.84	B6		A3	F
<b>Your Lordship's most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, assuredly at command, humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, son, etc.}	67.05				A3
<b>Your Lordship's most humble</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, etc.}	20.53				A3

<b>Your Lordship's to command</b>	44.47				A3
<b>your loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, father, friend, etc.}	160.11				A3
<b>Your loving father</b>	23.26				A3
<b>Your Majesty</b>	147.79	B6		A3	F
<b>Your most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, faithful, humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}	370.16				A3
<b>Your most affectionate</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}	127.26				A3
<b>Your most affectionate and</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, faithful, humble, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}	19.84				A3
<b>Your most affectionate friend</b>	20.53				A3
<b>Your most assured</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.}	33.53				A3
<b>Your most faithful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., servant, friend, etc.}	23.26				A3
<b>Your most humble</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., servant, son, etc.}	32.84				A3
<b>Your most loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., son, brother, husband, etc.}	23.26				A3
<b>Your obedient</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., son, wife, etc.}	30.79				A3
<b>your obedient son</b>	21.89				A3
<b>your own</b>	245.63			C3	
<b>Your truly</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, loving, etc.} {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	45.84				A3
<b>Your very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, loving, etc.} {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	130.68				A3
<b>Your very affectionate</b> {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	24.63				A3
<b>Your very loving</b> {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	62.26				A3
<b>Your very loving friend</b>	26.68				A3
<b>your Worship</b>	114.95	B6		A3	F
<b>Yours most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assuredly, affectionately, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody}	21.89				A3
<b>Yours to command</b>	21.89				A3

**Appendix 7. Formulaic sequences that form horizontal networks in selected samples of EModE dialogues (D) and letters (L)**

Function combinations	Formulaic sequences combinations	Example of realisation in corpora	Horizontal network	Text type
II (A) [II (A)] +III (C3)	FS1: <b>I will tell you</b> {COMP} FS2: {[think]} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} FS3: <b>as well</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	but you shall heare mine opinion, like a man of my plaine profession, & <b>I will tell you my minde what I doe thinke in this argument, as well as I can.</b> (Plowing and Setting, D2HOMAXE, p. B1V)	embedding (indirect), attaching	D
II (A) [III (A1)]	FS1: <b>there</b> {[be]} FS2: <b>nothing but</b> {NP}	<b>There was nothing but transient Discourse,</b> my Lord. (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 9)	embedding (direct)	D
II (A) [III (C1)]	FS1: <b>there</b> {[be]} FS2: <b>a great deal of</b> {NP}	<b>There is a great deal of difference between Dangerfields saying it, and her saying it.</b> (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 7)	embedding (direct)	D
II (A) [III (C1)]	FS1: <b>there</b> {[be]} FS2: <b>no more</b>	<b>There's no more hope from the deepe pit of grieffe To raise in her any conceit of love ...</b> (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B1R)	embedding (direct)	D
II (A) [III (C1)]	FS1: <b>there</b> {[be]} FS2: <b>too much</b>	For Christ's sake, my Lord, bee quiett, <b>there is too much harme done allready:</b> (Castle of York 4, D4WYORK, p.250)	embedding (direct)	D
II (A) [I (B3) [I (B2+B3)]]	FS1: <b>I confess</b> {COMP} FS2: <b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS3: <b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	but, <b>I confess, by several circumstances I maye justly feare that I shall find my fortune to be the chiefe motive which hath persuaded them to this;</b> besides which, if I do, yet it will much discourage me for persevering any furdur in it. (CORNWAL,2.002.13)	embedding (direct)	L
II (A) +IV (C) [II (A)]	FS1: (as) <b>I am informed</b> {that-CLAUSE} FS2: <b>there</b> {[be]}	... whereas <b>I am informed</b> by the marchant whome I haue employd to receaue the mony for me, <b>that there is but 21 poundes Flemish which amounts but to gilders and some odd shillings more then is due to me vpon the exchange for the pistols,</b> (CHARLES,8.002.17)	embedding (direct)	L
II (A) +IV (C) [III (C3)]	FS1: (as) <b>I remember</b> {COMP} FS2: <b>no such</b> {NP}	<b>I remember no such man...</b> (Old Hobson, D2FJOHNS, p. B1R)	embedding (direct)	D
II (B) [III (C3)]	FS1: <b>I think</b> (COMP: e.g., (that) {CLAUSE}) FS2: <b>so well as</b> {COMP}	and truely <b>I thinke he hath employed his time soe well as not to remain ignorant of anything that his own vile nature can incline him to or the divil teach him.</b> (PRIDEAU,6.001.18)	embedding (indirect)	L
II (B) [III (C3) +I (B4)]	FS1: <b>I think</b> (COMP: e.g., (that) {CLAUSE}) FS2: <b>as far as</b> FS3: {[be]} (not) <b>able to</b> {V-inf}	and <b>I think, as farr as I am able to aprehend, yo=u= will have little occasion to trust or put any confidence in them abroad.</b> (HADDOCK,2.001.25)	embedding (direct), attaching	L
II (B) [I (B2)]	FS1: <b>I think</b> (COMP: e.g., (that) {CLAUSE}) FS2: <b>we must</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	and therefore <b>I thinke we must have recourse to the hyghest,</b> where of you shall heare more at my next oportunity. (FITZHER,13.002.36)	embedding (direct)	L

II (B) [I (B3)]	FS1: (as) <b>I conceive</b> {COMP} FS2: <b>we may</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	<b>I conseave in 14 dayes we may have upwards of saile, considerable men of warr, in the Downes, to answer any attempt may be ofered by them;</b> (HADDOCK,4.002.56)	embedding (direct)	L
II (B) [I (B3)]	FS1: <b>I think</b> ({that-CLAUSE}) FS2: <b>I might</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	<b>I think I might not be nice in that very particular.</b> (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 12)	embedding (direct)	D
II (B) I (B3)]	FS1: <b>I think</b> (COMP: e.g., (that) {CLAUSE}) FS2: <b>I may (not)</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	but, considering his course of live, <b>I thinke I may without much uncertainty expect, and without uncharity hope</b> , he may never live to it. (PRIDEAU,6.001.20)	embedding (direct)	L
II (B) [I (B5) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: <b>according to</b> {NP} FS2: <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name})	... and that yt may yet more playnly appeare vnto you how yt frameth with my daunger travayle and good will, although I could not bring thinges to passe <b>according to my L. desire</b> , I have here a lettre which Hedley wrate to Captain Tremain at his beying here whiles my L. James was in ffraunce, ... (HART,68.001.1)	embedding (direct)	L
III (A4) [III (A1)]	FS1: {[come]} <b>to</b> {NP: (somebody as) destination} FS2: <b>the court</b>	then we had great hope that we should shortly be receiv'd into her Majesty's Favour, and <b>come to the Court</b> again, ... (Robert Hickford, D1THICKF, p. 120C2)	embedding (direct)	D
III (A4) +IV (A4) [I (B5)+III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: [take] (POSS. PRON) <b>leave</b> (of {NP: somebody}) FS2: <b>my Lord Chancellor</b>	When <b>I took leave of my Lord Chancellor of England</b> , hee treated mee very civilly, and as if I needed not to feare oppression from his hands; (PETTY,7.001.20)	embedding (direct)	L
III (A4) +IV (C) [I (B1+B3)]	FS1: {[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} FS2: <b>I would not</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	<b>I told her I would not meddle with it.</b> (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 10)	embedding (direct)	D
III (C1) [III (A4)]	FS1: <b>so much as</b> {COMP} FS2: {[hear]} <b>of</b> {NP}	Vpon these chalkie Cliffs of Albion We are ariued now with tedious toile, And compassing the wide world round about To seeke our sister, to seeke faire Delya forth, Yet cannot we <b>so much as heare of hir</b> . (The Old Wiues Talk, DICPEELE, p. B2R)	embedding (direct)	D
III (C3) [III (A3)]	FS1: <b>the death of</b> {NP: living beings (or in a metaphorical sense)} FS2: <b>the king</b>	Did she not say when you refused to meddle vvith <b>the death of the King</b> , that she vvould go to another Astrologer? (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 12)	embedding (direct)	D
III (C3) [I (B1+B3)]	FS1: <b>as good</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE} FS2: <b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/ CLAUSE}	and those that were refuse to give <b>as good an account as I would have</b> , out of a conscioussesse perchance that they themselves Scan \$not {TEXT:cannot} make better. (PRIDEAU,8.001.35)	embedding (direct)	L
III (C3) [I (B3)]	FS1: <b>as well</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE} FS2: <b>we may</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	Plush. Save you Gentlemen: how is't M. Rash? Rash. <b>As well as we may</b> , M. Plush. (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B1V)	embedding (direct)	D
III (C3) +IV (A3) [IV (A3)] +II (B)	FS1: <b>in haste</b> FS2: <b>I rest</b> (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	Thus, being <b>in hast</b> , <b>I rest y=r= assured frend as long as you are as I take you to be</b> , Ja. Cornwaleys . (CORNWAL,2.002.14)	joining, embedding (direct), attaching	L

	FS3: <b>your assured friend</b> FS4: <b>as long as</b>			
IV (A3) [IV (A3)]	FS1: <b>I am your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., (most/very/ truly) affectionate, faithful, humble, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, brother, etc.} FS2: <b>Your very affectionate</b> {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	... whereof I intreate you to be fully assured, and that <b>I am Your very affectionate friend</b> , Charles R. (HAMILTO,254.002.11)	embedding (direct)	L
IV (A3) [I (B5) +III (A3) +IV (F)] +III (A3)	FS1: <b>To the right honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.} FS2: <b>my singular good lord</b> FS3: {DET} <b>Lord</b> {NP: position name}	<b>To the Right Honorable and my singlar good Lorde the Lorde High Tresorer of England</b> etc. (HART,77.002.21)	embedding (direct), attaching	L
IV (A3) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: <b>Your Lordship's most humble</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, etc.} FS2: <b>your Lordship</b>	Your \$Lordshippe most humble, and servaunt if I were worthye / Mary Hart. (HART,78.002.59)	embedding (direct)	L
IV (A3) +IV (A3) [IV (A3)]	FS1: (after/with/present/etc.) (my) <b>most humble duty</b> (to {NP: somebody}) FS2: <b>I remain</b> (ADJUNCTS) ({MODIFIER: affectionate} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend}) FS3: <b>your obedient son</b>	and, <b>with my most humble duty presented to yo=r= self, I remayne, Sir, yo=r= ever lo. and obedient sonne till death</b> , Richard Haddock . (HADDOCK,3.001.36)	joining, embedding (direct)	L
IV (A4) [I (B5) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: (and so/thus) <b>fare you</b> (heartily) <b>well</b> FS2: <b>my dear</b> {NP: somebody}	<b>Fare yow hartely well my deare frinds.</b> (ALLEN,11.001.48)	joining	L
IV (B) [III (A6)]	FS1: (How) <b>is it possible</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}}? FS2: <b>such a one</b>	<b>Is't possible, that such a one as shee;</b> So young, so beautifull; so full of blood; Such lusty blood, as shee's? (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B1R)	embedding (direct)	D
I (A1) [III (B)] +I (A1)	FS1: <b>I am sure</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}} FS2: <b>or other</b> FS3: <b>no doubt</b>	<b>I am sure thou art not without some round or other, no doubt but Clunch can beare his part.</b> (The Old Wiues Talk, D1CPEELE, p. A4V)	embedding (indirect), joining	D
I (A1) +II (A) [I (B2+B3)]	FS1: <b>I trust</b> {COMP} FS2: <b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	<b>But I trust when the matter is dulye tride and ended/I \$shall \$be {TEXT:shalbe} restored to my good and honest name</b> , which they haue so much sought to take fro me, and in effect from my husband/ (HART,78.002.56)	embedding (direct)	L
I (A1) +II (A) [I (B6) +III (A3)+IV (F)]	FS1: <b>I am confident</b> {that-CLAUSE} FS2: <b>Your Majesty</b>	and <b>I am confident your Majestie thinkes whosoeur is faulty to me is so to you;</b> (CHARLES,6.001.9)	embedding (indirect)	L
I (A1) +I (B8)	FS1: <b>I doubt not</b> {COMP} FS2: (as) <b>it is true</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	My Lord of Rosse did lett me see also what yow wrote to him concerning the same matter: wherein yow say as <b>I doubt not but it is trewe that yow never knew of Mr. Seatons request before it was made.</b> (ALLEN,17.002.129)	joining	L
I (A1+A2) [I (B3)]	FS1: <b>I knew</b> (not) {COMP} FS2: <b>I might</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	but <b>I knew not before y=t= I might be soe bould w=th= him as to desire such a favor.</b> (HADDOCK,1.001.11)	embedding (direct)	L

I (A1+A2) [I (B8+B12)]	FS1: <b>I know</b> (not) {COMP} FS2: <b>I know</b> (not) {COMP} FS3: <b>I warrant</b> {[you]} (COMP)	<b>I know what I know, I warrant you.</b> (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B4R)	embedding (indirect), joining	D
I (A2) [[III (B)]]	FS1: <b>I do not know</b> {COMP} FS2: <b>any thing</b>	she had heard such a thing; but <b>I don't know whether she knew any thing of it or no.</b> (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 13)	embedding (indirect)	D
I (A2) [III (B) +I (B6) +III (A3)]	FS1: <b>I do not know</b> {COMP} FS2: <b>any such thing</b> FS3: <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name})	<b>I do not know that ever any such thing was meant by my Lord.</b> (Robert Hickford, D1THICKF, p. 118C1)	embedding (indirect)	D
I (A2) +II (A) [III (A5)]	FS1: <b>I cannot tell</b> ({wh- CLAUSE}) FS2: <b>some of</b> {NP}	<b>Some of the choicest things I cannot tell you,</b> not beeing his auditor; (PRIDEAU,8.001.34)	embedding (direct)	L
I (A3) +III (A3)	FS1: {[seem]} <b>to</b> {V-inf} FS2: <b>a man of</b> {NP: quality or identity}	Hickford, <b>you seem to be a Man of Knowledge and Learning,</b> you have been indicted, and are now arraign'd according to Order of Law; ... (Robert Hickford, D1THICKF, p. 118C1)	embedding (indirect)	D
I (B1) [III (A4)]	FS1: <b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/(that) {CLAUSE}} FS2: [hear] <b>from</b> {NP: somebody}	<b>I hope speedily to hear from you.</b> (PRIDEAU,25.002.85)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B1) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)] +I (B1+B3) [I (B1+B3)]	FS1: <b>it shall please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, God, your Majesty, etc.} (to {V-ing}) FS2: <b>your Honour</b> FS3: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS4: {[be]} <b>content to</b> {V-inf}	<b>Yf yt shall please your honor,</b> if there be ether man or woman, that is able Justlye to prove, that euer I was the beginner of anye fawlynge out , with him or anie other bodie, then <b>I Swill Sbe {TEXT:wilbe} content to be vsed thereafter./</b> (HART,78.002.51)	embedding (direct), joining	L
I (B1+B3) [III (A4) [III (B)]]	FS1: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: {[go]} <b>to</b> {NP: destination, e.g., a person, a place or a thing} FS3: <b>some other</b> {NP}	My Lord, when she perceived me shy, saith she, I see you are afraid of me, <b>I will go to some other Astrologer.</b> (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 11)	embedding (direct)	D
I (B1+B3) [III (A4)]	FS1: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: [talk] <b>with</b> {NP: somebody}	Of this <b>I will talke with you</b> when we next meet. (PRIDEAU,23.002.67)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B1+B3) [III (B+A3)]	FS1: <b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>any thing</b> FS3: <b>the king</b>	<b>I will not baffle any thing that may conduce to the safety of the King,</b> and Kingdom. (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 11)	embedding (indirect)	D
I (B1+B3) [III (A4) +IV (C) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]]	FS1: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: {[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE} FS3: <b>your Lordship</b>	<b>I will tell your Lordship what I do know,</b> if these Gentlemen will not be too nimble for me. (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 5)	embedding (direct)	D
I (B1+B3) [III (C1)]	FS1: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>no more</b>	<b>I will trade no more in glittering performances</b> (PETTY,6.001.12)	attaching	L
I (B1+B3) [III (C1)]	FS1: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: {DET} <b>pair of</b> {NP: things come in pairs}	You have not bin within? <b>I will make out this paire of Aces,</b> And then you shall see my Sister. (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B2R)	embedding (indirect)	D
I (B1+B3) [III (C3)]	FS1: <b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	But <b>I'le not take't in earnest.</b> (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B1V)	attaching	D

	FS2: <b>in earnest</b>			
I (B1+B3) [III (C3)]	FS1: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>as good</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	Father, here is an Almes pennie for mee, and if I speede in that I goe for, <b>I will giue thee as good a Gowne of gray as euer thou diddest weare.</b> (The Old Wiues Talk, D1CPEELE, p. B2R)	embedding (indirect)	D
I (B1+B3) [IV (A5)]	FS1: <b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/ CLAUSE} FS2: {I} <b>wish you</b> {COMP}	only <b>I wold wish you hereafter whether you wryte to the same party or any other of lyke quality to be as breek as the matter will geve you leave,</b> and thys especially yf you wryte to Paul, (FITZHER,5.001.5)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B1+B3) [I (A1)]	FS1: <b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/ CLAUSE} FS2: {[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V- inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/ of {NP}}	O but I was as good at an appeale as could be, for when the cause was ready for sentence, if I thought the adverse party would not appeale, if sentence went against him, I would perswade the Judge to give sentence against my Client, and then <b>I would be sure to appeale,</b> and when I had appealed, my Bill would exceed a Taylors; (Spiritual Courts, D3HOSPIR, p.4)	embedding (direct)	D
I (B1+B3) [I (B2)]	FS1: {[be]} <b>pleased to</b> {V- inf} FS2: <b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	That, in your absence <b>you'd be pleas'd to let Your wayting Gentlewoman, Mistris Barbary, Appeare in your apparrell:</b> (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B4V)	embedding (direct)	D
I (B1+B3) [I (B3)]	FS1: <b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/ CLAUSE} FS2: <b>I might</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	<b>I wold I might have but one houres conference with Mr. Hide Mr. Foster or Mr. Freeman in the premisses:</b> (ALLEN,11.001.49)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B1+B3) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: <b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/ CLAUSE} FS2: <b>your Honour</b> FS3: (my/the) <b>Lord Mayor</b>	as <b>I wold to God your honour vnderstoode so amplie as doth the L. mayor</b> and the worshipfull of the Citie ... (HART,69.001.5)	embedding (indirect)	L
I (B10) [III (A4) +IV (C)]	FS1: {I} <b>pray</b> ({NP: somebody}) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE} FS2: {[tell]} {NP: somebody} <b>that</b> {CLAUSE}	You have looked upon the Paper, and <b>pray tell us what she said.</b> Did she say she hoped to see this Place filled with Benedictines? (Elizabeth Cellier, D4TCELLI, 9-10)	embedding (direct)	D
I (B10) [IV (A3) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]]	FS1: {I} <b>pray</b> (to {NP: somebody}) {COMP} FS2: (with/pray remember/pray present/etc.) <b>my humble service to</b> {NP: somebody} FS3: <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name})	<b>I pray present my humble services to my Lord</b> with assurance of my endeavours to obey his comands punctually in whatsoever he shall please {in} to employe me . (CORIE,24.001.4)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B10) [I (B1+B3) +II (B)]	FS1: <b>I desire you to</b> {V-inf} FS2: <b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS3: <b>or rather</b>	<b>I desire you to inform me whether I shall still direct my letters to the Paper Office, or reather at the Secretarys Office.</b> (PRIDEAU,25.002.84)	embedding (indirect)	L
I (B10) [I (B2)]	FS1: {I} <b>pray</b> ({NP: somebody}) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE} FS2: <b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	Pray stay a little. I know these Suiters are but empty things; Not worth one serious entertaine; yet Sister, I wo'd not have you beat e'm back, at dore: <b>Pray let e'm enter; Let e'm looke upon you.</b> (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B4V)	embedding (direct)	D



I (B10) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: <b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {DIRECTIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}} FS2: <b>your Lordship</b>	In most humble wise <b>I beseeche your Lordshippe of your goodnesse and even for godes sake to haue the truth tride and the matter ended of yorkes greate misvsinge me.</b> (HART,77.002.22)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B10) +IV (A5) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: {I} <b>humbly beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {DIRECTIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}} FS2: <b>your Lordship</b>	<b>I most homblye besech your Lordshippe, to pardon me of my rude wrytynge</b> , for that I lacke vtterance of speach, and am the more this constrayned to wryte , (HART,78.002.52)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B10) +IV (A5) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: <b>may it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/(that) {CLAUSE}} FS2: <b>your Honour</b>	<b>May yt please your honour</b> , as I haue long herebefore declared vnto the same the poor case whereunto I was brought in traveling for my L. Greis deliuerance beyond seas which yet continueth increasing more grevous from daye to daye, ... (HART,68.001.1)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B10) +IV (A5) [I (B6) +III (A3) +IV (F)]	FS1: <b>may it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/(that) {CLAUSE}} FS2: <b>your Honour</b>	<b>Maye yt please your Honor</b> , I beinge alone in my chamber, he put me in feare of my life, (HART,77.002.23)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B10) +IV (B)	FS1: <b>I pray you</b> FS2: <b>how many</b> {COMP}?	and <b>I pray you, how many Oxen or Horse will your Plough require to be drawne with?</b> (Plowing and Setting, D2HOMAXE, p. B2R)	joining	D
I (B10) +I (B6) +III (A3) [I (B2) [III (C1)]]	FS1: <b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}} FS2: <b>my Lord</b> ({NP: family name}) FS3: <b>let me</b> {V-inf} FS4: <b>a few</b>	<b>I beseech you, my Lord, let me use a few words, to declare the Course of my Doing.</b> (Robert Hickford, D1THICKF, p. 120C2)	embedding (direct), embedding (indirect)	D
I (B12) +II (A) [III (C1) [III (D3)]]	FS1: <b>I do assure</b> {NP: somebody} (that) {CLAUSE} FS2: <b>as much</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE} FS3: <b>in that matter</b>	Whereas you signify the greate desyre of many to have byshops, and have also written about it to C. Buffalo, <b>I do assure you, there hath benne as much donne in that matter as hath benne possible,</b> (FITZHER,14.002.37)	embedding (indirect)	L
I (B2) [IV (A5)]	FS1: <b>you must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>pardon me</b>	Sir Rob. Come then, let's to her. M. Wil. <b>You must pardon me</b> , Shee's so retyr'd to solitude; and set So deep in grief, ... (The Covntrie Girle, D3CTB, p. B2V)	embedding (direct)	D
I (B2+B3) [I (B13)]	FS1: <b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: {[be]} <b>very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	there greate worke of Valancienes being as you know well ouer, <b>I shall be very glade that a treaty betweene the two crownes may follow.</b> (CHARLES,8.002.21)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B2+B3) [I (B13)]	FS1: <b>I should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: {[be]} <b>very glad to</b> {V-inf}	If you impart thys to your patron <b>I should be very glad to heare from you</b> how he resteth satisfied . (FITZHER,8.001.27)	embedding (direct)	L
I (B2+B3) [I (B2)]	FS1: <b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: {[be]} <b>bound to</b> {V-inf}	and for your Lordshipes dealinge in my Right, <b>I \$shall \$be most bonde to praye god for yow and yours duryng liffe,</b> (HART,78.002.57)	embedding (direct)	L

I (B2+B3) +III (C3) [I (B1+B3)]	FS1: <b>you shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>by and by</b> FS3: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	<b>you shall see by and by what I will do with it</b> (Sack-full of News, D3FNEWS, p. A3V)	embedding (indirect), attaching	D
I (B3) [III (C3)]	FS1: <b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>by way of</b> {NP}	<b>I may hope to maintaine against you by way of argument in plaine Husbandrie...</b> (Plowing and Setting, D2HOMAXE, p. B1R)	embedding (indirect)	D
I (B3) +III (B)	FS1: <b>I might</b> {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>or else</b>	wold God I were ther one month that <b>I might ether take up these extreme alienations of mynd or els if I could not doo so much</b> , that I mighte shortly ther end my life and all the frames of mind and miseries rysing of these calamities procured by our owne follyes and sinnes. (ALLEN,18.002.142)	embedding (indirect)	L
I (B3) +I (B1+B3) [III (C3)]	FS1: <b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS2: <b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP} FS3: <b>mine own</b>	for I have an Asse that is far wiser than thou art, and thou makest here much ado of Heaven and Hell, and <b>I may if I will have both Heaven and Hell at mine own house, winde and weather at mine own will, and as it pleaseth me.</b> (Sack-full of News, D3FNEWS, p. A2R)	joining	D
I (B5+B6) +III (A3) +IV (F) +II (A) +III (D3) [III (D1)]	FS1: (the) <b>right reverend</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., good lord, fater in God, Sir, etc.} FS2: <b>I (have) received your letter</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.} FS3: {ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of March</b>	<b>Right Reverend Syr. I have received your letter of the 14 of March,</b> (FITZHER,4.001.1)	joining embedding (direct)	L

## Appendix 8: superordinate and subordinate formulaic sequences in EMode dialogues

Superordinate formulaic sequences	Nml. freq. 1	Subordinate formulaic sequences	Nml. freq. 2	I	II	III	IV
<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	2417.50	<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	2417.5	B1; B3			
		<b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	228.17	B1; B3			
		<b>I will tell you</b> {COMP}	75.10		A		
		<b>I will never</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	49.10	B1; B3			
		<b>I will tell thee</b> {COMP}	27.44		A		
		<b>I will show you</b> {COMP}	24.55		A		
		<b>I will say</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE;})	21.66		A		
<b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	1210.19	<b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	1210.19	B2			
		<b>let me</b> {V-inf}	319.16	B2			
		<b>let me see</b> {COMP}	44.77	B2	A		
		<b>let us see</b> {COMP}	25.99	B2	A		
		<b>let me know</b> {COMP}	24.55		A		
{POSS. PRON} <b>own</b>	948.80	<b>your own</b>	199.29			C3	
		<b>his own</b>	303.27			C3	
		<b>mine own</b>	111.20			C3	
		<b>my own</b>	105.42			C3	
		<b>their own</b>	90.98			C3	
		<b>her own</b>	64.99			C3	
		<b>our own</b>	41.88			C3	
{DET} <b>Lord</b> {NP: position name}	860.71	{DET} <b>Lord</b> {NP: position name}	860.71			A3	
		<b>my Lord</b> {NP: position name}	60.65	B6		A3	F
<b>out of</b> {NP}	854.93	<b>out of</b> {NP}	854.93			D2	
		<b>out of doors</b>	30.33			D2	
		<b>out of town</b>	24.55			D2	
<b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	772.62	<b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	772.62	B1; B3			
		<b>I would not</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	153.08	B1; B3			
		<b>I would fain</b> {V-inf}	28.88	B1; B3			
{[go]} <b>to</b> {NP: destination, e.g., a person, a place or a thing}	670.08	{[go]} <b>to</b> {NP: destination, e.g., a person, a place or a thing}	670.08			A4	
		{[go]} <b>to bed</b>	76.54			A4	
<b>you shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	664.31	<b>you shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	664.31	B2; B3			
		<b>you shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	72.21	B2; B3			
<b>such</b> {[a]} {NP}	625.32	<b>such a</b> {NP}	553.11			A6	
		<b>such an</b> {NP}	72.21			A6	
		<b>such a one</b>	36.10			A6	
		<b>such a thing</b>	28.88			A6	
<b>I know</b> (not) {COMP}	616.65	<b>I know</b> (not) {COMP}	616.65	A1; A2			
		<b>I know not</b> {COMP}	171.85	A2			
		<b>I know not what</b> {COMP}	30.33	A2			

		<b>I know not how</b> {COMP}	24.55	A2			
		<b>I know not but</b> {COMP}	20.22	A2	A		
<b>all</b> {POSS. PRON}	551.66	<b>all my</b>	186.29			C1	
		<b>all his</b>	125.64			C1	
		<b>all your</b>	92.43			C1	
		<b>all our</b>	49.10			C1	
		<b>all their</b>	36.10			C1	
		<b>all thy</b>	34.66			C1	
		<b>all her</b>	27.44			C1	
<b>one of</b> {NP}	530.00	<b>one of</b> {NP}	530.00			A5	
		<b>one of them</b>	102.53			A5	
		<b>one of these</b> {NP}	21.66			A5	
<b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	478.01	<b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	478.01	B2; B3			
		<b>I shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	54.88	B2; B3			
<b>the</b> {NUM}	453.46	<b>the two</b>	62.10			C1	
		<b>the three</b>	44.77			C1	
(I/we) <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye} {COMP}	433.24	(I/we) <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye} {COMP}	433.24	B10			
		<b>I pray you</b>	333.60	B10			
		<b>I pray thee</b>	51.99	B10			
		<b>I pray you tell</b> (me/us) {COMP}	33.22	B10	A		
<b>I must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	350.93	<b>I must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	350.93	B2			
		<b>I must tell</b> {[you]}	23.11		A		
		<b>I must confess</b> (to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}	21.66		A		
<b>I should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	342.26	<b>I should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	342.26	B2; B3			
		<b>I should not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	31.77	B2; B3			
{[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	296.05	{[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	296.05	A1			
		<b>I am sure</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	141.53	A1			
		{[be]} <b>sure to</b> {V-inf}	46.21	A1			
		{[be]} <b>sure of</b> {NP}	28.88	A1			
<b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	290.27	<b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	290.27	B3			
		<b>I may not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	20.22	B3			
<b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	288.83	<b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	288.83	B1			
		<b>I hope you will</b> {VP}	28.88	B1			
(all) <b>the rest</b> (of {NP})	272.94	<b>the rest</b> (of {NP})	272.94			A5	
		<b>the rest of</b> {NP}	72.21			A5	
		<b>all the rest</b> (of {NP})	43.32			A5; C1	
<b>you must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	244.06	<b>you must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	244.06	B2			
		<b>you must not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	20.22	B2			
(after/at/by/etc.) <b>that time</b>	229.62	(after/at/by/etc.) <b>that time</b>	229.62			D1	
		<b>at that time</b>	132.86			D1	
<b>some of</b> {NP}	225.29	<b>some of</b> {NP}	225.29			A5	
		<b>some of them</b>	50.55			A5	
<b>as well</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	212.29	<b>as well</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	212.29			C3	
		<b>as well as</b>	164.63			C3	

all this (NP)	194.96	all this (NP)	194.96			C1	
		all this while	43.32			D1	
{DET} Earl of {NP: place name}	184.85	{DET} Earl of {NP: place name}	184.85			A3	
		the Earl of {NP: place name}	164.63			A3	
I {[desire]} {[NP: something]/ {that-CLAUSE} / {NP: somebody} to {V-inf} / to {V-inf}}	183.41	I {[desire]} {[NP: something]/ {that-CLAUSE} / {NP: somebody} to {V-inf} / to {V-inf}}	183.41	B1			
		I desire to {V-inf}	46.21	B1			
{NUM} {[shilling]}	177.63	five shillings	31.77			C1	
		forty shillings	23.11			C1	
the {[gentleman]}	173.30	the gentleman	138.64			A3	
		the gentlemen	34.66			A3	
(IMPERATIVE) if {[you]} will (V-inf)	171.85	(IMPERATIVE) if you will (V-inf)	145.86	B10			
		(IMPERATIVE) if thou will (V-inf)	23.11	B10			
(and/but) as for	157.41	(and/but) as for	157.41			A	
		and as for	38.99			A	
as much (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	154.52	as much (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	154.52			C1	
		as much as	75.10			C1	
any of {NP: pl.}	151.64	any of {NP: pl.}	151.64			B	
		any of them	24.55			B	
		any of these	20.22			B	
{I/we} (humbly/etc.) thank you (for {NP})	151.64	{I/we} (humbly/etc.) thank you (for {NP})	151.64				A1
		I thank you (for {NP: something})	119.86				A1
		{I/we} (humbly/etc.) thank you for {NP}	38.99				A1
		I thank you for {NP: something}	30.33				A1
ought (not) to {V-inf}	147.30	ought (not) to {V-inf}	147.30	B2			
		ought not to {V-inf}	23.11	B2			
at (the) last	142.97	at last	122.75			D1	
		at the last	20.22			D1	
{[be]} (not) able to {V-inf}	142.97	{[be]} (not) able to {V-inf}	142.97	B4			
		{[be]} not able to {V-inf}	34.66	B4			
What say {[you]} (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?	135.75	What say you (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?	108.31			B	B.
		What say you to {NP: something needs opinion}?	40.44			B	B.
		What say thou (COMP: e.g., {to/of} {NP: something needs opinion})?	25.99			B	B.
the end (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object})	132.86	the end (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object})	132.86			D4	
		the end of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object}	49.10			D4	
What do {[you]} {V-inf}?	129.97	What do you {V-inf}?	93.87				B.
		What do thou {V-inf}?	24.55				B.

({wh-WORD}) <b>would</b> {you} {COMP}?	127.08	({wh-WORD}) <b>would you</b> {COMP}?	88.09	B1			B.
		({wh-WORD}) <b>would thou</b> {COMP}?	34.66	B1			B.
<b>any such</b> {NP}	124.20	<b>any such</b> {NP}	124.20			B	
		<b>any such thing</b>	31.77			B	
<b>these</b> {NUM}	121.31	<b>these two</b>	46.21			C1	
		<b>these three</b>	25.99			C1	
<b>I</b> (dare/will) <b>warrant</b> {you} (COMP)	116.98	<b>I warrant</b> {you} (COMP)	92.43	B8; B12			
		<b>I</b> (dare/will) <b>warrant you</b>	90.98	B8; B12			
		<b>I warrant you</b> (COMP)	70.76	B8; B12			
		<b>I will warrant</b> {you} (COMP)	23.11	B8; B12			
		<b>I</b> (will) <b>warrant thee</b>	21.66	B8; B12			
{{be}} <b>ready to</b> {V-inf}	116.98	{{be}} <b>ready to</b> {V-inf}	116.98	B1; B3			
		<b>I am ready</b> (to {V-inf})	20.22	B1; B3			
(I/let me) <b>beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	111.20	<b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	108.31	B10			
		(I/let me) <b>beseech you</b> {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	96.76	B10			
		<b>I beseech you</b> {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	88.09	B10			
{{give}} {NP: somebody} <b>leave</b> (to {V-inf})	109.76	{{give}} {NP: somebody} <b>leave</b> (to {V-inf})	109.76			A4	
		<b>give me leave</b> (to {V-inf})	57.77	B10		A5	
		{{give}} {NP: somebody} <b>leave to speak</b>	21.66			A4	
<b>honest</b> {[man]}	103.98	<b>honest</b> {[man]}	103.98			A3	
		<b>an honest man</b>	44.77			A3	
<b>I dare</b> (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	102.53	<b>I dare</b> (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	102.53	B8; B12			
		<b>I dare not</b> {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	53.43	B8; B12			
<b>would</b> (not) <b>have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	99.65	<b>would have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	77.98	B1; B10			
		<b>would not have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	21.66	B1; B10			
<b>none of</b> {NP}	98.20	<b>none of</b> {NP}	98.20			A5	
		<b>none of them</b>	23.11			A5	
{{be}} <b>in love</b> (with {NP})	98.20	{{be}} <b>in love</b> (with {NP})	98.20			C3	
		{{be}} <b>in love with</b> {NP}	40.44			C3	
{DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	89.54	{DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	89.54			A3	
		<b>my Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	82.32	B6		A3	F
<b>as soon</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	88.09	<b>as soon</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	88.09			D1	
		<b>as soon as</b>	73.65			D1	
<b>upon</b> {POSSESSIVE} <b>oath</b>	86.65	<b>upon</b> {POSSESSIVE} <b>oath</b>	86.65	B12			
		<b>upon my oath</b>	23.11	B12			
<b>at</b> (the) <b>first</b>	82.32	<b>at first</b>	33.22			D1	
		<b>at the first</b>	31.77			D1	

<b>in the mean</b> {season/space/time/while}	80.87	<b>in the mean</b> {season/space/time/while}	80.87			D1	
		<b>in the mean time</b>	54.88			D1	
<b>as good (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	77.98	<b>as good (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	77.98			C3	
		<b>as good as</b>	30.33			C3	
{[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf}	77.98	{[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf}	77.98	B1; B13			
		{[be]} <b>glad to see</b> {NP: mostly somebody}	31.77				A5
<b>the holy</b> {NP: religious institute or entity}	76.54	<b>the holy</b> {NP: religious institute or entity}	76.54			A1	
		<b>the Holy Ghost</b>	37.55			A1	
<b>the (MODIFIER)</b> {[law]} <b>of</b> {NP: country or authority}	76.54	<b>the (MODIFIER)</b> {[law]} <b>of</b> {NP: country or authority}	76.54			A1	
		<b>the law of</b> {NP: country or authority}	21.66			A1	
<b>poor</b> {[man]}	76.54	<b>poor</b> {[man]}	76.54			A3	
		<b>a poor man</b>	24.55			A3	
		<b>the poor man</b>	20.22			A3	
{if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	76.54	{if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	76.54	B10			A5
		<b>if it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	53.43	B10			A5
		{if/may} <b>it please you</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	44.77	B10			A5
		<b>if it please you</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	38.99	B10			A5
		{if/may} <b>it please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	27.44	B10			A5
		<b>may it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	23.11	B10			A5
{I/we} (MD) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	76.54	{I/we} (MD) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	76.54	B8; B12	A		
		<b>I assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	51.99	B8; B12	A		
		<b>I assure you</b> {that-CLAUSE}	44.77	B8; B12	A		
<b>or any</b> {NP}	70.76	<b>or any</b> {NP}	70.76			B	
		<b>or any other</b>	25.99			B	
<b>I doubt (not)</b> {COMP}	64.99	<b>I doubt</b> {COMP}	34.66	A2			
		<b>I doubt not</b> {COMP}	30.33	A1			
{will/does} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	64.99	{will/does} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	64.99	B10			A5
		{will/does} <b>it please you</b> {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	63.54	B10			A5
		{will/does} <b>it please you to</b> {V-inf}	49.10	B10			A5
<b>I promise</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	62.10	<b>I promise</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	62.10	B12			
		<b>I promise you</b> {that-CLAUSE}	50.55	B12			

{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning</b> (of {NP: time or event})	62.10	{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning</b> (of {NP: time or event})	62.10			D1	
		{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning of</b> {NP: time or event}	40.44			D1	
{DET} <b>pair of</b> {NP: things come in pairs}	53.43	{DET} <b>pair of</b> {NP: things come in pairs}	53.43			C1	
		<b>a pair of</b> {NP: something comes in pairs}	33.22			C1	
<b>if you please</b> (to {V-inf})	50.55	<b>if you please</b> (to {V-inf})	50.55	B10			A5
		<b>if you please to</b> {V-inf}	24.55	B10			A5
<b>as far</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	47.66	<b>as far</b> (COMP) as {CLAUSE}	47.66			C3	
		<b>as far as</b>	33.22			C3	
<b>in</b> (the) <b>time of</b> {NP: something going on}	46.21	<b>in</b> (the) <b>time of</b> {NP: something going on}	46.21			D1	
		<b>in the time of</b> {NP: something going on}	33.22			D1	
(the) <b>church of</b> {NP: place names}	46.21	(the) <b>church of</b> {NP: place names}	46.21			A1	
		<b>the Church of</b> {NP: place names}	34.66			A1	
{{take}} <b>notice</b> {COMP: of {NP}; {CLAUSE}}	44.77	{{take}} <b>notice</b> {COMP: of {NP}; {CLAUSE}}	44.77			A4	
		{{take}} <b>notice of</b> {NP}	33.22			A4	
<b>in</b> (the) <b>presence of</b> {NP: somebody}	43.32	<b>in</b> (the) <b>presence of</b> {NP: somebody}	43.32			C3	
		<b>in the presence of</b> {NP: somebody}	40.44			C3	
{VP: go, come, etc} <b>along with</b> {NP: somebody}	43.32	{VP: go, come, etc} <b>along with</b> {NP: somebody}	43.32			A4	
		{{go}} <b>along with</b> {NP: somebody}	36.10			A4	
(a) (MODIFIER: e.g., great, good, etc.) <b>deal of</b> {NP}	43.32	(a) (MODIFIER: e.g., great, good, etc.) <b>deal of</b> {NP}	43.32			C1	
		<b>a great deal of</b> {NP}	36.10			C1	
<b>the</b> (MODIFIER) <b>word of God</b>	41.88	<b>the</b> (MODIFIER) <b>word of God</b>	41.88			A1	
		<b>the word of God</b>	37.55			A1	
(I) <b>pray God</b>	41.88	(I) <b>pray God</b>	41.88	B1			
		<b>I pray God</b>	28.88	B1			
<b>in respect</b> (of {NP})	40.44	<b>in respect</b> (of {NP})	40.44			A	
		<b>in respect of</b> {NP}	27.44			A, B	
<b>not so much</b> {ADJUNCT} <b>as</b> {COMP}	37.55	<b>not so much</b> {ADJUNCT} <b>as</b> {COMP}	37.55			C1	
		<b>not so much as</b> {COMP}	21.66			C1	
{DET} <b>first of</b> {NP}	34.66	{DET} <b>first of</b> {NP}	34.66			A5	
		<b>the first of</b> {NP}	20.22			A5	
{DET} <b>cup of</b> {NP: liquid}	33.22	{DET} <b>cup of</b> {NP: liquid}	33.22			C1	
		<b>a cup of</b> {NP: liquid}	28.88			C1	
<b>by</b> (the) <b>way of</b> {NP}	31.77	<b>by</b> (the) <b>way of</b> {NP}	31.77			C3	
		<b>by way of</b> {NP}	25.99			C3	
{that/it} <b>is no matter</b>	30.33	{that/it} <b>is no matter</b>	30.33			C3	
		<b>it is no matter</b>	24.55	B7			



<b>in (the) behalf of</b> {NP: somebody or an entity made by people}	27.44	<b>in (the) behalf of</b> {NP: somebody or an entity made by people}	27.44			C3	
		<b>in the behalf of</b> {NP: somebody or institute}	21.66			C3	
<b>in stead</b> (of {NP})	25.99	<b>in stead</b> (of {NP})	25.99		B		
		<b>in stead of</b> {NP}	23.11		B		

**Appendix 9: superordinate and subordinate formulaic sequences in EModE letters**

Superordinate formulaic sequences	Nml. freq. 1	Subordinate formulaic sequences	Nml. freq. 2	I	II	III	IV
<b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1271.26	<b>I shall</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1271.26	B2; B3			
		<b>I shall not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	140.26	B2; B3			
		<b>I shall ever</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	36.95	B2; B3			
		<b>I shall never</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	31.47	B2; B3			
{POSS. PRON} <b>own</b>	1172.74	<b>my own</b>	332.53			C3	
		<b>your own</b>	245.63			C3	
		<b>his own</b>	240.84			C3	
		<b>their own</b>	118.37			C3	
		<b>mine own</b>	103.32			C3	
		<b>her own</b>	81.42			C3	
		<b>our own</b>	45.16			C3	
<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1142.63	<b>I will</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	1142.63	B1; B3			
		<b>I will not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	186.79	B1; B3			
		<b>I will say</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})	20.53		A		
{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of</b> {NP: month name}	928.47	{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of November</b>	89.63			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of February</b>	87.58			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of May</b>	84.84			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of December</b>	80.05			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of October</b>	80.05			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of July</b>	75.95			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of March</b>	75.95			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of January</b>	71.16			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of April</b>	69.11			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of June</b>	68.42			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of August</b>	64.32			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} (day) <b>of September</b>	54.05			D1	
		{ORDINAL NUM} <b>day of</b> {NP: month name}	27.37			D1	
<b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	895.63	<b>I hope</b> {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	895.63	B1			
		<b>I hope you will</b> {VP}	82.11	B1			
		<b>I hope to</b> {V-inf}	64.32	B1			
		<b>I hope</b> {will}	56.11	B1			
		<b>I hope I shall</b> {VP}	49.95	B1			
		<b>which I hope</b> {will}	24.63	B1			
		<b>I hope that</b> {CLAUSE}	23.95	B1			

		<b>I hope he will</b> {VP}	21.89	B1			
		<b>I hope it will</b> {VP}	21.21	B1			
<b>out of</b> {NP}	819.68	<b>out of</b> {NP}	819.68			D2	
		<b>out of town</b>	32.16			D2	
<b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	806.00	<b>let</b> {NP: somebody, something} {V-inf}	806.00	B2			
		<b>let me</b> {V-inf}	257.26	B2			
		<b>let me know</b> {COMP}	68.42		A		
		<b>let you know</b> {COMP}	49.95		A		
		<b>let him know</b> {COMP}	21.21		A		
		<b>let you know that</b> {CLAUSE}	19.84		A		
<b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/ NP/CLAUSE}	790.95	<b>I would</b> (not) {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	790.95	B1; B3			
		<b>I would not</b> {COMP: V-inf/NP/CLAUSE}	151.89	B1; B3			
		<b>I would have you</b> (to) {V-inf}	34.21	B1; B10			
		<b>I would fain</b> {V-inf}	20.53	B1; B3			
<b>I think</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	724.58	<b>I think</b> ({that-CLAUSE})	724.58		B		
		<b>I think that</b> {CLAUSE}	23.26		B		
<b>I know</b> (not) {COMP}	713.63	<b>I know</b> (not) {COMP}	713.63	A1; A2			
		<b>I know not</b> {COMP}	292.84	A2			
		<b>I know not how</b> {COMP}	50.63	A2			
		<b>I know not what</b> {COMP}	36.26	A2			
		<b>I know not whether</b> {COMP}	23.26	A2			
		<b>I know not but</b> {COMP}	22.58	A2	A		
		<b>I know that</b> {CLAUSE}	20.53	A1	A		
<b>all</b> {POSS. PRON}	710.21	<b>all my</b>	233.32			C1	
		<b>all your</b>	159.42			C1	
		<b>all his</b>	128.63			C1	
		<b>all our</b>	101.95			C1	
		<b>all their</b>	49.26			C1	
		<b>all her</b>	35.58			C1	
<b>I should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	663.68	<b>I should</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	663.68	B2; B3			
		<b>I should not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	73.21	B2; B3			
		<b>I should think</b> (COMP: e.g., {that-CLAUSE})	21.89		B		
<b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	539.84	<b>I may</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	539.84	B3			
		<b>I may not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	36.26	B3			
{[write]} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody}	481.00	{[write]} <b>to</b> {NP: somebody}	481.00			A4	
		<b>I wrote to</b> {NP: somebody}	67.05		A		
		<b>I have written to</b> {NP: somebody}	40.37		A		
		<b>I wrote to you</b>	36.95		A		
<b>I must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	468.00	<b>I must</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	468.00	B2			
		<b>I must confess</b> (to {NP: somebody}) {that-CLAUSE}	45.84		A		
		<b>I must not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	28.74	B2			
(all) <b>the rest</b> (of {NP})	455.68	<b>the rest</b> (of {NP})	455.68			A5	
		<b>the rest of</b> {NP}	191.58			A5	
		<b>all the rest</b> (of {NP})	56.79			A5; C1	

		<b>all the rest of</b> {NP}	23.95			A5; C1	
<b>such</b> {[a]} {NP}	433.11	<b>such a</b> {NP}	355.11			A6	
		<b>such an</b> {NP}	78.00			A6	
{I} <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye}	411.21	{I} <b>pray</b> {you/thee/ye}	411.21	B10			
		<b>I pray you</b>	329.11	B10			
<b>To my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody}	402.32	<b>To my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., dear, good, honourable, etc.} {NP: somebody}	402.32				A3
		<b>To my very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, good, loving, worthy, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, son, etc.}	84.84				A3
		<b>To my honourable</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., good} {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}	68.42				A3
		<b>To my very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, son, wife, etc.}	50.63				A3
		<b>To my loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, etc.}	36.95				A3
		<b>To my dear</b> {NP: somebody}	34.89				A3
		<b>To my much</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honoured, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, mother, etc.}	30.11				A3
		<b>To my most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, dear, honoured, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., son, friend, mother, etc.}	28.74				A3
		<b>To my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, lord, etc.}	25.32				A3
		<b>To my son</b>	23.26				A3
		<b>To my very loving friend</b>	23.26				A3
<b>Your most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, faithful, humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}	370.16	<b>Your most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, faithful, humble, loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}	370.16				A3
		<b>Your most affectionate</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}	127.26				A3
		<b>Your most assured</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.}	33.53				A3
		<b>Your most humble</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., servant, son, etc.}	32.84				A3
		<b>Your most faithful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., servant, friend, etc.}	23.26				A3
		<b>Your most loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., son, brother, husband, etc.}	23.26				A3
		<b>Your most affectionate friend</b>	20.53				A3
		<b>Your most affectionate and</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured,	19.84				A3

		faithful, humble, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, servant, mother, etc.}					
{DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	368.11	{DET} <b>Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	368.11			A3	
		<b>my Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	312.00	B6		A3	F
		<b>the Lord of</b> {NP: place name}	45.16			A3	
{[be]} (not) <b>able to</b> {V-inf}	351.68	{[be]} (not) <b>able to</b> {V-inf}	351.68	B4			
		{[be]} <b>not able to</b> {V-inf}	55.42	B4			
<b>I</b> {[desire]} {{NP: something}}/{that-CLAUSE}/ {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}}	304.47	<b>I</b> {[desire]} {{NP: something}}/{that-CLAUSE}/ {NP: somebody} to {V-inf}/to {V-inf}}	304.47	B1			
		<b>I desire to</b> {V-inf}	65.68	B1			
{[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf}	266.84	{[be]} <b>glad to</b> {V-inf}	266.84	B1; B13			
		{[be]} <b>glad to hear</b> {that-CLAUSE}	84.16				A5
		{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad to</b> {V-inf}	81.42	B1; B13			
		{I} <b>am glad to</b> {V-inf}	42.42	B1; B13			
		{[be]} <b>glad to hear of</b> {NP: something good}	40.37				A5
		<b>I am glad to</b> {V-inf}	36.95	B1; B13			
		{I} <b>am glad to hear</b> {of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	32.84				A5
		{[be]} <b>glad to see</b> {NP: mostly somebody}	31.47				A5
		<b>should be glad to</b> {V-inf}	28.74	B1; B13			
		<b>I am glad to hear</b> {of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	28.05				A5
		<b>would be glad to</b> {V-inf}	23.95	B1; B13			
		{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad to hear</b> {of {NP}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	23.26				A5
		<b>I should be glad to</b> {V-inf}	22.58	B1; B13			
{[be]} <b>glad to hear that</b> {CLAUSE}	21.89				A5		
{[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	260.00	{[be]} <b>sure</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	260.00	A1			
		{I} <b>am sure</b> {that-CLAUSE}	165.58	A1	A		
		<b>I am sure</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/of {NP}}	162.16	A1			
		{[be]} <b>sure to</b> {V-inf}	44.47	A1			
<b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}/to {V-inf}}	249.05	<b>I beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}/to {V-inf}}	249.05	B10			
		<b>I beseech you</b> {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}/to {V-inf}}	142.32	B10			
		<b>I beseech your</b> {NP: nobility} {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}/to {V-inf}}	31.47	B10			
{I/we} (ever) <b>rest your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, ever loving,	248.37	{I/we} (ever) <b>rest your</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, dutiful, ever loving, ladyship's, obedient, etc.} {NP:	248.37				A3

ladyship's, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, uncle, son, servant, husband, etc.}		somebody, e.g., friend, brother, uncle, son, servant, husband, etc.}					
		<b>I rest your</b> {MODIFIER: affectionate, assured, dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	165.58				A3
		<b>I rest your most</b> {MODIFIER: affectionate, assured, dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., friend})	30.79				A3
		<b>So I rest your</b> {MODIFIER: affectionate, assured, dutiful, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, son, etc.}	23.26				A3
<b>as well (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	244.26	<b>as well (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	244.26			C3	
		<b>as well as</b> {CLAUSE}	150.53			C3	
{[be]} <b>pleased to</b> {V-inf}	240.16	{[be]} <b>pleased to</b> {V-inf}	240.16	B1; B3			
		<b>you will be pleased</b> (to {V-inf})	28.05	B1; B3			
		<b>You will be pleased to</b> {V-inf}	25.32	B1; B3			
		<b>You are pleased to</b> {V-inf}	22.58	B1; B3			
		<b>you would be pleased</b> (to {V-inf})	19.84	B1; B3			
{POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) <b>service to</b> {NP: somebody}	222.37	{POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) <b>service to</b> {NP: somebody}	222.37				A3
		{commend/present/remember/with} <b>my service to</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., all my friends, my aunt, my lady, etc.}	75.26				A3
		{POSS. PRON} (MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, humble, etc.) <b>service to you</b>	43.79				A3
		(with/pray remember/pray present/etc.) <b>my humble service to</b> {NP: somebody}	30.11				A3
<b>as much (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	218.95	<b>as much (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	218.95			C1	
		<b>as much as</b> {CLAUSE}	115.63			C1	
<b>in the mean</b> {season/space/time/while}	217.58	<b>in the mean</b> {season/space/time/while}	217.58			D1	
		<b>in the mean time</b>	188.16			D1	
<b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}	215.53	<b>my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, brother, friend, lady, etc.}	215.53	B5		A3	F
		<b>my very good lord</b>	133.42	B5		A3	F
		<b>my very good friend</b>	25.32	B5		A3	F
		<b>my very good brother</b>	19.84	B5		A3	F
<b>To the right</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}	209.37	<b>To the right</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., honourable, worshipful, reverend, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, Father in God, friend, etc.}	209.37				A3
		<b>To the right honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, Sir, etc.}	127.95				A3

		<b>To the right honourable my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., very good, very loving, singular good, etc} {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, etc.}	55.42				A3
		<b>To the right honourable my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, aunt, etc.}	46.53				A3
		<b>To the right honourable Sir</b> {NP: name}	37.63				A3
		<b>To the right honourable my very good lord</b>	25.32				A3
{DET} <b>Earl of</b> {NP: place name}	208.00	{DET} <b>Earl of</b> {NP: place name}	208.00			A3	
		<b>the Earl of</b> {NP: place name}	182.00			A3	
		<b>the Earl of Essex</b>	25.32			A3	
<b>my good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.}	202.53	<b>my good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, child, friend, lady, etc.}	202.53	B5		A3	F
		<b>my good lord</b>	45.84	B5		A3	F
		<b>my good lady</b>	24.63	B5		A3	F
		<b>my good brother</b>	22.58	B5		A3	F
{DET} <b>King of</b> {NP: place name}	198.42	{DET} <b>King of</b> {NP: place name}	198.42			A3	
		<b>King of Spain</b>	53.37			A3	
		<b>King of France</b>	23.26			A3	
		<b>the King of France</b>	20.53			A3	
<b>the end</b> (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object})	198.42	<b>the end</b> (of {NP: time, even, a path, or a long object})	198.42			D4	
		<b>the end of</b> {NP: time, event, a path, or a long object}	91.00			D4	
{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you</b> (for {NP})	197.74	{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you</b> (for {NP})	197.74				A1
		{I/we} (humbly/etc.) <b>thank you for</b> {NP}	135.47				A1
		<b>I thank you</b> (for {NP: something})	105.37				A1
		<b>I thank you for</b> {NP: something}	71.84				A1
		<b>I humbly thank you</b> (for {NP})	19.84				A1
{DET} <b>Duke of</b> {NP: place name}	189.53	{DET} <b>Duke of</b> {NP: place name}	189.53			A3	
		<b>the Duke of</b> {NP: place name}	174.47			A3	
{[take]} (POSS. PRON) <b>leave</b> (of {NP: somebody})	188.16	{[take]} (POSS. PRON) <b>leave</b> (of {NP: somebody})	188.16			A4	
		<b>I</b> (humbly/most humbly/will/etc.) <b>take my leave</b>	145.05				A4
		{I} (most) <b>humbly take my leave</b>	77.32				A4
		<b>I take my leave</b>	58.84				A4
		<b>I humbly take my leave</b>	47.21				A4
(the) <b>right honourable</b> {NP: somebody}	182.00	(the) <b>right honourable</b> {NP: somebody}	182.00	B6		A3	F
		(the) <b>right honourable my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured,	56.79	B5; B6		A3	F

		singular good, very good, etc.} {NP: somebody}					
		(the) <b>right honourable my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., lord, lady, uncle, etc.}	47.21	B5; B6		A3	F
		(the) <b>right honourable Sir</b> {NP: name}	40.37	B6		A3	F
		(the) <b>right honourable my very good lord</b>	26.00	B5; B6		A3	F
		(the) <b>right honourable and my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., singular good, very good, etc.} <b>lord</b>	21.21	B5; B6		A3	F
<b>Nathaniel Bacon</b> (Esquire)	176.53	<b>Nathaniell Bacon</b>	58.84			A3	
		<b>Nathaniel Bacon</b>	38.32			A3	
		<b>Nathanaell Bacon</b>	33.53			A3	
		<b>Nathaniell Bacon Esquire</b>	23.26			A3	
		<b>Nathaniel Bacon Esquire</b>	22.58			A3	
{I} <b>pray God</b>	175.84	{I} <b>pray God</b>	175.84	B1			
		<b>I pray God</b>	164.21	B1			
{I} {humbly} <b>beseech you</b> {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	171.74	{I} {humbly} <b>beseech you</b> {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	171.74	B10			
		{I} {humbly} <b>beseech you to</b> {V-inf}	30.11	B10			
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most affectionate</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, friend, etc.})	164.21	{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most affectionate</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, friend, etc.})	164.21	B5		A3	
		{POSSESSIVE: e.g., your, your lordship's, etc.} <b>most affectionate friend</b>	25.32	B5		A3	
{I} (MD) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	160.79	{I} (MD) <b>assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	160.79	B8; B12	A		
		<b>I assure</b> {[you]} {that-CLAUSE}	88.95	B8; B12	A		
{POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, your lordship's, etc.} <b>very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, friend, son, etc.}	160.79	{POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, your lordship's, etc.} <b>very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, friend, son, etc.}	160.79	B5		A3	
		{POSSESSIVE: e.g., my, his, your lordship's, etc.} <b>very loving friend</b>	70.47	B5		A3	
<b>your loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, father, friend, etc.}	160.11	<b>your loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, cousin, father, friend, etc.}	160.11				A3
		<b>Your loving father</b>	23.26				A3
<b>as soon (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	157.37	<b>as soon (COMP) as</b> {CLAUSE}	157.37			D1	
		<b>as soon as</b> {CLAUSE}	154.63			D1	
{{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})}/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., hearty, humble, many, etc.}}	156.00	{{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})}/(with) {MODIFIER: e.g., hearty, humble, many, etc.}} <b>thanks for</b> {NP: reason for thanks}	156.00				A1



<b>thanks for</b> {NP: reason for thanks}		{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})/(with)} <b>many thanks</b> (for {NP: reason for thanks})	49.26				A1
		{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person}) / (with)} <b>humble thanks</b> (for {NP: reason for thanks})	38.32				A1
		{{[give]/[return]/etc.} ({NP: person})/(with)} <b>hearty thanks</b> (for {NP: reason for thanks})	30.11				A1
<b>the right honourable</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., and his very good, singular good, very good, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, the lady, Sir, etc.}	156.00	<b>the right honourable</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., and his very good, singular good, very good, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, the lady, Sir, etc.}	156.00	B6		A3	F
		<b>the right honourable my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., singular good, very good, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, etc.}	55.42	B5; B6		A3	F
		<b>the right honourable my very good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., aunt, friend, lady, lord, uncle, etc.}	46.53	B5; B6		A3	F
		<b>the right honourable my very good lord</b>	25.32	B5; B6		A3	F
{your {NP: somebody}}/{yours} } <b>to command</b>	145.74	{your {NP: somebody}}/{yours} } <b>to command</b>	145.74				A3
		<b>Yours to command</b>	21.89				A3
<b>as</b> {NP: somebody} {[say]}	140.95	<b>as he says</b>	24.63			A	C
		<b>as they say</b>	24.63			A	C
{SUBJ} <b>doubt not but</b> {COMP}	138.21	{SUBJ} <b>doubt not but</b> {COMP}	138.21	A1	A		
		<b>I doubt not but</b> {that-CLAUSE}	125.89	A1	A		
{I} <b>commend</b> {me/myself/my {NP: love, duty, service, etc.}} {to/unto} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, my lady, etc.}	134.79	{I} <b>commend</b> {me/myself/my {NP: love, duty, service, etc.}} {to/unto} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, my lady, etc.}	134.79				A3
		{I} <b>commend me to</b> {NP: somebody}	80.74				A3
		{I} <b>commend my</b> {NP: love/service/etc} to {NP: somebody}	23.26				A3
<b>your assured</b> (loving) {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.}	133.42	<b>your assured</b> (loving) {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.}	133.42				A3
		<b>your assured friend</b>	55.42				A3
		<b>your assured loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., friend, brother, etc.}	55.42				A3
		<b>your assured loving friend</b>	41.05				A3
{I} <b>am glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	131.37	{I} <b>am glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	131.37	B13			

		<b>I am glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	121.11	B13			
<b>Your very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, loving, etc.} {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	130.68	<b>Your very</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, loving, etc.} {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	130.68				A3
		<b>Your very loving</b> {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	62.26				A3
		<b>Your very loving friend</b>	26.68				A3
		<b>Your very affectionate</b> {NP: brother, friend, etc.}	24.63				A3
<b>or any</b> {NP}	127.95	<b>or any</b> {NP}	127.95			B	
		<b>or any other</b>	54.05			B	
<b>the Bishop</b> (of {NP: place})	127.26	<b>the Bishop</b> (of {NP: place})	127.26			A3	
		<b>the Bishop of</b> {NP: place}	82.79			A3	
{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	125.89	{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	125.89	B13			
		<b>should be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	41.05	B13			
		<b>would be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	36.26	B13			
		<b>I should be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	32.84	B13			
		<b>shall be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	25.32	B13			
		<b>I would be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	24.63	B13			
		<b>I shall be glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	22.58	B13			
		<b>give me leave</b> (to {V-inf})	67.74	B10			A5
[[be]] <b>very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	113.58	[[be]] <b>very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	113.58	B13			
		[[be]] <b>very glad to</b> {V-inf}	63.63	B1; B13			
		[I] <b>am very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	56.11	B13			
		<b>I am very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	52.00	B13			
		{would/will/shall/may/should} <b>be very glad</b> {{if-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	35.58	B13			
		[[be]] <b>very glad to hear</b> {of {NP}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	31.47				A5
		[I] <b>am very glad to</b> {V-inf}	30.79	B1; B13			
		<b>I am very glad to</b> {V-inf}	26.68	B1; B13			

		{could/shall/should/will/would} <b>be very glad to</b> {V-inf}	21.21	B1; B13			
		{I} <b>am very glad to hear</b> {of {NP}/{that-CLAUSE}}	19.84				A5
<b>in regard</b> (of {NP}/{that- CLAUSE})	112.21	<b>in regard</b> (of {NP}/{that- CLAUSE})	112.21		B		
		<b>in regard of</b> {NP}	47.89		B		
(after/with) (my/our) (very/most/right) <b>hearty commendations</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody})	110.16	(after/with) (my/our) (very/most/right) <b>hearty commendations</b> (to/unto {NP: somebody})	110.16				A3
		(after/with) (my/our) (very/most/right) <b>hearty commendations to</b> {NP: somebody}	35.58				A3
{I} <b>am sorry</b> {to {V- inf}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	109.47	{I} <b>am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/{that- CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	109.47				A2; A5
		<b>I am sorry</b> {to {V-inf}/{that- CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	103.32				A2; A5
		<b>I am sorry to</b> {V-inf}	22.58				A2; A5
{I} <b>commit you</b> {unto/to} {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}	109.47	{I} <b>commit you</b> {unto/to} {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/etc.}	109.47				A3
		{I} <b>commit you to</b> {God/the Almighty/the blessed protection of the Almighty/ etc.}	89.63				A3
		{I} <b>commit you to God</b>	46.53				A3
<b>I dare</b> (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	109.47	<b>I dare</b> (not) {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	109.47	B8; B12			
		<b>I dare not</b> {V-inf: say, swear, take the oath, etc.}	46.53	B8; B12			
<b>a letter from</b> {NP: writer of the letter/place}	106.05	<b>a letter from</b> {NP: writer of the letter/place}	106.05			A1	
		<b>a letter from you</b>	21.21			A1	
<b>would</b> (not) <b>have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	106.05	<b>would</b> (not) <b>have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	106.05	B1; B10			
		<b>would not have</b> {NP: somebody} (to) {VP-inf}	95.11	B1; B10			
		<b>would</b> (not) <b>have you</b> (to) {VP- inf}	59.53	B1; B10			
(as) <b>it is said</b> {that- CLAUSE}	103.32	(as) <b>it is said</b> {that-CLAUSE}	103.32		A		C
		<b>it is said that</b> {CLAUSE}	25.32		A		C
{if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V- inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	102.63	{if/may} <b>it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V- inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	102.63	B10			A5
		<b>may it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	58.84	B10			A5
		<b>if it please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	58.16	B10			A5
		{if/may} <b>it please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that- CLAUSE}}	50.63	B10			A5

		<b>may it please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	41.74	B10			A5
		{if/may} <b>it please you</b> {{to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}}	36.95	B10			A5
		<b>if it please you (to {V-inf})</b>	21.89	B10			A5
		{if/may} <b>it please you to</b> {V-inf}	20.53	B10			A5
(my/the) <b>Lord Treasurer</b>	101.95	(my/the) <b>Lord Treasurer</b>	101.95			A3	F
		<b>my Lord Treasurer</b>	62.26	B6		A3	F
		<b>the Lord Treasurer</b>	29.42			A3	
{DET} <b>copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}	100.58	{DET} <b>copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}	100.58			A1	
		<b>the copy of</b> {NP: written documents, e.g., letter}	29.42			A1	
<b>I commit</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, your lordship, you and yours, etc.} {to/unto} {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	99.89	<b>I commit</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, thee, your lordship, you and yours, etc.} {to/unto} {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	99.89				A3
		<b>I commit you to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	72.53				A3
		<b>I commit you to God</b>	38.32				A3
{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning</b> (of {NP: time or event})	99.21	{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning</b> (of {NP: time or event})	99.21			D1	
		{about/at/in/etc.} <b>the beginning of</b> {NP: time or event}	72.53			D1	
		<b>in the beginning</b> (of {NP: a period of time or an event})	27.37			D1	
		<b>in the beginning of</b> {NP: time or event}	21.89			D1	
<b>I (have) received your</b> {[letter]} {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}}	99.21	<b>I (have) received your letter</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}}	82.79		A	D3	
		<b>I received your letter</b>	48.58		A	D3	
		<b>I have received your letter</b>	33.53		A	D3	
<b>God bless</b> {NP: somebody}	98.53	<b>God bless</b> {NP: somebody}	98.53				A5
		<b>God bless you</b>	52.68				A5
<b>at (the) last</b>	97.16	<b>at last</b>	71.16			D1	
		<b>at the last</b>	26.00			D1	
{{[think]} <b>good to</b> {V-inf}}	91.68	{{[think]} <b>good to</b> {V-inf}}	91.68	B3; B7			
		<b>I thought good to</b> {V-inf}	25.32	B3; B7			
<b>in respect</b> (of {NP})	89.63	<b>in respect</b> (of {NP})	89.63		A		
		<b>in respect of</b> {NP}	69.79		A, B		
<b>my honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}}	88.95	<b>my honourable</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}}	88.95	B5; B6		A3	F

		<b>my honourable good</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., mother, friend, lady, etc.}	52.00	B5; B6		A3	F
(the) <b>right worshipful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}	83.47	(the) <b>right worshipful</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}	83.47	B6		A3	F
		(the) <b>right worshipful my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., assured, very good, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, cousin, etc.}	32.16	B5; B6		A3	F
{[make]} (DET) <b>use of</b> {NP: something useful}	80.74	{[make]} (DET) <b>use of</b> {NP: something useful}	80.74			A4	
		{[make]} <b>use of</b> {NP: something useful}	53.37			A4	
{I} <b>commend you</b> (to {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.})	72.53	{I} <b>commend you</b> (to {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.})	72.53				A3
		{I} <b>commend you to</b> {NP: God/the protection of the Almighty/etc.}	41.74				A3
<b>my very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, son, wife, etc.}	71.16	<b>my very loving</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, son, wife, etc.}	71.16	B5		A3	F
		<b>my very loving friend</b>	32.16	B5		A3	F
(a) (MODIFIER: e.g., great, good, etc.) <b>deal of</b> {NP}	69.79	(a) (MODIFIER: e.g., great, good, etc.) <b>deal of</b> {NP}	69.79			C1	
		<b>a great deal of</b> {NP}	60.21			C1	
{[be]} <b>sorry to</b> {V-inf}	68.42	{[be]} <b>sorry to</b> {V-inf}	68.42				A2; A5
		{[be]} <b>sorry to hear</b> {of {NP: something bad}/ {that-CLAUSE}}	36.26				A2; A5
		{I} <b>am sorry to</b> {V-inf}	24.63				A2; A5
<b>the right worshipful</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., my very loving, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Master, etc.}	68.42	<b>the right worshipful</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., my very loving, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Master, etc.}	68.42	B6		A3	F
		<b>the right worshipful my</b> (MODIFIER: e.g., approved, very loving, etc.) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Master, etc.}	24.63	B5; B6		A3	F
(after/with) <b>my hearty</b> (NP: commendations, thanks, prayers, etc.) (to/unto {NP: somebody})	67.74	(after/with) <b>my hearty</b> {NP: commendations, thanks, prayers, etc.} (to/unto {NP: somebody})	67.74				A3
		(after/with) <b>my hearty</b> commendations (to/unto {NP: somebody})	44.47				A3
		<b>with my hearty</b> (NP: e.g., commendations, prayers, etc.)	34.89				A3
		<b>with my hearty commendations</b>	21.89				A3
<b>Your Lordship's most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured,	67.05	<b>Your Lordship's most</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., affectionate, assured, assuredly at command,	67.05				A3

assuredly at command, humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, son, etc.}		humble, obedient, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, son, etc.}					
		<b>Your Lordship's most humble</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, servant, etc.}	20.53				A3
<b>To the right worshipful</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., his very good, my approved, my very loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Mr, etc.}	65.68	<b>To the right worshipful</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., his very good, my approved, my very loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, Mr, etc.}	65.68				A3
		<b>To the right worshipful my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., approved, very loving, etc.} {NP: somebody, e.g., sister, friend, Mr, etc.}	24.63				A3
{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} {to the} <b>protection of</b> {NP: phrases referring to the God, e.g., Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.}	64.32	{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} {to the} <b>protection of</b> {NP: phrases referring to the God, e.g., Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.}	64.32				A3
		{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} <b>to the protection of</b> {NP: phrases referring to the God, e.g., Almighty God, God, the Almighty, the Lord, etc.}	49.26				A3
		{[commend]/[commit]} {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship} <b>to the protection of the Almighty</b>	40.37				A3
{DET} <b>low countries</b>	64.32	{DET} <b>low countries</b>	64.32			A1	
		<b>the low countries</b>	62.95			A1	
{I} {(most) humbly} <b>beseech your</b> {NP: noble status} {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}}	64.32	{I} {(most) humbly} <b>beseech your</b> {NP: noble status} {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}}	64.32	B10			
		{I} {(most) humbly} <b>beseech your lordship</b> {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE/to {V-inf}/that-CLAUSE}}	24.63	B10			
<b>I bid</b> {thee/you/your {NP: nobility}} (ADJUNCTS: e.g., (most/very) heartily, etc.) {farewell/fare well/well to farewell/good night}	63.63	<b>I bid</b> {thee/you/your {NP: nobility}} (ADJUNCTS: e.g., (most/very) heartily, etc.) {farewell/fare well/well to farewell/good night}	63.63				A4
		<b>I bid you</b> (ADJUNCTS: e.g., (most/very) heartily, etc.) {farewell/fare well/well to farewell/good night}	56.11				A4
		<b>I bid you farewell</b>	28.05				A4
<b>I commend</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, you and all yours, etc.} <b>to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	60.89	<b>I commend</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, you and all yours, etc.} <b>to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	60.89				A3
		<b>I commend you to</b> {God/{NP: e.g., God's protection, the protection of the Almighty, etc.}}	38.32				A3

{{[put]} {NP: somebody} <b>in mind</b> (of {NP: something needs to be remembered})	60.21	{{[put]} {NP: somebody} <b>in mind</b> (of {NP: something needs to be remembered})	60.21			A4	
		{{[put]} {NP: somebody} <b>in mind of</b> {NP: something needs to be remembered}	41.05			A4	
{{[be]} <b>very sorry</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	57.47	{{[be]} <b>very sorry</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	57.47				A2; A5
		{I} <b>am very sorry</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	39.68				A2; A5
		<b>I am very sorry</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}/for {NP}}	38.32				A2; A5
<b>as far</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	56.79	<b>as far</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	56.79			C3	
		<b>as far as</b> {CLAUSE}	45.84			C3	
(if/if it) (may/shall) <b>please God</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}	56.11	(if/if it) (may/shall) <b>please God</b> {to {V-inf}}/{that-CLAUSE}	56.11	B1			
		(if/if it) (may/shall) <b>please God to</b> {V-inf}	29.42	B1			
{DET} <b>Countess</b> (of {NP: place name})	54.74	{DET} <b>Countess</b> (of {NP: place name})	54.74			A3	
		<b>the Countess</b> (of {NP: place name})	49.95			A3	
		<b>the Countess of</b> {NP: place name}	43.11			A3	
{DET} <b>Prince of</b> {NP: place name}	53.37	{DET} <b>Prince of</b> {NP: place name}	53.37			A3	
		<b>the Prince of</b> {NP: place name}	49.95			A3	
{I} <b>humbly beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	53.37	{I} <b>humbly beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	53.37	B10			A5
		<b>I humbly beseech</b> (NP: somebody) {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	29.42	B10			A5
		{I} <b>humbly beseech your</b> {NP: nobility} {{IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	23.26	B10			A5
<b>as good</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	53.37	<b>as good</b> (COMP) <b>as</b> {CLAUSE}	53.37			C3	
		<b>as good as</b> {CLAUSE}	23.26			C3	
{{[do]} <b>well to</b> {V-inf}	51.32	{{[do]} <b>well to</b> {V-inf}	51.32	B7		A4	
		<b>shall do well to</b> {V-inf}	21.21	B7			
<b>if you please</b> (to {V-inf})	50.63	<b>if you please</b> (to {V-inf})	50.63	B10			A5
		<b>if you please to</b> {V-inf}	26.68	B10			A5
<b>at</b> (the) <b>first</b>	49.95	<b>at first</b>	27.37			D1	
		<b>at the first</b>	22.58			D1	
<b>with</b> (MODIFIER/DET) remembrance of {NP: something, e.g., duty, service, etc.}	49.95	<b>with</b> (MODIFIER/DET) remembrance of {NP: something, e.g., duty, service, etc.}	49.95				A3
		<b>with the remembrance of my</b> {MODIFIER: e.g., best,	28.05				A3

		humble, kindest, etc.} {NP: e.g., service, love, duty, etc.}					
{I} <b>am confident</b> {that-CLAUSE}	47.89	{I} <b>am confident</b> {that-CLAUSE}	47.89	A1	A		
		<b>I am confident</b> {that-CLAUSE}	45.16	A1	A		
(Lord) <b>Chief Justice</b>	47.21	(Lord) <b>Chief Justice</b>	47.21			A3	
		(my/the) <b>Lord Chief Justice</b>	30.79			A3	F
{[take]} <b>notice</b> {COMP: of {NP}; {CLAUSE}}	46.53	{[take]} <b>notice</b> {COMP: of {NP}; {CLAUSE}}	46.53			A4	
		{[take]} <b>notice of</b> {NP}	26.68			A4	
{DET} <b>first of</b> {NP}	46.53	{DET} <b>first of</b> {NP}	46.53			A5	
		<b>the first of</b> {NP}	30.79			A5	
{DET} <b>Lady of</b> {NP: place name/family name}	46.53	{DET} <b>Lady of</b> {NP: place name/family name}	46.53			A3	
		<b>my Lady of</b> {NP: place name/family name}	23.95	B6		A3	F
{I} <b>am afraid</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	45.84	{I} <b>am afraid</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	45.84	B13	A		A5
		<b>I am afraid</b> {{that-CLAUSE}/to {V-inf}}	43.79	B13	A		A5
(I pray (thee/you)) <b>remember me</b> {to {NP: somebody}}	44.47	(I pray (thee/you)) <b>remember me</b> {to {NP: somebody}}	44.47				A3
		(I pray (thee/you)) <b>remember me to</b> {NP: somebody}	29.42				A3
{I} <b>humbly thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	43.79	{I} <b>humbly thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	43.79				A1
		<b>I humbly thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	38.32				A1
		{I} <b>humbly thank you</b> (for {NP: something})	23.26				A1
(if) <b>it may please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	42.42	(if) <b>it may please</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	42.42	B10			A5
		(if) <b>it may please your</b> {NP: nobility, e.g., honour, lordship, etc.} {to {V-inf}/{that-CLAUSE}}	26.00	B10			A5
<b>would gladly</b> {V-inf}	42.42	<b>would gladly</b> {V-inf}	42.42	B1; B3			
		<b>I would gladly</b> {V-inf}	33.53	B1; B3			
<b>I (have) received yours</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}	41.74	<b>I (have) received yours</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}	41.74		A	D3	
		<b>I (have) received yours of</b> {DATE}	24.63		A	D3	
		<b>I received yours</b> {ADJUNCTS: by {NP: somebody who delivered the letter}, of/dated {DATE}, etc.}	21.89		A	D3	
(the) <b>Star Chamber</b>	39.00	(the) <b>Star Chamber</b>	39.00			A1	
		<b>the Star Chamber</b>	33.53			A1	



<b>for</b> {POSS. PRON} <b>own part</b>	39.00	<b>for</b> {POSS. PRON} <b>own part</b>	39.00		B		
		<b>for my own part</b>	25.32		B		
{DET} <b>pair of</b> {NP: things come in pairs}	35.58	{DET} <b>pair of</b> {NP: things come in pairs}	35.58			C1	
		<b>a pair of</b> {NP: something comes in pairs}	20.53			C1	
(my) <b>most dear</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, etc.}) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, etc.}	34.89	(my) <b>most dear</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, etc.}) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, etc.}	34.89	B5		A3	F
		<b>my most dear</b> (and {MODIFIER: e.g., beloved, etc.}) {NP: somebody, e.g., brother, friend, mother, etc.}	24.63	B5		A3	F
<b>I leave you</b> (to {NP: God or something, e.g., God's protection, etc.})	34.89	<b>I leave you</b> (to {NP: God or something, e.g., God's protection, etc.})	34.89				A3
		<b>I leave you to</b> {NP: God or something, e.g., God's protection, etc.}	21.21				A3
{DET} <b>Town of</b> {NP: place name}	34.21	{DET} <b>Town of</b> {NP: place name}	34.21			A1	
		<b>the Town of</b> {NP: place name}	30.11			A1	
{I} {humbly} <b>beseech God</b> {to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	34.21	{I} {humbly} <b>beseech God</b> {to {V-inf}/of {NP}/ {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	34.21	B1			
		<b>I beseech God</b> {to {V-inf}/ {IMPERATIVE CLAUSE}}	27.37	B1			
{thank {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship}/thanks} <b>for your</b> (kind) {[letter]}	33.53	{thank {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship}/thanks} <b>for your</b> (kind) {[letter]}	33.53				A5
		{thank {NP: somebody, e.g., you, your lordship}/thanks} <b>for your letter</b>	19.84				A5
<b>it</b> (has/had) pleased God (to {V-inf})	33.53	<b>it</b> (has/had) pleased God (to {V-inf})	33.53	B4			
		<b>it has pleased God</b> (to {V-inf})	23.95	B4			
<b>I need</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	31.47	<b>I need</b> (not) {V-inf} {COMP}	31.47	B2			
		<b>I need not</b> {V-inf} {COMP}	26.68	B2			
<b>Your obedient</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., son, wife, etc.}	30.79	<b>Your obedient</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., son, wife, etc.}	30.79				A3
		<b>your obedient son</b>	21.89				A3
{DET} <b>last of</b> {NP}	30.11	{DET} <b>last of</b> {NP}	30.11			A5	
		<b>the last of</b> {NP}	21.21			A5	
<b>for my</b> (own) <b>sake</b>	30.11	<b>for my</b> (own) <b>sake</b>	30.11		B		
		<b>for my sake</b>	27.37		B		
(as) <b>I am informed</b> {that-CLAUSE}	29.42	(as) <b>I am informed</b> {that-CLAUSE}	29.42		A		C
		<b>as I am informed</b>	19.84		A		C
{DET} <b>County of</b> {NP: place name}	29.42	{DET} <b>County of</b> {NP: place name}	29.42			A1	
		<b>the County of</b> {NP: place name}	25.32			A1	
{DET} <b>Archbishop of</b> {NP: place name}	29.42	{DET} <b>Archbishop of</b> {NP: place name}	29.42			A3	

		<b>the Archbishop of</b> {NP: place name}	22.58			A3	
<b>my singular</b> {NP: good friend, good lord, etc.}	28.05	<b>my singular</b> {NP: good friend, good lord, etc.}	28.05	B5; B6		A3	F
		<b>my singular good lord</b>	23.95	B5; B6		A3	F
(after/with) {my/our} <b>very hearty</b> {salutations/commendations}	27.37	(after/with) {my/our} <b>very hearty</b> {salutations/commendations}	27.37				A3
		(after/with) {my/our} <b>very hearty commendations</b>	26.68				A3
		(after/with) <b>my very hearty commendations</b>	26.00				A3
{his/her} <b>Majesty's pleasure</b>	27.37	{his/her} <b>Majesty's pleasure</b>	27.37			A1	
		<b>her Majesty's pleasure</b>	21.21			A1	
{by/through/with} <b>God's grace</b>	26.68	{by/through/with} <b>God's grace</b>	26.68	B1; B13			D
		<b>by God's grace</b>	25.32	B1; B13			D
{how/what/whom/etc.} <b>so ever</b>	26.68	{how/what/whom/etc.} <b>so ever</b>	26.68			B	
		<b>what so ever</b>	19.84			B	
{I/we} (most/very/humbly and) <b>heartily thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	26.00	{I/we} (most/very/humbly and) <b>heartily thank</b> {NP: somebody, e.g., God, you, your lordship, etc} (for {NP: something})	26.00				A1
		{I/we} (most/very/humbly and) <b>heartily thank you</b> (for {NP: something})	21.89				A1
(the) <b>King's Bench</b>	25.32	(the) <b>King's Bench</b>	25.32			A1	
		<b>the King's Bench</b>	23.95			A1	
{a/this} <b>good while</b>	24.63	{a/this} <b>good while</b>	24.63			D1	
		<b>a good while</b>	20.53			D1	
{I} <b>am your most</b> {MODIFIER: affect/affectionate/dutiful/faithful/humble/loving/true/etc.} {NP: servant/brother/etc.}	23.95	{I} <b>am your most</b> {MODIFIER: affect/affectionate/dutiful/faithful/humble/loving/true/etc.} {NP: servant/brother/etc.}	23.95				A3
		<b>I am your most</b> {MODIFIER: affect/affectionate/dutiful/faithful/humble/loving/true/etc.} {NP: servant/brother/etc.}	20.53				A3
(the) <b>Grace of God</b>	23.26	(the) <b>Grace of God</b>	23.26			A1	
		<b>the Grace of God</b>	20.53			A1	
{[make]} <b>no doubt</b> {(but) {CLAUSE}/of {NP}/to {V-inf}}	22.58	{[make]} <b>no doubt</b> {(but) {CLAUSE}/of {NP}/to {V-inf}}	22.58	A1			
		<b>I make no doubt</b> {(but) {CLAUSE}/of {NP}/to {V-inf}}	19.84	A1			
{I} <b>praise God</b>	22.58	{I} <b>praise God</b>	22.58	B1			
		<b>I praise God</b>	19.84	B1			

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