

Selected Authors' Writings
in the Early Modern English Period
and the Historical Development of *Always*¹

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1. Introduction

The online accessibility to the text files of *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) in recent years has broadened the possibility of research into Early Modern English.² For a number of research topics, the overall chronological trend from around 1500 to 1700 is much easier to envisage than before. For the purpose of clarifying additional details, however, it is still necessary to explore smaller-scaled datasets but with more fine-grained focuses. One of my earlier publications has stressed that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, but are complementary and therefore both are necessary in historical linguistics (Iyeiri 2011: 133-135).

With this view in mind, I have been making some corpora for my research purposes by assorting texts extracted from EEBO. The philosophy behind this is of the third-generation type in the corpus linguistics tradition.³ I have so far built *Early Modern English Prose Selections* (EMEPS) and *Selected Middle English Texts in Print* (METiP), whose details are given in Iyeiri (2011) and Iyeiri (2016) respectively. The aim

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² A large number of texts included in EEBO are now searchable online by use of various interfaces. See, for example: <<https://www.english-corpora.org/>> and <<https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/>>.

³ For first-, second-, and third-generation corpora, see Jucker & Taavitsainen (2013: 15-16) among others. See also Meurman-Solin (2004: 172-176) and Iyeiri (2011: 134-135), both highlighting, though not necessarily by use of these terms, the recent trend in corpus linguistics, which is characterized by the *freedom* in the choice of texts in corpus studies. This is the essence of the third-generation corpus linguistics.

of this paper is to give some details of the third project of this kind, i.e. *Selected Authors' Writings in the Early Modern English Period* (SAEMEP). In the remainder of this paper, I will describe the ongoing project of SAEMEP (Section 2) and show a case study based on some SAEMEP corpora (Section 3), which will be followed by concluding remarks (Section 4).

2. *Selected Authors' Writings in the Early Modern English Period* (SAEMEP)

SAEMEP is an ongoing project of mine to build a set of corpora of some major Early Modern writers by extracting transcribed texts from EEBO. The idea behind this is that appropriate grouping of texts can help highlight linguistic features in the target period and that the focus on the language of individuals will contribute to the detailed understanding of the history of language.⁴ As mentioned in the Introduction, the building of SAEMEP is in line with the third-generation philosophy of corpus linguistics. Indeed, it is a third-generation corpus as it is, but it broadens the concept of the third generation in the sense that it also provides materials with which to build yet other corpora of the third generation.

SAEMEP comprises (so far seven) sub-corpora based upon individual authors: Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), William Cowper (1568-1619), John Milton (1608-1674), Richard Baxter (1615-1691), Robert Boyle (1627-1691), and John Locke (1632-1704), all amounting to approximately 500,000 words. Table 1 gives a concise summary of the datasets.⁵

⁴ Side by side with an interest in the language of communities of various types, there is certainly a recent direction in historical sociolinguistics to focus on the language of individuals. See Raumolin-Brunberg (2006, 2009) among many others. See also Bell (2014: 297-302), who deals with the style shift of individuals in response to the audience, and Iyeiri (2017), who discusses similarities and differences between research into individual authors in the pre-computer age and the computer age.

⁵ As SAEMEP is an ongoing project, I have been testing its usability at the same time as I build its sub-corpora. Iyeiri (forthcoming), for example, investigates the expansion of *-ingly* adverbs in the Early Modern English period by use of the sub-corpora of Sir Thomas More, Francis Bacon, Richard Baxter, and John Locke.

Table 1. Authors and the list of their texts in SAEMEP⁶

Authors	Texts (short titles)	Approximate number of words
Sir Thomas More (1478-1535)	1529 <i>The supplycacyon of soullys</i> 1529 <i>A dyalogue of syr Thomas More knyghte</i> 1533 <i>A letter of syr Tho. More knight</i> 1533 <i>The answeere to the fyrst parte of the poysened booke, which a namelesse heretyke hath named the souper of the lorde</i> 1533 <i>The apologye of syr Thomas More knight</i> 1553 <i>A dialoge of comfort against tribulacion, made by Syr Thomas More Knyght</i>	462,600
Francis Bacon (1561-1626)	1601 <i>A declaration of the practises & treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex and his complices</i> 1603 <i>A briefe discourse</i> 1604 <i>Sir Francis Bacon his apologie</i> 1614 <i>The charge of Sir Francis Bacon Knight</i> 1618 <i>A declaration of the demeanor and cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight</i> 1629 <i>The historie of the reigne of King Henry the Seuenth</i> 1638 <i>The historie of life and death</i> 1642 <i>The learned reading of Sir Francis Bacon</i> 1657 <i>Resuscitatio, or, Bringing into publick light severall pieces of the works, civil, historical, philosophical, & theological, hitherto sleeping, of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon</i> 1627 <i>Sylua syluarum: or A naturall historie In ten centuries</i>	521,000
William Cowper (1568-1619)	1606 <i>A conduit of comfort Preached at Sainct Iames before the Commissioners of the Vnion of the Realmes</i> 1609 <i>Three heauenly treatises vpon the eight chapter to the Romanes</i> 1611 <i>The anatomie of a Christian man</i> 1612 <i>Three heavenly treatises, concerning Christ</i> 1613 <i>A holy alphabet for Sion's scholars full of spiritual instructions</i> 1617 <i>A most comfortable and Christian dialogue, betweene the Lord, and the soule</i> 1618 <i>Tvvo sermons preached in Scotland before the Kings Maiesty</i> 1619 <i>The life and death of the Reuerend Father</i> 1619 <i>Pathmos: or, A commentary on the Reuelation of Saint Iohn divided into three seuerall prophecies</i>	510,200

⁶ In counting the approximate size of the sub-corpora, I have manually excluded inappropriate portions such as advertisements from the text.

John Milton (1608-1674)	<p>1641 <i>A Discourse shewing in what state the three kingdomes are in at this present</i></p> <p>1641 <i>The reason of church-government urg'd against prelaty by Mr. John Milton</i></p> <p>1641 <i>Of reformation touching church-discipline in England</i></p> <p>1641 <i>Of prelatical episcopacy</i></p> <p>1641 <i>Canterbvries dreame in which the apparition of Cardinall Wolsey did present himselfe unto him on the fourteenth of May last past</i></p> <p>1642 <i>An apology against a pamphlet call'd A modest confutation of the animadversions upon the remonstrant against Smectymnuus</i></p> <p>1642 <i>Nevvs from hell, Rome and the Innes of court wherein is set forth the cobby of a letter written from the devill to the pope</i></p> <p>1643 <i>The doctrine and discipline of divorce restor'd to the good of both sexes from the bondage of canon law and other mistakes to Christian freedom</i></p> <p>1643 <i>A souveraigne salve to cure the blind</i></p> <p>1644 <i>Areopagitica</i></p> <p>1644 <i>Of education. To Master Samuel Hartlib</i></p> <p>1645 <i>Tetrachordon</i></p> <p>1649 <i>The tenure of kings and magistrates proving that it is lawfull</i></p> <p>1650 <i>Eikonoklestes in answer to a book intitl'd Eikon basilike the portrature His Sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings</i></p> <p>1651 <i>The life and reigne of King Charls</i></p> <p>1659 <i>Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church wherein is also discour'd of tithes, church-fees, church-revenues, and whether any maintenance of ministers can be settl'd by law</i></p> <p>1659 <i>A treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes shewing that it is not lawfull for any power on earth to compell in matters of religion</i></p> <p>1660 <i>Brief notes upon a late sermon, titl'd, The fear of God and the King preach'd</i></p> <p>1660 <i>The readie and easie vvay to establish a free commonwealth and the excellence thereof compar'd with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation</i></p> <p>1673 <i>Of true religion, haeresie, schism, toleration, and what best means may be us'd against the growth of popery</i></p> <p>1674 <i>A Declaration, or, Letters patents of the election of this present King of Poland, John the Third, elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Dom. 1674</i></p> <p>1681 <i>Mr. John Miltons Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in MDCXLI</i></p> <p>1689 <i>Pro populo adversus tyrannos, or, The sovereign right and power of the people over tyrants</i></p> <p>1680 <i>A supplement to Dr. Du Moulin</i></p> <p>1682 <i>A brief history of Moscovia and of other less-known countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay</i></p> <p>1694 <i>Letters of state written by Mr. John Milton, to most of the sovereign princes and republicks of Europe, from the year 1649, till the year 1659</i></p>	480,300
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<p>Richard Baxter (1615-1691)</p>	<p>1655 <i>Aphorismes of justification</i> 1655 <i>The arrogancy of reason against divine revelations</i> 1658 <i>A call to the unconverted to turn and live and accept of mercy</i> 1660 <i>Catholick vinity</i> 1660 <i>The Christian religion expressed</i> 1661 <i>An accompt of all the proceedings of the commissioners of both persvasions appointed by His Sacred Majesty</i> 1682 <i>Additional notes on the life and death of Sir Matthew Hale</i> 1682 <i>An answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlocke</i> 1689 <i>Cain and Abel malignity</i> 1691 <i>Church concord</i> 1693 <i>The Christians converse with God</i></p>	<p>504,200</p>
<p>Robert Boyle (1627-1691)</p>	<p>1664 <i>Experiments and considerations touching colours</i> 1666 <i>Hydrostatical paradoxes made out by new experiments, for the most physical and easie</i> 1669 <i>A continuation of new experiments physico-mechanical ... The I. part</i> 1672 <i>Essay about the origine & virtues of gems</i> 1674 <i>Of the cause of attraction by suction a paradox</i> 1674 <i>Tracts containing I. suspicions about some hidden qualities of the air: with an appendix touching celestial magnets and some other particulars: II. animadversions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problemata de vacuo: III. a discourse of the cause of attraction by suction</i> 1675 <i>Advertisements about the experiments and notes relating to chymical qualities</i> 1675 <i>Experimental notes of the mechanical origine or production of fixtness</i> 1678 <i>Of a degradation of gold made by an anti-elixir, a strange chymical narative</i> 1680 <i>The aerial noctiluca, or, Some new phoenomena, and a process of a factitious self-shining substance imparted in a letter to a friend living in the country</i> 1684 <i>Experiments and considerations about the porosity of bodies in two essays</i> 1685 <i>An essay of the great effects of even languid and unheeded motion whereunto is annexed An experimental discourse of some little observed causes of the insalubrity and salubrity of the air and its effects</i> 1691 <i>Experimenta & observationes physicae wherein are briefly treated of several subjects relating to natural philosophy in an experimental way</i></p>	<p>519,600</p>
<p>John Locke (1632-1704)</p>	<p>1670 <i>The fundamental constitutions of Carolina</i> 1690 <i>An essay concerning humane understanding microform</i> 1690 <i>Two treatises of government in the former</i> 1692 <i>Some considerations of the consequences of the lowering of interest</i> 1694 <i>Reason and religion</i> 1695 <i>A vindication of The reasonableness of Christianity, &c</i> 1697 <i>A second vindication of The reasonableness of Christianity, &c</i></p>	<p>517,200</p>

As mentioned above, SAEMEP is concerned with individual authors' language, which may not necessarily be representative of the English language of the relevant period. The deviation from the overall trend can, however, be a hint as to the further clarification of the historical development of English. Another feature of SAEMEP is that it is not a corpus of any balancing in respect of genres. The texts by Richard Baxter and William Cowper are, for example, strongly inclined to be religious, whereas the texts by Robert Boyle are mostly scientific. The corpus of John Milton includes texts of various genres, though his life was in many ways associated with religion. The usability of SAEMEP is, therefore, to be maximized when some of its sub-corpora are appropriately grouped or are combined with various other corpora, including the *Helsinki Corpus* or the *Archer Corpus*, which have more rigid structures and which can therefore serve as reference corpora.⁷ The custom-made combination of various corpora is the essential core of the third-generation philosophy, for which SAEMEP has been designed, though in the next section I will use all of the sub-corpora listed in Table 1 for a start. The following is to test how individual linguistic behaviours can accord with, and deviate from, the general trend of the historical development of English.

3. A case study: the historical development of *always* in SAEMEP

As a case study of SAEMEP, I have investigated the extent to which the adverb *always* has developed in the language of More, Bacon, Cowper, Milton, Baxter, Boyle, and Locke, with a particular focus on the presence or absence of the ending *-s*, which was in earlier English often unavailable. A quick survey of SAEMEP immediately provides both ALWAY and ALWAYS, as illustrated by:⁸

⁷ For some details of the *Helsinki Corpus*, see <<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/>>. For the *Archer Corpus*, see <<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/ARCHER/updated%20version/introduction.html>>.

⁸ The small-capital forms ALWAYS and ALWAY are used as cover forms, subsuming respectively all orthographic variants with and without *-s*.

(1) Hereby is figured, that our God is *alway* mindfull of his couenant ...

(William Cowper, 1619, *Pathmos*)

(2) The condition needs not be expressed, being *always* necessarily understood

(Richard Baxter, 1661, *An accompt of all the proceedings of the commissioners*)

Forms where *all* and *way* are separated by a space are available, as shown below, in SAEMEP. They are also counted as a variant form of ALWAY(S) in the discussion of this paper.

(3) Than sayde they to hym, lorde gyue vs *all waye* this brede.

(Thomas More, 1533, *The answeare to the fyrst parte of the poysoned booke*)

Although there are not numerous previous studies on the development of *always*, the process of the shift from ALWAY to ALWAYS has largely been uncovered to date. First of all, the added *-s* is likely to be an adverbial marker, though this has occasionally been disputed in the literature.⁹ Despite the possible existence of some slight meaning difference between ALWAY and ALWAYS, it is generally agreed that the semantic distinction, if any, has been obscure for an extensive space of time in the history of English. Bridges & Weigle (1960: 17) explore the two forms in the Authorized Version of the English Bible (1611), reaching the conclusion that the meaning difference is no longer plausible in it. I have also claimed in my earlier publications that it would be more practical to deal with all possible examples of ALWAY and ALWAYS in the analysis, simply excluding examples in clear spatial uses where the original meaning of *way* is retained (Iyeiri 2014, 2016). Furthermore, the updated description in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) implies

⁹ For further discussion on the origin of adverbial *-s*, see Brinton (2012: 153-157) among many others. She gives the following list of relevant *s*-forms found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: *adays*, *algates*, *always*, *a-nights* (arch.), *arights* (obs.), *besides*, *betimes*, *else*, *evens* (obs.), *haps*, *hence*, *hereabouts*, *longs*, *needs*, *nights*, *nowadays*, *once*, *perhaps*, *since*, *thence*, *thereabouts*, *thrice*, *togethers* (obs.), *twice*, *unawares*, *whence*, *whereabouts*, and *whiles* (obs.).

that *ALWAY* and *ALWAYS* have been largely interchangeable in the history of English, stating: “After the Middle English period *alway* becomes increasingly less common in standard English, being supplanted in all senses by *ALWAYS adv*” (s.v. *alway*).¹⁰ The discussion below is also based on this assumption.

Secondly, it has been noted in previous studies that the major shift from *ALWAY* to *ALWAYS* took place in the middle of the 16th century and that it was feasibly a change from below. Whereas the rise of *ALWAYS* is observed already in Middle English (see *OED*, s.v. *always*), its examples are either very rare or restricted to particular authors in the period (Iyeiri 2016).¹¹ A noticeable expansion of *ALWAYS* takes place only in the Early Modern English period, and particularly in the 16th century. By exploring the data of EMEPS, Iyeiri (2014: 37-38) shows that the proportion of *ALWAYS* (as against *ALWAY*) rises significantly from the period 1501-1550 (53.2%) to 1551-1600 (95.4%). This implies that the use of *ALWAYS* was more or less established by the second half of the 16th century. Individual linguistic behaviours may, however, have departed from the general trend, judging from the fact that the older form without *-s* is still available even in the present day, though such uses are marked as “archaic” and “regional” in the *OED* (s.v. *alway*). This is to be tested in SAEMEP. That the shift to *ALWAYS* is possibly a change from below is also based on my earlier publication (Iyeiri 2014: 39-43), where I point to the earlier expansion of *ALWAYS* in spoken data. This study of mine is based on *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*¹² and the Early Modern English section of the *Helsinki Corpus* as well as EMEPS.

The overall historical trend thus far described is largely confirmed by the analysis of the present study. Among the seven authors in SAEMEP, Sir Thomas More, whose

¹⁰ For some earlier descriptions in the *OED*, where the distinction between *ALWAY* (adverbial accusative) and *ALWAYS* (adverbial genitive) was mentioned, see Iyeiri (2014).

¹¹ According to Iyeiri (2016), Malory shows an interesting tendency to opt for *ALWAYS*, while other major late Middle English authors in METIP still abide with the older form without *-s*.

¹² See <<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/CED/>> for some details of *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*.

writings go back to the first half of the 16th century, is the oldest and yields an exceptionally low proportion of ALWAYS. See Table 2 for further details:

Table 2. Examples of ALWAYS and ALWAYS in the seven authors of SAEMEP

	ALWAY		ALWAYS		Totals
Thomas More	177	(98.3%)	3	(1.7%)	180
Francis Bacon	0	(0%)	93	(100%)	93
William Cowper	139	(63.2%)	81	(36.8%)	220
John Milton	1	(1.1%)	87	(98.9%)	88
Richard Baxter	7	(17.5%)	33	(82.5%)	40
Robert Boyle	0	(0%)	85	(100%)	85
John Locke	0	(0%)	324	(100%)	324

The statistics in this table demonstrate that the use of ALWAYS is close to or equal to 100% in most of the authors explored, with the clear exceptions of Sir Thomas More, who was the oldest among the seven authors, and William Cowper, who had a Scottish background. The reason for the deviation of Sir Thomas More from the other authors is clearly generational, while that of William Cowper is likely to be regional.

The contrast between Sir Thomas More and the other authors is particularly striking, as the ratio of ALWAYS in his writings is very close to none. This is, in fact, noticeably lower even when compared with the overall trend in the history of English. As mentioned above, the proportion of ALWAYS in the period 1501-1550 in EMEPS is 53.2%. Considering the fact that the departure of Sir Thomas More from the general trend is rather marked, the exceptionally low proportion of ALWAYS in his writings may be idiosyncratic. The possibility still exists, however, that the style of his writings was too elevated to readily adopt the rising form with –s. As mentioned above, the shift to ALWAYS was most probably a change from below. It is also probable that religious texts in general, including More's religious writings, tended to be slower in adopting ALWAYS. Richard Baxter, another religious figure, also presents a relatively low proportion of ALWAYS, at least in comparison to his contemporaries.¹³ In any case, the shift from ALWAY to ALWAYS seems to have accelerated thereafter in the Early Modern English period. The use

¹³ Their examples of ALWAY are not necessarily used in direct quotations from the Bible.

of ALWAYS is more or less fully established in the period under investigation, even among major authors with much prestige.

As for the deviated behaviour of William Cowper, a likely explanation points to his Scottish background, although this cannot be proved in the data available at hand. I could only state that this simply contributes to the opening up of a new avenue for further research. Regional differences in the shift from ALWAY to ALWAYS are obviously a matter of interest.

Interestingly enough, the establishment of ALWAYS proceeds side by side with the reduction of orthographic variants attestable in the texts. As Table 3 demonstrates, the spelling forms of ALWAY and ALWAYS were not at all settled at the beginning of the Early Modern English period:

Table 3. Orthographic forms of ALWAY and ALWAYS in the seven authors of SAEMEP

Authors	ALWAY (raw frequencies)	ALWAYS (raw frequencies)
Thomas More	<i>all way</i> (8), <i>al way</i> (5), <i>al waye</i> (1), <i>allway</i> (9), <i>allwaye</i> (3), <i>allwey</i> (5), <i>alwai</i> (2), <i>alwaie</i> (1), <i>alway</i> (89), <i>alwaye</i> (52), <i>alwey</i> (1), <i>alvay</i> (1)	<i>alwayes</i> (3)
Francis Bacon		<i>alwaies</i> (31), <i>alwayes</i> (62)
William Cowper	<i>alwaie</i> (2), <i>alway</i> (137)	<i>alwaies</i> (30), <i>alwayes</i> (50), <i>alwyes</i> (1)
John Milton	<i>alway</i> (1)	<i>alwayes</i> (1), <i>alwaies</i> (25), <i>alwayes</i> (12), <i>alwayes</i> (49)
Richard Baxter	<i>alway</i> (7)	<i>alwaies</i> (4), <i>alwayes</i> (9), <i>alwayes</i> (20)
Robert Boyle		<i>alwaies</i> (5), <i>alwayes</i> (14), <i>alwayes</i> (66)
John Locke		<i>alwayes</i> (324)

It is of no surprise that the fluctuation of the spelling is particularly outstanding in the writings by Sir Thomas More, who belongs to the oldest generation and who shows the predominant use of ALWAY rather than ALWAYS.¹⁴ Variant forms are increasingly restricted

¹⁴ Whether the orthographic variants are ascribable to the authors or to the compositors in the printing house is a separate question, which the present paper does not deal with. I will simply refer to the authors in this paper for practical reasons.

as time passes, but remain until Robert Boyle. It is only in the writings of John Locke that the modern form *always* is consistently employed. The very frequent use of *always* (324 examples) in his writings may also indicate that it is fully established and stable as a lexis by his time. Additional features observed in this table include: the forms where ALL and WAY are separated are found only in Sir Thomas More; earlier forms of ALWAYS tend to have three syllables as in *alwayes*; and the modern form *always*, which is disyllabic, occurs from John Milton onwards and becomes increasingly common among those born in the 17th century.

Hence, the shift from ALWAY to ALWAYS comprises several stages instead of a simple addition of -s, though they are often unnoticed in research perhaps due to the quick expansion and establishment of *always* in the history of English.

4. Conclusion

The present paper has provided an outlining description of SAEMEP and given a case study based on it. It has been shown that the process of the shift from ALWAY to ALWAYS in this corpus is overall in accordance with the same process described in Iyeyri (2014) on the basis of EMEPS, a more general corpus of the Early Modern English period. The use of ALWAYS is already predominant in the authors of SAEMEP, with the exceptions of Sir Thomas More, whose writings go back to the first half the 16th century, and William Cowper, who had a Scottish background. The conservative feature of Sir Thomas More's writings may be ascribable to his elevated style to some extent as well as their earlier dates. It is also possible that religious writings tend to be conservative in respect of the introduction of ALWAYS, since Richard Baxter, a typical religious figure, also displays a relatively conservative tendency for the date. This inference is in accordance with the findings of my previous research based on EMEPS, i.e. the shift from ALWAY to ALWAYS was most probably a change from below. All in all, the use of ALWAYS was more or less established in the second half of the 16th century.

The above discussion has confirmed that individual linguistic behaviours do deviate from the overall trend. The deviations are of particular interest as they can reveal stylistic, regional, and other details relevant to the historical development of linguistic forms. It has also been shown above that studies based on the tactful grouping of texts are particularly effective when they are accompanied by studies based on larger-sized reference corpora. Various directions in corpus linguistics or even historical linguistics in general have been adduced to date. Their effect can most probably be enhanced when various combinations of methodologies are also ventured. Certainly, it is not advisable to stick to one, shunning the others.

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