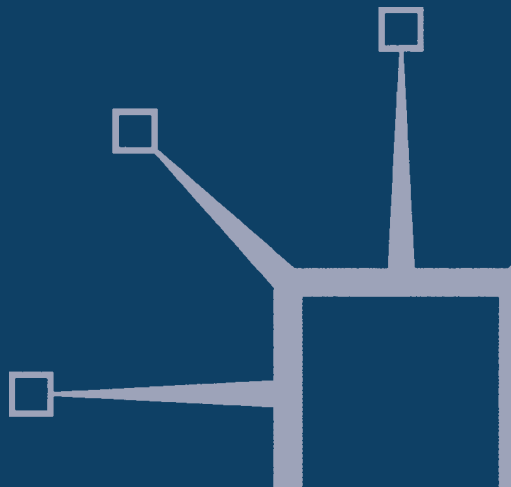


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The Subjunctive in the Age of Prescriptivism

English and German Developments during
the Eighteenth Century

Anita Auer



The Subjunctive in the Age of Prescriptivism

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English and German Developments during
the Eighteenth Century

Anita Auer

Assistant Professor, University of Utrecht

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For My Mother Pauline Auer

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Preface

The main topic of the present study is the description, use and development of the inflectional subjunctive in English and German during the eighteenth century. This book grows out of my doctoral thesis, which I presented at the University of Manchester in 2005. The fast development of electronic databases and corpora in recent years allows me to present much more empirical data in this book, as, for instance, retrieved from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO) and the GerManC Corpus, than I had at my disposal when writing the Ph.D. dissertation. Furthermore, I have received many valuable comments on my work on the subjunctive, which I have tried to incorporate in this book.

I express my gratitude to the following people for all their effort, motivation and support throughout this research project: First and foremost, I thank my Ph.D. supervisors Professor Sylvia Adamson and Professor Martin Durrell. The work presented here would not have been possible without their support and encouragement. I am especially grateful for both Sylvia's and Martin's constant effort and availability for discussion, and I am very happy that they remain my mentors! Many thanks go to my Ph.D. examiners, the late Professor Richard M. Hogg and Dr Winifred Davies, for the inspiring discussions on the development of the subjunctive. I sincerely thank Professor Lilo Moessner for the ongoing exchange of articles and ideas on the English subjunctive – auf dass es so bleibe! I also thank Professor David Denison, Dr Louise Sylvester, Professor Marianne Hundt and Professor Richard Watts for their valuable advice. I am very grateful to Professor Dieter Kastovsky and Professor Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky from Vienna University for eliciting my interest in historical linguistics in the first place and for encouraging me to stay in the field of linguistics. I also owe thanks to the HiSoN Network and 'the English eighteenth-century network', most notably Professor Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Professor Carol Percy, Professor Joan Beal, Dr Larisa Oldireva Gustafsson and Tony Fairman, for their useful comments on my work on eighteenth-century grammars. I am indebted to Professor Peter Wiesinger (University of Vienna) for his advice on the compilation of my Austrian German corpus, and to Mag. Stephan Gaisbauer (Stifterhaus Linz) for helping me with my search for texts.

I am grateful to the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures at the University of Manchester for employing me as a Graduate Teaching Assistant and for financially supporting my studies.

Finally, I sincerely thank all my friends and colleagues for their support – in particular, Dr Nuria Yáñez Bouza, Dr Karlijn Navest and Dr Victorina González-Díaz. Most special thanks are due to my family and in particular to my mum Pauline and my partner Michiel for their much-appreciated support. *Thank you so much for your constant encouragement and belief in me!*

Anita Auer
Leiden, 2008

List of Abbreviations

1. Corpora

ARCHER	<i>A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers</i>
CEECs	<i>Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler</i>
HC	<i>Helsinki Corpus</i>
SC	<i>Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots</i>

2. Grammatical

Pers.	Person
Pl.	Plural
Pres.	Present
Sing.	Singular

3. Historical Periods

ME	Middle English (1100–1450/1500)
EModE	Early Modern English (1500–1700)
LModE	Late Modern English (1700–1900)

4. Language Varieties/Dialects

H	High variety (following Ferguson 1959)
L	Low variety (following Ferguson 1959)

1

Introduction

The rise of a standard language is inextricably connected to value judgements about linguistic variants. During standardisation processes certain linguistic expressions are marked as 'correct' and prestigious and subsequently selected as a standard form whereas other linguistic features are labelled as 'bad' and corrupt use of language. As Haugen rightly points out, '[w]here a norm is to be established, the problem will be as complex as the sociolinguistic structure of the people involved' (1997, p. 349). It is, after all, the socio-political context that influences the evaluation of the language usage. An established norm, in turn, has many socio-political consequences. This work will be concerned with the establishment of linguistic norms in the history of specific languages and the socio-political contexts in which these norms arose as well as their influence on actual usage. More precisely, this study seeks to trace the development of the subjunctive mood in English and German, with a special focus on the Austrian variety,¹ during part of their standardisation processes, namely the eighteenth century. As grammarians were attempting to shape and codify a prestige variety during this period, the question arises whether and to what extent these normative grammarians influenced the development of the inflectional subjunctive. After all, the subjunctive mood has been claimed to have been on the decline in both English and German in the eighteenth century (*cf.* for English: Strang, 1970, p. 209; Turner, 1980, p. 272; Görlach, 2001, p. 122; for German: von Polenz, 1994, pp. 261–263). The decline in usage relates to the synthetic subjunctive form (see examples 1–4), the functions of which were taken over by periphrastic forms,² modal verbs and the indicative.

- (1) *If* he *show* any Disposition to write me a penitential Letter, you may encourage it; not that I think it of any Consequence to me,

2 *The Subjunctive in the Age of Prescriptivism*

but because it will ease his Mind and set him at rest. (ARCHER 1766Hume.X3) [present subjunctive]

- (2) I desire to take more serious thought of ys matter, yt *if* it *were* ye will of God some good might be done in it. (ARCHER 1661NEWC.J1) [past subjunctive]
- (3) Den 4ten dieses ist Kundschaftt eingelauffen/ daß der Feind bey Betz eine Schantze *anlege*/ und sich bey Temeswar mit der Armee *postire*/ auf welche die Käyserl. vigiliren. (GerManC nod_1650–1699) [Subjunctive I]

[On the fourth day of this month news reached us that the enemy *build* an entrenchment near Betz and *post* with the army near Temeswar, to which the Imperial army is vigilant.]

- (4) Darum *wäre* es immer gut, wenn wir die Zeitungen nur öftrer *läsen*. (GerManC nod_1786) [Subjunctive II]
[Therefore *were* it always advisable that we *read* the papers more often.]

Several quantitative studies have already been carried out on the development of the subjunctive mood in English (Kihlbom, 1938/39; Harsh, 1986; Övergaard, 1995; Peters, 1998; Hundt, 1998, forthcoming; Serpillet, 2001; Moessner, 2002a, 2002b, 2006, 2007; Auer and González-Díaz, 2005; Auer, 2006; Grund and Walker, 2006; Fillbrandt, 2006; Schlüter, forthcoming), but there is still little known about the development in the Late Modern English period (see Övergaard, 1995, p. 89). Even though many linguists have commented on the development of the inflectional subjunctive during that period, there is a lack of empirical data available to support their claims. As regards quantitative studies on the subjunctive in German, Jäger (1971) studied the subjunctive in contemporary German and Engström-Persson (1979) investigated the use of the mood around 1800. While Engström-Persson's study is based on a self-compiled multi-genre corpus, her data do not focus on geographical differences in use of the subjunctive. Guchmann and Semenjuk (1981), on the other hand, did investigate the development of the subjunctive in a range of literary genres as well as different geographical areas in the period 1470–1730 in Germany. Their investigation does, however, stop at the point when standardisation processes were initiated in the southern areas and in particular in the Habsburg Empire.³ Behaghel (1924), who provides a historical account of German syntax, dedicates a chapter to the subjunctive mood, but this does not contain any statistical records of the development of the subjunctive. All in all, as studies on the subjunctive in English and German have not yet extensively

explored the development of the mood in the eighteenth century, this is what this book aims to supply.

The remaining parts of this chapter shall be concerned with the methodological framework employed in this work. Through the discussion of particular methodological approaches, namely historical sociolinguistics (Section 1), precept and practice (Section 2) and comparative standardology (Section 3), the organisation of this book will be established and elucidated.

1 Historical sociolinguistics

The beginning of the research field known as ‘Socio-historical Linguistics’ or ‘Historical Sociolinguistics’ is marked with the publication of Suzanne Romaine’s *Socio-Historical Linguistics* (1982), in which she applied sociolinguistic techniques to the study of historical data. While Romaine’s study of relativizers in Middle Scots (1450–1700) revealed that stylistic stratification played an important role in language maintenance and shift, the scope of historical sociolinguistics has since then been extended ‘to comprise a wide range of issues including social and regional embedding in linguistic change’ (Nevalainen, 2006, p. 558). Any kind of sociolinguistic research, be it synchronic or diachronic, requires an analysis of linguistic data in connection with contextual information such as genre, gender and region. The flourishing of representative electronic corpora since the 1980s (in the field of English) provided linguists with a range of corpora – that is diachronic, synchronic, single-genre, multi-genre, written, spoken, as well as geographically and socio-linguistically stratified – to investigate language variation and change (see McEnery and Wilson, 2001). For my study of the use and development of the subjunctive in English and German in the eighteenth century I will use electronic corpora that should ideally contain samples from different genres and regions and should be socio-linguistically stratified. As Milroy (1998) rightly comments, ‘All changes diffuse socially, and it is therefore argued that we need to take into account social factors in addition to intra-linguistic factors in order to come closer to explanations’ (Milroy, 1998, p. 41). Existing corpora can unfortunately not cater for all the requirements of socio-historical research; nevertheless, some of the needed variables are contained in diachronic corpora after all. The English usage part of my research will be based on *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER), a 1.7 million-word corpus, which consists of examples from British and American English ranging from 1650 to 1990.⁴ The corpus

contains a variety of texts from different genres, which are journals, letters, drama, fiction, news, sermons, scientific prose, medical prose and legal opinions (see Biber, Finegan, Atkinson *et al.*, 1994 for more information). This study will be restricted to the British English variety only. The make-up of the corpus allows me to investigate the diachronic development of the subjunctive mood as well as the distribution of the form with respect to genre and gender. On the German side it is a lot more difficult to find a representative historical corpus that can be used for my research. Only in 2006 a pilot project of a German historical corpus (GerManC) has commenced at the University of Manchester, which in the long run aims to parallel ARCHER in English.⁵ After the completion of the first stage of the project (in April 2007), the corpus contains 100,000 words of one genre, namely newspapers, covering the time span 1650–1800 in five varieties of German: North German, West Central German, East Central German, West Upper German (including Switzerland), and East Upper German (including Austria). I will first investigate this single-genre corpus with respect to the use and development of the German subjunctive and will then analyse a second multi-genre corpus (sermons, journals and reports and newspapers), which I compiled for the Austrian German (East Upper German) language variety. Due to the differences in make-up of the corpora, the German study will not be able to focus on the gender variable.

2 Precept and practice

Standardisation processes took place in England and Germany at approximately the same time, namely the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (see Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of the standardisation processes). In both countries grammarians and language theoreticians were heavily involved in shaping and codifying the desired prestige varieties (*cf.* for English: Leonard, 1929; Milroy and Milroy, 1991; Bayley, 1992; Finegan, 1992, 1998; Baugh and Cable, 1993; Stein and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds), 1994; Blake, 1996; McIntosh, 1998; Bex and Watts, 1999; Wright (ed.), 2000; Görlach, 2001; Crowley, 2003; for German: Althaus *et al.*, 1980; von Polenz, 1994; Gardt *et al.*, 1995; Besch *et al.*, 2000; for Austrian German: Wiesinger, 1983, 1995, 1997). Even though the ‘age of prescriptivism’ (*cf.* for English: Dossena, 2003, p. 389; 2007, p. 13; Mugglestone, 2007, pp. 10–13; for German: von Polenz, 1994) has been well documented in both languages, it has not yet been satisfactorily resolved whether normative grammarians or prescriptivists

actually changed usage. After all, the publication of grammars, dictionaries and prescriptive manuals only indicates the strong interest in the standardisation of the language. Studies in English historical linguistics that deal with the question of prescriptivism and its influence on actual language usage can be divided into two types of studies, namely (1) those that investigate the influence of language authorities, which could have emerged from grammar books or via specific people, on individuals and their idiolects⁶ (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1987, 1991, 1994, 2006; Susan Fitzmaurice, 2000, 2003 [formerly Wright, 1994]; Percy, 1996; Auer and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2007; Sairio, 2008) and (2) those that focus on the prescriptivists' effects on language usage on a larger scale and for this purpose employ electronic corpora (*cf.* Auer and González-Díaz, 2005; Auer, 2006; Yáñez-Bouza, 2006, 2007).⁷ Note that the latter kinds of studies (on a macro level) have only recently started.

In German historical linguistics opinions on whether prescriptivists had any influence on actual language usage have been divided. Claims that prescriptivists' rules had an effect on language usage have been made in several linguistic histories of German, but the lack of empirical evidence suggests that these claims are mere suppositions (see Bergmann, 1982, pp. 270–272). Bergmann⁸ (1982) and Schmidt-Wilpert (1985), who discussed the problem extensively, argue that the matter is not yet resolved. Schmidt-Wilpert claims that not enough is known about the effect of prescriptivism on language usage, which can be put down to the fact that linguists have focussed on other research areas such as language change and continuity (see Schmidt-Wilpert, 1985, p. 1557). The lack of research on the effect of prescriptivism may also be explained as follows: German researchers were primarily interested in investigating the influence of different language-external factors such as political and cultural factors. The contribution of grammarians was regarded as less important (see *ibid.*, p. 1557). It must be pointed out that the study of Early New High German grammars and other theoretical works on language has nevertheless been a popular field of research. The study of linguistic ideas and philosophy of language as portrayed in meta-linguistic works was considered to be of great interest. However, the normative effect of prescriptions on actual language usage is an aspect that has largely been neglected (Bergmann, 1982, p. 277; Konopka, 1996, p. 42). Von Polenz (1994, p. 168) subscribes to this view and maintains that the actual effect of grammarians and teachers of orthography on language usage has not been sufficiently clarified.

More recently, a useful method of evaluating influence through the comparison between prescription and actual usage has been applied in

the field of German standardisation by Konopka (1996), Takada (1998) and Langer (2001). What these studies have in common is that they are based on two corpora, which are individually evaluated and then compared. One corpus, which I shall call 'precept corpus', consists of a collection of meta-linguistic comments on the investigated grammatical feature, and the second corpus, which I shall label 'usage corpus', represents language practice. Marek Konopka, for instance, in his work *Strittige Erscheinungen der deutschen Syntax im 18. Jahrhundert* (1996), discusses German syntactic rules such as subordinate clauses and *zu* + infinitive, which were developed in the eighteenth century. The great interest of grammarians and other theoreticians of language, which is reflected in the large number of grammars, raises the question of whether grammars had an effect on actual syntactic usage. Konopka thus aimed to investigate the development of language usage and language norms in the eighteenth century (see Konopka, 1996, p. 1). He only discusses 'controversial' syntactic features, which means syntactic formations on which the grammarians disagree as reflected by their proposed rules. As pointed out above, the study is based on a precept corpus, which consists of 17 works (1722–1775) by 14 grammarians or theoreticians from six geographical areas, and a usage corpus that contains 37 sources (1724–1775) covering three text types (philosophical texts, texts on language, literary reviews) as well as regional variation. Konopka analyses and discusses both corpora individually, then matches and compares the results. The outcome reveals that grammarians can be divided into two groups. The first group of grammarians used an adequate grammatical terminology, which means a set of syntactic rules; they 'described' actual language use and subsequently theorised grammatical constructions that were in fact part of the language. The second group, who Konopka calls old-fashioned, lacked an adequate terminology and posited artificial constructions that were not found in the actual language use at the time (*cf.* Konopka, 1996, pp. 232–235; Langer, 2001, p. 5). The analysis of the usage corpus showed variation in the different syntactic areas that was determined by pragmatic factors (see Konopka, 1996, p. 223). The comparison between language norms and actual usage revealed a geographical and temporal parallelism, which, according to Konopka, indicates that prescription influenced actual language usage. This result was particularly obvious in the data of a certain region, namely Upper German. Konopka also showed that the works by the language authority Gottsched were most influential, whereas he claims that the works of other grammarians predicted usage that occurred after the research period, which ends in 1775.

Hiroyuki Takada's *Grammatik und Sprachwirklichkeit von 1640–1700. Zur Rolle deutscher Grammatiker im schriftsprachlichen Ausgleichsprozess* (1998) investigates the emergence and distribution of nationally printed norms for literary and educated usage. As the main focus of the study is grammatical correction in the practice of printing, Takada selects between 2 and 8 editions of each text, which differ in publishing date and printing location. The religious texts selected are for example different editions of Luther's Bible. As opposed to Konopka, Takada does not only aim to find out if grammarians' recommendations were adopted by contemporary writers, but also whether printers at different locations adhered to the norms (see Takada, 1998, pp. 16–19). The general outcome of the study shows that meta-linguistic comments on language by theorists and actual language usage largely agree in the second half of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the grammarians exerted influence on local and national language usage. Takada also noticed that the degree of influence by grammarians was not the same in all linguistic areas, but that the success was greater with orthography and morphology (see Takada, 1998, pp. 296–299).

The final German study of this kind to be discussed is Nils Langer's *Linguistic Purism in Action. How Auxiliary *tun* Was Stigmatized in Early New High German* (2001), which seeks 'to explore to what extent the influence of prescriptive grammarians on the formation of standard German can be traced and verified by a close comparison of language use and metalinguistic comments in the ENHG [1350–1750] period' (Langer, 2001, p. 4). The study is concerned with the morpho-syntactic construction auxiliary *tun*, which is stigmatised in present-day written German and associated with low social status and colloquial speech. Langer argues that if a construction has frequently been used before language theorists comment, but following their objection to the construction starts to disappear, we can reasonably claim that the grammarians' efforts to influence language development have been effective. Unlike Konopka and Takada, Langer investigates the usage corpus first to 'establish patterns of the distribution of *tun* with regard to region, time and text type' (*ibid.*, p. 9). Then the precept corpus is analysed with respect to the promotion or stigmatisation of the language feature. The usage corpus reveals that the auxiliary *tun*-construction occurred in approximately 50% of the texts and that the construction was evenly distributed with regard to region, time and text type. These results suggest that 'the ungrammaticality of *tun* in standard German was not due to an independently occurring, general decrease of the use of the construction' (*ibid.*, p. 220). Instead, the precept corpus reveals that the

*Language usage 1 – Meta-linguistic comments by grammarians
(descriptive & prescriptive) – Effectiveness – Language usage 2*

(based on Konopka, 1996, p. 47)

Figure 1.1 A model of precept and practice

construction became stigmatised in clearly discernible stages: ‘the feature is slowly but progressively stigmatized as bad poetry (1640–1680), bad written German (1680–1740), and bad German (after 1740) in the form of metalinguistic comments’ (*ibid.*, p. 10). Langer thus successfully showed that the stigmatisation of *tun* was strongly influenced by comments of prescriptive grammarians.

All these studies are in principle based on the stages of Konopka’s model, which depicts the method of approach (Figure 1.1).

Konopka claims that the elements depicted in the model are intergradient and then suggests that ‘[w]ill man die Bedeutung der Grammatik für den Sprachgebrauch richtig einschätzen, müssen zunächst die beiden unmittelbar greifbaren Bereiche untersucht werden, und zwar die sprachreflexiven Aussagen und der Sprachgebrauch’ (Konopka, 1996, p. 47). In his advice to compare both directly available domains, namely the meta-linguistic comments and actual language usage, Konopka does not differentiate between language usage 1 and language usage 2 as proposed in the model. In fact, his precept corpus, which covers the time span 1722–1775, and the usage corpus, which covers 1724–1775, almost perfectly overlap. Both Takada and Langer apply Konopka’s model by comparing the precept element and the usage element (as a whole).

My interpretation of Konopka’s model differs from Konopka’s application of it. The first step in the method is to chart the actual language use before the codification stage, in other words, before grammarians prescribed a certain usage. The second part of the model refers to the study of language norms as represented in opinions and meta-linguistic comments made by grammarians about the investigated feature (the precept corpus). It is not always obvious if a grammarian’s account is based on actual language usage or if it is prescriptive, and this would certainly influence or rather hinder the evaluation of effectiveness. The last part refers to usage after grammarians exercised their prescriptive powers. A close comparison between language usage 1, language usage 2 and meta-linguistic comments by grammarians should ideally show if

prescriptivists had an influence on the development of the selected linguistic feature. One might even want to include a third element of language usage that covers the time span during which selected grammarians commented on the selected linguistic feature. This enables the researcher to possibly detect the point in the progression when the prescriptions start to be effective. The usage corpus may therefore be continuous and start before the precept corpus and finish after the precept corpus. A subdivision of the usage corpus may be as follows: Language usage 1 before the precept corpus starts, language usage 2 parallels the precept corpus, and language usage 3 covers some time after the precept corpus.

Similar kinds of studies to the ones discussed earlier have also been carried out in English historical linguistics, as for example Facchinetti (2000), Gustafsson (2002a, 2002b) and González-Díaz (2003). Facchinetti (2000), for instance, studied the modal verb *shall* in the nineteenth century. She analyses modal usage in 188 newspaper articles (*The Times*, *The Sunday Times*) dealing with the Irish Question in the nineteenth century and also discusses socially biased remarks made by grammarians in the previous centuries. The reason for the choice of the Irish question is that grammarians have ‘trespassed the limits of social discrimination so as to brand some *shall*- or *will*-clauses as typically Scottish, Irish, or American’ (Facchinetti, 2000, p. 115). Even though the selected articles are in English newspapers, Facchinetti argues that they include copies of reports and commentaries that were originally published in Irish newspapers (*ibid.*, p. 116). The language represented in the newspaper corpus therefore contains English as used in Ireland as well as England in the nineteenth century. Facchinetti’s study claims that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prescriptions were largely complied with in the nineteenth century; that is, the semantic discrimination between *will* and *shall* as suggested by grammarians has been noticed: *shall* with first person subjects favours future values, while with second and third person subjects deontic contexts are more common (see *ibid.*, p. 130).

Gustafsson (2002a) studied variation in the use of preterite and past participle forms during a period of prescriptive codification.⁹ Gustafsson compiled a corpus of public and private writing, whose usage she compared to the precepts found in contemporaneous grammars, rhetoric books and dictionaries. Her data revealed a tendency towards standardisation in public writing, which is shown in the spelling of *-ed* forms of regular verbs. This is however not substantiated in the use of irregular verb forms. The data of the private writing showed that the varied spelling of forms of regular verbs recedes in moderation as opposed to

the use of irregular verb forms, the recession of which is prominent. The overall results show that standardisation is not a monolithic process, but it comprises diverse and distinct standardisation processes (see Gustafsson, 2002a, p. 283). This diversity is also reflected in the contrasts between the evidence of usage and precept.

González-Díaz (2003) investigated the diachronic development of double periphrastic comparatives. She compares a number of 'usage' corpora to comments made by grammarians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about the grammatical feature. She finds that the form started to disappear from the written domain in the last decade of the sixteenth century and not during the age of prescriptivism as proposed in standard literature. Due to the initial loss of prestige of the form, which was followed by positive stigmatisation, double periphrastic forms became restricted to non-standard registers. The prescriptive tendencies of the eighteenth century fostered the social stigmatisation of the forms. The new interest in language variation and non-standard forms from the nineteenth century onwards resulted in double forms being less stigmatised, although still considered non-standard.

A critical appraisal of the English studies from the point of view of Konopka's model [my interpretation] shows that Facchinetti's work has flaws in that her study lacks the element language usage 1. The absence of this element prevents the researcher from finding out whether the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rules are in fact prescriptive. Moreover, it is not possible to monitor the exact influence of the grammarians' rules. Another difficulty is the choice of usage corpus as it is not representative of Irish English. Gustafsson appears to apply Konopka's model according to his interpretation in her 2002a study and my interpretation in her 2002b study; and so does González-Díaz (2003).

From the discussion of studies which have compared language prescription and language practice, it may be concluded that the method applied appears to be useful for testing whether prescriptive grammars were effective. The essential idea is thus to trace the development of linguistic thought as well as actual language usage (on a large scale) and then compare the outcome. The German scholars suggest that studies of this kind should be carried out with a wide range of linguistic features in order to support or oppose the claim that prescriptivists changed language usage overall. If a language theorist propagates a certain grammatical property and its usage increases in some geographical areas or text types in subsequent decades, the likelihood that the change is due to the prescriptive influence is rather high. Furthermore, if a

grammatical feature is stigmatised by grammarians and its actual usage subsequently strongly decreases to the verge of dying out, there is a good chance that the prescription was effective. It would seem important that a time gap lies between prescription and usage. After all, the lack of a temporal shift might suggest that actual language usage affected prescriptivism rather than vice versa.¹⁰ Konopka's (1996) claim that the works of other grammarians predicted usage that occurred after the research period can therefore possibly be interpreted as effective prescriptivism. The development should also be viewed over a longer period as certain stigmatised features might have disappeared from the standard written language but still occur in colloquial language. The possibility that the features are used in written language again is given. The effect of prescriptivism must then be regarded as limited and merely a trend in the diachronic development of a grammatical feature (cf. Elspaß, 2005; González-Díaz, 2003). Moreover, if a declining grammatical feature is stigmatised by grammarians and its actual usage subsequently strongly decreases to the verge of dying out, it is more difficult to tell whether prescriptivism played a role in its demise; for example, in the case with double negative, the existing trend could at best have been reinforced by prescription, which would probably not be noticeable. In this case, prescriptivism has to be seen as a facilitating rather than a triggering factor of language change.

Being aware of these limitations, why should the method be applied in a study of the inflectional subjunctive in English and German? If, as suggested by previous research, the subjunctive form was on the decline, an effective prescriptive advocacy of the form should result in a reversal of its development, which shows that prescriptivists might have influenced the development of the mood.

3 Comparative standardology

As Jespersen notes, '[t]he greatest and most important phenomenon of the evolution of language in historic times has been the springing up of the great national common languages – Greek, French, English, German, etc. – the “standard” languages which drive out, or are on the way to drive out, the local dialects' (Jespersen, 1925, p. 45). For some time standardisation has been associated with a kind of sociolinguistic change, more precisely a linguistic process of variation reduction, and investigations were sometimes carried out on a comparative basis¹¹, as for example in Scaglione's *The Emergence of National Languages* (1984)

and Haas's *Standard Languages: Spoken and Written* (1982). These studies, even though they provide case studies from different languages, cannot be considered properly comparative since each case study is approached from a different angle. It is therefore difficult to establish similarities and differences across histories of standardisation. In order to provide the systematic comparison that earlier studies have been lacking, in this work the standardisation accounts of English and German will be based on Haugen's four-step model. Haugen (1966, 1972, 1997) suggests four stages of language development, the features of which are crucial in the process leading from 'dialect' to 'language'. These four stages are (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function and (4) acceptance by the speech community. Haugen's standardisation concept has become somewhat of a 'standard' model for describing standardisation processes, which is substantiated by the fact that it has only recently been applied for comparative purposes in Deumert and Vandebussche (2003). The book consists of 16 standardisation histories of what the editors term 'mature' Germanic languages (Afrikaans, Danish, Dutch, English, German, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish), languages whose standardisation is in progress (Germanic pidgin and creole languages), languages with partial and ongoing standardisations (Frisian, Scots, Luxembourgish, Yiddish, Faroese) and it also includes an example of absent standardisation (the Middle Low German lingua franca) (Deumert and Vandebussche, 2003, p. 2). The contributors were asked to organise their articles based on Haugen's four-step model. This certainly raises the question whether the model fits every language, and if so, whether the standardisation processes go through the stages as listed? Deumert and Vandebussche responded to the first question as follows: 'Haugen's model has the advantage that it is broad as well as detailed enough to function as the frame of reference for the description of highly varied standardization histories' (*ibid.*, p. 4). To consider the second question, if standardisation processes went through the stages as listed by Haugen (1966, 1997), predictions of a development of a language would largely be possible. However, as research into the standardisation process of languages has shown, languages do not develop in the same way. Willemyns (2003, pp. 93–126), who contributed the chapter on Dutch, divided the standardisation process into selection and codification on the one hand and elaboration and implementation¹² on the other hand. This differs from the account of English by Nevalainen (2003, pp. 127–156), who subdivided the process into selection and acceptance versus codification and elaboration.¹³ In the case of Pacific Pidgins and Creoles, Mühlhäusler

(2003, pp. 355–382) deviated from the standard model and headed his account with status planning and corpus planning. From these examples we are able to observe that the four listed aspects seem to be applicable to all standard varieties or ‘mature’ Germanic languages. The only stage that is fairly fixed is the selection of a norm at the beginning of the process; the following stages are prone to overlap. The model shows that languages that have already developed into a standard will go through the four stages at some point. Other standardisation histories, those of partial and ongoing standardisations, will pass through selected stages only. This suggests that the four-stage model is best employed with hindsight.¹⁴

Why should Haugen’s four-step concept of standardisation serve as a model for the portrayal and comparison of the standardisation process in English and the German-speaking countries in this study? Firstly, the Haugen model is considered a standard frame of reference for standardisation processes. Secondly, different varieties of German, such as Austrian,¹⁵ were not treated in Deumert and Vandebussche’s (2003) volume. Moreover, Deumert and Vandebussche argue that Haugen’s model is ‘an appropriate frame of reference for the strong comparative orientation of this volume’ (Deumert and Vandebussche, 2003, p. 4), but there is no concluding chapter in which comparisons are applied to the model in different languages. The only indication of a comparative approach, apart from the application of Haugen’s model, can be found in the introductory section, which contains a brief overview linking the languages with different topics such as medieval Chancery and literary standards, nineteenth-century national standards, different sizes of speech communities, matrillectal speech communities and communities with a great number of L2 speakers, mature, partial and incipient standard languages and, finally, colonial and post-colonial standardisation processes. My study will be particularly concerned with the situation in the eighteenth century. Nevalainen’s (2003) account of English, on the other hand, discusses the development of English from Old English to the present day and is also concerned with the expansion of English outside the British Isles, which does not allow her to go into much detail. My study, however, will be particularly concerned with the situation in the eighteenth century. In this account, topics like Chancery and literary standards as well as other themes like the role of religion and education are discussed in detail and compared in both languages (see Chapter 6). After all, my aim is to find out about differences in the standardisation processes that might account for the decline of the inflectional subjunctive in English and German and possible influences

on it by eighteenth-century grammarians. Following the investigation of the subjunctive in English and German in precept and practice corpora (Chapters 2–5), in Chapter 6 I will take a step back and put the development of the inflectional subjunctive into the larger picture of language standardisation in England and the German-speaking areas.

4 Outline of the book

As the introduction has already shown, the issue that will be addressed in the following chapters is the question of effectiveness of normative eighteenth-century grammarians on actual language usage with respect to the inflectional subjunctive mood at the time. This investigation does not only focus on one particular language but is an exercise in comparative standardology, which means that I will discuss the development of the subjunctive in English and German, both in the grammars and grammar books and actual usage, as well as the different socio-political contexts in which these developments occurred.

The discussion on the methodology of this study (Sections 1–3) pointed out that a precept and a usage corpus will be closely compared in order to find out whether eighteenth-century grammarians had any effect on the development of the subjunctive. Chapters 2 (English subjunctive) and 4 (German subjunctive), which are concerned with the treatment of the subjunctive in eighteenth-century grammars (precept corpus), are organised in parallel. First, the systems of moods in selected grammars will be investigated. Then, accounts of the subjunctive in these grammars will be discussed with respect to morphology, syntax and semantics. Finally, the status of the subjunctive as implied by examples provided and/or explicit statements made will be discussed. The findings will be summarised and hypotheses will be made with regard to actual subjunctive usage in the eighteenth century.

Chapters 3 and 5 will be concerned with actual usage and the development of the subjunctive. Chapter 3 investigates the English subjunctive with respect to the hypotheses made in Chapter 2. The corpus study (based on ARCHER) will trace the development of the inflectional subjunctive from 1650 to 1990. I will investigate the occurrence of the mood in different genres as well as the distribution of the inflectional subjunctive according to gender. Moreover, I will be concerned with the role that conjunctions and verbs might have played in the alleged demise of the subjunctive. Chapter 5 takes up the hypotheses made in Chapter 4 to investigate actual subjunctive usage in the German-speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire during the period

1650–1800. A corpus study, which is based on the newspaper genre in GerManC, will shed some light on the development of the inflectional subjunctive in five regions, which correspond to the following German varieties: North German, West Central German, East Central German, West Upper German (including Switzerland) and East Upper German (including Austria). I will then discuss the fate of the inflectional subjunctive in the Austrian German variety in greater detail. To this end, more text genres will be analysed and the importance and influence of printing in eighteenth-century Austrian German will be taken into account.

Chapter 6 focuses on the standardisation processes in England and the German-speaking areas, which provide an essential background for the understanding of the status of eighteenth-century grammarians in both countries. To be able to carry out a structured comparison of the situations in these countries, I adopt Haugen's concept of standardisation as a framework for discussion. The processes and stages of standardisation in the respective languages will be discussed separately and the similarities and differences will subsequently be compared. Since language standardisation is associated with the linguistic process of variation reduction, this chapter will also shed some light on language variation in English and German in the eighteenth century. This in turn concerns the situation and the development of the subjunctive mood in both languages.

2

Eighteenth-Century English Grammarians and the Subjunctive Mood

1 Introduction

Scholars generally agree that the inflectional subjunctive has experienced a steady decline in the history of English. For a long time, however, there has been dissent on the development of the subjunctive during the age of prescriptivism; in other words, scholars have been concerned with the question of whether the rules laid down in eighteenth-century normative grammars have had an influence on the development of the form. Turner claims that the subjunctive ‘continued to lose ground throughout the 18th and 19th centuries [...] in spite of the predictable efforts by some of the early English grammarians to arrest the decline’ (Turner, 1980, p. 272). This view is not shared by Strang, who maintains that the trajectory of decline of the subjunctive was sporadically reversed. She attributes this reversal to the influence of normative grammarians and the ‘tendency to hypercorrection in 18c and later teachers and writers’ (Strang, 1970, p. 209). A similar argument is proposed by Görlach who states that the subjunctive forms became ‘slightly more frequent in the 18th century’ and that ‘their survival was partly supported by the acceptance of Latin-based rules of correctness’ (Görlach, 2001, p. 122). Then again, Traugott contributes to the discussion that there was no clear consensus among early grammarians, as the following comment shows: ‘It is interesting to see how varied opinions on the subjunctive were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ (Traugott, 1972, p. 180). Due to the fact that the existing comments, which are largely contradictory, are not supported by any empirical data, I aim to determine how normative grammarians described the subjunctive mood and whether their accounts could have had an influence on actual usage and the overall development of the inflectional

subjunctive. What follows in this chapter is thus an investigation into the status of the subjunctive in both the grammar and the grammar books of the eighteenth century. In order to discern differences in the accounts of the subjunctive before, during and after the eighteenth century, this chapter will also include brief discussions of how this mood was described in grammatical works preceding and following the age of prescriptivism.¹

2 Systems of moods in the history of English

The first English grammars were published in the late sixteenth century – a period associated with Humanism, Renaissance and Reformation. The grammarians found themselves in a curious situation then, in which the only grammar model they could relate to was Latin, and this inevitably led to grammarians applying Latin patterns to English grammar. After initial attempts to impose the Latin categories irrespective of their relevance, grammarians became more critical and started to question categories of the Latin grammar which had no correspondent form in English. Vorlat describes grammarians such as Bullokar (1586), Greaves (1594), Hume (1612), Gill (1621), Butler (1634), Jonson (1640), Poole (1646) and Wharton (1654) as practical grammarians since they aimed ‘to favour, facilitate and advance the study of English grammar, so that both native speakers and foreigners may quickly obtain a speaking and reading knowledge’ (Vorlat, 1975, p. 10).

The indicative, the imperative, the subjunctive, the optative and the infinitive mood, which were first introduced by Dionysius Thrax (second century BC), were regarded as the traditional set of moods. The optative was not a formally distinct mood in Latin but was nevertheless adapted from Greek by labelling those subjunctive forms optative that were preceded by the word *utinam* and that expressed a wish (see Michael, 1970, p. 115). Roman grammarians regarded Greek grammar as a logical analysis of categories, which is why they even adopted terms for grammatical features which Latin grammar did not have, for example, the definite article and the optative mood (see Michael, 1970, p. 424). It is noteworthy that Greek itself lost the optative in the Alexandrian period. Nevertheless, it had become such an essential part in grammatical thought that it is still listed in grammars of modern languages (Joseph, 1987, p. 70). In the Renaissance period, Thomas Linacre (c. 1460 to 1524) added a potential mood to the Latin system of moods, which was subsequently adopted into the English grammar. Linacre ascribes the following characteristics to it: ‘The potential mode signifyfeyth a

thing as mayying or owyng to be done. And his sygnes in englysshe be these, *may, might, wold* or *shuld*, and hit hath V tens in every verbe of lyke voice to the subjunctive mode' (Linacre, *Progymnasmata*, sig. Ciii, as quoted in Michael, 1970, p. 115).

The systems of moods recognised by the earliest English grammarians greatly differ, and this is largely dependent on the selected Latin grammar used as a model (see Dons, 2004, pp. 98–109). Dons's investigation of the system of moods in sixteen Early Modern English grammars reveals that three grammarians, that is, Greaves (1594), Jonson (1640) and Wallis (1653), rejected the category of mood altogether, and four grammarians, that is, Gill (1621), Butler (1634), Wharton (1654) and Newton (1669), did not recognise the subjunctive, but instead listed the potential as one of the four basic moods. Most of the remaining grammarians recognised the subjunctive as a separate mood, which in some of these grammars was listed alongside the potential and the optative. Considering the variation in the inventory of moods in the Early Modern English period, the question poses itself as (a) to what extent eighteenth-century grammarians were still influenced by Latin categories, and (b) whether they recognised the subjunctive as a distinct mood.

Table 2.1 offers a chronological overview of the inventory of the systems of mood as proposed in a range of eighteenth-century grammars. The table is based on the structure of Ian Michael's analysis of the systems of moods as found in grammars published between 1586 and 1801 (Michael, 1970, p. 434). While Michael's primary concern was the typology of the mood system,² the aim of my research is to assess whether individual grammarians could have had an influence on the development of the inflectional subjunctive. I will therefore focus on a smaller group of grammars and investigate their conceptualisation of the subjunctive in more detail. The 71 grammars whose mood systems are summarised below, all retrieved from the database *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO), cover the chronological sweep of the eighteenth century and represent its pedagogic as well as philosophical traditions. The survey also includes grammars attached to dictionaries but does not consider books of grammatical exercises, as they do not usually contain an account of the grammar. I aimed at investigating the first published edition of grammars, the publication dates of which are provided in the column labelled 'Year' in Table 2.1. When the first edition was not available, the year given is that of the edition examined, and the publication year of the first edition is supplied in square brackets.

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Grammarian	Year	Infinitive	Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Potential	Optative	Additional remarks
Anonymous	1736							no moods, but mentions the subjunctive and potential in Latin
Turner, D.	1739	x	x	x	x			
Dyche & Pardon (<i>Dictionary</i>)	1740	x	x	x	x (potential)			
Kirkby	1746	x	x	x		x		
Martin	1748	x	x	x	x	x		
Dilworth	1751 [1740]	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Buchanan	1753							no moods
Fisher, A.	1753							no moods
Farro	1754							no moods in English but in Latin
Johnson (<i>Dictionary</i>)	1755	x	x	x	x	x		
Bayly	1758 [1756]	x	x	x	x (optative)			
Priestley	1761							
White	1761	x	x	x	x	x		also lists elective, determinate, obligative & participles as moods

Buchanan	1762	x	x	x	x				includes participles as a type of mood
Lowth	1762	x	x	x	x				
Ward, W.	1765	x	x	x	x				x
Elphinston	1765	x	x	x	x				
Fleming	1766	x		x		x (labelled conditional, not subjunctive)			x
Ash	1766 [1760]	x	x	x	x				x
Burn	1766	x	x	x	x				x
Ward, W.	1767	x	x	x	x				x
Buchanan	1767	x	x	x	x				
Fenning	1771	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)				(x) argues that there are no moods and then mentions 5
Raine	1771	x	x	x	x				x
Metcalfe	1771	x	x	x	x				
Bayly	1772	x	x	x	x				x x subjunctive, optative & potential are listed together
Carter	1773								no moods
Smetham	1774	x	x	x	x				x
Ash (<i>Dictionary</i>)	1775	x	x	x	x				x

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Grammarian	Year	Infinitive	Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Potential	Optative	Additional remarks
Devis	1775	x	x	x	x	x		
Campbell	1776							provides an example of a wrong mood, <i>i.e.</i> the subjunctive
Harrison	1777	x	x	x	x			
Shaw	1778	x	x	x	x	x		
Marriott (<i>Dictionary</i>)	1780							no moods
Anonymous	1781	x	x		x			
Story	1783 [1778]	x	x	x	x	x		no list of moods but discusses 3 moods
Fell	1784	x	x	x	x	x		
Usher	1785	x	x	x	x	x		
Seally	1788	x	x	x	x			
Coote	1788	x	x	x	x			
Brittain	1788	x	x	x	x			
Pickbourn	1789	x	x	x	x			
Pape	1790	x	x	x				

Bicknell	1790	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Taylor	1791	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fogg	1792-1796	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wilson	1792	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Hornsey	1793	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nicholson	1793	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wright	1794	x	x	x	x	x (potential)	x	x
Postlethwaite	1795	x	x	x	x	x	x	considers the infinitive, based on the Stoics, to be the <i>Verb itself</i> (p. 100)
Rhodes	1795	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Murray	1795	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Coar	1796	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Edwards	1796	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lynch	1796	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bullen	1797	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fenn	1798	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Salmon	1798	x	x	x	x	x	x	unclear description, mentions infinitive & subjunctive
Gardiner	1799	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Eves	1800	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

The survey displayed in Table 2.1 clearly shows that there is a considerable variety of systems and that some grammarians even deny the existence of moods in the grammar of the English language. Greenwood, for example, remarks that Latin has four moods, which are the indicative, imperative, subjunctive and infinitive mood; however, he claims, ‘in English, there are no Moods, because the Verb has no Diversity of Endings, to express its Manner of signifying’ (Greenwood, 1711, p. 119). Fisher (1753) agrees with Greenwood in claiming that the English tongue has no moods. Instead, Fisher distinguishes four principal kinds of verbs, that is, active, passive, imperative and infinitive verbs (see Fisher, 1753, pp. 75–79). Fenning (1771) also claims that ‘[t]he English, properly speaking, have no Moods’ as ‘they have no difference in the termination of their verbs to signify the different intentions of the mind’ (Fenning, 1771, p. 38). However, after stating that auxiliary verbs are used to express different ‘intentions’, Fenning argues that ‘[t]hey make use of five moods, viz. The indicative, the subjunctive, the potential, the imperative, and the infinitive’ (Fenning, 1771, p. 38). He continues discussing the five moods and treats them as a genuine part of grammar anyway. Other grammarians who do not recognise a system of moods are Loughton (1734), the anonymous grammarian of *A New English Accidence* (1736), Buchanan (1753), Farro (1754), Carter (1773) and Marriott (1780). For his part, Priestley ignores the notion of moods in *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761) and instead refers to certain verb forms as ‘conjunctive form of tenses’ or ‘radical form (which answers to the infinitive mood in other languages)’ (Priestley, 1761, pp. 14–15). Michael’s interpretation of this passage is that ‘Priestley would have liked to deny English any moods but was too honest to do so’, and so ‘he accepts the subjunctive as a genuine mood’ in both the grammar published in 1761 and the *Lectures* published in 1762 (Michael, 1970, p. 426). Later in the century, Pickbourn, whose views on the system of moods and particularly the subjunctive mood will be discussed in more detail in Section 3, does discuss four English moods but then argues that

the English language may be said, I think, without any great impropriety, to have as many modes as it has auxiliary verbs; for the compound expressions, which they help to form, point out those modifications and circumstances of actions which in other languages are conveyed by modes.

(Pickbourn, 1789, p. 156)

Buchanan's *British Grammar* (1762) contains an illuminating remark, yet in a footnote, which deals with the recognition or rejection of the system of moods in English. This comment is all the more interesting if we consider that Buchanan still denied the existence of moods in his earlier grammar *The Complete English Scholar* (1753) (see Section 3.4.2 for a detailed discussion).

Most Writers of English Grammar implicitly follow one another in asserting, that our Tongue has no Moods, which, added to our supposed Want of Variety of Tenses or Times, is manifestly affirming, that the English Language is nothing superior to that of the Hottentots; and that the wisest and most respectable Body of People upon the Face of the Globe, own a Language which is incapable of ascertaining their Ideas, or of exhibiting the Soul, and its various Affections. They have been led to this Notion, from our Verbs having no Diversity of Terminations, like those in the Latin. But as a great Variety of Terminations are not absolutely necessary to the Existence of Moods, why is our Grammar to be modelled by that of the Latin, especially in Cases where there is not the least Trace of Analogy?

(Buchanan, 1762, pp. 105–106)

Buchanan's comment may be regarded as fairly progressive for his time, as he questions the acceptance of the Latin grammatical framework for the English language. Moreover, the beginning of the above-quoted remark suggests that a notable number of eighteenth-century grammarians relied on each other's works and thus did not present independent ideas, that is, the Latin patterns were inherently transmitted.

An interesting description of the system of moods is also provided by Fleming (1766), who recognises seven tenses, which he subdivides into '*time of the verb*', that is, present, past, future and '*other circumstances*', under which he lists '*the imperative, the potential, and the conditional*'; the *seventh* is the verb used *indefinitely*, and called the *infinitive*' (Fleming, 1766, p. 27).

Some grammarians recognise a certain number of moods and then argue that these moods can also have other names (these are provided in brackets in Table 2.1). This can be illustrated, for instance, by Maittaire's practice: he lists four moods and then claims that

the Indicative is named also the Interrogative or asking, and the Responsive or answering mood: the Potential is named sometimes

Subjunctive or Conjunctive, because it is joined to another sentence by some word or particle; sometimes Optative, when it wishes; sometimes Dubitative, when it doubts.

(Maittaire, 1712, p. 63)

According to Maittaire (1712) and also Ash (1766, 1775), *subjunctive* is a synonym of the *potential mood*. In contrast, several grammarians such as Dilworth (1751), Martin (1748), Johnson (1755), White (1761), Ward (1767), Shaw (1778) and Murray (1795) regard the subjunctive and the potential as two distinct moods. For his part, Bayly (1758) uses the terms *subjunctive* and *optative* synonymously, which Dilworth (1751) again considers as distinct moods. Johnson uses the term *conjunctive mood*, which was interchangeable with *subjunctive mood*.

At this stage, we are already able to observe that some grammarians deny the existence of moods in English altogether, which may be explained by the lack of inflection in the verb forms. Other grammarians appear to be unsure about what the 'subjunctive' is and, therefore, omit this mood and replace it with the *potential* and/or *optative mood* (cf. Kirkby, 1746; Edwards, 1796). The latter moods are also found to be used as synonyms for the *subjunctive mood* (cf. Maittaire, 1712; Bayly, 1758). Although the systems of moods presented in eighteenth-century grammars differ widely, from 1762 onwards they appear to become more uniform. More precisely, Michael notices the shift to uniformity with regard to the denial of the existence of moods, when he argues that 'the opinion weakens about the middle of the century, and only eight grammars after 1760 maintain it [*i.e.* the denial of moods] explicitly' (Michael, 1970, p. 426). Most grammarians' inventories include the indicative, imperative, infinitive, subjunctive and, sometimes, the potential mood. Only a few grammarians, namely White (1761), Lowth (1762) and Story (1783), consider the participle as one of the moods.

Despite the growing consensus in the late eighteenth century there is sufficient disagreement over number and names of the English moods to make it doubtful whether all grammarians who recognised and listed the subjunctive mood had the same understanding of the concept 'subjunctive', and subsequently described it in the same way. In order to find out what eighteenth-century grammarians regarded as subjunctive mood, I will now look into some of their descriptions in more detail.

3 Eighteenth-century grammarians' accounts of the subjunctive mood

In order to illustrate how descriptions changed over time, I will first discuss a couple of grammars from the beginning of the eighteenth century and then a more complete selection from the second half of the eighteenth century. It is well known that the publication of English grammars, both first editions and reprints, increased rapidly in the latter half of the century (see Alston, 1965 and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2008); hence a more representative selection is needed. The early eighteenth-century grammars investigated are Greenwood (1711) and Brightland and Gildon (1711). As for the grammars published in the second half of the century, I decided to group them into subjunctive accounts (a) by the 'most influential' grammarians, (b) as found in specialist studies of the verb system, (c) by so-called radical grammarians and, a sub-group of the latter, (d) by female grammarians. (a) The grammars which have been repeatedly labelled as 'most influential' in the literature are those by Robert Lowth and Lindley Murray (*cf.* Michael, 1970, p. 278; Baugh and Cable, 1997, p. 269; Beal, 2004, pp. 92–93). (b) White's and Pickbourn's works, full-length studies of the English verb, are the selected specialist studies. (c) The third group consists of works by grammarians considered outside the mainstream of 'polite' British society of their time, that is, working-class, provincial, colonial, dissenters or female. The motive to focus on subjunctive accounts that were neither written by nor intended for the well-educated, conservative, middle-class gentlemen who lived in London has been influenced by the publication of a special issue of *Historiographia Linguistica* titled *New Approaches to the Study of Later Modern English* (2006), in which the well-established view that eighteenth-century grammarians were prescriptive (see Leonard, 1929) is challenged. Amongst other things, the contributors aim to find out in what way the so-called radical writers might have manipulated the codification of the English language in the Late Modern English period. Two grammarians who were marginalised by mainstream society and whose subjunctive accounts I will discuss in more detail are Joseph Priestley (1761), a dissenter, and James Buchanan (1762), a Scotsman and thus a 'provincial' author (see Ch. Jones, 1995 and 1999). (d) Furthermore, as grammar-writing in the eighteenth century was largely male-dominated, the fact that female grammarians started having their grammars published from the middle of the century onwards proved that the education of

women increasingly became a matter of concern (*cf.* Percy, 1994, 2003; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000b). Ann Fisher (1750), Ellin Devis (1775), Mrs Taylor (1791), M.C. Edwards (1796), Jane Gardiner (1799), Eleanor Fenn (1798) and Mrs Eves (1800) are thus eighteenth-century female grammarians worth including in my overall selection of grammarians (see Cajka, 2008). As Fisher denied the existence of moods in English and most of the other female grammarians had written elementary grammars, I will be able to briefly comment on the subjunctive accounts contained in all eighteenth-century grammars written by women, which have come down to us.

It must be emphasised that this study is exclusively concerned with meta-linguistic comments of these grammarians and not with their language usage in the main text of the grammars.

3.1 Subjunctive accounts by early eighteenth-century grammarians

Before discussing the subjunctive accounts by Greenwood (1711) and Brightland and Gildon (1711), I find it pertinent to consider the description of the mood by the seventeenth-century grammarian John Wallis (1653), for his account may well be regarded as a preamble to the codification of grammar in the eighteenth century and a transition point in English grammar-writing in general (see Michael, 1970, p. 203).

3.1.1 *Wallis – Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae (1653)*

Wallis is associated with a new era of English grammar-writing, one which is based on an empirical and scientific approach and which goes hand in hand with the declining influence of Latin (*cf.* Michael, 1970, p. 203; Dons, 2004, p. 13). The attitude towards grammatical studies is strongly affected by Rationalism and Enlightenment: grammars are no longer concerned with aesthetics but are driven by utilitarian motives; a new interest in the philosophy of language emerges; grammarians aim to discover language universals, which should result in the creation of a universal language and grammar (examples are *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée* (1660) and Wilkins' *Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668)); and, lastly, grammarians are concerned with establishing an academy which aims at purifying the language and fixing grammatical rules in order to prevent language change and thus deterioration.

Wallis recognises the structural differences between English and Latin and suggests that English grammars should be founded on a new method. As for the system of moods, Wallis recognises their existence

in Latin but does not find English equivalents. This is because he considers the characteristic features of moods to be inflectional endings (Vorlat, 1975, p. 342). As regards Wallis's subjunctive account, it must be noted that he avoided describing English with Latin terminology. Consequently, he reduced the tense system formally to two, present and past, and omitted the mood system altogether. On this matter, Kemp remarks the following:

Instead of regarding combinations of various auxiliary verbs with the independent verb as equivalent to the formally distinct Latin tenses and moods, he deals with the auxiliaries separately, but draws comparisons with the Latin usage.

(Kemp, 1972, p. 31)

With respect to comparisons with the Latin imperative and subjunctive mood, Wallis states that the terminations *eth*, *s* or *es* are left out in commands and after the conjunctions *if*, *that*, *although* and *whether*, and sometimes after other conjunctions and adverbs (Wallis, 1653, p. 105 as translated by Kemp, 1972, p. 337). Wallis thus gives a formal description of the subjunctive mood although not expressively terming it the English subjunctive mood.

It will become apparent in the course of this chapter that Wallis's viewpoint was taken over by succeeding grammarians in the eighteenth century.

3.1.2 *Brightland and Gildon – A Grammar of the English Tongue (1711)*

The grammarians John Brightland and Charles Gildon claim that in English there are three moods. They do not explicitly list them, but they do provide definitions, which allow us to identify these moods as indicative, imperative and subjunctive.

In a lengthy footnote Brightland and Gildon state that verbs have different inflections according to different persons and times. To this they add the observation that '[m]en have found that it was proper to invent other Inflections also, more distinctly to Explain what pass'd in their Minds'. The grammarians exemplify this with 'conditional, and modify'd' affirmations such as *Tho' he might have lov'd* and *tho' he wou'd have lov'd*. They argue that in these examples the inflections of the same tenses on times were 'doubl'd', which means that modal auxiliaries were added. However, the grammarians then argue that simple inflections as found in *loves*, *lov'd* are used for the subjunctive mood. Brightland and

Gildon claim that the rules were not observed constantly, which may imply that the functions of the inflectional subjunctive were already in the process of being replaced by modal auxiliaries (see Brightland and Gildon, 1711, pp. 102–103). As far as the syntactic and semantic aspects of the subjunctive are concerned, Brightland and Gildon appear to have noticed that the conjunction *tho'* is followed by the subjunctive and that it is used in conditional affirmations.

It ought to be remarked that these comments on the subjunctive are not very revealing in terms of form or function. Since Brightland and Gildon relied largely on *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* by John Wallis (1653) and the Port-Royal *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée* (1660), it might be fruitful to consider the accounts of the subjunctive in these seventeenth-century grammars. As discussed in Section 3.1.1, Wallis recognises the inflectional subjunctive but does not explicitly use the term 'subjunctive mood'. Wallis's account of the subjunctive greatly differs from Brightland and Gildon's, which suggests that Wallis's grammar did not influence the two grammarians on that topic. In the Port-Royal *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée* (1660), the subjunctive is described as follows:

[...] ils se seruent quelquefois des inflexions simples, pour marquer les affirmations modifiées. *Et si vereor*, pour, & *si verear*. Et c'est de ces dernières sortes d'inflexions, que les Grammairiens on fait leur *Mode*, appellé *Subjonctif*.

(Lancelot & Arnauld, 1660, p. 108)

This statement is followed by accounts of the optative, potential and imperative moods. The comments on the subjunctive and the progression from there are very similar or rather almost identical to the ones found in Brightland and Gildon's mood section. In particular, the section on the subjunctive is an almost literal translation of the Port-Royal grammar, as the comparison of the passage below with the one above evinces:³

[...] they made use of simple Inflections, to express modify'd Affirmations, as, *et si vereor*, for *et si verear*; and 'tis of these latter sort of Inflections, that the Grammarians make their Mood call'd the Subjunctive.

(Brightland and Gildon, 1711, p. 103)

3.1.3 Greenwood – *An Essay towards a Practical English Grammar* (1711)

Greenwood's *Essay towards a Practical English Grammar* was first published in 1711, with an abridged form, *The Royal English Grammar*, appearing in 1737. As noted earlier, Greenwood argues that there are no moods in English, as opposed to Latin. He explains this as follows:

As Cases are the different Endings of the Noun, which are used to denote the Respect or Reference that Things have to one another; so Moods are the different Endings of the Verb, that are made use of to express the Manners or Forms of its signifying the Being, Doing or Suffering of a Thing. Grammarians do not agree about the Number of these Moods, not only by Reason of the Difference there is in Languages, some being capable of receiving more or fewer Inflexions or Endings than others, but also because of the different Manners of signifying, which may be very much multiply'd: For the Being, Doing or Suffering of a Thing, may be considered not only simply by itself but also as to the Possibility of a Thing, that is, whether it can be done or not; as to the Liberty of the Speaker, that is, whether there be no Hindrance to prevent his doing of a Thing; as to the Inclination of the Will, that is, whether the Speaker has any Mind or Intention to the Doing of it; or to the Necessity of the Action to be done, that is, whether there be any Obligation of any Kind upon a Person to do Thing.

(Greenwood, 1711, pp. 118–119)

Here Greenwood states that moods are characterised by both the semantic aspect and the 'different endings of the verb'. He appears to regard the latter as the criterial property, and it is because there is little choice of inflectional endings in English that he dismisses the existence of mood in the language. However, he dedicates almost half a page to defining Latin moods and in the process illuminates his conception of the form and meaning of the English subjunctive too. For example, he provides some incidental information on its morphological characteristics when he defines the Latin subjunctive mood as depending 'upon some other Verb in the same Sentence, with some *Conjunction* between; as, *he is mad, if he love*' (*ibid.*, p. 119), and also when he discusses 'the second and third persons of verbs'.

These Personal Terminations or Endings, *ast* and *eth*, are omitted, when the *Verb* is used in an *Imperative* or commanding Sense, as *Fight*

thou, not Fightest thou; Let the Soldier fight, not Let the Soldier fighteth, or fights. Sometimes also they are left out after the Conjunctions, If That, Though, Although, Whether; as, If the Sense require it, for If the Sense requireth or requires it: He will dare, though he die for it, that is, though he dies for it.

(*Ibid.*, p. 117)

It is notable that when Greenwood translates a Latin example into English such as '*he is mad, if he love*', he uses but does not comment on the suffix-less verb *love*. Similarly, when discussing the lack of endings in the imperative mood, he adds a remark on 'personal endings' being left out after certain conjunctions but does not go on to relate this feature to the subjunctive mood. In other words, Greenwood implicitly recognises the inflectional subjunctive, but does not explicitly treat it as an expression of mood. Instead, he explains that the 'manners of signifying' are expressed by modal auxiliaries in English.

Now in *English*, there are no *Moods*, because the *Verb* has no Diversity of *Endings*, to express its Manners of signifying; but does all that by the Aid of *Auxiliary* or *Helping Verbs* which in the *Latin*, and some other Languages, is done by the Diversity of *Terminations* or *Endings*.

(*Ibid.*, p. 119)

When Greenwood describes certain English verb forms in his grammar, he remarks that '[t]his Manner is call'd in *Latin* the *Potential* or *Subjunctive Mood*', for example, *he may burn* (*ibid.*, p. 151). Furthermore, he explains that 'it is called the *Subjunctive Mood*, because it is subjoin'd or added to the first Sentence by some Cople or Tye; as, *Peter comes* that *he may preach*, where *that* joins the two Sentences together' (*ibid.*, p. 152). In these cases Greenwood equates the subjunctive mood with modal auxiliaries. When discussing the second future tense, Greenwood notes that the modal '[s]hall is often omitted or left out; as, *If he write*, for *shall write*, *If he have written*, for *shall have written*' (*ibid.*, p. 144). He also remarks that '[b]e is used in a depending Sentence, after the *Conjunctions*, *If*, *Although*, &c. As, *If I be burned*, *Altho' he be burned*, &c.' (*ibid.*, p. 147). It is possible that Greenwood was not entirely sure what the subjunctive was and how to describe it as he equates the subjunctive with the potential mood, that is, modal auxiliaries, but he then gives examples of it, and also uses the inflectional subjunctive following a conjunction.

In sum, it can be argued that the accounts of the subjunctive in the two selected early eighteenth-century grammars are scanty. Greenwood denied the existence of moods altogether and then relied on Latin grammar to explain subjunctive features in the English language. Brightland and Gildon's grammar, on the other hand, recognised the subjunctive but did not make any attempt to present their own and independent account of the subjunctive, relying instead on the Port-Royal grammar by adapting the description of the mood from Latin to English. This suggests that early eighteenth-century grammarians were possibly unsure about how to account for the subjunctive mood in English.

3.2 Subjunctive accounts by the 'most influential' eighteenth-century grammarians

The two grammars selected for the investigation of 'most influential' eighteenth-century grammars are *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) by Robert Lowth and Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* (1795). According to Alston (1965), Lowth's grammar saw 45 editions before 1800 in England, Ireland and America, including a translation into German. Lowth's work is considered the most widely used textbook for the instruction of English in the eighteenth century, which served as the basis for many succeeding grammars. Lindley Murray, for instance, adapted and popularised Lowth's scholarly work in the form of textbooks. Murray's grammar was published in phenomenal numbers (over 300 editions in England and America) and had worldwide success (cf. Alston, 1965, pp. 92–96; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000a, pp. 880–881).

3.2.1 Lowth – *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762)

Robert Lowth lists the imperative, indicative, infinitive, subjunctive and participles as moods. It can be assumed that Lowth was influenced by White (1761) in that the latter takes the participle as a mood and, after some consideration, rejects the interrogative as a mood (see Michael, 1970, p. 432). An acknowledgement of White's monograph in the preface to Lowth's grammar is, however, missing. Lowth subdivides the set of moods into 'primary modes' and 'secondary modes', with the primary set being identified to be the indicative and the imperative. 'Secondary modes' are described as making 'the sentence to be [...] a *Modal Proposition*' that expresses contingency, necessity, possibility, and liberty (Lowth, 1762, p. 60). Lowth illustrates the latter group of

moods, which are not explicitly mentioned, with a list of modal auxiliaries. Since he does not recognise the potential as a mood, we need to find out whether Lowth's criterion for subdividing the moods into groups is based on form or meaning. In order to know whether the subjunctive mood is a 'secondary mode', we take a close look at his definition, which is the following:

[...] when it is subjoined as the end or design, or mentioned under a condition, or the like, for the most part depending on some other Verb, and having a Conjunction before it, it is called the Subjunctive.
(Lowth, 1762, p. 47)

To this, Lowth adds the remark that hypothetical, conditional, concessive and exceptive conjunctions require the subjunctive mood, as, for example, 'if, tho', unless, except, whether, &c.', which he illustrates with examples like 'If thou be the Son of God. Matt.iv.3; Tho' he slay me, yet will I put trust in him. Jobxiii.15; Unless he wash his flesh. Lev.xxii.6; Whether it were I or they, so we preach. I Cor.xv.II.' (*ibid.*, p. 141). Thus, Lowth's description of the mood shows that he recognised syntactic and semantic characteristics of the subjunctive. As far as the syntactic aspect is concerned, the grammarian provides a list of conjunctions that require the subjunctive mood. The semantic aspect Lowth mentions with regard to the subjunctive mood is the conditional. Moreover, examples of the subjunctive imply that it expresses something contingent and doubtful whereas the indicative expresses a more absolute and determinate sense (see *ibid.*, p. 141).

One aspect missing in Lowth's account of the subjunctive is a formal description of the mood. Information on this aspect can only be inferred from the examples provided, which contain inflectional subjunctive forms such as *thou be*, *he slay*, *he wash* and *it were*. As the subjunctive is expressed by modifications of the verb (like the indicative and the imperative) rather than by modal auxiliaries, the question should again be raised whether Lowth considered the subjunctive to be a 'secondary mode'. After all, when Lowth illustrates the conjugation of the verb *love*, he lists inflectional subjunctive forms as well as modal auxiliaries followed by the infinitive, in the present and past tense (see *ibid.*, pp. 54–55). Lowth adds a footnote, which says the following:

⁵Note, that the Imperfect and Perfect Times are here put together. And it is to be observed, that in the Subjunctive Mode, the event

being spoken of under a condition, or supposition, or in the form of a wish, and therefore as doubtful and contingent, the Verb itself in the Present, and the Auxiliary both of the Present and Past Imperfect Times, often carry with them somewhat of a Future sense: as, "If he come to-morrow, I may speak to him:" – "If he should, or would, come to-morrow, I might, would, could, or should, speak to him." Observe also, that the Auxiliary should in the Imperfect Times is used to express the Present, as well as the Past; as, "It is my desire, that he should [now] come;" as well as, "It was my desire that he should [then] come." So that in this Mode the precise Time of the Verb is very much determined by the nature and drift of the Sentence.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 54–55)

The remarks made in the footnote suggest that Lowth was aware of the semantic similarities between the subjunctive mood and certain modal auxiliary verbs. However, there is also an indication that he recognised the formal difference between the subjunctive and the modal verbs, as he lists them separately: 'the Verb itself in the Present, and the Auxiliary both of the Present and Past Imperfect Times'.

It seems that Lowth was still uncertain about the classification of the subjunctive and whether it should be based on formal or semantic criteria. In his second, corrected edition (1763), Lowth takes up this issue again; he then emphasises that the formal criterion is crucial (see also Auer and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2007, pp. 7–11).⁴ He argues that 'there are no more Modes in any language, than there are forms of the Verb appropriated to the denoting of such different manners of representation' (Lowth, 1763, p. 34). Lowth makes another attempt at solving the form–meaning and subjunctive–modal auxiliaries confusion:

[...] In English the several expressions of Conditional Will, Possibility, Liberty, Obligation, &c. come all under the Subjunctive Mode: The mere expressions of Will, Possibility, Liberty, Obligation, &c. belong to the Indicative Mode: it is their Conditionality, their being subsequent, and depending upon something preceding, that determines them to the Subjunctive Mode. And in this Grammatical Modal Form, however they may differ in other respects, Logically or Metaphysically, they all agree, That Will, Possibility, Liberty, Obligation, &c. though expressed by the same Verbs that are occasionally used as Subjunctive Auxiliaries, may belong to the Indicative Mode, will be apparent from a few examples: "Here we may reign

secure." [...] "What we would do, We should do, when we would."
Shakespeare, Hamlet. [...].

(Lowth, 1763, p. 34)

This quotation suggests that Lowth eventually decided that the subjunctive mood is determined by its semantic and syntactic characteristics as much as by its form. It may thus be argued that Lowth did recognise the syntactic, semantic and formal characteristics of the subjunctive mood, as well as the modal auxiliary verbs in subjunctive contexts. In the 1762 edition Lowth seemed unsure about categorising his sets of moods and in particular the subjunctive. In the 1763 edition he takes up the issue again and decides that not only meaning but also form is a crucial criterion of the subjunctive mood.

3.2.2 *Murray – English Grammar (1795)*

The grammar to be discussed in this section with respect to the subjunctive should possibly not be labelled a 'traditional' English grammar, as the grammarian Lindley Murray (1745–1826) was an American lawyer and merchant who moved to England after his retirement. However, Michael argues that 'Priscian, Lily and Lindley Murray have probably influenced the ordinary teaching of English grammar more than any other grammarians [...]' (Michael, 1970, p. 12). Since Murray was educated in America, and lived and worked there for a great part of his life, his account of the subjunctive could be expected to differ from British accounts. Yet, a comparison of the subjunctive accounts might reveal that Murray leaned on Lowth's description of the mood (*cf.* similar findings in Vorlat, 1959 and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1996). Murray describes the subjunctive mood as representing 'a thing under a condition, motive, wish, supposition, &c.' which, he continues, generally follows a conjunction and is 'attended by another verb'. He illustrates his claim with the examples 'Thou wilt be safer, if he accompany thee' and 'I will respect him, though he chide me' (see Murray, 1795, p. 39). Elsewhere he lists the conjunctions '*if, though, unless, except, whether, &c.*' as requiring the subjunctive mood after them and provides examples for them (see *ibid.*, p. 128). Besides, Murray distinguishes the subjunctive from the potential mood as follows:

That the potential mode should be separated from the subjunctive, is evident, from the complexness and confusion which are produced by their being blended together, and from the distinct nature of the two modes; the former of which may be expressed without condition,

supposition, &c. as will appear from the following instances: "They *should* have done it, but they *would* not do it;" "They *should* now do it, but they *will* not;" "He formerly *could* do it, but now he *cannot* do it;" "He once *might* do it, but now he *may* not."

(Murray, 1795, pp. 39–40)

What Murray notices is that the subjunctive and the potential mood share semantic characteristics. In the quotation, however, he points out that the potential mood can also 'be expressed without condition, supposition, &c.', which implies that it semantically differs from the subjunctive. He considers this an important reason to differentiate between and not to confuse the two moods. The examples provided clearly show that modal auxiliaries also express other meanings.

Murray emphasises not only the difference between the potential mood and the subjunctive but also between the subjunctive and the indicative mood. He provides 'improper' examples like 'Though he *were* a son, yet learned he obedience, by the things which he suffered', and states that '[t]he proper use, then, of the subjunctive mode after the conjunction, is in the case of a doubtful supposition or concession' (Murray, 1795, p. 129). In a later edition of the *English Grammar*, published in 1824, Murray claims that '[i]f contingency constitutes the subjunctive mood, then it is the sense of a phrase, and not a conjunction, that determines the mood' (Murray, 1824, p. 95). He also dedicates a large section to exemplifying the semantic differences between the subjunctive and indicative mood (see Murray, 1824, pp. 178–187). The 1842 edition, which was published after Murray's death, contains an even more detailed semantic description of the subjunctive mood.⁵ For instance, it includes a list exemplifying the main classes that belong to the subjunctive mood: doubt, condition, motive or end, wish, apprehension, supposition (see Murray, 1842, p. 113). These changes and extensions of the semantic subjunctive sections in succeeding editions seem to mark further development on the topic; in other words, they suggest that Murray recognised more and more semantic characteristics.

In sum, it may be claimed that Murray's account of the subjunctive is fairly comprehensive. He does not provide a formal description of the mood, but this can be inferred from the examples. Murray recognised the verb form expressing the subjunctive mood and was even aware of the difference between the subjunctive, the potential and the indicative

mood. As opposed to Lowth, Murray appears to have focused more on meaning rather than on form.

3.3 Subjunctive accounts in specialist studies of the verb

The only two specialist studies of the verb published in the eighteenth century are those by James White (1761) and James Pickbourn (1789). Both works are investigated here with respect to their accounts of the subjunctive mood.

3.3.1 *White – The English Verb (1761)*

The title of White's grammar already implies that it is a study focused on the verb only. In the advertisement of the monograph White provides two reasons for embarking on a systematic treatment of the English verb: these are the false notions 'that our Verbs have no Moods; and [...], that our Language hath no Syntax' (White, 1761, p. ix). The grammarian is particularly concerned with the first issue and, in order to disprove it, he introduces a set of ten moods. These are the indicative, the imperative, the infinitive, the subjunctive, the elective, the potential, the determinative, the obligative, the compulsive and the participles. Five of the listed moods are based on auxiliaries, namely, the elective mood (*may, might*), the potential mood (*can, could*), the determinative mood (*would*), the obligative mood (*should*) and the compulsive mood (*must*). According to Michael, White is the first grammarian who considers the participle to be a separate mood rather than a sub-type under the infinitive (see Michael, 1970, p. 432). It must be noted at this point that there is a great inconsistency and possibly uncertainty amongst early English grammarians concerning the categorisation of the participles. They are sometimes listed as part of the verbs, as part of the adjectives, and even as a separate part of speech alongside verbs and adjectives (see *ibid.*, p. 202). White's choice of moods above and the comment quoted below suggest that meaning and syntax are crucial criteria of moods.

In Greek and Latin, the Moods are principally distinguish'd from one another, by different Serieses of terminations; but in English; by different Serieses of prefix'd words or Signs.

(White, 1761, p. x)

As suggested in the quotation, White explains the derivation of the term subjunctive from the fact that it is subjoined to certain words, which he lists as *before, ere, except, however, if, lest, so, tho', till* or *until, whatsoever*

or *whatever, whether, whosoever* or *whoever* and others. White therefore explains that the syntactic context in which the inflectional subjunctive is used is in adverbial clauses. Moreover, the grammarian provides a semantic description, which states that '[t]he *Subjunctive* rather *supposes* the person to exist, possess, act or be acted upon so and so, than absolutely represents him in any of these views' (*ibid.*, p. 11). The indicative, on the other hand, is described as barely representing 'the person as existing, possessing, acting or acted upon, at such or such a time, past, present, or future' (*ibid.*, p. 11). White presents the semantic difference between both moods by emphasising that the subjunctive expresses supposition and therefore non-factual notions, whereas the indicative represents facts. Although White implies in the above quotation that the terminations of the verb are not crucial in the distinction of moods in English, he does dedicate a paragraph to the formal differences between the subjunctive and the indicative mood.

All the difference, then between the Present of the *Subjunctive Mood*, and the Present of the *Indicative*, is; that the word expressive of the Verb undergoes changes of termination in several of the persons of the Present Tense of the *Indicative*, but none in the persons of the *Subjunctive*. Thus, in the Present of the *Indicative*, *have* changes into *hast* or *have, has* or *hath*, in the Person of the Singular Number, before in the Plural it returns again to *have*; whereas, in the *Subjunctive Mood*, it continues as *have* without variation, in every Person of each Number.

Again, the second Past Tense of the *Subjunctive Mood* differs from the same Tense of the *Indicative Mood*, only in this; that *have*, which is the *Sign* of the Tense in both Moods, not only in this but in all other Verbs, undergoes changes of termination in the *Indicative*, but none in the *Subjunctive*.

(*Ibid.*, p. 11).

Having introduced the subjunctive and described its formal, syntactic and semantic characteristics, White dedicates a lengthy section to the mood, in which he discusses the characteristics in greater detail and exemplifies them. White notes that the subjunctive is often used without conjunctions, but it still expresses a condition or supposition (see *ibid.*, p. 129). When conjunctions are missing, it frequently follows the indicative or imperative, which is illustrated by what we nowadays refer to as 'the mandative subjunctive'. White states that '[h]ere the Subjunctive Mood, in its Present Tense, follows a Verb of *Command*

in the Indicative, with the interposition of *that*, the Conjunction which commonly preceeds *what is affirm'd or order'd*. He provides the example 'He *commands* that his mighty standard be uprear'd' (*ibid.*, p. 126). Furthermore, the grammarian argues that the subjunctive need not necessarily be introduced by conditional conjunctions but can be preceded by *words of wishing*, the cautionary word *provided*, or the comparative conjunction *as* (see *ibid.*, pp. 131–132). Selected examples are as follows:

Robbing was honour'd, *provided* it were done with gallantry. Pope

The repetitions in Homer have a certain antiquated harmony, not unlike the burden of a song, which the ear is willing to suffer, and *as* it were rests upon. Idem.

It were to be wish'd some passage were found, [...] Pope.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 131, 134)

White points out that the sign of the subjunctive in the first past tense is *were* or *wert* as opposed to *was* or *wast* in the indicative (see *ibid.*, p. 130). He claims that *were* sometimes denotes supposition but can also substitute *had been*, *would be*, *would have been* and *should be*. Some examples provided present *were* in an inversion, such as 'Hold your hands, both you of my inclining, and the rest; were it my cue to fight, I should have known it, without a prompter. Shakespear' (*ibid.*, p. 139). Subjunctive forms and, in particular, forms of *to be* are also found in main clauses, for example, '[...] Be thy events wicked, or charitable: [...] Idem.' (*ibid.*, p. 123).

White does not only provide details concerning grammatical aspects of the subjunctive but he also comments on a genre in which the mood is used, namely poetry: 'It is often us'd by poetic license, or for diversifying the phraseology, instead of the Indicative Mood itself; [...]' (*ibid.*, p. 129). White's treatise of the English verb would thus appear to present the most comprehensive study of the subjunctive mood at that point in time.

3.3.2 Pickbourn – *A Dissertation on the English Verb* (1789)

Pickbourn's work, like White's, is a monograph focussing on the English verb only. As pointed out earlier (Section 2), Pickbourn hesitates to accept a system of moods, and it can further be argued that he is particularly reluctant to accept the subjunctive mood. Pickbourn allows one exception to his hypothesis, namely the auxiliary verb *were*, as exemplified by 'If I *were*, if he *were* to do it'. He believes that 'there is no

other verb that has a subjunctive preterite tense, or indeed any subjunctive different from the indicative' (Pickbourn, 1789, p. 162). Pickbourn's only other comment on the subjunctive is the following:

What is called the subjunctive may possibly be only the infinitive, governed by an auxiliary verb understood; for I believe good writers never make use of the subjunctive, except in cases where these verbs may with propriety be inserted: – *'Though he slay me (i.e. though he may slay me), yet will I trust in him;'* *'If he go (i.e. if he shall go), I will follow him;'* *'Though he run (i.e. though he may run), I shall overtake him.'*

(*Ibid.*, p. 160)

By claiming that the subjunctive is 'governed by an auxiliary verb understood', Pickbourn suggests that the subjunctive mood is carried by auxiliary verbs, which are deleted. He therefore believes that the subjunctive is an inflectional elliptical form of auxiliaries. Furthermore, he claims that 'good writers' only use the subjunctive when an auxiliary can be inserted. In fact, it almost seems as if Pickbourn implies that the inflectional subjunctive is no longer important. As both forms share some of their functions, this might indicate that the functions of the subjunctive have already been taken over by modal auxiliaries (see the discussion of Brightland and Gildon's grammar in Section 3.1.2).

3.4 Subjunctive accounts by 'radical' grammarians

The grammars under investigation in this section are considered to have been written by grammarians who were outside the mainstream of eighteenth-century 'polite' British society. The first subjunctive account to be discussed is by Joseph Priestley (1761), a dissenter, who is traditionally referred to as 'the descriptive grammarian' of the eighteenth century (cf. Beal, 2004, p. 90; Hodson, 2006, 2008). The second so-called radical grammarian whose description of the subjunctive will be discussed here is the Scotsman James Buchanan (1753, 1762, 1767), who may be considered a 'provincial' author as he was neither born nor raised in London.

3.4.1 Priestley – *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761)

It has been pointed out in Section 2 that the natural scientist Joseph Priestley ignores the notion of moods in his grammar. Nevertheless, following up Michael's observation that Priestley changes his mind and eventually accepts the subjunctive as a mood (see Michael, 1970, p. 426),

I decided to look at his grammar more closely. Priestley does in fact shed some light on the morphological characteristics of the subjunctive by stating that changes of termination in the persons of verbs are not always observed, as they are usually omitted after the words ‘*if, though, e’er, before, whether, except, whatsoever, whomsoever, and words of wishing*’. He illustrates this statement with ‘*Doubtless thou art our father, though Abraham acknowledged us not; not (acknowledgeth)*’. This form of the tenses he calls the conjunctive form as ‘it is rarely used but in conjunction with some or other of the preceding words’ (Priestley, 1761, p. 14). Moreover, Priestley points out that ‘Mr. Johnson’ (*i.e.* Samuel Johnson) does not assign a conjunctive form to the ‘preter tense’, an opinion with which the former grammarian disagrees by stating that ‘the analogy of the language seems to require that both the tenses be put upon a level in this respect’ (*ibid.*, p. 15).

As regards a semantic account of the conjunctive form, Priestley comments that the conjunctive is used with propriety only when there is some degree of doubt and hesitation implied. In order to illustrate his claim, Priestley provides the following examples: ‘*We shall overtake him though he run*, in which case we don’t know whether he did run or did not run. However, when saying, *We shall overtake him though he runneth, or runs*, he can be observed running’ (*ibid.*, p. 15).

3.4.2 *Buchanan’s grammatical works (1753, 1762 and 1767)*

Buchanan’s first grammar work entitled *The Complete English Scholar* was published in 1753. *The British Grammar* was published anonymously in 1762 but can easily be identified as Buchanan’s work because the title page states that ‘the author’ had also written *The Complete English Scholar* (Alston, 1965, p. 41). Then, in 1767 *A Regular English Syntax* ‘by James Buchanan’ came out. I will discuss the subjunctive accounts contained in Buchanan’s grammar works in chronological order, as this allows us to observe how his perception of the mood changed in the course of approximately 15 years.

In the 1753 grammar Buchanan argues that ‘[t]here are no Moods, because the Verb has no Diversity of Endings to express its Manners of signifying’ (Buchanan, 1753, p. 522), and then suggests that ‘[w]e supply the Want of that the same Way as we do the Tenses, *viz.* by the Aid of auxiliary or helping Verbs, which in the Latin, and other Languages, is done by the Diversity of Terminations or Endings’ (*ibid.*, p. 523). In fact, further on in the text Buchanan provides an example of the conjugation of the verb *to bruise* ‘with the Assistance of the auxiliary Verbs, through all the Tenses and Moods of the active and passive Voice’ (*ibid.*,

p. 530). The examples listed under the heading 'The Subjunctive Mood' are formed with auxiliary verbs. Buchanan's description of the helping verb *Am* and *Be* contains some subjunctive examples, which are, however, not explicitly labelled as such:

The second Formation or Ending of the present Tense, that is, be, be'st, be, &c. and the second Formation of the preter Tense, that is, were, wert, were, &c. is for the most part used after the Conjunctions *if, that, although, whether; as, if he be there, ask him whether John be come; although thou wert sick, thou art now better.*

(*Ibid.*, p. 529)

Even though Buchanan, in his 1753 grammar, at first associates the notion of 'mood' with inflectional endings and on this basis rejects moods in English, he later labels examples with auxiliary verbs as subjunctive mood after all.

In *The British Grammar* (1762) and *A Regular English Syntax* (1767) Buchanan recognises a system of moods. The 1767 work contains the same sections as the 1762 grammar, differing only in the choice of examples provided. Buchanan defines the subjunctive mood as depending

upon a verb of the indicative mood in the same sentence, either before or after it, having generally some conjunction before it; such as, *if, that, although, &c.* as, I will study hard *if* all should play. I read *that* I may learn. I will go, *though* I should not be successful.

(Buchanan, 1767, p. 107)

The examples provided in the definition convey the impression that the only way of forming the subjunctive is by using auxiliary verbs. Similarly, the conjugation examples of the subjunctive mood contain auxiliary verbs such as *I may or can be, thou mayst or canst be*. However, following the latter examples Buchanan states that

I be, thou be'st, he be, we be, ye be, they be; I were, thou wert, he were, &c. are not used in the Indicative, but are properly of the Subjunctive Mood: For they are used by the best Speakers and purest Writers, only after the Conjunctions *if, that, although, whether; as, if I be at home; if thou be'st, or if you be gone; see whether that be John or James; if that be the Case; although thou wert sick, thou art now well; if I were rich; if they were good; although he were a King.*

(Buchanan, 1762, pp. 122–123)

Thus, Buchanan's definition of the subjunctive mood and the latter statement, which occur within two pages of his grammar, are clearly contradictory. While he is consistent in arguing that the subjunctive is triggered by conjunctions, Buchanan has difficulties in deciding on the form that characterises the mood. In the definition of the mood he illustrates the subjunctive with modal verbs, but the statement provided above shows that Buchanan is aware that the subjunctive is formed by inflectional means. Moreover, in the section on etymology of his 1762 grammar Buchanan makes another remark concerning the subjunctive mood, quoted below. Here Buchanan once again deviates from the original definition of the subjunctive mood by presenting actual subjunctive forms that are preceded by conjunctions, and by pointing out the difference to the indicative mood.

The Mood, *viz.* I burn, thou burn, he burn, &c. formerly used by the purest Writers, and by some called the Conjunctive Mood, because it is always preceded by some of the Conjunctions if, that, tho', although, whether; and often by the Words ere, before, except, unless, whatsoever, whomsoever; and Words of wishing; is entirely neglected by modern Writers; who instead of Writing, if thou burn, tho' he refuse, unless he repent, whether he acknowledge it, &c. use the Indicative, and write, if thou burnest, though he refuses, unless he repents, whether he acknowledges it, &c.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 174–175)

Buchanan's partly contradictory descriptions of the mood may be explained in two ways. First, the grammarian realised that his first definition of the mood was wrong and therefore presented two new descriptions that defined the actual subjunctive. If so, one would expect a note by the grammarian admitting that he erred in this respect or that there is another way of forming the mood. Since there are no additional remarks regarding the three definitions, the second interpretation is likely to be more convincing: Buchanan only recognised the subjunctive the way he first defined it, that is, it contains auxiliary verbs. The quotation on the verb *to be* may have been influenced by some other grammarian's description of the subjunctive mood. In fact, the last quotation is very similar to what Samuel Johnson had to say about the subjunctive mood. Buchanan's original definition might as well have been influenced by Dilworth's grammar. It appears that the descriptions of the subjunctive are heteroglossic in nature. It may thus be argued that Buchanan did not properly recognise the different characteristics of

the subjunctive mood in his 1762 grammar; he adopted definitions by different grammarians but was unable to combine the various sources.

3.5 Subjunctive accounts by eighteenth-century female grammarians

The earliest female grammarian we are aware of was Ann Fisher, whose *A New Grammar, with Exercises of Bad English* was first published anonymously in 1745?, although the earliest extant copy is in fact the second edition, also anonymously published in 1750 (cf. Rodríguez-Gil, 2002, 2003, 2006). According to Michael, Fisher belongs to a group of grammarians who 'exaggerate their freedom and say there are no moods in English at all' (Michael, 1970, p. 426). As a result of Fisher disclaiming moods, her grammar does not contain a description of the subjunctive.

After Fisher's, the second most popular grammar written by a woman in the eighteenth century was Ellin Devis's *The Accidence; or First Rudiments of English Grammar*, for it ran 18 editions since it was first published in 1775, anonymously like Fisher's (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000b). Devis's grammar was aimed at a female audience – '[d]esigned for the Use of Young Ladies', as is stated on the title-page (see Percy, 2003, p. 45). The publication of grammars written by women encouraged their (mostly female) audiences to aspire to acceptance to the 'fashionable world' by using the 'polite' language. As for Devis's account of the subjunctive mood, she claims that it is characterised by 'being conditional, and having always *if, though, that,* or some other Conjunction before it; as *If I love; Though he write*' (Devis, 1775, p. 28). Although this definition seems fairly standard, Devis also made an attempt in describing how the subjunctive is formed. She suggests that this is done '[b]y adding a Conjunction to the Indicative Mood, and dropping the Personal Terminations in the second and third Persons singular of the Present, and the second Person singular of all the other Tenses;' (*ibid.*, pp. 40–41). Devis's account of the subjunctive cannot be considered as particularly progressive with respect to describing the formal, syntactic and semantic characteristics of the mood. Then again, it was not Devis's aim to provide a more detailed account of the mood but to teach her readership how the English language should be used correctly.

Mrs Taylor's *Easy Introduction to General Knowledge and Liberal Education* (1791) contains a grammar overview that includes a description of the subjunctive. She states that 'CONJUNCTIVE, or SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD Implies the meaning as connected with or depending on some

circumstance, without the power or controul [*sic*] of its nominative, as, if I go I cannot *write*; if she *were* wise she would study; although we *eat* and *drink*, yet we shall die' (Taylor, 1791, p. 14). Mrs Taylor does not make any comments about the status of the subjunctive, but it is noteworthy that her subjunctive account provides a past subjunctive example that does in fact contain the verb *were* rather than *was*.

In *A Short Compendium of English Grammar*, Mrs M.C. Edwards (1796) does not consider the subjunctive to be part of the mood system, which she lists as indicative, imperative, potential and infinitive. For her part, in her grammar entitled *The Young Ladies' English Grammar*, Jane Gardiner (1799) provides the common definition of the subjunctive, namely that it 'represents a thing under a condition, and is generally used with conjunctions before it: as, *if* I may go; *if* you were to write; *though* she should chide me' (Gardiner, 1799, p. 26). Rule 13 in the syntax section of the grammar states that '[t]he subjunctive mood always follows words implying uncertainty: such as, *If*, *though*, *whether*, &c. *Ex.* "If she *be*."' In the section on conjunctions, quoted below, Gardiner shows that she is aware of the semantic difference between the subjunctive and the indicative mood. The examples may suggest that she has not unambiguously recognised the subjunctive form, but, nevertheless, her account does suggest that she is aware of some semantic characteristics as well as of the syntax of the subjunctive.

Some conjunctions require the indicative, some the subjunctive mood after them. The conjunctions *if*, *whether*, or *though*, *although*, *unless*, *except*, and *provided* require the indicative mood, when the event expressed by the verb is represented in a positive manner as something real: as, "Though men are mortal, yet they live as if they were never to die." But they require the subjunctive when the event is represented conditionally: as, "If she come, we shall go to the play."
(*Ibid.*, p. 90)

Eleanor Fenn, who published her work anonymously or under the pseudonyms Mrs Lovechild and Mrs Teachwell, states in *The Mother's Grammar* (1798) that '[t]he *subjunctive* is better to be deferred till the pupil is perfect in the rest' (Fenn, 1798, p. 23). Subsequent to this advice, Fenn confines a great deal of space in her grammar to describing the subjunctive mood. This account can be best described as a collection of quotations as well as adaptations from grammars written by Clarke (1730?), Johnson (1755), Boyer (1706), Lowth (1762) as well as the

Eton grammar. Most of the collected statements provide a list of conjunctions after which the subjunctive ought to be used, followed by illustrative examples. Moreover, the comments on the subjunctive point out the neglect of the form and imply that the mood should be used correctly, an issue which will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.2. Fenn's reliance on other sources implicates that the subjunctive is not described in a uniform fashion, and some statements may even appear contradictory.

Finally, Mrs Eves (1800) recognises the subjunctive as a mood and defines it as follows: 'The SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD expresses a condition or supposition, it depends upon the preceding verb, and has a conjunction before' (Eves, 1800, p. 35). The provided examples such as 'WERE I obliged to beg my bread; IF THOU BE FAITHFUL I will reward thee; A liar is always suspected, THOUGH HE SPEAK the truth' suggest that Mrs Eves recognised all three characteristics of the subjunctive mood, namely, form, syntax and semantics.

In sum, the subjunctive accounts by female grammarians range from rather brief descriptions to longer sections, which are largely made up of quotations from and adaptations of prestigious grammars published earlier in the century.

3.6 Eighteenth-century grammarians' accounts of the subjunctive – a summary

Following the detailed discussion of a selection of eighteenth-century grammars, my findings can now be summarised. As argued before, the early grammarians have difficulties in describing the subjunctive mood. The lack of verbal inflections leads Greenwood (1711) to repudiate the existence of moods. Although it was frequently claimed that eighteenth-century grammarians relied on Latin models, Greenwood seems to have recognised the structural differences in English and makes attempts to account for them by denying the existence of moods in English and by using the Latin model to explain the language instead. Brightland and Gildon (1711) are less innovative and choose to copy the Port-Royal grammar in their description of the subjunctive mood. The treatment of the subjunctive in these two early grammars certainly shows that it was still somewhat of a riddle and the grammarians were not sure of how to deal with it.

In the mid-century, Priestley (1761) presents a rather meagre account of the subjunctive; that is, he merely notices that changes of termination in the persons of verbs are not always observed, which points to the common confusion with the indicative mood. Moreover, he claims

that the subjunctive, when used correctly, should imply some degree of doubt and hesitation. White's (1761) and Lowth's (1762) grammars, also mid-century grammars, contain much more detailed accounts of the subjunctive. Not only do they list the subjunctive as a mood, but they also recognise its formal, syntactic and semantic characteristics. As far as semantics is concerned, both grammarians noticed that there were differences between the subjunctive, the indicative and the potential mood. While Lowth only comments on the conditional and the *irrealis*, White was far more aware of the different meanings the subjunctive expresses; for instance, he even recognises the mandative subjunctive. Buchanan's account of the subjunctive in his 1762 and 1767 grammars, on the other hand, is rather contradictory, which suggests that he had difficulties in combining the various sources on which he relied.

Lowth's and particularly White's detailed accounts of the subjunctive are mirrored in Murray's (1795) treatment of the mood. Although Murray does not provide a formal description, it can be inferred from his examples. He describes the syntactic and the semantic characteristics of the subjunctive mood, the latter of which he expanded on in succeeding editions of the grammar. The question arises whether the expansions might have had anything to do with the public possibly demanding a more detailed account of the subjunctive. Pickbourn (1789), unlike Murray, only deals with the formal aspect of the mood as he had doubts about the existence of the subjunctive mood. His formal treatment of the mood shows that he believed the inflectional subjunctive to be an elliptical form of auxiliaries. Finally, the subjunctive accounts by female grammarians can be seen as extremely standard. The lack of independent and excessive descriptions of the mood may be explained by the fact that works written by eighteenth-century female grammarians were commonly used for elementary teaching.

The analyses of the selected grammars showed an interesting pattern. A shift can be observed from repudiation of moods altogether and the copying of a foreign grammar at the beginning of the eighteenth century to more extensive treatments of the subjunctive, in which the formal, syntactic and some semantic aspects are recognised, in the middle of the century. Apart from Pickbourn's reluctance to accept the subjunctive mood, the other late-century works show a more extensive treatment of the subjunctive, in particular the semantic aspect. It will now be tested, by looking at a summary of my findings, whether the patterns I observed in the grammars discussed in

detail in this section also occurred in the remaining grammars under investigation.

3.7 The overall results from 71 eighteenth-century grammars

The detailed discussions of the selected eighteenth-century grammars have shown that the treatments of the subjunctive mood greatly differ. Table 2.2 sets their work in the context of how the larger group of grammarians treated the three aspects of morphology, syntax and semantics. The key to the symbol system is given below the table.

Even though there is a danger of oversimplification when one tries to capture a great variety of accounts of the subjunctive with respect to morphology, syntax and semantics in one table, it will nevertheless give the reader an impression of how the descriptions have changed in the course of the eighteenth century.

Table 2.2 Accounts of the subjunctive mood in eighteenth-century grammars

Grammarian	Year	Morphology	Syntax	Semantics
Lane	1705 [1700]	(a); (b)	m	
Turner, W.	1710	(a); (c)	m	
Brightland & Gildon	1711	b	(m*)	x
Greenwood	1711			
Maittaire	1712	(a); b; (c)	(m); (m*)	x
Brightland	1712			
Sheridan	1714	(a); b; (c)	m	x
Entick	1728	b	m*	
Barker	1733	b	m*	
Loughton	1734	(a); (c)	m	
Anonymous	1736	b; (c)	m	
Turner, D.	1739	(a)	(m)	x
Dyche & Pardon (<i>Dictionary</i>)	1740	b		x
Kirkby	1746		(m)	
Martin	1748	(a)	(m)	x
Dilworth	1751 [1740]	b	(m*)	x; y
Buchanan	1753	(a); (b); (c)	m	
Fisher	1753			
Farro	1754	(a); (c)	m	
Johnson (<i>Dictionary</i>)	1755		m	x
Bayly	1758 [1756]	a	m; m*	x; y

Table 2.2 (Continued)

Grammarians	Year	Morphology	Syntax	Semantics
Priestley	1761	(a)	m	x; y
White	1761	a; c	m	x; y; z
Buchanan	1762	a; (b)	m	x; y
Lowth	1762	(a); (c)	m; (n)	x; y
Ward	1765	a; c	m	x; y
Elphinston	1765	a; b; c	m; m*	x; y
Fleming	1766	a; b; c	m; m*	
Ash	1766 [1760]	(c)	(m)	
Burn	1766	a; (c)	m	x; y
Ward	1767	a	m	x; y
Buchanan	1767	(a); b	m; m*	x; y (modal)
Fenning	1771	a; c	m	x; y
Raine	1771	(a); (c)	m	x; y
Metcalfe	1771	a; c	m	
Bayly	1772	a; b (past); (c)	m	x; y
Carter	1773			
Smetham	1774	b		x; y
Ash	1775			x; y
<i>(Dictionary)</i>				
Devis	1775	a; (c)	m	x; y
Campbell	1776	(a)	(m)	x
Harrison	1777	(a); (c)	m	x; y
Shaw	1778	a; (b); (c)	m; m*	x; y
Marriott	1780	a; b; (c)	m	x; y
<i>(Dictionary)</i>				
Anonymous	1781	a; c	m	x; y; z
Story	1783 [1778]	a; c	m	x; y
Fell	1784	a; c	m	x; y
Ussher	1785	a; (c)	m	x
Seally	1788	a; c	m	x; y
Coote	1788	a; b; (c)	m; (n)	x; y
Brittain	1788	a; c	m	x
Pickbourn	1789	(b)	m; (m*)	x; y
Pape	1790			
Bicknell	1790	a; c	m	x; y
Taylor	1791	a; (c)	m	x
Fogg	1792–1796	a	m	x; y
Wilson	1792	(a); (c)	m	x; y
Hornsey	1793	a; c	m	x; y
Nicholson	1793	(a); (c)	m	x
Wright	1794	(a); (c)	m	x; y
Postlethwaite	1795	a; c	m	x; y; z
Rhodes	1795	a; (b); (c)	m; m*	x; y
Murray	1795	a; c	m	x; y; z
Coar	1796	a; b; (c)	m; m*	x

Edwards	1796		(m)	
Lynch	1796			
Bullen	1797	(a)	m	x; y
Fenn	1798	a	m	x; y
Salmon	1798	a; c	m	x; y
Gardiner	1799	(a); (b)	m; m*	x
Eves	1800	a; c	m	x; y

Morphology:

- a Inflectional endings: the difference to the indicative is explicitly pointed out.
- b The subjunctive is considered to be formed with modal auxiliaries.
- c The difference between the present and past subjunctive forms is recognised and described, in particular with regard to the verb *be*.
- () If the features are not described but simply presented in an example, the representative letter is put in brackets.

Syntax:

- m Inflectional subjunctive in subordinate clauses is recognised, that is, a list of conjunctions is provided.
- m* A list of conjunctions is provided, however, they are followed by modal verbs.
- n The inflectional subjunctive in main clauses is recognised.
- () If the features are not described but simply presented in an example, the representative letter is put in brackets.

Semantics:

The semantic description of the subjunctive in eighteenth-century grammars can be subdivided into different degrees of recognition and different kinds of treatment. The first stage (x) represents the grammarian noticing that the semantic aspect is one of the subjunctive's characteristics, that is, s/he remarks that the subjunctive expresses a condition. The second stage (y) represents a wider range of meanings that the grammarian recognises and lists, that is, supposition, wish, condition, *etc.* The third stage (z) is not only a listing of the meanings but a more extensive discussion of them. The grammarian might even recognise and explain the semantic differences between the subjunctive, the indicative and the potential mood.

- x The grammarian notices that the semantic aspect is essential in distinguishing different moods and possibly mentions one kind of meaning.
- y The grammarian remarks that the mood expresses condition, motive, wish, supposition, *etc.*
- z The grammarian recognises the different meanings of the mood and elaborates on them.

As regards the formal or inflectional aspect of the subjunctive, a number of grammarians exemplified the form, but a proper description that explains the difference from the indicative is only sporadically found in the second half of the century. Furthermore, the difference between present and past subjunctive and the distinction between the latter and the indicative form is only discussed by a few grammarians.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the syntactic aspect was covered by examples or descriptions of the subjunctive mood in adverbial clauses. Some grammarians, as for instance Brightland and Gildon

(1711), Maittaire (1712), Dilworth (1751), Buchanan (1762, 1767), Shaw (1778), Pickbourn (1789) and Rhodes (1795), argue or imply that the subjunctive consists of modal verbs in subordinate clauses, whereas others (*cf.* W. Turner, 1710; Sheridan, 1714; Entick, 1728; Barker, 1733; Raine, 1771; Fell, 1784) treat modal verbs as a separate mood, that is, potential mood. Both types (inflectional and modal auxiliaries) are sometimes regarded as the same and therefore used interchangeably.

The development of the semantic aspect is an interesting matter to observe. Up to 1755, grammarians simply noted that moods are not only characterised by different inflectional endings but also by the meaning they convey. After this time grammarians dedicated more space to the different meanings of the subjunctive, a trend that started with White's 1761 account of the mood. Towards the end of the century, the semantic aspect became more essential to understanding the notion of subjunctive. There was a shift through the century from grammarians who hardly recognised the subjunctive, to grammarians who noticed that the subjunctive conveyed one meaning, to others who listed more semantic features. We are also able to discriminate grammarians who discussed these features and even recognised and remarked on the difference in meaning between subjunctive and indicative, and possibly even the potential.

Overall, it can be argued that eighteenth-century grammarians had great difficulties establishing what the subjunctive was. This can probably be explained by (a) their reliance on models of Latin grammar with regard to terminology and structure, and in some cases by (b) their trying to avoid the Latin model and account for the English subjunctive in its own right. However, this often led to a situation that is probably best described as 'lost in translation'. Subjunctive accounts that seemed inconsistent and partly contradictory may be explained by the fact that some grammarians relied on the works of other scholars in the field.

4 The status of the subjunctive in eighteenth-century grammars

In Section 3, I discussed the question of how eighteenth-century grammarians conceptualised and described the subjunctive as a mood. In this section, I will be concerned with their attitudes towards the inflectional subjunctive as a form, as illustrated by their implicit and explicit comments upon it. In Section 4.1, I will examine the role of exemplification

as an implicit way of conveying attitudes, and in Section 4.2, I will deal with overtly stated comments.

4.1 Exemplification of the inflectional subjunctive

Some remarks on examples that grammarians used in order to illustrate the subjunctive mood have already been made during detailed discussions of the mood. This issue is taken up again and elaborated on.⁶ Greenwood (1711), Maittaire (1712) and Pickbourn (1789) presented examples that were translated from Latin. Brightland and Gildon's (1711) subjunctive examples were translated from French, which is not surprising considering that their grammar relied on the Port-Royal grammar. Most grammarians in the eighteenth century tended to make up simple examples, such as *If he love, Though he call*, in order to illustrate the inflectional subjunctive. Examples frequently used were taken from the Bible; note that these examples occurred more often in the second half of the century. I came across one and the same example in several grammars, namely *Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him* (Job 13.15); it would thus seem that the example was copied from grammar to grammar. In the second part of the century, literary examples were mostly acknowledged, started off by Bayly (1758) who quoted Ascham (1515–1568). From then onwards examples from Shakespeare (1564–1616), Sandys (1578–1644), Milton (1608–1674), Cowley (1618–1667), Dryden (1631–1700), Prior (1664–1721), Shaftesbury (1671–1713), Addison (1672–1719), Farquhar (1677–1707), Lord Bolingbroke (1678–1751) and Pope (1688–1744) were found, for instance, in the works of White (1761), Lowth (1762)⁷ and Ward (1767). I have listed the literary authors and their lifespans in order to point out that only a few of them wrote in the eighteenth century. In fact, most of them wrote in the sixteenth and/or seventeenth centuries. White even states in the advertisement of his monograph that he regrets not finding the time to improve his grammar by adding pieces from the works of Mr Brome (1580–1652), Swift (1667–1745), Dr Armstrong (1709–1779), Dr Glover (1712–1785) and Dr Akenside (1721–1770). All these writers except for Mr Brome lived in the eighteenth century, and their writings would have represented contemporary language usage.

Overall, it can be said that the majority of the subjunctive examples provided by eighteenth-century grammarians do not represent actual language usage of the eighteenth century. Instead, it seems that earlier writers used the subjunctive mood more frequently and that

eighteenth-century grammarians regarded this more frequent earlier usage as exemplary, worth imitating and adopting.⁸

4.2 The decline of the inflectional subjunctive

One line of investigation is to find out whether eighteenth-century grammarians were aware of and commented on the decline of the inflectional subjunctive. To this purpose, I will survey now some remarks made by (late) eighteenth-century grammarians on the subjunctive's development.

In my sample, the first grammarian to comment on the subjunctive's decline was Samuel Johnson, who argued that '[t]he indicative and conjunctive moods are by modern writers frequently confounded, or rather the conjunctive is wholly neglected, when some convenience of versification does not invite its revival' (Johnson, 1755, Preface). Johnson's statement raises various issues. The word 'confounded' implies that the two moods, indicative and conjunctive, have two distinct functions that ought to be distinguished. By stating that it is 'modern' writers who frequently 'confound' the moods, Johnson implies that earlier writers were aware of the correct usage of the moods. The remark that 'the conjunctive is wholly neglected' raises the question of whether the function of the conjunctive mood was taken over by the indicative mood or, for example, by auxiliary verbs. However, Johnson does not make it clear to the reader, stating instead that the 'revival' of the conjunctive mood can only be invited by 'some convenience of versification'. This implies that the conjunctive mood is used in poetry, a genre whose language is different from other discourses, for reasons of rhyme and scansion. If this statement suggests that the conjunctive is primarily used in poetic diction, the question remains whether it is also used in other kinds of writing and how formal these text types are. On elaborating his statement, Johnson gives a list of conjunctions claiming that 'purer writers' use the subjunctive form after them. Who are these 'pure writers' that are aware of the 'correct' use of the subjunctive mood? In the revised fourth edition of his dictionary, published in 1773, Johnson changed his comment above from 'It is used among the purer writers' to 'It is used among the purer writers of former times'.⁹ More precisely, in his preface Johnson defines them as 'writers before the restoration, whose works I regard as *the wells of English undefiled*, as the pure sources of genuine diction' (Johnson, 1755, Preface). Johnson therefore is describing the practice of writers before the

mid-seventeenth century and not the language of contemporary writers. Johnson's exact words on the subjunctive and its decline are quoted more than 30 years later in the grammars by Brittain (1788, p. 128) and by Fenn (1798, p. 25; see Section 3.5). For instance, Brittain's passage below confirms statements by Johnson (above) and White (Section 3.3.1) that the subjunctive is found in poetry. Besides, he provides an original idea in claiming that the use of the subjunctive avoids 'the too frequent and hissing sound of *s*' (Brittain, 1788, p. 128). Furthermore, and most importantly, Brittain sheds light on a crucial question relating to the decline of the subjunctive when he states that the mood is 'daily falling into disuse' because of 'each respective conjunction sufficing to express all that this mood implies' (*ibid.*, p. 128). In other words, he draws attention to the fact that the conditionality or hypotheticality expressed by conjunctions such as *if*, *though* and *whether* is sufficient to imply the meanings of the mood and for this reason the morphological marking characterising the subjunctive becomes redundant.

The Subjunctive mood seems, indeed, daily falling into disuse; each respective conjunction sufficing to express all that this mood implies. It is, however, often retained, especially in poetry and oratory; to avoid the too frequent and hissing sound of *s*. So, that, in general, if the sound permits it, the indicative may be used.

(Brittain, 1788, p. 128)

There are more statements on the status of the subjunctive in the second half of the eighteenth century. Shortly after Johnson, Anselm Bayly, for instance, argues that '[t]he first English writers were more accurate than the Moderns in distinguishing the Subjunctive from the Indicative' (Bayly, 1758, p. 105); that is, like Johnson, he is aware that the subjunctive is on the decline as modern writers tend to use the indicative instead. Priestley, who paid some attention to usage (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000a, p. 881), claims that the conjunctive form 'is very little used by some writers of the present age; though our forefathers paid a very strict and scrupulous regard to it' (Priestley, 1761, p. 15). Priestley's comment on the subjunctive was cited in the grammars of Bicknell (1790, p. 82) and Fogg (1792–1796, p. 124).

In 1762, Buchanan makes the following statement on the inflectional subjunctive:

The Mood, [...] formerly used by the purest Writers, and by some called the Conjunctive Mood, [...] is entirely neglected by modern

Writers; who instead of Writing, if thou burn, tho' he refuse, unless he repent, whether he acknowledge it, &c. use the Indicative, and write, if thou burnest, though he refuses, unless he repents, whether he acknowledges it, &c.

(Buchanan, 1762, pp. 174–175)

Buchanan seems to have relied on Johnson's dictionary when he wrote his own grammar, not only because he notices the decline of the inflectional subjunctive and the use of the indicative mood instead, but also because his remarks on the subjunctive largely reflect Johnson's choice of words, for example, the use of 'purest Writers' in both grammars. Similarly, Ward (1765) notes that '[t]his mood is now little used, the indicative being substituted in its place: yet the best English writers have usually subjoined the forms of it to expressions depending on the words' (Ward, 1765, p. 195).

A more subtle account is found in White's monograph on the verb:

The Subjunctive Mood differs but little, in English Verbs, from the Indicative Mood: yet as there is some difference, and that difference established by the practice of the politest Speakers and Writers, however unattended to by others; it will become me to place that difference before you.

(White, 1761, p. 9)

Like Johnson and Bayly, White notices the formal difference between the subjunctive and the indicative and, in addition, he brings another difference to the reader's attention: a sociolectal one. This difference lies in the exclusive use of the subjunctive by polite speakers and writers as opposed to so-called vulgar speakers. In eighteenth-century England, the polite language of gentlemen was a taught standard 'associated with a certain level of education and social position' (Blake, 1996, p. 240) as well as with '“polite” London circles' (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000a, p. 883). White's comment suggests that by the second half of the century the inflectional subjunctive has come to be regarded as a politeness marker, a suggestion supported by the fact that his words are picked up over a decade later by Ellin Devis (1777, p. 33, 1782, p. 37). Devis, a female grammarian who wrote for a female audience, was 'aware of the subjunctive as a social shibboleth' and encouraged her readers to aspire to acceptance in 'the polite and fashionable world' by using the 'polite' language (see Percy, 2003, p. 69).¹⁰

Interesting light has been thrown on this issue of politeness in an article which discusses the controversy between Robert Lowth and James Merrick (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2003, pp. 36–45; see also Auer and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2007, p. 6). That the use of the subjunctive was recommended as a politeness marker is illustrated in a footnote in Lowth's grammar on *thou wert* and in the follow-up correspondence between the grammarian and Merrick. Lowth's footnote is as follows:

Shall we in deference to these great authorities allow wert to be the same with wast, and common to the Indicative and Subjunctive Mode? or rather abide by the practice of our best antient writers; the propriety of the language, which requires, as far as may be, distinct forms for different Modes; and the analogy of formation in each Mode; I was, Thou wast; I were, Thou wert? all which conspire to make wert peculiar to the Subjunctive Mode.

(Lowth, 1762, p. 52, footnote)

Lowth's correspondence with Merrick arose from the corrections Lowth made to Merrick's language in the latter's metrical version of the Psalms. It appears that Merrick used the subjunctive *thou wert* in an indicative context, of which Lowth strongly disapproved. Merrick attacks Lowth by writing the following: 'As to some English expressions in which custom has prevailed over Propriety, I own my ear much prejudiced [in] favour of them, at least when the use of them has, among our best Writers, become universal' (Merrick to Lowth, 29 April 1762, as quoted in Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2003, p. 38).¹¹

Last, Metcalfe (1771) seems to have based his footnote comment about the *wert/wast* confusion on Lowth (1762):

Wert and *wast* are often confounded by Writers, and used indifferently, as if *both* belonged to the Indicative Mood: But they certainly belong to different Moods. The best ancient English Authors observe this Distinction, and the Analogy of forming the Moods require it. We have several Examples of this Distinction between the Indicative and the Subjunctive Mood in our English Translation of the Bible; [...] When Writers do not consider the *proper* Distinction between the Indicative and Subjunctive Moods, they are ready to make *Solecisms*, and write very *improperly*. Milton says, *before the Heavens* thou wert. Dryden says, *remember what* thou wert! And Addison, *I knew* thou wert not *slow to hear*. Neither of these is Grammar.

(Metcalfe, 1771, p. 42)

To sum up, several eighteenth-century grammarians who commented on the development of the inflectional subjunctive mood showed awareness of the decline of the subjunctive, as they explicitly referred to earlier writers who used the mood more frequently. In addition, some grammarians noticed the functional overlap¹² between the subjunctive and the indicative mood, and one of them, namely Brittain (1788), even provided an explanation as to why the inflectional subjunctive may have become redundant. In terms of text types, the subjunctive appears to be associated with poetry and thus with writings on the formal end of a formal–informal continuum. For his part, White (1761) argued that the subjunctive is a feature associated with the language use of polite speakers and writers, which also indicates that the subjunctive is more likely to be found in formal language. The Lowth/Merrick correspondence contributed to this claim by showing that Lowth considered it important to use the subjunctive in the correct context and to thereby follow the practice of the best writers, whose language use was considered proper and polite.

5 Subjunctive accounts after the eighteenth century

The numerous publications of grammar books continued in the nineteenth century, of which Michael (1991, p. 12) identified 856 grammars. As regards descriptions of the subjunctive in this century, William Cobbett (1818), for instance, states the following:

Bishop Lowth, and, on his authority, Lindley Murray, have said, that some conjunctions have a government of verbs; that is to say, *make them or force them to be in the subjunctive mode*. And then these gentlemen mention particularly the conjunctions, *if, though, unless*, and some others. But (and these gentlemen allow it) the verbs that follow these conjunctions are not always in the subjunctive mode; and, the using of that mode must depend, *not upon the conjunction*, but upon the sense of the whole sentence.

(Cobbett, 1818, pp. 146–147)

This passage clearly shows that Cobbett was aware of the different characteristics of the subjunctive mood and of the fact that the meaning of a sentence, rather than a conjunction, should determine the choice of mood. While Cobbett focuses on explaining how Lowth and Murray described the subjunctive mood, Foster and Foster (1858) take a broader view and suggest that earlier grammarians were rather prescriptive in their accounts of the subjunctive. In the passage below, they observe

that earlier grammarians provided rules as to when to use the subjunctive and further observe that Scotch writers strictly adhered to these rules. Later grammarians, however, did no longer suggest that certain conjunctions require the subjunctive, but that it is the meaning of the entire sentence that is crucial for the choice of mood.

Our earlier grammarians laid it down that 'some conjunctions require the indicative, and some the subjunctive, mood after them;' and, whether in obedience of them, or from some more remote cause which we have not penetrated. Scotch writers almost invariably use the subjunctive with the conjunctions *if*, *lest*, *although*, and *whether*, whatever the sense may be. Subsequent grammarians have with much more accuracy decided, that when a matter is contingent and future, the subjunctive is required; but the indicative, if the thing is in itself certain, whatever the dubiety of the speaker concerning it.

(Foster and Foster, 1858, p. 239)

For his part, Latham (1843) provides a very detailed account of the characteristics of the subjunctive mood. When explaining its formal aspect, the grammarian states that 'there is a difference between the words *walk-s* (indicative), and the word *walk* (conjunctive). The conjunctive omits the sign of the person(-s)' (Latham, 1843, p. 101). The semantic aspect is described as follows:

When we say *if John walk fast, he will fatigue himself*, we use the word *walk* in a third sense. We do not say that the action of walking is taking place, or has taken place, or will take place. Neither do we express a wish that it may take place. We say, however, that, *if* it do take place, something else will take place also; *viz.* that the person who causes it to take place (John) will fatigue himself (that is, the fatigue will take place). Now in this case there is the idea of conditions and contingencies. John's fatigue is contingent upon his walking fast; that is, it is the fast walking that John's fatigue depends on. The fast walking is the condition of John's fatigue.

(Latham, 1843, p. 95)

On the same issue, later in the grammar Latham notes that '[c]ertain words denote contingency or uncertainty. The verb that accompanies these words denotes an act that *may* or may not take place; that is, an act which will take place under certain conditions and contingencies.' (*Ibid.*, p. 157) The words Latham is referring to are the conjunctions '*except, lest, so, before, ere, till, if, however, though, although, unless,*

whosoever, whatever, whether, that' (*ibid.*, p. 158), which he illustrates with examples from the Old and New Testament, Shakespeare, Milton and Pope. He then emphasises that '[a]s none of the above *always* denote contingency, they are not *always* followed by a conjunctive mood' (*ibid.*, p. 159).

In a similar way, and 50 years later, Earle (1898, p. 131) argues that '[t]he frequent connection between certain conjunctions and the subjunctive must not induce us to think as if they caused the Mood, for indeed a little observation will show us that this relation is by no means constant'. His comments on the status of the subjunctive, quoted below, reveal that at the end of the nineteenth century the subjunctive was still considered a politeness marker that expresses 'grace' and 'refinement'; and they also show that the use of the inflectional subjunctive is still strongly associated with poetry.

The Subjunctive Mood, as a distinct flexional form, is passing away. At the beginning of our period it was still in active operation. But now it is more and more neglected in hasty writing, as men find by experience that it is a thing of grace and refinement rather than of necessity. No obscurity results from employing Indicative forms through every ramification of the sentence.

(*Ibid.*, p. 131)

Modern books no longer exhibit such constructions as: 'the men asked whether Simon were lodged there' (Acts x.18); 'signify to the chief captain that he bring him down' (xxiii.15). The last stronghold of the Subjunctive is in certain set phrases, such as, *if I be, if it be, if it were, if he have*, &c. These remarks, however, apply only to prose; for the poet will not relinquish the Subjunctive Mood, he knows its value too well.

(*Ibid.*, p. 132)

This survey of meta-linguistic comments on the subjunctive mood during the nineteenth century has shown that grammarians did no longer have difficulties to explain what the characteristics of the subjunctive mood are. In fact, the claims strongly emphasise that it is the meaning of the entire sentence rather than the conjunction that decides which mood should be used. What subjunctive accounts in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century do have in common is that (a) the subjunctive is considered a politeness marker, and that (b) it is associated with poetic diction.

6 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been the treatment of the inflectional subjunctive mood in eighteenth-century grammars of English. First, the notion of mood is not at all clear-cut in this period. Grammarians did not agree on the system of moods or even on the existence of the subjunctive mood. The lack of uniformity was also mirrored in the individual treatments of mood. Concerning the formal aspect of the subjunctive, a number of grammarians struggled to distinguish the subjunctive from the indicative and modal auxiliaries. Furthermore, grammarians were not always aware of the semantic differences between the subjunctive, the indicative and modal auxiliaries. After all, the latter two forms are claimed to have taken over the functions of the subjunctive. As regards the syntactic aspect of the subjunctive mood, most eighteenth-century grammarians believed that the subjunctive was mainly used in adverbial clauses, that is, subordinate clauses that are introduced by selected conjunctions,¹³ but some grammarians also observed that the subjunctive form was used in main clauses, after words of wishing and the words *provided* and *command*. In adverbial clauses, it was noticed that the past indicative form *was* was often improperly used instead of the past subjunctive form *were*.

The survey of meta-linguistic comments on the status of the subjunctive has revealed that several grammarians commented on the development or rather the decline of the inflectional subjunctive. It can even be argued that Johnson (1755), White (1761), Lowth (1762) and others advocated and tried to revive the usage of the subjunctive, whose use had largely become associated with poetry (*cf.* Johnson, 1755; White, 1761; Brittain, 1788). Moreover, the statements clearly indicate that eighteenth-century grammarians regarded the subjunctive mood as a social shibboleth; in other words, it was used by polite speakers and writers and possibly by those people who wanted to belong to this social group, such as social climbers and women.

All the issues raised will be taken up again in Chapter 3 when actual usage of the inflectional subjunctive will be investigated, and they will help to evaluate the effects of the grammarians on the development of the subjunctive. As the meta-linguistic comments have clearly shown that the subjunctive was (a) considered a social shibboleth and (b) associated with poetry, the variables gender and genre will also be part of the usage study.

3

The Subjunctive Mood in Eighteenth-Century England: A Corpus Study

1 Introduction

The present chapter continues the discussion of whether prescriptivists influenced the development, or rather the decline, of the inflectional subjunctive in the Late Modern English period. This will be done by focussing on the properties (see Chapter 2, Section 6) that emerged from the analysis in Chapter 2 and actual usage of the inflectional subjunctive in this period, the study of which will be a corpus-based investigation.

It is generally agreed that the decline of the subjunctive as an inflectionally marked verb form started in ME times (*cf.* Görlach, 2001, p. 122; Traugott, 1972, p. 149). Some historical linguists have carried out diachronic corpus studies in order to verify this. Early studies by Kihlbom (1938) and Harsh (1968) cannot be described as corpus studies in the modern sense, as their databases do not conform to all the characteristics of a modern corpus, which are sampling and representativeness, finite size, machine-readable form and a standard reference (see McEnery and Wilson, 2001, p. 21). I will discuss some of these studies in more detail as they cover the Early Modern English period and in this way supply information about the status of the subjunctive in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Kihlbom (1938), for instance, analysed the present subjunctive in conditional clauses as found in private letters from the fifteenth century. She concludes ‘that the subjunctive appears to have been the general rule in the colloquial language of the latter part of the 15th century’ (Kihlbom, 1938, p. 262) and additionally notes that her results were not conditioned by dialect or social standing. In the early part of the following century, however, the subjunctive is considered to be mainly used in literary works, which suggests that a shift from colloquial to literary language has taken place (see *ibid.*,

p. 263). Kihlbom's results have to be considered carefully as she does not present any data but only summarises her findings. Harsh¹ (1968) investigated six Bible translations dated c. 800, c. 950, c. 1389, 1526, 1611, and 1923 (American version), ten texts (prose and poetry) from each of the five Middle English dialects, and twenty-four British and American dramatic texts, which cover more than five centuries (1430–1947). In the six Bible translations Harsh observes a decline of the subjunctive from the tenth to the sixteenth century, which is briefly reversed in the seventeenth century (King James Bible). The decline then continues into the twentieth century. Harsh provides further evidence of the decline in subjunctive usage by studying British and American dramatic texts. He notes that the development of the subjunctive runs almost parallel to the progression in the Bible translations. This includes a rise in subjunctive usage in the seventeenth century,² namely in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1623 [1591]) and Dryden's *All for Love* (1678). There is also a slight increase of subjunctive forms in the late nineteenth century, which is due to the high frequency of subjunctive usage in Tennyson's *Harold* (1877) and Pinero's *The Second Mrs Tanqueray* (1893). Moreover, Harsh observes a higher frequency of the inflectional subjunctive in modern American dramatic texts as opposed to corresponding British texts (see Harsh, 1968, p. 84). In his attempt to explain the rise in the seventeenth century, Harsh maintains that, according to Grainger, 'the translators, while necessarily following contemporary usage to some extent, also took past usage into account' (Harsh, 1968, p. 45).³ This means that archaic language and formal literary style were used deliberately, which might account for the high incidence of subjunctive forms in the King James Bible (1611).⁴ Harsh's study, which was carried out very systematically as opposed to Kihlbom (1938), produced interesting results. It is however difficult to consider the results of the subjunctive development representative since Harsh's data of the different periods are based on selected texts only; the seventeenth-century corpus includes four texts, two of which showed an increase in subjunctive frequency. In order to strengthen his claims, Harsh ought to have selected more texts for his corpus.⁵

More recent subjunctive studies were carried out by means of corpora in the modern sense. Moessner (2002a, 2002b) investigated the inflectional subjunctive in Early Modern English. In her first study (2002a) Moessner is concerned with the subjunctive in English and Scots. To this purpose, she investigates the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (1500–1710) and the corresponding *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*. The English data show a decline of the subjunctive throughout the

investigated period. A subdivision into decades reveals that the progression is not uniform. After a time of little movement (1501–1540) the subjunctive loses ground (1541–1570). Towards the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century an upward movement can be observed. Moessner claims that the high frequency of the subjunctive in the King James Bible (1611) as noticed by Harsh was in line with the general development. Moessner, however, does not take into consideration that the Helsinki corpus includes the translation of the Old and the New Testaments by Tyndale, which may explain the high frequency of the subjunctive during this period. The development of the subjunctive in Scots over the same period differs from English in that an increase of the form can be observed between SC1⁶ (1500–1570) and SC2 (1570–1640), which is followed by a slight decrease between SC2 and SC3 (1640–1710). A subdivision of the SC2 period reveals a steady increase in frequency until 1630, which subsequently drops. A similar rise in frequency can be observed in the English data from 1580 to 1610. Moessner notes that this time-span ‘is marked by the Scottish king and his court moving from Edinburgh to London’⁷ (2002a) and hypothesises that during this period of intensive language contact the Scots’ resistance to the spread of the indicative also influenced the development of the subjunctive in Standard English.

In her second study (2002b) Moessner aims to answer the question ‘Who used the subjunctive in the 17th century?’ *The Helsinki Corpus* (HC) and the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* (CEECS) serve as the basis for the investigation of the subjunctive form. An analysis of the different genres in the Helsinki Corpus reveals that a fairly high frequency of subjunctive forms can be found in handbooks. Moessner remarks that the subjunctive frequency is lower in the CEECS than in the HC but slightly higher than in the letter genre of the HC. Out of a total of 60 authors in the CEECS, approximately two-thirds used subjunctives (although marked by a difference in frequency). Moessner concludes that the genre letter is not linguistically homogeneous: the frequency of the subjunctive ranges from 67.44% to 43.25%. Moreover, she notes that two women were among the five letter writers whose letters contained the highest subjunctive frequency. As for answering her target question, Moessner claims that an answer ‘is not yet possible; some modest suggestions have to suffice’ (Moessner, 2002b, p. 234).

Several corpus studies (*cf.* Övergaard, 1995; Peters, 1998; Hundt, 1998; Serpollet, 2001; Fillbrandt, 2006; Moessner, 2007) have been concerned with the development of the so-called mandative subjunctive, which

Quirk *et al.* describe as the subjunctive in subordinate *that*-clauses, the main clause of which expresses recommendation, demand, proposal, resolution, intention, *etc.* (see Quirk *et al.*, 1985, pp. 156–157). I will not discuss any of these studies in more detail here but only point out that this particular construction seems to have been responsible for the recent revival of the subjunctive.

Several periods have been investigated with regard to the status of the inflectional subjunctive, but '[v]ery little is known about the situation/development in late Modern English (1700–1900)' (Övergaard, 1995, p. 89). Even though there is a lack of corpus studies with respect to the situation of the inflectional subjunctive in the eighteenth century and its development in the Late Modern English period, several historical linguists have made remarks about the development of the subjunctive form. As already pointed out in Chapter 2, some linguists believe that the trajectory of decline was sporadically reversed in the eighteenth century due to the influence of prescriptivism (*cf.* Strang, 1970, p. 209; Görlach, 2001, p. 122), whereas others argue that prescriptivists were not successful in their attempts to arrest the decline (see Turner, 1980, p. 272). Rissanen acknowledges Strang's view that eighteenth-century grammarians could have had an influence on the subjunctive's development and states, '[j]udging by textual evidence, it would seem that the use of subjunctive forms might even have increased in the course of the eighteenth century', but he then casts doubt on the reversal of the decline when he remarks that '[i]t is possible, too, that this increase is only apparent, an impression given by a larger number and greater variety of texts available' (Rissanen, 1999, p. 228). Some historical linguists commented not only on the overall development of the subjunctive but made claims about changes of the form in specific contexts. For instance, Barber (1987) states that '[t]hese [*though he do, if it be*] are subjunctive forms, which are merely vestigial in IModE but still quite common in eModE. They are found especially in subordinate clauses of condition and concession and in noun clauses after verbs of requesting and commanding, [...]' (Barber, 1987, p. 263). Rissanen (1999) and Görlach (2001, p. 122) notice the occurrence of the subjunctive in hypothetical conditional clauses [as, for example, *If she were to meet the examiners*] but also claim that subjunctive forms are found in wishes and 'even other contexts, both in main and in subordinate clauses' (Rissanen, 1999, p. 228). Barber clearly states that there is a decrease in subjunctive usage in adverbial clauses between the Early and Late Modern English period. As for other contexts, the scholars merely say that the subjunctive form is found in main clauses, in wishes and

others, but they do not comment on the frequency of the form or on any changes observed.

Another issue related to the decline of the inflectional subjunctive in adverbial clauses is of course the shift of its functions to other areas of modality. Traugott's comment on this topic is that '[b]y ENE the original inflectional subjunctives had been largely taken over by phrases with auxiliaries like *should*, *would*, *might*, *may* – especially *should*' (Traugott, 1972, p. 148; Blake, 1996, p. 222), whereas Denison argues that 'syntactically its functions were being lost either to the indicative or to the modal verbs' (Denison, 1998, p. 160). These partly contradictory claims of whether the indicative or the modal verbs took over the functions of the subjunctive will be taken up in Section 3 where my corpus results will throw light on this issue.

As regards the use of the subjunctive from a stylistic point of view, historical linguists agree that the subjunctive became largely confined to formal registers (*cf.* Rissanen, 1999, p. 228; Görlach, 2001, p. 122).

Even though numerous confident claims have been made regarding several aspects of the history of the English inflectional subjunctive, there is a lack of empirical evidence. These results will be provided in the corpus studies in this chapter, within the scope of which the issues raised above, namely subjunctive contexts, functional shift and stylistic variation, will be discussed.

2 Methodological preliminaries

This section will tackle some methodological considerations that serve as a framework for the corpus study to be carried out.

The corpus-based investigation is restricted to subordinate clauses, more specifically, to adverbial clauses.⁸ One reason for this choice of construction is that there are some problems in attempting large-scale corpus studies of the subjunctive. As we rely on a concordance program to retrieve the data, we need to type a query into the program in order to get the data. Eighteenth-century grammarians agreed that the subjunctive was primarily used in adverbial clauses, and hence the conjunctions introducing these clauses, namely *if*, *though*, *tho'*, *before*, *whether*, *ere*, *unless*, *however*, *whatever*, *except*, *whatsoever*, *whomsoever*, *howsoever*, *whosoever*, *whoever*, *lest*, *until*, *till*, *as if*, *although* and *so that* can be used as keywords for the searches.⁹ The retrieved data will then be investigated as to whether the conjunctions are followed by the inflectional subjunctive or other forms. It would have been possible to investigate the subjunctive in main clauses by restricting the search to

to be only. The results, however, would not have allowed us to carry out a comparison with modal auxiliaries and the indicative.

Not only eighteenth-century grammarians (see Chapter 2, Section 4.2) but also linguists today have argued that the functions of the subjunctive mood have largely been taken over by the indicative mood or modal auxiliaries (see, e.g., Jespersen, 1931, IV, p. 623; Denison, 1998, p. 160; Traugott, 1972: 148). The inflectional subjunctive will therefore be compared to the latter two forms. For the sake of convenience I shall label these forms *inflectional subjunctive* (1a and 1b), *periphrastic subjunctive* (1c) and *indicative form* (1d).

(1) (a) Write further, if you please; That I say, Sir Hargrave may be very glad, *if* he *hear* no more of this affair from the lady's natural friends: That, however, I shall rid him of all apprehension of that nature; for that I still consider the lady as under my protection, with regard to any consequences that may naturally follow what happen'd on Hounslow-heath: [ARCHER, 1753RICH.FC3]

(b) And *if* your stray attendance *be* yet *lodg'd*,
Or shroud within these limits, I shall know
Ere morrow wake, or the low roosted lark
From her thatch't pallat rowse, if otherwise
I can conduct you Lady to a low
But loyal cottage, where you may be safe
Till further quest. [ARCHER, 1634milt.d0b]

(c) But what *if* he *shou'd prove* Valiant? [ARCHER, 1693POWE.D1]

(d) Your promise in my favour was not quite absolute, but *if* your Will *is* not perverse, you & I will do all in our power to overcome your scruples of conscience. [ARCHER, 1800Austen.X5]

When the indicative form is distinguished from the inflectional subjunctive and the periphrastic subjunctive, the latter two forms will be termed 'non-indicative', as this is a more neutral terminology.¹⁰ The modal auxiliaries included under the title of periphrastic subjunctive are *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will* and *would*.¹¹

The aim of this investigation is to find out which conjunctions require which mood, and if all three variants are represented, what is the proportional distribution amongst them. Since the indicative and the inflectional subjunctive have become almost identical in form, a difference can only be told in the third person singular of verbs. In the present tense the indicative carries the agreement suffix *-s* whereas the

subjunctive mood lacks this suffix. The corpus search will therefore be restricted to third person singular in the present tense, which will also include the verb *to be*.

In a separate study (see Section 3.3), I will also look at the past tense where it is even more difficult to tell the difference between indicative and subjunctive. The past tense data will be restricted to the verb *to be*, which is the only verb in which a distinction between the two moods can be formally signalled by inflectional means. In the subjunctive the form *were* is used for all persons in the singular as, for example, in *if he were* (subjunctive) as opposed to *if he was* (indicative).

3 The subjunctive mood and its diachronic development

The first step in my quest to solve the question of what happened to the inflectional subjunctive and whether its decline was in any way influenced by eighteenth-century grammarians is to analyse its development from 1650 to 1990, which covers the entire time-span of ARCHER. Note that my corpus investigation slightly differs from Konopka's model in that I do not analyse two temporally distinct corpora of usage, namely one preceding the period of prescriptivism and the other following it, but I have chosen a corpus giving continuous coverage. This is done in order to be able to trace a possible reversal of the development (decline) of the inflectional subjunctive during the eighteenth century. The results will reveal whether the inflectional subjunctive was on the decline in the period from 1650 to 1990 and whether there was a reversal of the decline in or after the eighteenth century, as claimed by Strang (1970, p. 209) and Görlach (2001, p. 122). Possible changes in the trajectory can be revealed by subdividing the ARCHER data into 50-year time spans. An important aim, apart from tracing the development of the inflectional subjunctive, is to find out whether the functions of the subjunctive were taken over by the indicative or modal auxiliaries in the different constructions under investigation. Though I will examine the entire time span of ARCHER in the diachronic development of the subjunctive mood, the more detailed analyses of gender and genre variation will be restricted to the main period under investigation, namely 1700–1900.¹²

I will first compare the results of the three-way distribution of the inflectional subjunctive, the periphrastic subjunctive and the indicative per century. As the data contained in the corpus starts with the year 1650 and ends in 1990, the first column in Table 3.1 will consist of a briefer time span, namely 50 years, and the last column presents data

Table 3.1 The diachronic development of the subjunctive – a subdivision into centuries

Third pers. sing. present	1650–1699	1700–1799	1800–1899	1900–1990
Subjunctive	62.6% (122)	24.5% (87)	22.1% (91)	8% (16)
Periphrasis	20.5% (40)	36.9% (131)	32.6% (134)	29.9% (60)
Indicative	16.9% (33)	38.6% (137)	45.3% (186)	62.1% (125)
TOTAL	195	355	411	201

from a 90-year time span. Unless otherwise indicated, the tables refer to usage in adverbial clauses.

The frequency of the inflectional subjunctive in the eighteenth-century data is quite low, taking up only 24.5%. In comparison to the time span 1650–1699 it has declined by more than half. The fact that the use of the inflectional subjunctive in the nineteenth century is even lower, namely 22.1%, than in the eighteenth century indicates that the advocacy by eighteenth-century grammarians to use the inflectional subjunctive more frequently was not particularly successful. The outcome also suggests that more reference points are required in order to trace a possible change (see amended Konopka model in Chapter 1, Section 2). In other words, a finer-grained division of the data might reveal different results.

Of particular interest is the distribution of the competing forms: The indicative with 16.9% in the last 50 years of the Early Modern English period (1650–1699) has gone up to 38.6% in the eighteenth century and continued rising to 45.3% in the nineteenth century and 62.1% in the twentieth century. The modal auxiliary results, on the other hand, have shown an increase in frequency from 1650–1699 to the eighteenth century, up to 36.9%, followed by a decline to 32.6% in the nineteenth century and 29.9% in the twentieth century. To pick up the topic of functional shift, which was noticed by some eighteenth-century grammarians (Chapter 2, Section 4.2) and also discussed in Section 2 (this chapter), the results of the competing forms suggest that the role of the modal auxiliaries as stated by Traugott (1972, p. 148) and Blake (1996, p. 222) has been overrated.¹³ The truly competing form with regard to functions appears to be the indicative. Even though the non-indicative forms are still more frequently used than the indicative until the end of the nineteenth century, the development of the latter is undoubtedly striking. As regards the occurrence of modal auxiliaries subsumed under periphrastic subjunctive in ARCHER, the results (1700–1900) will here be presented according to frequency: (1) *should*, (2) *could*, (3) *would*,

Table 3.2 The diachronic development of the subjunctive – subdivided into 50-year time spans

Third pers. sing. present	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899	1900–1949	1950–1990
Subjunctive	62.6% (122)	24.1% (41)	24.9% (46)	25.8% (67)	15.9% (24)	12.8% (13)	3% (3)
Periphrasis	20.5% (40)	39.4% (67)	34.6% (64)	35.7% (93)	27.1% (41)	33.3% (34)	26.3% (26)
Indicative	16.9% (33)	36.5% (62)	40.5% (75)	38.5% (100)	57% (86)	53.9% (55)	70.7% (70)
TOTAL	195	170	185	260	151	102	99

(4) *may*, (5) *will*, (6) *can*, (7) *shall*, (8) *might*, (9) *must*. The outcome shows that the modal auxiliary verb *should* was already the most frequently used periphrastic subjunctive in the Late Modern English period.

The next subdivision with respect to the development of the inflectional subjunctive covers 50-year time spans from 1650 to 1990 (see Table 3.2).

The subdivision shows an interesting development of the inflectional subjunctive. From 1650 onwards the form declines fairly rapidly, namely from 62.6% in 1650–1699 to 24.1% in 1700–1749. Following this steep decline, the data reveal a slight rise in the second half of the eighteenth century (24.9%), which continues into the first half of the nineteenth century (25.8%). In the second part of the nineteenth century a sharp drop in frequency to merely 15.9% can be observed – this decrease continues to 12.8% in 1900–1949 and 3% in 1950–1990. The development of the inflectional subjunctive in adverbial clauses thus shows a rise in frequency in the second part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, that is, 1750–1849, which is followed by a continuous decrease until 1990.

As regards the competing forms, while the inflectional subjunctive was on the decline (except for the period 1750–1849), the indicative was on the rise. At times the movement of the indicative almost mirrors the development of the subjunctive form, which strongly suggests that it is the indicative that took over the functions of the inflectional subjunctive. Since the indicative form does not express non-factuality and hypotheticality, this outcome indicates that the conjunctions introducing adverbial clauses express sufficient doubt or condition for the verb form no longer to be vital in conveying this meaning. This

interpretation has in fact already been given by the eighteenth-century grammarian Brittain (1788), and discussed in Chapter 2, Section 4.2, who stated that the mood is 'daily falling into disuse' because of 'each respective conjunction sufficing to express all that this mood implies' (Brittain, 1788, p. 128).

The periphrastic forms, on the other hand, reveal a wavy progression throughout the period under investigation; a movement which is extremely difficult to account for. Since eighteenth-century grammarians had severe difficulties in distinguishing the subjunctive from the potential mood, I assumed that this competing form would play a more prominent role in taking over the functions of the inflectional subjunctive. Reasons for the development of the periphrastic subjunctive may be regarded as a topic for further research.

The outcome of the paradigmatic variation shows that prescriptivism possibly had an effect, which lasted for approximately 100 years (1750–1849). It was shown in Chapter 2 that the grammars that contained comments on the decline of the subjunctive were all published in the second part of the eighteenth century. At the time a minor rise in frequency compared to the first part of the eighteenth century was noticed, and only at the beginning of the nineteenth century did the frequency of the form increase more noticeably to 25.8%. This does not only show that prescriptivists' 'complaints' about the decrease of the inflectional subjunctive and the invitation to use it more frequently might have paid off, but the results also support my view that there is a time lag before we can see a result (see Chapter 1, Section 2). Since we are dealing with language in the eighteenth century, a time that was neither influenced nor controlled by mass media, the internet and spell checks, an immediate strong effect can be ruled out.¹⁴ In the eighteenth century an immediate effect would imply that grammarians described language usage at the time. Factors that gradually led to an increase in usage can be considered to be the enormous influx of grammar books in the country and the determination of social climbers to become part of the 'polite British society' by acquiring the correct and polite English grammar (see Chapter 2, Section 4.2). It seems therefore feasible that results of the grammarians' norms only become apparent after several decades, which coincides with the results of the diachronic corpus study.

3.1 The inflectional subjunctive and the role of conjunctions

In view of the fact that I aim to find out about the development of the inflectional subjunctive as well as reasons that trigger the use of

the form, the role of individual conjunctions ought to be considered. Table 3.3 will reveal frequencies of the different realisation possibilities after certain conjunctions, the data of which is subdivided into 50-year time spans.¹⁵ The overall LModE (1700–1900) results have indicated that the inflectional subjunctive was not favoured by a single conjunction. The breakdown of the frequencies will give us an idea of what the developments were with respect to individual conjunctions and whether the inflectional subjunctive did rise in selected sub-periods.

Table 3.3 The development of the subjunctive after selected conjunctions

IF	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650–1699	71.1% (64)	24.4% (22)	4.5% (4)	90
1700–1749	31.7% (26)	45.1% (37)	23.2% (19)	82
1750–1799	35.9% (37)	26.2% (27)	37.9% (39)	103
1800–1849	36.4% (51)	26.4% (37)	37.2% (52)	140
1850–1899	31.1% (19)	23% (14)	45.9% (28)	61
1900–1949	19.2% (10)	25% (13)	55.8% (29)	52
1950–1990	3.6% (2)	21.8% (12)	74.6% (41)	55
TOTAL	35.8% (209)	27.8% (162)	36.4% (212)	583
THOUGH	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650–1699	61.3% (19)	12.9% (4)	25.8% (8)	31
1700–1749	14.2% (2)	42.9% (6)	42.9% (6)	14
1750–1799	5% (1)	35% (7)	60% (12)	20
1800–1849	18.7% (3)	37.5% (6)	43.8% (7)	16
1850–1899	5.9% (1)	29.4% (5)	64.7% (11)	17
1900–1949	16.7% (1)	33.3% (2)	50% (3)	6
1950–1990	–	80% (4)	20% (1)	5
TOTAL	24.8% (27)	31.2% (34)	44% (48)	109
TILL	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650–1699	69.2% (9)	7.7% (1)	23.1% (3)	13
1700–1749	11.1% (2)	11.1% (2)	77.8% (14)	18
1750–1799	23.1% (3)	23.1% (3)	53.8% (7)	13
1800–1849	19.1% (3)	23.8% (5)	57.1% (12)	20
1850–1899	–	11.1% (1)	88.9% (8)	9
1900–1949	–	–	100% (2)	2
1950–1990	–	–	100% (2)	2
TOTAL	22.1% (17)	15.6% (12)	62.3% (48)	77

WHETHER	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650-1699	70% (7)	30% (3)	–	10
1700-1749	22.2% (2)	44.5% (4)	33.3% (3)	9
1750-1799	18.2% (2)	36.3% (4)	45.5% (5)	11
1800-1849	15.8% (3)	52.6% (10)	31.6% (6)	19
1850-1899	13.3% (2)	26.7% (4)	60% (9)	15
1900-1949	14.3% (1)	28.6% (2)	57.1% (4)	7
1950-1990	–	27.3% (3)	72.7% (8)	11
TOTAL	20.7% (17)	36.6% (30)	42.7% (35)	82
BEFORE	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650-1699	42.9% (3)	14.2% (1)	42.9% (3)	7
1700-1749	–	33.3% (4)	66.7% (8)	12
1750-1799	–	17.8% (7)	22.2% (2)	9
1800-1849	–	25% (3)	75% (9)	12
1850-1899	–	46.2% (6)	53.8% (7)	13
1900-1949	–	33.3% (3)	66.7% (6)	9
1950-1990	–	66.7% (4)	33.3% (2)	6
TOTAL	4.4% (3)	41.2% (28)	54.4% (37)	68
SO THAT	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650-1699	–	14.3% (1)	85.7% (6)	7
1700-1749	–	62.5% (4)	37.5% (3)	7
1750-1799	–	62.5% (5)	37.5% (3)	8
1800-1849	–	78.6% (11)	21.4% (3)	14
1850-1899	–	16.7% (1)	83.3% (6)	7
1900-1949	–	88.9% (8)	11.1% (1)	9
1950-1990	–	–	–	–
TOTAL	–	57.5% (30)	42.3% (22)	52
UNTIL	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650-1699	–	–	–	–
1700-1749	33.3% (1)	33.4% (1)	33.3% (1)	3
1750-1799	25% (1)	75% (3)	–	4
1800-1849	11.2% (1)	44.4% (4)	44.4% (4)	9
1850-1899	–	–	100% (7)	7
1900-1949	–	28.6% (2)	71.4% (5)	7
1950-1990	–	14.3% (1)	85.7% (6)	7
TOTAL	8.1% (3)	29.7% (11)	62.2% (23)	37

Table 3.3 (Continued)

UNLESS	Subjunctive	Periphrasis	Indicative	TOTAL
1650–1699	80% (12)	13.3% (2)	6.7% (1)	15
1700–1749	50% (3)	16.7% (1)	33.3% (2)	6
1750–1799	25% (1)	50% (2)	25% (1)	4
1800–1849	20% (1)	–	80% (4)	5
1850–1899	14.3% (1)	–	85.7% (6)	7
1900–1949	–	–	–	–
1950–1990	–	–	100% (3)	3
TOTAL	45% (18)	12.5% (5)	42.5% (17)	40

Note: Note that these results are based on the variant forms in third person singular present tense in adverbial clauses only.

The most frequently attested conjunction followed by the inflectional subjunctive is *if*. Following the conjunction *so that* there are no occurrences of the inflectional subjunctive, and *before* only triggered the subjunctive form during the sub-period 1650–1699. The conjunctions *though*, *till*, *whether*, *until* and *unless* either remain the same across the sub-periods or show an increase or decrease of one instance only, which can hardly be considered a representative movement. As the conjunction *if* is most frequently found in the investigated clauses, I will next determine whether the occurrence of the conjunction shows a similar pattern to the development of the inflectional subjunctive. The conjunction *if* starts out with 71.1% in 1650–1699 and severely drops to 31.7% in 1700–1749. From 1750 onwards a rise can be observed to 35.9% in 1750–1799 and 36.4% in 1800–1849, which is followed by a continuous decrease to 31.1% in 1850–1899, 19.2% in 1900–1949 and 3.6% in 1950–1990. The progression of *if* followed by the inflectional subjunctive exactly parallels the overall development of the subjunctive form from 1650 to 1990. The fate of the inflectional subjunctive in adverbial clauses may therefore be dependent on the conjunction *if*.

In Table 3.4 I will present the occurrence of the inflectional subjunctive and its competing forms in different kinds of subordinate clauses during the period 1700–1900. A distribution of the three variants will shed some light on the preferred class by each form. The conjunctions are divided into five groups, which are conjunctions introducing conditional clauses (*if*, *unless*, *except*, *whether*), temporal clauses (*till*, *until*, *before*, *ere*), clauses of concession (*although*, *though*), clauses of purpose (*so that*, *lest*¹⁶) and other particles introducing adverbial clauses (*however*, *as if*, *whatever*, *whatsoever*, *whoever*, *whosoever*).

Table 3.4 The distribution of different types of conjunction in LModE (1700–1900)

	Condition	Time	Concession	Purpose	Others
Subjunctive	32.5% (152)	9% (12)	12% (10)	3.8% (2)	6.7% (2)
Periphrasis	30% (140)	31.6% (42)	37.4% (31)	67.3% (35)	56.6% (17)
Indicative	37.5% (175)	59.4% (79)	50.6% (42)	28.8% (15)	36.7% (11)
TOTAL	467	133	83	52	30

The distribution of the forms in Table 3.4 clearly shows that conditional conjunctions are by far the predominant group. This result can only be achieved with the inclusion of the conjunction *if*. Without *if* the results of the conditional conjunctions are 19 instances of inflectional subjunctive, 25 instances of periphrastic subjunctive and 37 instances of indicatives – this group would be ranked with a total of 81 instances between clauses of concession and purpose only.

The predominant group of conditional conjunctions is followed by temporal conjunctions, concessive conjunctions, conjunctions introducing purpose clauses and others. As regards the favoured forms by the different groups of conjunctions, it will be noticed that (a) the conditional conjunctions most elicit the inflectional subjunctive with 32.5%, but (b) the indicative is still the preferred form with 37.5%. Result (b) is not surprising considering that these conjunctions themselves express hypotheticality. The indicative is clearly preferred by temporal conjunctions with 59.4% and also by conjunctions introducing clauses of concession with 50.6%. The periphrastic subjunctive, on the other hand, is predominant after conjunctions introducing clauses of purpose with 67.3% and other conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses with 56.6%.

Figure 3.1 reveals the development of the inflectional subjunctive following certain groups of conjunctions. The data show that the conditional conjunctions followed by the inflectional subjunctive follow the same pattern as the overall development of the inflectional subjunctive in adverbial clauses. We can observe a steady rise from 1700–1749 to 1800–1849, which is followed by a sharp drop. The same pattern with much lower instances is found in temporal clauses. The outcome with regard to conditional clauses is not surprising considering that almost every eighteenth-century grammarian who described and illustrated the subjunctive provided an example containing *if* – as, for example, *If I love* (Devis, 1775, p. 28) and *If thou be the Son of God*. Matt.iv.3 (Lowth, 1762,

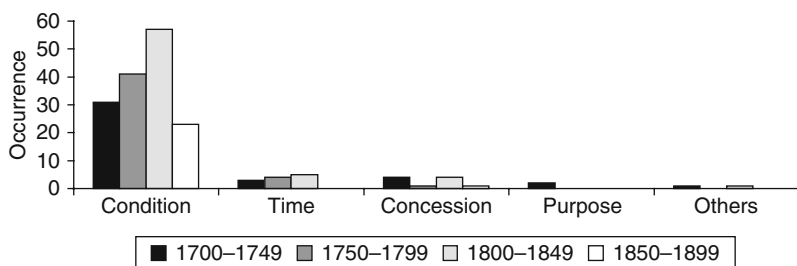


Figure 3.1 The subjunctive after different kinds of conjunction – a diachronic development

p. 141). If a grammarian provided a list of conjunctions that ought to be followed by the inflectional subjunctive, the conjunction *if* was usually cited first (see, e.g., Murray, 1795, p. 128).

3.2 The inflectional subjunctive – ‘to be’ or not ‘to be’

Strang (1970) claims that from the fifteenth century onwards the subjunctive was largely a function of *be* (see example 1b). In LModE the percentage figure of *to be* is 70.8% (126) and the lexical verbs take up 29.2% (52). The fact that a third of the verbs are still lexical verbs in LModE shows that *to be* has not completely taken over yet. A breakdown of the LModE results reveals 70.1% (61) occurrences of *be* and 29.9% (26) occurrences of full verbs in the eighteenth century. Similar results are found in the nineteenth century with 71.4% (65) instances of *be* and 28.6% (26) instances of lexical verbs. The percentage figures reveal only a minor increase of *be* in the nineteenth century.

3.3 The replacement of subjunctive *were* by indicative *was* in adverbial clauses

Lowth (1762) and Metcalfe (1771) are two of the grammarians who commented on the substitution of indicative *was* for subjunctive *were* in the eighteenth century. The use of *was* in a subjunctive context was considered improper and was pointed out in grammars and also in book reviews. A search for ‘junctive’ in Carol Percy’s database of book reviews, which consists of the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review* published in the period from 1749 to 1789 (Percy, 1997), revealed that the subjunctive and in particular the *were/was* confusion was an issue to comment on. The reviewer Cadell, who reviews *Moral Discourses on Providence and*

other important Subjects by Thomas Hunter, makes the following remark on the subjunctive in a footnote: 'The critical reader will observe a small inaccuracy in this extract, viz. *was*, two or three times, instead of *were*, the past time indicative, instead of the present subjunctive' (*The Critical Review*, 1774, p. 253). Similarly, Payne, who reviews David Williams's *A Treatise on Education*, comments on the sentence 'If the subject of education was thoroughly understood...' that

[i]n these passages the author should have said *were* understood, *were* pursued, &c. The past time in the indicative mode is improperly used instead of the present in the subjunctive. We take the liberty to mention this mistake, as we frequently meet with it in some of our most respectable authors.

(Critical Review, 1774, p. 215)

Equally, Robinson, the reviewer of Samuel Bourn's *Fifty sermons on various subjects, critical, philosophical, and moral*, notes '*was* instead of subjunctive *were*' and a number of other mistakes but then admits that 'there are very few authors, who write in more correct and classical language than the author' (*Critical Review*, 1778, p. 282). Sundby *et al.* (1991) provide a list of writers who censure the use of past indicative *was* in place of subjunctive *were* (in particular following the conjunction *if*), which they label 'improper', 'inaccurate', 'colloquial', 'bad', 'inelegant', 'ungrammatical', and a 'solecism' (see Sundby *et al.*, 1991, p. 268). Writers and journals that are most frequently criticised in terms of 'improper' usage are Addison, Bollingbroke, Young E., Montagu, M. and the *Tatler*, *Spectator* and *Adventurer*. Considering that this 'mistake' was frequently made and also commented on, I wonder whether these comments had an influence on the usage of the subjunctive and the indicative form. The figures provided are a comparison of the indicative and the subjunctive data only, which is why we find the development of the two forms as a mirror image of each other in Figure 3.2.

The prescribed use of subjunctive *were* was still fairly high with 70.3% in 1650–1699. From then onwards it declined to 34.8% in 1700–1749 and 20.8% in 1750–1799. Between the second part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century we can observe a rise in frequency from 20.8% to 25.6%, which continues into the second part of the nineteenth century with 27.4%. Even though it is only a slight increase, it still suggests that the grammarians' comments were possibly effective in preventing increasing 'improper' use

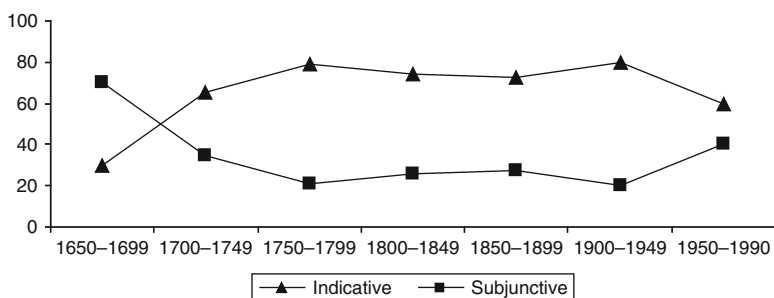


Figure 3.2 The development of the third person past indicative and subjunctive (*was* vs. *were*)

of indicative *was* in a subjunctive context. After 1900 the subjunctive forms decreased to 20% and then experienced another revival between 1950–1990 with 40%. Finding an explanation for this recent development shall be considered another research topic.

Philipps (1970) who compared different editions of Jane Austen's works made an interesting observation with regard to *was/were* variation in her writing:

Jane Austen seems to have used the subjunctive in appropriate contexts when she thought about it; a good deal oftener than it would be found in a modern novel. A 'correct' use of the subjunctive was something to which she clearly aspired; we see this from corrections in later editions of her work, done in her lifetime. It seems natural enough that Mr Darcy's housekeeper should maintain that she could not meet with a better master 'if I *was* to go through the world' (PP 249); this is the reading of the first (1813) edition. But in the second (1813) and third (1817) editions, the subjunctive form *were* appears. Similarly in this quotation from the second (1816) edition of *Mansfield Park*, where the first (1814) edition has *was*: Whether his importance to her *were* quite what it had been (MP 417).

(Philipps, 1970, p. 155)

Philipps's observations suggest that Austen was aware of the subjunctive as a social shibboleth, which is why she carried out the changes in later editions of her novels. Philipps (1970) does not point out any changes to the subjunctive form in third person singular present tense examples in adverbial clauses. Austen's corrections may therefore have concerned

the past subjunctive only. Then again, it is the substitution of the past tense forms that is frequently pointed out as a common mistake in grammars as well as book reviews. This aspect of the subjunctive usage must have been picked up by readers more frequently at the time – as mirrored in the increase of past subjunctive *were* presented in Figure 3.2. The question of whether women used the subjunctive more frequently than men will be explored in the following section.

4 The inflectional subjunctive and gender variation

In Chapter 2, Section 3.5 was dedicated to the description of the subjunctive by female grammarians. Two of these grammarians, namely Devis (1777) and Fenn (1798), implied by copying statements from Johnson (1755) and White (1761) that they had recognised the subjunctive mood as a politeness marker. In other words, the subjunctive mood had become a social shibboleth, and the use of the ‘polite’ language could assist social climbers in being accepted in ‘polite’ society. If one considers that women found themselves at the margins of this ‘fashionable world’ and that the correct usage of grammar was an essential criterion for social climbers to be accepted by the ‘polite’ society, one expects that women would use the subjunctive fairly frequently. After all, Jane Austen was also aware of the social shibboleth.

The investigation of the inflectional subjunctive and gender variation is based on four genres only, which are fiction, drama, journal/diaries and letters. This is due to the fact that most genres in ARCHER contain solely male data. Even within these four genres male and female data is not evenly distributed.

Figure 3.3 reveals the subjunctive results in adverbial clauses in third person singular present tense. The data show that male users are more likely to choose the inflectional subjunctive over competing forms than female users; in other words, men clearly favoured the inflectional subjunctive from 1650 to 1899. Female usage of the subjunctive shows a steady decline of the form from 1650 to 1849. Only between 1750–1799 and 1800–1849 does the decrease of the inflectional form seem to slow down. Male usage of the inflectional subjunctive is very different in that the decline of the mood from 1600 to 1749 is followed by an increase of the form during the second half of the eighteenth century. After these 50 years the decline of the subjunctive form continues. The brief reversal of the trajectory of decline of the inflectional subjunctive, as noted in Table 3.2, would therefore appear to be attributable to male usage



Figure 3.3 Gender distribution of the inflectional subjunctive (third person singular present)

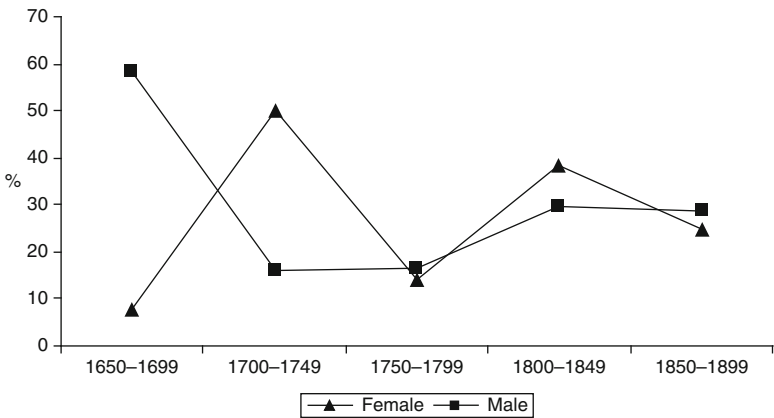


Figure 3.4 Gender distribution of the past subjunctive

only. The subjunctive instances in the male data are definitely statistically significant, whereas the female subjunctive data is most likely not (six instances in 1700–1749, two instances in 1750–1799 and so forth). These results must therefore not be overvalued.

Similarly, the numbers for the past subjunctive study (Figure 3.4) are very low (for both genders).

Both genders have very different rates in the use of subjunctive *were*. In the case of male subjunctive usage, the decline of the form from 1600 onwards is followed by a rise at the beginning of the nineteenth

century. Note that the female use of past subjunctive is very different to the use of present subjunctive, which was presented in Figure 3.3. After 1700 subjunctive *were* was most of the time favoured by women – it is noticeable that the changes are more rapid in the case of female usage. With the past subjunctive it is possible to observe two upward blips, once in the first half of the eighteenth century and then again in the first half of the nineteenth century. It would therefore appear that women followed grammatical prescriptions with regard to the past subjunctive only.

At the moment I cannot account for the steep decrease of the subjunctive form between 1750–1799. I mentioned earlier that the numbers of male and female texts are not frequently distributed in the ARCHER corpus and the instances for Figure 3.4, in the case of female grammarians, were not very high, which might have distorted the outcome. A study with more data would certainly be advisable.

5 The inflectional subjunctive and genre variation

Having established the overall development of the inflectional subjunctive and correlated it with a possible influence by eighteenth-century prescriptivism, I will now approach the question of whether prescriptivists had any influence on the development of the inflectional subjunctive from a different angle: genre variation. Prose before 1660 is fairly elaborate and baroque in style. Gordon argues that ‘speech-based prose that finally triumphed in the third quarter of the seventeenth century remained dominant for these hundred years [1660–1760]’ (Gordon, 1966, p. 133). After 1760 ‘prose of colloquial ease’ as written during those 100 years turned into a baroque kind of prose (see Gordon, 1966, p. 134). Similarly, McIntosh (see 1998, p. vii) notes that in the years from 1710 to 1790 English prose and prose style underwent an important change, namely, it became ‘more written’ and therefore less representative of common oral usage. He argues that English prose of the early eighteenth century was ‘more oral, more informal and colloquial’ whereas prose written at the end of the century was ‘more bookish, more elegant, more precise, and more consciously rhetorical’. Factors influencing this change are considered by McIntosh to be the rise of the print culture, the attempts at codification and standardisation of the language, which includes prescriptivism, feminisation of English prose and finally contemporary rhetoric (see McIntosh, 1998). McIntosh looks at eighteenth-century texts from the perspective of written or oral style. This approach suits an investigation of the inflectional

Table 3.5 The inflectional subjunctive in LModE – a subdivision into genres

	Medicine (%)	Fiction (%)	Letters (%)	Drama (%)	Science (%)	News (%)	Sermons (%)	Journal/ Diaries (%)	Legal (%)
1700–1749	18.2	5.4	22.2	27	58.9	7.7	37.5	30	–
1750–1799	54.5	25.5	34.5	18.5	23.8	0	30	18.7	–
1800–1849	43.5	24.4	16.7	26.7	44.4	28.6	36.3	0	16.4
1850–1899	21.2	5	14.3	6.7	27.3	20	44.4	0	–

Note: I used the hyphen in the table to indicate that the corpus does not contain any legal texts from these periods.

subjunctive, as the grammatical feature appears to have become associated with polite and formal language usage in the eighteenth century (see grammarians' comments in Chapter 2). This section therefore aims to find out whether there are obvious differences with regard to the subjunctive between formal and informal text types. The figures provided in Table 3.5 are in comparison to the indicative and the periphrastic subjunctive.

It is possible to observe five patterns of development of the subjunctive form in the selected genres.¹⁷ Medical prose, fiction and letters exhibit an increase of the inflectional subjunctive from 1700–1749 to 1750–1799, which is followed by a decline in the nineteenth century. The same pattern with the highest frequency in the first half of the nineteenth century can be observed in drama. Scientific prose and news show a decline from 1700–1749 to 1750–1799, which is followed by an increase in the first half of the nineteenth century and a drop in the second half of the century. The subjunctive form in sermons exhibits a similar trend with a further increase in the second half of the nineteenth century. The informal genre journal/diaries shows a decline in the eighteenth century and the subjunctive form is no longer used in the nineteenth century. If we compare Gordon's and McIntosh's claims about the shift to 'more elegant and bookish' prose in the second half of the eighteenth century to the development of the inflectional subjunctive, it will be noticed that the genres following this trend are medical prose, fiction, letters and drama.

Genres that show a fairly high frequency of subjunctive forms at some point in the LModE period are medical and scientific handbooks¹⁸ as well as sermons and letters. The LModE data reveal that the frequency of the medical handbooks was rather low with 18.2% in the first half of the eighteenth century. We can observe a sudden rise to 54.5% in the second

half of the eighteenth century, which is followed by a gradual decline in the nineteenth century. Handbooks are usually associated with a fairly formal and neutral style; the fact that hypotheses are often made might account for the high frequency of subjunctive forms. The other two genres mentioned are sermons and letters. Sermons are an interesting genre as they are written to be spoken, which makes it difficult to label sermons as informal texts. In the beginning of this chapter I mentioned Harsh's and Moessner's research results with regard to the high incidence of subjunctive forms in the King James Bible. Harsh argued that archaic language and formal literary style were used in the Authorized Version whereas Moessner noticed a general trend of high subjunctive frequencies leading up to 1611; Moessner's interpretation is questionable because the Old and New Testaments (Tyndale) were included in her corpus. What the two scholars agreed on is the high incidence of subjunctive forms. Since it is common for priests to include quotations from the Bible in their sermons, the high frequency of the inflectional subjunctive in sermons can possibly be explained this way. Note that the trend of the subjunctive form in LModE differs from most other developments; the frequency, which is 37.5% in the first part of the eighteenth century decreases to 30% in the second part of the century and then gradually increases in both sub-periods in the nineteenth century. This might suggest that prescriptivists influenced language usage to such an extent that the decrease of the form came to a halt and was reversed. The genre 'letters' shows 34.5% of subjunctive forms in the second part of the eighteenth century. The results of this text type are certainly in line with the development of prose towards a more formal style in the late eighteenth century.

Even though there are no obvious differences in the development of formal and informal text types, I would like to point out that eight out of nine genres showed a blip or an upward trend either in the second half of the eighteenth century or the first half of the nineteenth century. If we accept that eighteenth-century grammarians were responsible for this development, this upward trend shows that the revival of the subjunctive affected almost all text types.

The distribution of *be* and lexical verb in different genres is presented in the Table 3.6.

The results in the eighteenth century show that all genres prefer *be*, except for sermons and drama. Sermons still favour lexical verbs in the nineteenth century, but all the other text types contain more instances of *be*. Even though *be* occurs in most genres, the instances of lexical verbs are still very much used and have not ceased to exist with respect to the inflectional subjunctive.

Table 3.6 The distribution of 'to be' and lexical verbs in different genres in LModE

Third pers. sing. present	Medicine	Science	Sermons	Fiction	Letters	Legal	Journal/ Diaries	Drama	News
18th century									
<i>be</i>	10	12	3	14	10	–	4	7	1
lexical verb	–	3	6	3	4	–	2	8	–
19th century									
<i>be</i>	10	17	3	8	3	8	–	6	8
lexical verb	7	5	5	4	1	3	–	1	–

5.1 The inflectional subjunctive in poetry

The grammarians' remarks in Chapter 2, most notably those by Johnson (1755) and Brittain (1788), revealed that the use of the inflectional subjunctive was strongly associated with poetry – after all, according to Brittain, the subjunctive avoids 'the too frequent and hissing sound of *s*' (Brittain, 1788, p. 128). In this section I aim to determine whether poetry has also contributed to the increase of the subjunctive in the eighteenth century. As ARCHER does not contain the genre poetry, I have compiled a Chadwyck Healey Eighteenth-century Poetry Corpus.

Eighteenth-century poetry is strongly associated with Neoclassicism, which was characterised in style by order, balance, harmony and correctness (see Cuddon, 1999). The audience of this genre were educated men from the aristocracy or upper middle class who were able to understand the messages conveyed by the poems. As McIntosh points out, 'the language that mainstream poets put into their poems had grown politer and more "written" by the end of the century' (McIntosh, 1998, p. 3). With regard to the subjunctive form, one would hypothesise that its occurrence is fairly high compared to its competing forms in the eighteenth century. In Table 3.7 the results from the poetry corpus are subdivided into two time spans; 1700–1749 and 1750–1799.

The data show a high incidence of subjunctive forms in both sub-periods; this is in relation to the overall inflectional subjunctive results in ARCHER, which is 24.5% in the eighteenth century (see Table 3.1). In the period 1700–1749 the indicative was still favoured in adverbial clauses (third person singular present), but it was already closely

Table 3.7 The three-way distribution in eighteenth-century poetry

Poetry	1700–1749	1750–1799
Subjunctive	33% (63)	42.2% (43)
Periphrasis	28.8% (55)	29.4% (30)
Indicative	38.2% (73)	28.4% (29)
TOTAL	191	102

followed by the inflectional subjunctive. A comparison to the second sub-period (1750–1799) shows that the inflectional subjunctive has the highest occurrence followed by the periphrastic subjunctive and then the indicative. It is therefore possible to observe an increase of the subjunctive form from the first half to the second half of the eighteenth century, at the expense of the indicative form.

As far as the distribution of certain kinds of verbs in eighteenth-century poetry is concerned, the overall findings are 21 instances of *to be* and 85 instances of lexical verbs. These results differ greatly from the distribution discussed in Section 3.2, which was two-thirds (*to be*) versus one-third (lexical verbs). The poetry results reveal a one-fifth (*to be*) to four-fifths (lexical verbs) distribution. As regards the distribution in the two sub-periods, one can observe an increase of *to be* from 5 (7.9%) to 16 (37.2%) instances and a decrease of lexical verbs from 58 (92.1%) to 27 (62.8%) occurrences.

The study of poetry and the inflectional subjunctive showed interesting results as the frequency of the form may be considered fairly high compared to the overall ARCHER results. Moreover, the distribution of verbs showed that lexical verbs are more commonly used than *be* with the inflectional subjunctive, which is the opposite outcome compared to the overall ARCHER results.

6 Conclusion

It was the aim of this chapter to investigate subjunctive usage in England in the eighteenth century, in particular certain aspects of the subjunctive that grammarians at the time had noticed.

The grammarians of the eighteenth century believed that the subjunctive was used primarily in adverbial clauses, but they also noted indicatives being used in such contexts – improperly as they thought. The grammarians therefore prescribed the revival of the inflectional

subjunctive. The data show that the use of synthetic subjunctive forms had been declining in the seventeenth century. However, this development was reversed in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century with an increase in the use of the subjunctive. This could be ascribed to the influence of prescriptive grammars, and grammarians appear to have been temporarily successful in halting the decline in the use of the subjunctive. The investigation of the precept corpus revealed that grammarians had difficulties in distinguishing the subjunctive from the potential mood (*i.e.* modal auxiliaries) and the indicative. The investigation of the three-fold distribution in adverbial clauses (third person singular present tense) showed that the functions of the subjunctive form were largely lost to the indicative.

Eighteenth-century grammarians associated the use of the inflectional subjunctive with polite language, which also suggests that the form is more likely to be found in formal genres and possibly more frequently used by social climbers. The study of gender variation revealed that the increase in present subjunctive usage in the second part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth must be attributed to the use of the mood by men. As there are only few texts by female writers included in ARCHER, no serious claims can be made about female subjunctive usage. The ARCHER study revealed that genres with a high frequency of subjunctive forms in the LModE period are medical and scientific handbooks as well as sermons and letters. It was possible to observe that a majority of genres showed an upward trend of inflectional subjunctive frequency in the second part of the eighteenth century or the first part of the nineteenth century. These results may be regarded as supporting the claim that eighteenth-century grammarians were effective in influencing the use of the subjunctive mood. The investigation of the self-compiled poetry corpus showed that the inflectional subjunctive was frequently used in this particular genre. These results are corroborated by Johnson's and Brittain's comments on the use of the subjunctive form in poetry.

As we are not aware of any other intralinguistic and/or extralinguistic factors that could be responsible for the development of the subjunctive form in the eighteenth century, the conclusion that prescriptivists did exert a short-term influence (at least on the subjunctive form in adverbial clauses) would appear to be justified.

4

Eighteenth-Century German Grammars and the Subjunctive Mood

1 Introduction

The inflectional subjunctive in German, just like in English, is claimed to have been on the decline in the eighteenth century (see von Polenz, 1994, pp. 261–263). The functions of the synthetic subjunctive form were taken over by modal auxiliary forms, the periphrastic form *würde* and modal particles. The subjunctive forms in German are usually divided into two groups, namely, subjunctive I and subjunctive II. Present subjunctive (*es gebe*), perfect subjunctive (*es habe gegeben*) and future subjunctive (*es werde geben*) belong to the group subjunctive I, whereas past subjunctive (*es gäbe*), pluperfect subjunctive (*es hätte gegeben*) and the conditional (*es würde geben*) are part of the group subjunctive II (Durrell, 2002, p. 108). The analytic conditional form *würde* is nowadays rather frequently found in place of the synthetic past subjunctive¹ – this is not only the case in colloquial spoken German but also in written German, which is objected to by language purists (see Durrell, 2002, p. 339). In this chapter, I will be concerned with the description of the subjunctive (usually referred to as ‘Konjunktiv’ in German literature) in selected eighteenth-century grammar books, in order to find out whether grammarians commented on the decline of the form and whether they tried to prevent the language from changing. As pointed out in Chapter 1, the grammars under investigation were authored by either German or Austrian grammarians. After all, this study focuses on the regional distribution of the subjunctive in the German-speaking areas, then paying special attention to one variety of German, namely Upper German, which may be described as the language of the South, notably Austria and Bavaria. The Upper German language was seen as less cultivated compared to the German prestige

standard, that is, the language used in North and Central Germany. The Austrian model, which was based on the Chancery language of Maximilian I, was more baroque in style and contained grammatical features that German prescriptivists considered peculiar and obsolete (see Chapter 6 for a detailed description of the language situation). The more prestigious model, which had emerged in the German-speaking area during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was based around the North and Central German areas and it was influenced by Luther's language. The ideas of Enlightenment induced the Austrian Empress Maria Theresia (1740–1780) to instigate the adoption of this prestige variety into Austria in the course of the eighteenth century. Part of this language reform was to introduce grammars written by German grammarians in Austrian schools and universities. The choice of grammarians for this study is based on their influence in Germany as well as their involvement in the process of language standardisation in Austria in the eighteenth century (see for example Wiesinger, 1983, 1987, 1995, 1997; Rössler, 1997; von Polenz, 2000). The overall aim of the grammarians was to purify the language and make it more prestigious. With regard to the subjunctive mood, I aim to find out how eighteenth-century grammarians of German described the subjunctive mood and whether there are any differences in description between the varieties of German. In cases where the accounts differ, an attempt will be made to determine how the northerly German norm may have affected the description of the subjunctive in Austrian grammars. Moreover, I will examine whether the subjunctive played a role in the grammarians' efforts to create a more prestigious language in Austria. As eighteenth-century grammars of German are not yet as readily available in electronic databases as English grammars are (via ECCO for instance), the investigation will be restricted to 15 grammatical works. The advantage of a smaller sample lies in the fact that all of the subjunctive accounts contained in these grammars can be discussed in greater detail. Besides, it will give us room for examining the personal background of the individual grammarians and, in so doing, it will allow us to find out more about their reasons for and approaches to grammar-writing.

2 Systems of moods in the history of German

The earliest German grammars were written in the Renaissance period, when the German vernacular increasingly gained in importance at the expense of the Latin language. The German language gradually took over in religious texts such as sermons and Bible translations, in legal

writings as well as in the chancelleries, in which the German language had gained a foothold from the thirteenth century onwards. In the fifteenth century Latin grammars were translated into German merely to make Latin lessons easier. Then, in the sixteenth century, orthographic treatises were written for schools and writing rooms and collections of rhetorical examples became available for the composition of letters and business matters (Cherubim, 1975, p. 146). The works by Laurentius Albertus (1573), Albert Ölinger (1574), and Johannes Clajus (1578) [see Weidling, 1894] are considered to be the first complete German grammars. As opposed to the works of later grammarians, their grammars were composed in Latin and were aimed at teaching German to educated foreigners (von Polenz, 1994, p. 150). Furthermore, the works of sixteenth-century grammarians are characterised by a lack of independence due to their firm adherence to Latin grammars.² One of these Latin models, which had a great influence on the development of the tradition of grammar-writing of German, was the grammar by Donatus (c. 350 AD). It was regarded as a universal grammar, whose terms and categories were applied to the descriptions of various other languages (Cherubim, 1975, p. 147). Johannes Kromayer (1618) was the first grammarian to write a German grammar in the vernacular. Both Kromayer (1618) and Justus Georg Schottel (1663) distanced themselves from the Latin tradition and composed grammars that were increasingly independent in thought. Their aim was to describe and teach German as it was used in their own time and not to model it on the classical languages.

Following this brief introduction to the history of German grammar-writing, I will now focus on the eighteenth century and on systems of moods that individual grammarians proposed. Table 4.1 displays the distribution of the mood systems as found in the 15 grammars investigated.

Table 4.1 shows that the majority of the selected grammarians distinguish four moods, namely the infinitive, indicative, imperative and subjunctive. However, Adelung (1781) introduced a fifth mood,³ namely the 'Mittelwort' (Participium), and the anonymous author of *Die Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1794) appears to have copied it. It is important to note that eighteenth-century grammarians describing German grammar, as opposed to English grammarians, do not include a potential or optative in their system of moods. As the optative was still included in the system of moods of sixteenth-century grammars of German, this might suggest that eighteenth-century grammarians based their grammars on Schottel (1663), who had already discarded the optative and

Table 4.1 Systems of moods in eighteenth-century grammars of German³

Grammarians	Date	Infinitive	Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Participle
Antesperg	1747	Infinitif	Indicatif	Imperatif	Conjunctif	
Antesperg	1749	Infinitif	Indicatif	Imperatif	Conjunctif	
Gottsched	1749	unbestimmte Art (Modum infinitivum)	anzeigende Art (Modum indicativum)	gebiethende Art (Modus imperativus)	verbindende Art (Modus conjunctivus)	
Popowitsch	1754a	unbestimmte Wandelweise (Modus infinitivus)	anzeigende Wandelweise (Modus indicativus)	gebietende Wandelweise (Modus imperativus)	abhangende Wandelweise (Modus subjunctivus, conjunctivus)	
Popowitsch	1754b	unbestimmte Wandelweise (Modus infinitivus)	anzeigende Wandelweise (Modus indicativus)	gebietende Wandelweise (Modus imperativus)	abhangende Wandelweise (Modus subjunctivus, conjunctivus)	
Gerlach	1758	unbestimmte Art	anzeigende Art (Zeigart)	gebietende Art (Biegart)	verbindende oder abhangende Art (Bindart oder Hangart)	
Gottsched	1762	unbestimmte Art (Modum infinitivum)	anzeigende Art (Modum indicativum)	gebiethende Art (Modus imperativus)	verbindende Art (Modus conjunctivus)	

Bob	1771	unbestimmte Art	anzeigende Art	anredende Art (Lat. Imperativ)	verbindende Art (abhängende Art, modum subjunctivum – Popowitsch)
Weitenauer	1774		Indicativo	Imperativo	verbindende Art (in conjunctivo)
Felbiger	1775	unbestimmte Art (Modus infinitivus)	anzeigende Art (Modus indicativus)	gebiethende Art (Modus imperativus)	verbindende Art (Modus coniunctivus)
Felbiger	1779	unbestimmte Art (Modus infinitivus)	anzeigende Art (Modus indicativus)	gebiethende Art (Modus imperativus)	verbindende Art (Modus coniunctivus)
Bob	1780	unbestimmte Art	anzeigende Art	anredende Art (Lat. Imperativ)	verbindende Art (abhängende Art, modum subjunctivum – Popowitsch)
Adelung	1781	Infinitiv	Indicativ	Imperativ	Conjunctiv Mittelwort (Participium)
Adelung	1782	Infinitiv	Indicativ	Imperativ	Conjunctiv Mittelwort (Participium)
Deutsche Sprachlehre	1794	unbestimmte Art (Infinitivus)	anzeigende Art (Indicativus)	gebiethende Art (Imperativus)	verbindliche Art (Conjunctivus) Mittelwort (Participium)

Note: This table differs in layout from Table 2.1 for English Systems of moods (see chapter 2) in that not only the recognition of different moods is marked, but the terms for the moods given by the German grammarians are also listed in the table.

lists the infinitive, indicative, imperative and subjunctive as the main moods (see Section 3.1 below for details on Schottel's grammar-writing).

As far as the terminology of the subjunctive is concerned,⁴ Table 4.1 reveals that the grammarians used a great variety of terms. As German grammars of the period were based on the Latin grammatical system, the Latin term, 'modus conjunctivus', was used concurrent with translated terms. Gottsched called the subjunctive 'verbindende Art', a term that was subsequently also used by Gerlach (1758), Bob (1771, 1780), Weitenauer (1774) and Felbiger (1775, 1779). Popowitsch translated the Latin term differently and described the subjunctive as 'abhängende Art'. Antesperg and Adelung preferred Latinate terms and kept 'Conjunctif' or 'Conjunctiv'. The author of *Die Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1794) used the term 'verbindliche Art' when he first introduced the mood and retained it for the description of the subjunctive too. Although a difference in terminology can be found in the eighteenth century, all terms express essentially the same, namely that something is being joined or bound together or that some kind of subordination is involved.

The discussion of the systems of moods in eighteenth-century grammars of English in Chapter 2 allows us to draw comparisons, in terms of both similarities and differences, with eighteenth-century grammars of German. First, several English grammarians denied the existence of moods in English, and those grammarians who recognised moods did not necessarily agree with regard to the system of moods. In a total of 71 investigated English grammars at least 10 different systems of moods were listed. On the German side, however, only two different systems were found in 15 grammars, all of which contained the subjunctive mood. In grammars of English the subjunctive was not always listed, but the potential and/or optative mood were provided as alternative moods.

3 Grammmarians' accounts of the subjunctive mood

The individual descriptions of the subjunctive mood as found in 15 grammars of German will be discussed in chronological order. By doing so, influences and the development of the mood in terms of description will become apparent. Like the English subjunctive accounts, I aim, first, to describe the subjunctive with respect to form, syntax and semantics and, second, to find out whether the mood was described in a uniform fashion throughout the century. Moreover, possible differences between subjunctive accounts in German and Austrian grammars will be taken into consideration. In order to understand the individual grammarians' approaches to grammar-writing, background information on their lives

will be provided prior to analysing their accounts of the subjunctive. Before embarking upon a detailed study of eighteenth-century German grammars, in Section 3.1 I will focus on the description given by the seventeenth-century grammarian Schottel, who is considered to have greatly influenced successive grammarians.

3.1 Schottel – *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen HauptSprache* (1663)

Justus Georg Schottel (also known as Schottelius) is regarded as the pre-eminent German language scholar of the seventeenth century. His principal work *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt- Sprache* (1663) was based on three earlier works: *Teutsche Sprachkunst* (1641), *Der Teutschen Sprache Einleitung* (1643) and *Teutsche Vers- oder ReimKunst* (1645). Schottel's interest lay in recording regularities of the German language, and he aimed to purify the language from foreign influences. Like earlier grammars, Schottel's extensive work on German grammar was largely based on the grammar of Latin. Cherubim (1975, p. 155) notes that Schottel's work shows the first signs of turning away from the established system and its categories and instead to the development of new concepts on the basis of empirical observation and theoretically proven norms. One example of Schottel's concern for the purity of the German language is provided by Jones (1995), who describes Schottel's etymological principle saying, 'erst wenn man die altertümliche Reinheit und die gottgewollte Grundrichtigkeit der deutschen 'Hauptsprache' richtig erkenne, verstehe man, warum es wider die Natur sei, fremde Wörter einzumengen' (Jones, 1995, p. 164). Schottel's opinion that only people who recognise the ancient purity and God-given accuracy of the German language will understand why it is contrary to nature to admit foreign words made him one of the pioneers of lexicography. Schottel founded his theory of purism on apparent historical facts. He thus refers to the 'Unvermischtheit' (purity) of the Teutons as claimed by Tacitus, Charlemagne's efforts to have a German grammar written and the promotion of the language by German kings and Emperors, and also by Luther's translation of the Bible (von Polenz, 1994, p. 111). It was important to Schottel as well to draw attention to the equality of German to Greek and Latin.

Schottel, like the earlier grammarian Johannes Kromayer (1618), distinguishes four moods: *modus imperativus* (Gebietungsweise), *modus indicativus* (die Weise anzuzeigen), *modus conjunctivus* (die Weise zufügen) and *modus infinitivus* (die Weise zuendigen). He defines the

subjunctive mood as ‘[d]ie Weise zufügen *Modus conjunctivus*, welche sich muß fügen oder richten etwa auf die Wörter, so, als, wenn, da, daß, auf das und derogleichen. Als: ich hörete, wenn ich künne, so ich were gekommen’ (Schottel, 1663, p. 549). According to Schottel, the subjunctive is used after certain words, in particular the conjunctions ‘so, als, wenn, da, daß, auf das, derogleichen’ (*ibid.*, p. 549). It must be acknowledged that Schottel does provide an explanation for this rejection of the optative mood:

Die Weise zuwünschen oder wunschweise *Modus optativus*, vermag keine Hauptweise alhie zu machen, weil sie der Weise zufügen gleich ist, und durch die Wörter wolt Gott, ach daß, O, zc. erkant wird. In ezlichen aber wird der Selbstlauter verendet, als ich trug, O daß ich träge: kam, wolt Gott du kâмест, drang, ach daß er drünge, *etc.* Dieses geschiehet aber in den Verbis irregularibus, wie davon folgend in diesem Kapitel ausführliche und gründliche Nachrichtung zubefinden.

(Schottel, 1663, p. 549)

Schottel thus states that the optative need not be considered one of the main moods because the functions of the optative are covered by the subjunctive mood, which he illustrates with examples of strong verbs such as ‘träge, kâмест, drünge’. It can be argued that Schottel’s progressive thoughts become apparent in his exclusion of the optative from the system of moods. Later in his grammar, he makes another remark on this matter:

Modus Optativus und Potentialis, wird durch die Wörter, so, wenn, als, da, daß, auf daß, wolt Gott, mit, von, zc. in Teutscher Sprache ausgeredt, davon in der Wortfügung mit mehrten. Also wird auch in der Weise zugebieten, die künftige Zeit und die anderen Personen ausgesprochen, durch sollen, lassen, müssen, mit gehöriger Beysetzung des Zeitwortes.

(Schottel, 1663, p. 576)

By providing almost the same list of conjunctions and words that are followed by the subjunctive mood, Schottel implies that the optative and the potential mood are in fact expressed by the subjunctive. The second sentence does however suggest that the optative and the potential are not expressed by inflectional means but in a periphrastic way, that is, by using modal auxiliaries. Linacre’s definition of the potential

mood (see Chapter 2, Section 2) supports the assumption that modal auxiliaries are used in German to express the optative and certainly the potential mood.

As far as Schottel's account of the subjunctive is concerned, he exemplifies this mood by conjugating the auxiliary verbs *sey* (to be), *werd* (to become) and *hab* (to have) in the five tenses, which are present, preterite, perfect, pluperfect and future tense. He then proceeds to illustrate the mood by presenting the conjugation of so-called *gleichfließende Zeitwörter* (weak verbs) and 'ungleichfließende Zeitwörter' (strong verbs), in active and passive voice. The conjugation of the strong verb *brechen* (to break) active is illustrated below:

Weise zufügen / Conjunctivus Modus

Gegenwertige Zeit.

Einzelweis / Ich breche / du brechest / er breche.

Vielweis / Wir brechen / ihr brechet / sie brechen.

Fastvergangene Zeit.

Einzelweis / Ich bröche / du bröchest / er bröche.

Vielweis / Wir bröchen / ihr bröchet / sie bröchen.

Vergangene Zeit.

Einzelweis / Ich habe gebrochen / du hast gebrochen / er hat gebrochen.

Vielweis / Wir haben gebrochen / ihr habet gebrochen / sie haben gebrochen.

Ganzvergangene Zeit.

Einzelweis / Ich hette gebrochen / du hettest gebrochen / er hette gebrochen.

Vielweis / Wir hetten gebrochen / ihr hettet gebrochen / sie hetten gebrochen.

Künftige Zeit.

Einzelweis / Ich würde brechen / du würdest brechen / er würde brechen.

Vielweis / Wir würden brechen / ihr würdet brechen / sie würden brechen.

(Oder auch / ich würde gebrochen haben).

(Schottel, 1663, pp. 570–571)

The conjugation of the subjunctive mood differs from the indicative mood in the preterite, the pluperfect and the future tense. However, the

conjugation of the weak verb *h r* (to hear) active in the subjunctive differs from the indicative in the pluperfect and future tense only.

In the section on strong verbs, Schottel implicitly provides the reader with some information on how to form the subjunctive mood in present tense:

Ezliche Zeitw rter, welche nicht haben die Gebietungsweise, Modum Imperativum, behalten ihren einsilbigen Stam in der weise anzuzeigen Modo Indicativo, als: *ich kan, ich mag, ich fahr, ich wil, ich soll, ich mu , ich darf*, fas mihi est, *ich taug*. Und diese haben in ihrer F gweise Modo conjunctivo, *ich k nne, ich m ge, ich f hre, ich w lle, ich s lle, ich m sse, ich d rffe, ich t ge*.

(Schottel, 1663, p. 573)

In the quotation above, Schottel indicates that the present subjunctive is being formed by adding *-e* and an umlaut in the first person singular, for example, *ich soll* (indicative) – *ich s lle* (subjunctive). In a few instances Schottel presents indicative forms in the paradigm of the subjunctive, which Jellinek (1914) summarises as follows:

So *er h ret, du hast geh ret, er hat geh ret* (dagegen im Paradigma von *haben: du habest, er habe*); *ich war geh ret, du warest geh ret* und so im ganzen Konjunktiv der ‹fastvergangenen› Zeit (dagegen im Paradigma von *werden: ich w rde* usw., im Paradigma von *seyn: ich were* usw.); *du hast gebrochen, er hat gebrochen*.

(Jellinek, 1914, p. 318)

Jellinek, who regards Schottel as a language authority, considers the mistakes to be made in haste. However, it may be interpreted that Schottel was not entirely certain of what the subjunctive was, and that this is reflected in his account of the mood.

To summarise, Schottel is believed to have played a prominent role in the development of the grammar of German as well as attitudes towards the German language. As far as the system of moods is concerned, it may be claimed that Schottel's progressive thoughts did not affect his description of the verb and, therefore, affected the account of neither the mood nor the subjunctive in particular. Crucially, he did reject the optative mood, which indicates that he distanced himself from the Latin categories. Schottel recognises the semantic aspect of the subjunctive mood and also provides a list of conjunctions after which the mood ought to be used. What his subjunctive account lacks is a detailed description

of the formal aspect. This neglect and the confusion of the subjunctive forms with some indicative forms may suggest that Schottel was not entirely certain about the formal aspect of the mood.

3.2 Antesperg – *Die Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatik* (1747 and 1749)

The first eighteenth-century grammarian as well as the first Austrian grammarian whose work will be discussed with respect to the subjunctive mood is Johann Balthasar von Antesperg (1682–1765). Not much is known about Antesperg's education, but it is generally assumed that he studied law for two years (see Brekle *et al.*, 1992, p. 80). In 1717 Antesperg became tutor with the prince of Liechtenstein. In April 1720 he was appointed 'Reichshofratsagent' (Imperial Court Counsellor) at the Viennese Court. From 1734 onwards Antesperg was in correspondence with the German language authority Johann Christoph Gottsched, with whom he discussed linguistic topics; for instance, it is recorded that Antesperg enclosed his work *Sprachtabelle* to be proof-read by Gottsched. The contact with Gottsched and his circle of friends was intensified when Antesperg became a member of the language society *Deutsche Gesellschaft Leipzig* (DGL) in 1734. In 1735 Antesperg travelled to Leipzig to meet the scholars there (*ibid.*, p. 81). In the same year he was ennobled. In 1738 Antesperg's work *Das deutsche kayserliche Schul und Canzeley-Wörterbuch* was published in Vienna. Then, in 1741 *Das Josephinische Erzherzogliche A.B.C. oder Namenbüchlein* and in 1747 *Die Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatik* were published. It is assumed that the contacts with Leipzig's scholars gradually diminished as Antesperg did not mention his membership of the DGL in the second edition of his grammar. Moreover, he did not meet Gottsched during his visit to Vienna in 1749 (*ibid.*). The initial reason for Antesperg to correspond with Gottsched was the Austrian language situation. The inherited written standard was more and more to be regarded as inferior to the prestige variety established in North and Central Germany. But then Antesperg increasingly criticised Gottsched's exclusion and ignorance of other German dialects (see von Polenz, 1994, p. 157), and in *Die Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatik* (1747) Antesperg even took features of the Austrian vernacular into consideration. As regards the contact with other scholars, it is recorded that Herr von Zorn, the former vice-chancellor of the University of Vienna, was a close friend of Antesperg. In the draft on the foundation of the Viennese Academy in 1749, Baron Petrasch suggested Antesperg be appointed head of the department of German

purism (Abteilung zur Pflege der deutschen Sprache). Gottsched, who was Protestant, was also considered for this post; however, a Catholic head was then preferred – Petrasch's suggestion was not considered and therefore not put into action (see Brekle *et al.*, 1992, p. 81).

Antesperg wrote four works that dealt with German grammar, two of which I will investigate with regard to the subjunctive. These are *Die Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatick*, published in 1747, and the second and improved edition of it published in 1749. As both grammars contain the same statements about the subjunctive, the quotations from the 1747 edition, the first edition, will be used. In the preamble to the 1747 edition Antesperg expresses his opinion on the language in Germany and in Austria:

Ich habe gethan, was ich als ein getreuer Patriot habe können, ein anderer thue noch mehr hinzu, so werden wir des reinen Ausdruckles in eigener Sprache bald mächtig warden. So wird die reine deutsche Schreibart, Poesie und Beredsamkeit ihre Kinderschuhe bald vertreten und in Oesterreich zu einem männlichen Alter gelangen. So wird der unterdruckte deutsche Musenchor empor kommen und an der Donau und Trase sich zärtlich hören lassen. So werden wir in dem eigenen Vernunftlicht (ich meyne in der eigenen Sprache) wie andere gesittete Völker klug, hurtig, bescheiden, und Kenner und Liebhaber guter Künste und Wissenschaften werden, auch uns von dem kostbaren Last des ausländischen Blendwerks nach und nach mit vielem Vortheile befreyen können.

(Antesperg, 1747, Preface)

In this quotation Antesperg describes the Austrian language as less mature than the German language and argues that his grammar will contribute to the improvement of the Austrian people's language. They will then be enlightened like other civilised people; they will be smart, brisk and humble, as well as connoisseurs and enthusiasts of the good arts and science. As his connections with Gottsched already suggested, Antesperg aims at teaching the Austrian people the prestige language rather than supporting East Upper German as a proper language.

To turn to the subjunctive mood, Antesperg provides the following brief definition: 'die Fügweise, oder die Weise und Manier zusammen zu fügen. Z.B. *daß ich liebe. quod amem!*' (*ibid.*, p. 93). He describes the subjunctive formally as the manner that joins together, which suggests that Antesperg is referring to a conjunction ('Konjunktion' in German) and therefore to subordinate clauses. The Greek origin of the term was

syn-desmos 'binding together', which was adopted by analogy by Roman grammarians as *con-iunctio*. The example given, *daß ich liebe*, contains a verb form occurring in a subordinate clause that is introduced by a conjunction. As the example contains the first person singular, it is not clearly discernible whether the verb form is in fact in the subjunctive or the indicative mood, as there is no difference in form. By describing the subjunctive as given above, Antesperg seems to have restricted the occurrence of the subjunctive form to subordinate clauses. He then makes further remarks about the mood in other sections, such as the section on the conjugation of regular verbs in the active and passive voices. In this particular section dealing with active voice, Antesperg first describes the subjunctive in the present tense and states that the regular verbs can only be distinguished from the subjunctive in the third person singular. However, the following statement reveals that he was not only concerned with the inflectional form of the subjunctive:

Daß dieses Tempus præsens zwar ein Tempus simplex; im Coniunctivo aber gleichwohl auch ein zusammen gesetzter Zeitfall (tempus compositum) seyn könne aus dem Infinitivo *lieben* und den Verbis auxiliaribus *sollen*, *können*, *mögen*. Z.E. *Daß ich solle, könne oder möge lieben*, quòd amem. *Daß du sollest, könntest oder mögest lieben*, quòd ames. *Ich weis nicht, wohin ich mich wenden soll*. Quòd me vertam, nescio. *Cic. pro Lyg. Ich soll vergehen, wann ich nicht sorgfältig bin*. Pream, nisi sollicitus sim. *Cic.lib.15.Ep.*

(*Ibid.*, p. 96)

In the latter quotation, Antesperg explains that the subjunctive can also be expressed in a periphrastic way by using the auxiliary verbs *sollen*, *können* and *mögen* followed by the infinitive. He notes further that the periphrastic usage of the subjunctive is not only restricted to the present tense but is also possible in the preterite, perfect, pluperfect and future tenses in both active and passive voice. Some of the examples provided reveal once again that the subjunctive occurs in subordinate clauses that are introduced by the conjunction *daß*. In addition, the grammarian also provides an example of a main clause containing the periphrastic subjunctive: '*Ich soll vergehen, wann ich nicht sorgfältig bin*'. Under the heading of future tense Antesperg remarks that some Latin grammarians included the optative mood in the system of moods. However, he does not consider it necessary to include the optative mood in other languages (by which he means German) as it is largely identical with the subjunctive mood (*ibid.*, p. 100).

After exemplifying the past tense in German, Antesperg makes an interesting remark which sheds a somewhat different light on the description of the subjunctive as discussed so far:

Dass alle Verba, welche das Imperfectum nicht also in *ete, etest, ete, zc.* formiren, irregularia seyen, Z.E. *ich kam* veniebam, *ich fiel* cadebam, *ich ließ* sinebam, &c. von Verbis *kommen, fallen, lassen*: Dann man kan nicht sagen, *ich kommete, ich falletete, ich lassete*, zc. ohne einen groben Schnitzer wider die deutsche Grammatick hervorzubringen.

(*Ibid.*, p. 97)

Antesperg argues that past forms which do not end in '*ete, etest, ete, zc.*' are irregular and to add these endings to verbs like *kommen, fallen* and *lassen* may be considered a solecism. The verb forms *kommete, falletete* and *lassete* which Antesperg objects to are in fact dialectal forms that are still commonly found in the spoken language of today. In 1747 he describes them as wrong alternative forms of the past tense indicative, although these forms can also be used for the past subjunctive. When illustrating the verb *stehen*, Antesperg extends this irregular usage to the subjunctive mood by saying '[d]ass dieses Verbum in dem Imperfecto indicativi und folglich auch conjunctivi irregular sey: Dann man darf in keinem Modo sagen *ich stehete, du stehetest, zc.*' (*ibid.*, p. 111). As regards the periphrasis of the past subjunctive, the grammarian points out several times that a periphrasis in the past tense is possible with *würde, sollte, wollte, könnte* and *möchte*. On the verb *stehen* he remarks '[d]ass man dieses Tempus im Conjunctivo auch mit *würde, sollte, könnte, zc.* machen könne' (*ibid.*, p. 111). Antesperg's comments suggest that the periphrasis with *würde* is an accepted alternative to the synthetic forms, but he is adamant that the regional Austrian synthetic past subjunctive forms must be rejected. Nevertheless, Antesperg lists the conjugations of 213 'ungleichfließende', that is, strong verbs in the same grammar. The examples provided are all listed under 'imp.conj.', that is, past subjunctive:

ich bellete oder bolle; ich beschänke oder beschenkete; ich erscholl oder erschalletete; ich gliche und gleichete; ich hunke oder hinkete; ich molke oder melkete; ich pflēgete, pfloge; ich preisetete oder ich priese; ich rannte oder rennetete; ich schänkte oder schenkete; ich schmiegete & schmog mich; ich schnaubete oder schnobe; ich sendete oder sändete; ich täugetete, oder toge, tochte; ich verhehlete oder verhöhle; ich vermiede oder vermeidete; ich wandte oder wendete.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 131–155)

This lengthy list suggests that the regional past subjunctive forms, although considered incorrect, were widely used in spoken Austrian as well as in written texts during the eighteenth century. One could argue that either Antesperg was unaware of the dialectal nature of these forms, or he, after all, considered them acceptable.

To sum up, Antesperg describes the subjunctive mood only from a formal point of view, and a semantic description of the mood is lacking. According to his definition of the subjunctive, it should only be used in subordinate clauses, but then he also exemplifies the mood in main clauses. Antesperg remarks that the subjunctive can be distinguished from the indicative in the third person singular present tense only, but then provides 'subjunctive' examples in the first person singular. It is interesting to see that Antesperg noticed the possibility of expressing the subjunctive in an inflectional and periphrastic way. Most importantly, Antesperg commented on a dialectal alternative to the inflectional subjunctive (the past subjunctive as exemplified in *kommete*, *fallete* and *lassete*) to which he explicitly objects. Antesperg, who, as said earlier, was in touch with the German language authority Gottsched, clearly aimed to suppress the dialectal features in the Austrian written language and to improve the old standard for it to be more like the prestigious German standard. Even though Antesperg objects to the dialectal past subjunctive forms in one part of his grammar, he exemplifies these forms again in a verb list. This certainly raises the question whether Antesperg accepts certain dialectal forms after all or whether he did not consider them dialectal. The periphrasis of the synthetic subjunctive appears to be an accepted alternative to the inflectional subjunctive, both 'correct' and dialectal.

3.3 Gottsched – *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst* (1749 and 1762)

Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), born in Juditten near Königsberg (East Prussia), started studying theology, philosophy, rhetoric and classical philology at the University of Königsberg at the age of 14. In order to avoid compulsory recruitment by Prussian officers, he and his brother Johann Friedrich fled to Leipzig in 1724, where he worked as a librarian and tutor. In 1734 he was appointed professor of philosophy, rhetoric and poetry. At times he additionally held the position of rector at the University of Leipzig. In 1727 he was elected senior of the 'Deutsch-übenden poetischen Gesellschaft' in Leipzig. The name of this society was soon after changed to 'Deutsche Gesellschaft', which

became, due to Gottsched's efforts, the centre of literary life and language standardisation in Germany. Gottsched enjoyed a high reputation as a language authority not only in Germany but also in Austria.

Gottsched's works investigated here with regard to the subjunctive mood are the second edition of *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst. Nach den Mustern der besten Schriftsteller des vorigen und jetzigen Jahrhunderts abgefasst* (1749) and the fifth edition under the name *Vollständigere und Neuerläuterte Deutsche Sprachkunst, nach den Mustern der besten Schriftsteller des vorigen und itzigen Jahrhunderts abgefasst* (1762). As the titles of these two grammars indicate, Gottsched's German grammar claims to be based on the model of the best authors of the previous and the current centuries. It is therefore literary language that is regarded as prestigious at the time.

The definition of the subjunctive mood is the same in both editions:

Die dritte [Weise] zeigt die Verbindung mit dem vorhergehenden an; *er schien, daß er käme, gienge, aber sterben würde*: und das ist die verbindende Art, (modus conjunctivus).

(Gottsched, 1749, p. 264, 1762, p. 296)

Gottsched's description of the subjunctive mood and the example provided indicate that the subjunctive mood occurs in subordinate clauses, which agrees with Antesperg's (1747) definition of the mood discussed earlier. Following the definitions of the four moods, Gottsched dedicates a footnote to the potential and optative mood, as follows:

Vielleicht könnte man auch mit einigem Grunde einen Modum potentialem oder optativum im Deutschen bilden. Denn man verbindet die Zeitwörter oft mit den Hülfswörtern mögen, können, wollen, sollen, u.d.gl. Z.B. Ich möchte es wissen; Ich könnte, wollte, sollte es wissen. Imgleichen ohne dieselben.

O sähe, wüßte, hätte ich das! Sähestu, wüßtestu, hättestu das! Allein da dieses nur durch die Zusammensetzung der in den vorigen Arten schon vorkommenden Wörter geschieht, so kann man es haben bewenden lassen. Ein verständiger Sprachenkenner hat bey mir schriftlich darauf gedungen, einen Modum optativum einzurücken, und zwar der Jugend wegen, wenn sie aus dem Lateine was zu übersetzen hat. Allein ich besorge, andern, zumal Ausländern, die Sprache dadurch, als sehr schwer vor Augen zu legen; wenn sie so viele Modos lernen müßten.

(Gottsched, 1749, p. 264, 1762, p. 296)

In the citation above Gottsched claims that there are reasons for the formation of a potential or optative mood, and this is because verbs are often used in combination with auxiliary verbs like *mögen*, *können*, *wollen* and *sollen*. Gottsched seems to equate not only the potential but also the optative mood with modal auxiliary verbs. Gottsched is reacting here to the proposal made by another linguist to include the optative mood into the system of German grammar in the belief that it will be useful for young people who translate Latin into German. He discards this idea for two reasons: (a) the past subjunctive can be used in place of modal auxiliaries, and (b) it creates more of a difficulty for foreigners learning German to learn so many moods. Interestingly, the examples Gottsched presents contain the same modal verbs, except for *wollen*, which Antesperg used to illustrate the past subjunctive. Both Antesperg and Gottsched agree that there is no need to introduce any more moods in the German system. Moreover, Gottsched's remark about the optative mood can be interpreted as implying that a periphrastic subjunctive is not necessary either, since an inflectional form is available.

Later on in his grammar Gottsched gives a rule about when to use the subjunctive mood:

67§. Da im Deutschen keine wünschende Art der Zeitwörter (modus optativus) stattfindet *): So braucht man dazu die verbindende Art, entweder mit den Ausrufswörtern, *O! Ach! Ach daß! wollte Gott! oder schlecht weg*, in der unlängst vergangenen Zeit der Hülfswörter, *mögen, können, wollen, sollen*, u.s.w. nebst der unbestimmten Art eines andern Zeitwortes.

Z.B. *O hätte ich Flügel, daß ich flöge etc. Ach möchte ich in deinen Armen etc. Ach! daß die Hülfe aus Zion über Israel käme. Wollte Gott, daß dieß oder jenes geschähe!* oder endlich, wie Ranitz singt: *Euch, ihr Zeiten! die verlaufen, könnt ihr euch mit Blut erkaufen!*

So auch, wenn sie etwas bedinge, als: *saget man das, so glaubet man es; thauet es, so frieret es nicht*. Ein anderer Freund wünschet hier eine Regel zu sehen, nach welcher alle Zeitwörter eines ganzen Satzes auf einander folgen sollen. Allein mich dünket es unmöglich zu seyn, dergleichen zu bringen.

Die Rede kann auf so vielerley Arten abwechseln, und einen so mannigfaltigen Schwung nehmen, daß kein Satz dem andern ganz ähnlich werden darf. Das fleißige Lesen guter Bücher muß einem in allen Sprachen den feinen Geschmack davon beybringen.

*) Es wäre denn, daß man das einen Optativum nennen dürfte, wenn man die verbindende Art mit, *möchte oder könnte ich das sehen*,

oder hören! abwandeln wollte. Z.B. Ranitz: Möchte mir ein Wunsch gelingen, Dich nach Würden zu besingen etc.

(Gottsched, 1749, p. 441, 1762, p. 479)

Gottsched again points out that the functions of the optative mood, which is not part of the German grammar, need to be expressed by the subjunctive mood. Gottsched then provides the reader with indicators regarding the meanings conveyed in this mood. It should be used for wishes, indicated by interjections like *Ach! wollte Gott!*, and conditions, exemplified with, for example, *thauet es, so frieret es nicht*. Following the last example, Gottsched tells us the anecdote that a friend asked for a rule that would codify the position of all verbs in a sentence. His reply is that this is impossible since speech can differ to such a degree that no sentence resembles another. Gottsched's advice to obtain a feeling for languages is to read good books frequently.

Having touched upon the semantic aspect of the subjunctive mood, I will now be concerned with Gottsched's account of the formal aspect of the mood. When Gottsched discusses the so-called unrichtige Zeitwörter, that is, strong verbs, he presents and exemplifies the following rule:

Die zweyte Regel ist diese: Die jüngstvergangete Zeit, die in der anzeigenden Art (modo indic.) so einsyllbigt ist, nimmt in der verbindenen, (modo conjunct.) ein e an, und verwandelt die Selbstlauter, a, o, und u, in die Doppellaute ä, ö, ü.

aus gab, wird also	ich gäbe,	aus floß, wird also	ich flösse.
aus kam,	ich käme,	aus floh,	ich flöhe.
aus nahm,	ich nähme,	aus schlug,	ich schlüge.
aus sah,	ich sähe,	aus stund,	ich stünde.

(Gottsched, 1749, p. 294, 1762, p. 330)

The so-called jüngstvergangete Zeit is the preterite, in which the subjunctive is formed by adding an *-e* and umlauting the vowels *a*, *o* and *u*. Verbs which do not contain the vowel *a*, *o* or *u* have an *-e* added, which can be exemplified with *ich fiel, daß ich fiele, ich schliff, daß ich schliffe*. Moreover, Gottsched remarks that people who differ from these forms in spoken and written language are distinctly distancing themselves from 'gute Mundart', that is, the best dialect. His statement implies that he does not regard dialects very

highly – except for ‘Ostmitteledeutsch’, which he propagates as standard language. The fact that Gottsched makes this comment after describing the form of the subjunctive suggests that there must be dialectal subjunctive forms of which he does not approve. Since he does not explicitly reject periphrastic subjunctive forms, it seems that Gottsched is alluding to an alternative inflectional subjunctive form used in dialects.

Finally, Gottsched provides a word order rule in the perfect and pluperfect tense, according to which auxiliary verbs are in final position in the subjunctive mood (see 1749, p. 436, 1762, p. 474). This again indicates that the periphrastic forms are not the forms mentioned with regard to dialect that he rejects.

Comparing Gottsched’s description of the subjunctive mood to Antesperg’s, the two differ in that Gottsched made an attempt to describe the mood from a semantic as well as a formal perspective. Antesperg explicitly recognised a periphrastic subjunctive, which is formed by modal auxiliaries followed by an infinitive, in addition to the inflectional subjunctive. Gottsched also recognises the form but does not explicitly comment on it, as it is an accepted alternative to the inflectional subjunctive. In fact, the lack of this information implies that periphrastic forms are not necessary.

3.4 Popowitsch – *Die nothwendigsten Anfangsgründe der Teutschen Sprachkunst* (1754)

Johann Siegmund Valentin Popowitsch (1705–1774) was born in Arzlin (at that time in Styria, but nowadays in Slovenia) and raised bilingual. In 1717 he started attending the Jesuit grammar school in Graz, and then studied theology and philosophy at the Jesuit College St. Barbara. After finishing his studies, Popowitsch was employed as ‘Hofmeister’ with a range of aristocratic families. He travelled for three years around Italy and Malta. After his return, he was again employed as ‘Hofmeister’ in Graz and Vienna. The years 1741–1744 were spent in Vienna; then he worked as Professor of History at the ‘Ritterakademie’ in Kremsmünster. Due to problems with his superiors, Popowitsch had to leave and spend time in Regensburg, Nuremberg, Jena, Halle and Leipzig. In 1753 Popowitsch was appointed Professor of German language and rhetoric at the University of Vienna and also at the Savoyan Academy in Vienna. He was not very successful and was dismissed from the latter on 5 June 1754 owing to a lack of students. On 4 November 1766 Popowitsch

retired from his professorship at the University (see Rössler, 1997, p. 260).

Popowitsch's grammars to be investigated with regard to the subjunctive mood are *Die nothwendigsten Anfangsgründe der Teutschen Sprachkunst, zum Gebrauche der Österreichischen Schulen auf allerhöchsten Befehl ausgefertigt* (1754) and the shorter version called *Die nothwendigsten Anfangsgründe der Teutschen Sprachkunst, zum Gebrauche der Österreichischen Schulen herausgegeben*, which was published in the same year. With respect to the description and the usage of the subjunctive mood, it is worth noting at this point that in the latter shorter grammar Popowitsch refers to the extended grammar.

In the preface to the extended grammar the Austrian grammarian defends himself for writing a grammar despite the existence of several other German grammars. Popowitsch states that his aim is to improve the Austrian dialect whereas Gottsched's grammar, even though the ultimate goal was the same, is directed towards Saxony. Since these dialects differ and some mistakes which Gottsched objects to in his grammar would never occur in the Austrian dialect anyway, Popowitsch emphasises that his work is dedicated to the improvement of the Austrian vernacular only (see Rössler, 1996).

Nun muß ich eine der wichtigsten Fragen beantworten, ob ich nämlich, bei einer so zahlreichen Menge bereits herausgegebener Sprachlehren, nicht befürchte, eine vergebliche Arbeit gethan zu haben? Ich sage es ohne Scheu, daß mir keine zu Gesichte gekommen, welche in einem der ersten und nothwendigsten Stücke, das gleich anfangs abgehandelt zu werden pflaget, nämlich in der Lehre der deutschen Biegungsarten, richtig gewesen ware, und dabei die Verbesserung der österreichischen Mundart durchgehends zur Absicht gehabt hätte. Es gehöret aber dieses mit zu einer geschickten Anweisung, daß man die Abweichungen der angebohrnen Mundart des Landes von der Hochteutschen, bei der Gelegenheit anzeige. Hr. Prof. Gottsched hat diesen Lehrsatz in seiner Sprachkunst ebenfalls beobachtet, weswegen sein Buch für die Sachsen brauchbarer ist, als für uns. Einen Österreicher würde man vergeblich warnen, daß er sich hüten soll, wagen mit wachen, eigen mit eichen, regnen mit rechnen, u.s.f. zu verwechseln. Er thut es ohnedieß nicht, weil seine Mundart diesem Fehler nicht unterworfen ist. Das muß aber Hr. Gottsched seinen Sachsen einprägen, [...].

(Popowitsch, 1754a, pp. 18–19)

As regards his treatment of the subjunctive, Popowitsch does not attempt to define the mood but only describes the formal aspect as follows:

In der abhängenden Wandelweise muß das e in der gegenwärtigen und halbvergangen (insonderheit der andern) Wandelzeit, zum Unterschiede des anzeigenden Standes unumgänglich beibehalten werden.

(*Ibid.*, p. 252)

Popowitsch exemplifies this statement by presenting the subjunctive mood in subordinate clauses that are introduced by the conjunctions *daß, auf daß, damit, wenn, etc.* He provides some more information about the form of the subjunctive mood in the section in which the conjugation of the 'unrichtigen Zeitwörter', that is, strong verbs and weak verbs with a vowel change as well as other 'anomalies', are presented. Here, Popowitsch describes the subjunctive mood formally only, namely how the mood is formed by adding an *-e* and umlauting the vowels *a, o* or *u*.

Die ganze gegenwärtige Zeit der abhängenden Wandelweise fließet nach dem allgemeinen Vorbilde loben, und die erste, wie auch die dritte Person der einzeln Zahl, endigen sich, wie bei den richtigen Zeitwörtern, in e; denn man saget, daß ich gebe, daß du gebest, daß er gebe; daß du sprichst, daß du stehlest, zc.

So auch, daß ich dürfe, bedürfe, könne, möge, müsse, wolle. Seyn und sollen sind nur ausgenommen. Das erste hat in dieser Wandelzeit eine besondere Bildung, und das andre gehet zum wenigsten in der ersten und dritten Person nicht in e aus.

Man saget, daß ich sey, daß ich soll; daß er sey, soll; nicht seye, solle. (*Ibid.*, p. 315)

Hingegen nimmt die abhängende halbverflossene Wandelzeit in der ersten und dritten Person allezeit ein e zu erwehnten Personen der anzeigenden, und verwandelt die Selbstlauter, a, o, u, wenn in jene derselben einer vorhanden gewesen, in ä, ö, ü. Z.B. die Zeitwörter kommen, ziehen, führen, bilden die halbverflossene anzeigende Wandelzeit so, ich kam, zog, fuhr. Die abhängende lautet demnach, ich käme, zöge, führe; er käme, zöge, führe. Sollen und wollen lassen in dieser Wandelzeit ihr o nicht in ö übergehen.

(*Ibid.*, p. 317)

Popowitsch also provides the following example in his grammar (Popowitsch, 1754a, p. 330; see Faninger, 1996, p. 211): ‘*Wenn ich Geld hätte, so kaufete ich diesen Garten, oder, so würde ich diesen Garten kaufen*’. Popowitsch then explains the latter example by saying that the first kind of subjunctive is used in the ‘Vordersatz’ and the second, in the ‘Hintersatz’. What Popowitsch seems to have overlooked is that the second kind is a periphrastic subjunctive. It is interesting to see that the use of the inflectional subjunctive and the periphrastic subjunctive differs depending on their position in the sentence.

Popowitsch’s account of the subjunctive mood is unfortunately not very revealing. Like Antesperg, Popowitsch confines the description to discussing a few formal aspects of the subjunctive mood. He does not explicitly point out the existence of a periphrastic subjunctive but seems to have a rule that explains the place in the sentence where it should be used.

3.5 Gerlach – *Kurzgefaßte Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1758)

Friedrich Wilhelm Gerlach (1728–1802), born in Zelle, Thuringia, attended the grammar school in Heiligenstadt and studied philosophy at the university there. Gerlach then studied theology at the University of Mainz and from 1749 onwards he studied geometry in Vienna, where he also gave private tuition in logic, metaphysics and ethics. From 1756 until his death Gerlach taught history, philosophy and maths at the academy of engineering in Gumpendorf. His career was concerned with the areas of science and philosophy, and he was very much interested in grammar, which led him to write *Kurzgefaßte deutsche Sprachlehre* (1758) (see Rössler, 1997, pp. 61–65). Regarding his definition of the subjunctive mood or ‘Hangart’, Gerlach wrote as follows:

Die dritte ist die verbindende oder abhängende: welche zu Verbindung der Reden und Sätze dienet; und daher nur in dem Satze gebrauchet wird, der mit einem andern verbunden ist, aber von selbem abhanget, als: ich schriebe, ich gienge, ich würde gelobet, wenn dieses also wäre.

(Gerlach, 1758, p. 64)

Gerlach explicitly states that the subjunctive mood is important for joining together sentences and that it is used in subordinate clauses. In his section on conjunctions, Gerlach remarks that a conjunction

does not necessarily have to be followed by the subjunctive mood. He subsequently presents a few rules stating when the subjunctive mood should be used. According to Gerlach, in the quotation below, the subjunctive mood is used after the listed conjunctions if an intention is being expressed, and it is also used after conjunctions if something is uncertain. Gerlach observes that the conjunction *daß* is often left out; however, when expressing a wish, a request, hope or assurance the following verb has to be in the subjunctive mood or the infinitive with *zu*.

Doch folget nach *daß*, damit, auf *daß* gemeinlich die Hangart, wann sie namlich eine Absicht bedeuten.

B. *Ich ermahne dich, daß du dich in Acht nimmest; damit du behutsam seiest, zc.*

Die abhängende Wandelweise wird mit Bindewörter gebraucht, wenn die Sache ungewiß, oder zukünftig ist.

B. *Mein Kind ich liebete dich, oder ich würde dich lieben, wenn du gehorsam wärest.*

Das *daß* wird oft ausgelassen, besonders nach einem Wunsche, einer Bitte, Hoffnung, und Versicherung; das folgende Zeitwort aber stehet entweder in der abhängenden oder in der unbestimmten Art mit *zu*.

B. *Ich wünsche, Gott wolle sie vor allem Unglück bewahren. Ich hoffe du werdest dein Wort halten. Er glaubet einen rechten Freund gefunden zu haben. Die Gesandten werden oft geschickt die Gelegenheit des Landes zu erkundigen.*

(Gerlach, 1758, pp. 123–124)

Most of the subjunctive accounts discussed earlier contained a description of how to form the subjunctive. Gerlach only provides examples from which this aspect of the subjunctive can be deduced. Moreover, the example '*Mein Kind ich liebete dich, oder ich würde dich lieben, wenn du gehorsam wärest*' (*ibid.*, pp. 123–124) indicates that Gerlach recognises the inflectional as well as the periphrastic subjunctive and that he seems to regard them as perfectly legitimate alternatives. He notices the syntactic aspect of the mood by stating that the subjunctive is used in subordinate clauses introduced by *daß*, *damit* and *auf daß*. Moreover, he notes that the conjunction *daß* is often left out after a wish, request, hope or assurance. This remark reveals that Gerlach is aware of the fact that the semantic aspect plays a role in the use of the subjunctive mood.

3.6 Bob – *Die nöthigsten Grundsätze der deutschen Sprachkunst* (1771) and *Erste Anfangsgründe der deutschen Sprache, mit einem orthographischen Wörterbuche* (1780)

Franz Joseph Bob (1733–1802), born in Dauchingen (Baden-Württemberg), studied philosophy in Solothurn, then theology and law in Freiburg im Breisgau. This region – Vorderösterreich – was part of the Habsburg Empire in the eighteenth century and therefore belonged to Austria at the time. In 1756 Bob moved to Vienna, where he finished his studies in law in 1760. From the clerk of the Court Bob became a ‘Concipient’ at municipal authorities in Vienna and held that position from 1762 to 1767. He was then appointed Professor of Rhetoric, and from 1775 onwards he held the professorship of ‘Polizei- und Cameralwissenschaft’. In 1776 Franz Joseph Bob was appointed rector of the University in Freiburg/Breisgau (see Rössler, 1997, pp. 65–69).

Bob’s two grammars, namely *Die nöthigsten Grundsätze der deutschen Sprachkunst* (1771) and *Erste Anfangsgründe der deutschen Sprache, mit einem orthographischen Wörterbuche* (1780), will be discussed here with regard to the subjunctive mood.

To begin with, in the preface to his 1771 grammar Bob notes that there are two types of language, namely, ‘die kunstmäßige, und gemeine; oder in die Sprache der Gelehrten, und die Sprache des Volkes. Wir haben blos von der erstern zu handeln’ (Bob, 1771, p. 1). He does, therefore, differentiate between the language of the educated, on which the grammar is based, and the language of the common people. Bob argues that Gottsched’s grammar is full of mistakes and correcting those in his lectures took so much time that he decided to write a grammar of German himself (see *ibid.*, p. 1).

In the 1771 grammar Bob defines the subjunctive mood as follows:

Die verbindende Art ist, welche die Bedeutung des Zeitwortes auf eine nicht ganz bestimmte und öfters zweifelhafte Art ausdrückt. Einige Sprachlehrer nennen sie, velleicht besser, die abhängende Wandelweise (modum subjunctivum) weil das Zeitwort in der abhängenden Art immer ein anderes voraussetzt, welchem es gleichsam untergeordnet ist.

(*Ibid.*, p. 247)

Bob remarks in the first sentence of his quotation that the subjunctive mood expresses uncertainty and doubt. This statement is exemplified with ‘*Ich wünsche, daß es dir wohl gehe*’ in the grammar published in 1780 (Bob, 1780, p. 247). In the second sentence of the quotation, Bob

refers to Popowitsch with respect to the terminology of the subjunctive mood, that is, 'abhängende Art', and explains that the mood is used in subordinate clauses.

As for the formation of the mood, Bob provides the following information in the section about the 'richtig fließenden Zeitwörter', which are verbs without a vowel change, thus called 'weak' verbs.

In der gegenwärtigen Zeit behält man nebst dem Stammbuchstaben des Wortes noch das End -e, und setzt ihm in der zweyten Person der einfachen Zahl ein st, in der dritten ein t bey; die erste Person behält bloß ihr e. In der vielfachen Zahl bleibt die erste und dritte Person unverändert; die zweyte bekommt ein t.

In der verbindenden Art verhält es sich auf gleiche Weise, außer daß die dritte Person der gegenwärtigen Zeit in der einfachen Zahl auf e, und nicht auf t sich endet.

Die Form der einfachen Zeiten ist diese:

Einf. Zahl	{	e	erste	} Person
		st	zweyte	
		t(e)	dritte	
Vielf.	{	n	erste	} Person
		t	zweyte	
		n	dritte	

(*Ibid.*, pp. 264–265)

The quotation above describes and illustrates the formation of the subjunctive mood in present tense. The *-e* is added; however, there are no vowel changes. The description below is taken from the section about 'unrichtig fließende Zeitwörter'. Bob states that the subjunctive mood is formed by adding an *-e* and by changing the vowels *a*, *o* and *u* to umlaut in the imperfect tense. He also presents a few exceptions, such as the auxiliary verbs *sollen* and *wollen*, which do not change, and some full verbs, like *sterben*, *verderben*, which have got the vowel *ü* instead of *ä* in the imperfect tense.

In der kaumvergangenen Zeit der verbindenden Art bekommen sie in der ersten und dritten Person dieses e wieder; z.B. daß ich gienge, daß er gienge. Auch verändern sich die Stammlauter a o u in dieser

Art und Zeit in \hat{a} , \hat{o} , \hat{u} , das ist: wenn das unregelmäßige Zeitwort in der kaumvergangenen Zeit der anzeigenden Art ein a, o, oder u in der kaumvergangenen Zeit der anzeigenden Art in \hat{a} , \hat{o} , \hat{u} , z.B. geben, bewegen, graben, haben in der kaumvergangenen Zeit der anzeigenden Art gab, bewog, grub: folglich in der verbindenden Art eben in dieser Zeit: daß ich gäbe, bewöge, grübe, u.s.v.a.

Hievon sind ausgenommen SOLLEN und WOLLEN; diese zwey verändern ihr o niemals. Mit den unrichtigen Zeitwörtern sterben, verderben, werben, werden, werfen hat es etwas besonders.

Ungeachtet sie ihren Stammlauten in der kaumvergangenen Zeit in a verwandeln, als starb, verdarb, warb, ward, warf; so ändern sie dennoch dieses a in der kaumvergangenen Zeit der verbindenden Art nicht in \hat{a} , sondern in \hat{u} , als stürbe, verdürbe, würbe, würde,würfe.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 284–285)

Bob also dedicates a section to word order and the subjunctive mood, where he informs the reader that the word order in subordinate clauses introduced by *daß* or *wenn* differs from the word order in main clauses, which he illustrates with inflectional as well as periphrastic examples of the subjunctive mood.

Wenn in der verbindenden Art den Zeiten das Bindewort *daß* oder *wenn* bey gesetzt wird; so verändern Zeit = und Fürwort ihren Stand, und werden so construiert: das Fürwort der ersten und vierten Endung folgen gleich nach dem Bindewort aufeinander; alsdenn kommt das Zeitwort entweder allein, oder mit den Hilffswörtern nach der allgemeinen Regel der Abwandlung. Z.B. *Daß ich mich freue, daß ich mich gefreuet habe, daß ich mich freuen werde, daß ich mich werde gefreuet haben.* Wird aber eine Rede Fragweise vorgebracht, so wird das doppelte persönliche Fürwort, nach Art der Fragen, dem Zeitworte nachgesetzt. Z.B. *Freueste ich mich? Freuen Sie sich?* u.d.g. und mit den Hilffswörtern: *Hat er sich gefreuet? Würden wir uns gefreuet haben?*

(*Ibid.*, pp. 316–317)

To sum up, Bob describes the formation of the subjunctive with weak as well as strong verbs. Moreover, he touches upon the syntactic aspect of the mood and even notices that the subjunctive is characterised semantically, that is, it expresses uncertainty and doubt.

3.7 Weitenauer – *Zweifel von der deutschen Sprache, sammt einem orthographischen Lexikon* (1774)

Ignaz Weitenauer (1709–1783), born in Ingolstadt (Bavaria), entered the Jesuit Order in 1724 after his studies. He taught in the grammar school of the Order for approximately 14 years, and in 1753 he was appointed Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Innsbruck. After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773, Weitenauer moved to the Cistercian monastery in Salomonsweiler, where he spent the last ten years of his life working as an author and teaching oriental languages and rhetoric. He published annotated Bible editions, as well as a Biblical encyclopaedia, tragedies and poems. Weitenauer's concern about the German language led him to write one of the first systematic German orthographical handbooks. His grammar book *Zweifel von der deutschen Sprache, sammt einem orthographischen Lexikon* was first published in 1764. The edition that will be quoted here is the fourth edition from 1774.

Weitenauer, like most grammarians, describes the subjunctive mood from a formal viewpoint only, namely that the mood is formed by adding the suffix *-e* at all times and that the umlaut of *a*, *o* and *u* merely occurs in the so-called unrichtige, that is, strong verbs. The formal description of the subjunctive is the only comment Weitenauer makes about the mood in his grammar.

In der verbindenden Art aber (in conjunctivo) nehmen alle das e an, auch die unrichtigen, eben deswegen, weil man sonst diese Art bey vielen nicht entscheiden könnte, z.B. Er gieng, damit er gienge. Es schien, auf daß er nicht schiene. Hier wird das a, o, u der unrichtigen Zeitwörter in ä, ö, ü, verwandelt. Ich war, ich wäre: ich kam, fand, trug: wenn ich käme, fände, trüge: ich wurde, ich würde: denn warum sollte man dem werden allein was besonderes machen?

(Weitenauer, 1774, p. 60)

3.8 Felbiger – *Anleitung zur deutschen Sprachlehre* (1775) and *Verbesserte Anleitung zur deutschen Sprachlehre. Zum Gebrauche der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserlichen königlichen Staaten* (1779)

Johann Ignaz Felbiger (1724–1788), born in Glogau (Silesia), studied theology in Breslau. In 1746 he took the vow to become an Augustinian monk at the monastery in Sagan, where he became the abbot in 1758.

Felbiger had a great interest in the reform of the elementary school system. This led him to go to Berlin in 1762 to seek the advice of the head of the 'Königlichen Realschule', Johann Julius Hecker, and also the abbot Johann Friedrich Hähn, who Felbiger visited in the monastery Bergen near Magdeburg (see Bautz, 1990). Subsequently, Felbiger successfully introduced the latter advisor's 'Sagansche Methode', which is a tabular alphabetical method, in his diocese. Felbiger's work became known, and he enjoyed a good reputation as educationalist and educational reformer, which is why the minister Count Schlabrendorf appointed Felbiger as Royal Prussian inspector of the Catholic school system in Silesia and the county of Glatz. Felbiger carried out a reform of the Catholic school system, through which he gained a high reputation. With the consent of Friedrich the Great, Maria Theresia called Felbiger in 1774 to Vienna in order to reorganise the neglected Austrian elementary school system. In 1774 Felbiger elaborated the 'Allgemeine Schulordnung', which handed over the elementary school system to the state; he also arranged the foundation of 'Normalschulen' (teaching seminary) in every province, 'Hauptschulen' (more sophisticated elementary schools) in every administrative district, and 'Trivialschulen' (elementary school with only one teacher) in every municipality (cf. Bautz, 1990; Lukas, 1888). In 1777 the Empress Maria Theresia raised Johann Ignaz Felbiger to the peerage. After her death, Maria Theresia's heir Joseph II dismissed Felbiger in 1782. Johann Ignaz Felbiger spent his final years in the 'Propstei' in Pressburg (modern Bratislava).

Apart from being an educationalist and educational reformer, Felbiger also wrote the grammars *Anleitung zur deutschen Sprachlehre* (1775) and *Verbesserte Anleitung zur deutschen Sprachlehre. Zum Gebrauche der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserlichen königlichen Staaten* (1779).

On describing the subjunctive in his 1775 grammar, Felbiger states that '[d]ie verbindende Art (modus coniunctivus), wenn das Seyn, Thun, oder Leiden ungewiß ist, und mit einer andern Begebenheit in der vorhergehenden oder folgenden Rede in Verbindung steht, als: ich würde abreisen, wenn ich wüßte, daß die Gewässer nicht ausgetreten wären' (Felbiger, 1775, p. 41). Felbiger here indicates that the subjunctive is used when something uncertain is being expressed and that it is found in subordinate clauses. In his 1779 grammar Felbiger defines the mood as 'die verbindende Art, (modus coniunctivus) welche eine Verbindung mit dem vorhergehenden anzeigt, z.B. *es schien, daß er käme*' (Felbiger, 1779, p. 102). Felbiger's definition also implies that the mood is joined to something preceding, which is exemplified by a subordinate clause containing the subjunctive mood, which is illustrated with *daß er käme*.

In the section that deals with the conjugation of regular verbs, Felbiger presents the inflectional endings of the subjunctive in different tenses by comparing it to the indicative mood.

Die zweyte Person der gegenwärtigen und jüngstvergangenen Zeit hat in der anzeigenden und verbindenden Art allezeit st. Z.B. du lobest, du lobetest. Die dritte Person hat in der anzeigenden Art der gegenwärtigen Zeit t, in der verbindenden Art aber der gegenwärtigen Zeit und in beiden Arten der kaum vergangenen Zeit e. Z.B. er lobet, er lobe, er lobete. Die erste und dritte Person der vielfachen Zahl nehmen in beiden Arten und Zeiten n an. Die zweite Person der mehreren Zahl überall t. Z.B. wir loben, wir lobeten, ihr lobetet. Sie loben, sie lobeten.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 111–112)

When discussing the conjugation of the irregular verbs, the grammarian states that '[d]ie jüngstvergangene Zeit in der verbindenden Art verändert meistens das a in ä, o in ö, und u in ü, und am Ende der Sylbe nimmt sie e an. Z.B. *daß ich sähe; flösse; schlüge; schnitte*' (*ibid.*, p. 117). However, in the present tense the subjunctive is conjugated regularly, as exemplified by '*daß ich sehe, du sehest, er sehe, u.s.w*'. Felbiger was also concerned with word order in respect to the subjunctive mood. Note that the examples provided in the quotation below illustrate the future subjunctive, but he does not comment on this form any further.

Die Hilfszeitwörter werden in der vergangenen Zeit gemeinlich von ihren Zeitwörtern getrennet, so daß sie in anzeigender Art vor, in der verbindenden Art aber hinten stehen. Z.B. Ich bin ehemals sehr vergnügt mit ihnen umgegangen; Man hoffet, daß er gewiss kommen werde, aber ohne Bindewort vorn: man hoffet, er werde gewiß kommen.

(*Ibid.*, p. 177)

In the 1775 grammar Felbiger provides a summary of the syntactic and semantic contexts in which the subjunctive is common, as quoted below:

Die verbindende Art ist nur üblich 1) nach den Wörtern daß, ob, wenn der Erfolg noch ungewiß ist, z.B. ich weiß nicht, ob er angekommen sey. Man vermuthet, daß er sich nicht lang aufhalten werde. 2) Nach dem Wörtlein wenn in den vergangenen Zeiten, und

zwar in dem ersten sowohl, als in dem zweyten Satze, als: wenn er dieses wüßte, so würde er sich noch darüber besinnen. 3) Nach den Wörtern damit, auf daß. 4) Wenn man von zukünftigen Eräugnissen in einer der vergangenen Zeiten fraget, z.B. würdest du dich unterstehen? nähme er diese Last auf sich? 5) In Wünschen, z.B. Könnte ich nur noch erleben, daß zc. hätte ich nur eher darauf gedacht.

(Felbiger, 1775, p. 98)

The subjunctive should therefore be used after the conjunctions *daß* and *ob* if the success is still uncertain; after the conjunction *wenn* in the past tenses; after *damit* and *auf daß*; if one asks for a future event using the past tense; and finally, in wishes. Felbiger, again in the 1775 edition, provides examples which contain the periphrastic subjunctive, and he also acknowledges them as follows: 'Anstatt der Abänderung des Wortes selbst kann man auch in der verbindenden Art diese Zeit durch das Hilfswort ich würde, und durch die unbestimmte Art bemerken, als: ich würde sammeln, er würde verzagen' (*ibid.*, p. 48). This statement suggests that periphrasis is an accepted alternative form to the inflectional subjunctive.

It may have been noticed that Felbiger was concerned with the formal, the syntactic and the semantic aspect of the subjunctive. He clearly accepts the periphrastic form of the subjunctive with *würde* as standard. Even though he does not comment on dialectal forms of the subjunctive, he frequently makes comments on dialectal mistakes in footnotes.⁵

3.9 Adelung – *Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1781) and *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache* (1782)

Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806) was born in Spantekow near Anklam (Pomerania). From 1752 to 1758 he studied theology in Halle and then worked as a translator and commentator on scientific works (see von Polenz, 1994, p. 164). In 1759 he started teaching at a Protestant grammar school in Erfurt and became ducal librarian in 1762. From 1765 onwards Adelung worked in Leipzig as a 'scholar, writer, lexicographer, reviewer, translator of historical writings, proof-reader, and editor of newspapers' (*ibid.*). In 1787 he was appointed Counsellor, 'Hofrat' and head librarian in Dresden.

In addition to Adelung's historico-cultural and contemporary writings, his works on the theory of language and lexicography were of great importance. He wrote a dictionary of High German, which is considered to be the first comprehensive dictionary of the German language.

Adelung also wrote two grammar books, namely *Deutsche Sprachlehre. Zum Gebrauche der Schulen in den Königl. Preuß. Landen*, which was published in 1781, and *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache, zur Erläuterung der Deutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen*, published in 1782. In his grammars Adelung defines the subjunctive mood as follows: 'Oder man legt demselben [dem Subjecte] das Prädicat auf eine noch ungewisse und zweifelhafte Weise bey; der Coniunctiv' (Adelung, 1781, p. 269; see also *idem.*, 1782, p. 759). He explains that the subjunctive mood expresses uncertainty and doubt. Later in the grammar Adelung dedicates an extensive section of over six pages to the subjunctive mood, which I will quote and discuss in turns.

§.682. Die Modi bezeichnen die Art, wie das Prädicat von dem Subjecte gesagt wird. Wird es als wahr oder gewiß von demselben gesagt, so stehet der Indicativ, wenn es aber nicht mit völliger Gewißheit gesagt werden kann oder soll, der Coniunctiv, welcher daher nach allen Verbis und Partikeln gesetzt werden muß, welche einen noch ungewissen oder zweifelhaften Erfolg bedeuten.

Der Coniunctiv hingegen, wenn der Erfolg noch zweifelhaft oder ungewiß ist, oder als ungewiß und unentschieden angedeutet werden soll: es wäre zu wünschen, daß wir mehr mit den Sitten, als mit der Macht Frankreichs Krieg führen möchten; wo in dem Nachsatze der Coniunctiv stehen muß, weil der Erfolg des Wunsches immer noch ungewiß ist, dagegen im Vordersatze auch der Indicativ stehen kann, wenn er mit mehr Gewißheit prädicirt werden soll, es ist zu wünschen. So auch: es schien, als wenn alle unsere Kräfte wären verjünget worden; eine ganze Schaar Vögel fing an zu schlagen, als wenn sie sich vereinigt hätte uns zu begrüßen; ich befehle dir, daß du kommest, weil die Wirkung des Befehles immer noch ungewiß ist; jetzt müsse ein jeder dem kerker der Städte entfliehen! das wolle Gott nicht! und so in allen ähnlichen Arten des Wünschens. Ferner eine Gleichgültigkeit zu bezeichnen: er thue es oder nicht; er komme oder bleibe weg; er sage was er will, wo im Nachsatze der Indicativ stehen muß, weil hier keine Ungewißheit stattfindet, nicht, er sage, was er wolle.

Diese Regel ist im Deutschen allgemein, und macht alle übrigen Regeln unnöthig.

(Adelung, 1782, pp. 386–392)

To begin with, Adelung claims that moods describe the way in which the predicate is expressed by the subject; if uncertainty or doubt is

being expressed, the subjunctive has to be used after all words and particles. It is possible to use the indicative in a main clause introducing a subordinate clause; however, the latter must contain a subjunctive if the success of a wish is not yet certain, as exemplified in *es wäre zu wünschen, daß wir mehr mit den Sitten, als mit der Macht Frankreichs Krieg führen möchten*.

§.683. Wenn daher der Conjunctiv mit gewissen Conjunctionen verbunden wird, so rühret der selbe nicht so wohl von der Conjunction, als vielmehr von dem noch zweifelhaften Erfolge des ganzen Ausspruches her. Daher müssen die Conjunctionen als wenn, als ob, wie wenn, allemahl mit einem Conjunctive verbunden werden, weil sie einen zwar möglichen, aber noch ungewissen bezeichnen. Die meisten übrigen können sowohl mit dem Indicative als mit dem Conjunctive stehen, nachdem der Erfolg gewiß oder noch zweifelhaft ist: ich melde dir solches, damit du dich darnach zu richten wissest; aber, sie bethet darum so fleissig, damit der Himmel wieder erkenntlich seyn soll, wo die Gewißheit nach der Absicht der Bethenden zu beurtheilen ist, wie aus dem Verbo so erhellet; ohne dasselbe würde es im Conjunctivo heissen müssen, damit der Himmel wieder erkenntlich sey. Ferner: ich besorge, daß er stolz werden möchte, aber, ich sehe, daß er kommt; wenn er kommen sollte, aber, wenn er kommen wird; ich bin nicht würdig, daß du unter mein Dach eingehst, aber, woher weißt du, daß er todt ist.

(*Ibid.*)

In §.683 above, Adelung touches upon the role of conjunctions with respect to the subjunctive. He notes that the subjunctive mood occurs after certain conjunctions, for example, *als wenn, als ob, wie wenn*, and then emphasises that the uncertain or doubtful meaning is to be expressed not only by the conjunction but by the utterance as a whole. Other conjunctions require the indicative or subjunctive after them, the choice of which depends on the meaning of the utterance. If the result is certain, the indicative can be used, as in *ich sehe, daß er kommt*.

§.684. Hierher gehöret auch der Fall, wenn man seine oder eines andern Worte Erzählungsweise oder bloß ihrem Inhalte nach anführet, weil man dabey die Wahrheit des erzählten Satzes gleichfalls unentschieden lässet; es mag übrigens die Ausführung mit oder ohne daß geschehen: ihr habt ja immer gesagt, daß er ein vernünftiger Mann sey; ich bewies ihm, daß er verbunden sey, zu gehorchen;

wir antworteten, daß dieses Statt haben könne. Werden aber die eigenen Worte wiederhohlet, so bleibt der Modus, welchen diese Worte erfordern: er sagte, nein, ich thue es nicht. Indessen kann auch in der relativen Art der Indicativ statt finden, so bald man zugleich seine oder des Sprechenden Überzeugung von der Wahrheit des Ausspruches mit bemerken will: Sage ihm, daß er ein Thor ist; ihr habt ja immer gesagt, daß er ein ehrlicher Mann ist.

(*Ibid.*)

In §.684, Adelung states that in examples of reported speech the truth is sometimes not decided upon. Moreover, the conjunction *daß* need not necessarily be used. This is the case if someone's words are repeated, as in *er sagte, nein, ich thue es nicht*. Adelung argues that examples of this kind sometimes contain the indicative, for instance, when one refuses to notice the truth of the claim, such as *Sage ihm, daß er ein Thor ist*.

§.685. Das Verbum *wissen* schließt eigentlich allen Zweifel aus; es erfordert daher auch in allen Fällen, wo die gewußte Sache nicht ausdrücklich als ungewiß bezeichnet werden soll, den Indicativ: ich weiß, daß er da ist; weißt du, daß er da ist!

Es ist daher ein Fehler, wenn es bey Gellerten heißt: ich dächte, ihr Vormund sollte am besten wissen, wie hoch sich ihr Vermögen belöffe, für belauft; nun, man sollte denken, ein funfzigjähriger Mann sollte wohl wissen, was ein Glück wäre, für ist; er geht ich weiß fürwahr nicht, was die Ursach sey, für ist. Indessen können durch Falle kommen, wo die gewußte Sache nicht mit solcher Gewißheit prädicirt wird, besonders in den zusammen gesetzten Zeiten des Verbi *wissen*: ich wußte es lange, daß er kommen würde; ich möchte doch wissen, was er mir zu sagen hätte, wo aber doch hat besser ist, weil sich die Ungewißheit nicht bis auf den letzten Satz erstreckt.

(*Ibid.*)

The verb *wissen* (to know), §.685, excludes all doubt, which is why the indicative is found in utterances even though doubt is expressed as, for example, *ich weiß, daß er da ist*. Adelung therefore claims that it is a common mistake made by scholars to use the inflectional subjunctive, which he illustrates with *ich dächte, ihr Vormund sollte am besten wissen, wie hoch sich ihr Vermögen belöffe*. The final example Adelung provides illustrates the future-in-the-past: *ich wußte es lange, daß er kommen würde*.

§.686. Eben so fehlerhaft ist es, wenn man um eines oder mehrerer in einem Satze vorkommender Coniunctiven willen, auch den Satz, welcher mit Gewißheit prädicirt werden soll, oder auf welchen sich die Ungewißheit wenigstens nicht erstreckt, in den Coniunctiv setzt, welcher Fehler in Obersachsen sehr gewöhnlich ist: es würde sehr gemein lassen, wenn man nichts anders sehen wollte, als was durch eine natürliche Folge auseinander flösse, für fließet; er hat mich versichert, daß er ein scharfsinniger Mensch wäre, und mehr Bücher gelesen hätte, als Stunden im Jahre wären, für sind, Gell. man sage, was man wolle, für will; ich habe versprochen, daß ich ihm so lange nachsehen wolle, bis er seine Waren zu Gelde gemacht habe, für hat.

So wie überhaupt der Gebrauch des Coniunctives unschicklich ist, wenn keine Ungewißheit denselben erfordert: sprich, warum käm er nicht, wenn er beständig wär, Gell. für kommt und ist.

(*Ibid.*)

Another common mistake that Adelung noticed in particular in Upper Saxony, as quoted in §.686, is the use of the subjunctive after conjunctions that do not necessarily express doubt, such as *man sage*, *was man wolle* instead of *will*.

§.687. Indessen kann es oft gleichgültig seyn, welcher Modus gesetzt, oder wie das Prädicat von dem Subjecte gesagt wird, oder vielmehr, wie es der Sprechende genommen haben will: der Spiegel erinnert mich, daß es Zeit sey (oder ist), ernsthaft zu werden; wo der Nachsatz entweder relativ oder positiv genommen werden kann; freue dich als einer der da weiß, daß die Betrübniß sich zur Freude erheben könne, bezeichnet nur die Möglichkeit kann aber die Gewißheit; sollte man es ihm wohl ansehen, daß er zornig seyn kann oder könnte: gäbe es nicht noch in allen Welttheilen wilde Völker, so würden wir gesittetere uns vielleicht kaum träumen lassen, daß ein solcher Zustand möglich sey, oder ist.

(*Ibid.*)

In the latter quotation, §.687, Adelung remarks that it is often irrelevant which mood is being used: both the subjunctive and the indicative are possible as in *der Spiegel erinnert mich, daß es Zeit sey or ist, ernsthaft zu werden*.

§.688. Was §.677. von der Bedeutung des Imperfectes gesagt worden, gilt bloß von dem Indicative, nicht aber von dem Coniunctive,

dessen Imperfect nichts vergangenes, sondern etwas ungewisses zukünftiges bedeutet. Eigentlich sollte das Präsens Coniunctivi von einer gegenwärtigen ungewissen Sache gebraucht werden: er behauptete, er sey es nicht; er leugnete, daß er es habe.

Das Imperfect aber von einer noch nicht geschehenen ungewissen, ohne sie eben als künftig zu bezeichnen: ich bath, daß er kommen möchte; und scheute sie uns nicht, sie gäb ihm selbst den Thron, Weitze. Indessen werden beyde Tempora im Hochdeutschen sehr häufig für einander gebraucht, besonders, wenn das eine Mißdeutung verursacht, oder der Modus an demselben nicht kenntlich genug ist. Man sagt ganz richtig, es hieß, er habe es, aber nicht, sie haben es, sondern sie hätten es, weil sie haben auch für den Indicative genommen werden könnte.

In Obersachsen ist es sehr gewöhnlich, an Statt des Präsens Coniunctivi des Verbi seyn, das Imperfect zu setzen: man hat mich versichert, daß er ein gelehrter Mann sey. Der Plural des Präsens ist im hochdeutschen noch seltener, und wird fast durchgängig durch das Imperfect ersetzt: man sagte, daß sie unschuldig wären. Der Fehler mancher Obersachsen den Coniunctiv des Imperfectes an Statt des Präsens des Indicatives zu setzen: wenn sie wüßte, daß wir von ihrer Andacht sprächen, Gell. für sprechen, gehöret eigentlich zu dem §.686 bemerkte Fehler.

(*Ibid.*)

According to §.688 above, as opposed to the imperfect tense of the indicative, the subjunctive does not express something bygone, but something that is uncertain in the future. Adelung then points out that it is common in Upper Saxony to use the imperfect tense of *be* instead of the present subjunctive. He thinks that it is a mistake to use the imperfect subjunctive in place of the present indicative, as exemplified in *wenn sie wüßte, daß wir von ihrer Andacht sprächen* instead of *sprechen*.

§.689. Das Perfectum des Coniunctives bezeichnet eine geschehene Sache als ungewiß: man beschuldigte ihn, daß er sich nicht die gehörige Zeit genommen habe. Das Plusquamperfect hingegen deutet an, daß etwas geschehen wäre, wenn eine andere mögliche Bedingung wäre erfüllt worden: er wäre ein berühmter Mann geworden, wenn er länger gelebt hätte; wir hätten unsere Absicht erreicht, wenn ihr nur gewollt hättet. Ingleichen einen Wunsch, daß etwas geschehen wäre: hätte er es doch gethan!

Was im vorigen § von Zweydeutigkeit des Präsens und Imperfectes gesagt worden, gilt auch hier. Wenn der Modus unkenntlich ist, so gebraucht man für das Perfect gern den Plusquamperfect. So sagt man ohne Dunkelheit im Singular: man versicherte, er habe ihn hinrichten lassen aber im Plural lieber, sie hätten ihn hinrichten lassen. Um der eben daselbst schon angezeigten Ursache willen, pflegt man auch, wenn *sey* das Hülfswort ist, besonders im Plural, gern das Plusquamperfect an Statt des Perfectes zu setzen: man sagte, sie wären schon da gewesen; ich wünschte, es wäre schon überstanden.

Die höhere Schreibart gebraucht um des Sylbenmaßes und der Kürze willen zuweilen das Imperfect des Coniunctives an Statt des Plusquamperfectes: vielleicht, ach, raubte man mir mit Gewalt sie nie, für, vielleicht hätte man mir sie mit Gewalt nie geraubt.

Die beiden Futura des Coniunctives kommen in dem Gebrauche mit den Futuris des Indicatives überein, nur daß auch hier der Begriff des Ungewissen herrscht: er sagte, daß er es thun werde, daß er es morgen werde überstanden haben.

(*Ibid.*)

In the final section of Adelung's subjunctive account, §.689, he explains that the perfect tense of the subjunctive describes something as uncertain that has already taken place, for example, *man beschuldigte ihn, daß er sich nicht die gehörige Zeit genommen habe*. The past perfect tense, on the other hand, expresses something that would have happened if another possible condition had been fulfilled, as, for example, *er wäre ein berühmter Mann geworden, wenn er länger gelebt hätte*. As for the future tense, Adelung notes that the forms in the subjunctive mood and the indicative are identical. Uncertainty in the case of the subjunctive expresses the difference, as in *er sagte, daß er es thun werde, daß er es morgen werde überstanden haben*.

Summarising Adelung's description of the subjunctive mood, it must be pointed out that his account is most extensive compared to those found in other eighteenth-century grammars of German. Adelung does not provide a formal description of the mood, but it can be deduced from the examples provided. As for an alternative way to express subjunctive meaning, he does not explicitly state that there is a periphrastic way, but the periphrastic subjunctive is used in some of the examples provided. As regards the syntactic aspect of the mood, Adelung, like other eighteenth-century grammarians, claims that the subjunctive is used in subordinate clauses introduced by selected conjunctions. However, he also points out that it is not the conjunction that requires

the subjunctive mood but it is the meaning that is being expressed. The largest part of Adelung's account of the subjunctive is dedicated to semantics. He is aware of the semantic difference between the indicative and the subjunctive and this also concerns the different tenses of the moods. It is striking that Adelung frequently points out mistakes made by scholars and the people in Upper Saxony regarding the use of the subjunctive.

3.10 Anonymous – *Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1794)

The final grammar to be investigated in this chapter is *Deutsche Sprachlehre zum Gebrauche der deutschen Normal- und Hauptschulen in den k.k. Staaten* (1794), whose writer is unknown. The grammarian provides the following definition of the subjunctive mood:

Die verbindliche Art (Conjunctivus), wenn man einem Dinge etwas auf eine ungewisse oder bedingte Art her leget: *man sagt, er habe Geld; ich käme, wenn ich Zeit hätte*. Durch die verbindende Art wird ein Bitten, Verlangen, Rathen, Wünschen, Zweifeln, eine Bedingung oder Ungewißheit ausgedrückt, und der Satz, in welchem das Zeitwort in der verbindenden Art stehet, ist gewöhnlich mit einem andern Satze durch die Bindewörter *wenn, daß, damit etc.* verbunden: *ich zweifle, daß er mein Freund sey*.

(Anonymous, 1794, p. 108)

As can be seen in the quotation above, the author discusses both the formal and the semantic aspect of the subjunctive mood. It is being claimed that the subjunctive mood expresses pleading, request, advice, wishing, doubt and a condition or uncertainty, and that it usually occurs in subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunctions *wenn, daß, damit, etc.* Besides, the anonymous grammarian also looks at the formation of the subjunctive by comparing it with the indicative.

In der gegenwärtigen Zeit hat die dritte Person der einfachen Zahl nicht t sondern e, welches e auch in den übrigen Personen nicht weggelassen werden darf: daß ich lobe, daß du lobest, daß er lobe, daß ihr lobet, nicht lobst und lobt.

So unterscheidet sich die halb vergangene Zeit der verbindenden Art bloß darin, daß man der Wurzel des Zeitwortes *etc* nicht te anhänget: daß ich lobete, daß du lobetest, *etc*, nicht lobte, lobtest.

In der völlig vergangenen, längst vergangenen und zukünftigen Zeit stehen die Hilfszeitwörter haben, seyn und werden in der verbindenden Art: Man sagt: er habe gelobt, er sey gereiset; er hätte gelobt, er wäre gereiset; er werde loben, reisen.

(*Ibid.*, p. 118)

This author agrees with the descriptions of the formation of the subjunctive mood provided by other grammarians. Then he makes a few more remarks with respect to the usage of the mood, which are summarised below.

- a) The conjunctions *als ob*, *als wenn*, *wie wenn* govern the subjunctive mood, as they describe 'eine nur scheinbare und mögliche Aehnlichkeit' (*ibid.*, p. 187), that is, an apparent and possible similarity.
- b) After the conjunctions *daß*, *damit* and *wenn* the subjunctive mood is used to express uncertainty and the indicative mood is used to express certainty.
- c) After verbs denoting requests, commands, conditioning, exhortation, seeming, wishing, *etc.* the subjunctive mood must follow, as, for instance, in *bitte deinen Vater, daß er dir Geld gebe; wir rathen ihm, daß er umkehre.*
- d) The subjunctive mood is used if speech is being reported. This is the case even if the truth has not been decided upon and the speech has not been introduced by the conjunction *if*, as, for example, in *Sie haben mir immer gesagt, er sey ein ehrlicher Mann, oder daß er ein ehrlicher Mann sey.*
- e) The subjunctive mood in the imperfect does not denote something in the past but something uncertain, 'es sey gegenwärtig oder zukünftig', and is often being paraphrased with the verbs *wollen*, *können* and *mögen*, as, for example, in *ich bath ihn, daß er kommen möchte; wenn er doch käme.* If something uncertain is to be expressed, the subjunctive mood has to be used in the pluperfect tense, for example, *man sagt, daß er bereits gekommen sey.* If the aim is to express 'daß etwas geschehen seyn würde' and a certain condition would have been fulfilled, then the subjunctive mood is being used in the pluperfect tense, for example, *er wäre genesen, wenn er sich des Bades bedienet hätte.*
- f) The subjunctive mood must not be used if something is being stated with certainty, such as *ich weiß, daß Gott ist, nicht sey.*
- g) It is a serious mistake to use the form of the subjunctive mood in the imperfect and perfect instead of the subjunctive mood in present and

pluperfect tense. You therefore do not say, *man hat mich versichert, daß er ein scharfsinniger Mann wäre, und mehr Bücher gelesen hätte, als Tage im Jahre wären*; but say: *man hat mich versichert, daß er ein scharfsinniger Mann sey, und mehr Bücher gelesen habe, als Tage im Jahre sind* (*ibid.*, pp. 187–188).

What is striking about *Deutsche Sprachlehre* is that the author's account of the subjunctive largely resembles Adelung's description, which suggests that the anonymous author must have relied on the latter's grammar. What differentiates *Deutsche Sprachlehre* from Adelung's grammar is that the author also included a description of the formal characteristics of the subjunctive. The semantic account is based on Adelung's work, but the author of *Deutsche Sprachlehre* changed the illustrative examples.

3.11 Overall results from 15 eighteenth-century grammars of German

In Sections 3.2–3.10, I was concerned with 9 different treatments of the subjunctive in 15 eighteenth-century grammars of German. Individual sections were introduced by providing some background information about the grammarians, the aim of which was to show that some grammarians were Protestant Germans who supported Gottsched's norms of the literary standard and others were Catholic Austrians, some of whom supported Gottsched while others made attempts to describe the Austrian variety; and there was even a Jesuit whose grammar was scientifically well-grounded. Considering that the grammarians' backgrounds are so different, one would have expected to come across a greater range of different accounts on the subjunctive. However, the impression is that the descriptions were rather homogeneous. In order to see whether this was merely an impression, the results of the three aspects of morphology, syntax and semantics are collected in Table 4.2.

As regards the formal characteristic of the subjunctive, the majority of the grammarians described and exemplified the inflectional form. The description of the periphrastic subjunctive, namely the *würde*-periphrasis, is rather rare, although it is frequently employed in examples.

The syntactic aspect of the mood is restricted to comments on the subjunctive mood being used in subordinate clauses introduced by certain conjunctions. Antesperg (1747, 1749) is the only grammarian who provides a main clause example of the subjunctive.

Table 4.2 Accounts of the German subjunctive mood

Grammarians	Year	Morphology	Syntax	Semantics
Antesperg	1747	a; b	m; (n)	
Antesperg	1749	a; b	m; (n)	
Gottsched	1749	a; b	m	x
Popowitsch	1754a	a; b		
Popowitsch	1754b	a; b		
Gerlach	1758	(a); (b)	m	x
Gottsched	1762	a; b	m	x
Bob	1771	a; b	m	x; y
Weitenauer	1774	a; b		
Felbiger	1775	a; b	m; n	x
Felbiger	1779	a; b	m; n	
Bob	1780	a; (b)	m	x; y
Adelung	1781	(a); (b)	m	x; y; z
Adelung	1782	(a); (b)	m	x; y; z
Deutsche Sprachlehre	1794	a; b	m	x; y; z

Morphology:

- a Inflectional endings: the difference from the indicative is explicitly pointed out.
- b The subjunctive is considered to be formed with modal auxiliaries.
- () If the features are not described but simply presented in an example, the representative letter is put in brackets.

Syntax:

- m Inflectional subjunctive in subordinate clauses is recognised, that is, a list of conjunctions is provided.
- m* A list of conjunctions is provided, however, they are followed by modal verbs.
- n The inflectional subjunctive in main clauses is recognised.
- () If the features are not described but simply presented in an example, the representative letter is put in brackets.

Semantics:

The semantic description of the subjunctive in eighteenth-century grammars can be subdivided into different degrees of recognition and different kinds of treatment. The first stage (x) represents the grammarian noticing that the semantic aspect is one of the subjunctive's characteristics, that is, s/he remarks that the subjunctive expresses a condition. The second stage (y) represents a wider range of meanings that the grammarian recognises and lists, that is, supposition, wish, condition, *etc.* The third stage (z) is not only a listing of the meanings but a more extensive discussion of them. The grammarian might even recognise and explain the semantic differences between the subjunctive, the indicative, and the potential mood.

- x The grammarian notices that the semantic aspect is essential in distinguishing different moods and possibly mentions one kind of meaning.
- y The grammarian remarks that the mood expresses condition, motive, wish, supposition, *etc.*
- z The grammarian recognises the different meanings of the mood and elaborates on them, that is, he points out the difference to the indicative mood.

As in English grammars, the treatment of the semantic characteristic of the mood is an interesting matter to observe. It may be noticed that semantics plays a rather insignificant role in the early grammars. Gottsched (1749) is the first one to notice that semantics is an aspect of the subjunctive mood. From Bob's grammar (1771) onwards, grammarians recognise different meanings expressed by the subjunctive. Only Adelung (1781, 1782) and the author of *Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1794) provide a more extensive treatment of the semantic aspect in that they point out differences in meaning from the indicative. Like in the survey of English grammars, it is possible to observe a shift from not being aware of the semantic aspect, to noticing some meanings of the subjunctive, and to discussing differences in meaning between the subjunctive and the indicative.

To sum up, it can be argued that eighteenth-century German grammarians were rather conventional in their descriptions of the subjunctive. Since there were no confusions with a potential or optative mood in the German language, the grammarians provided very similar definitions of the subjunctive. The descriptions of the formal, the syntactic and even the semantic aspect of the mood were thus rather homogeneous.

4 The status of the German subjunctive mood in the eighteenth century

Following the discussion of how eighteenth-century grammarians conceptualised and described the subjunctive as a mood, I will briefly discuss the grammarians' attitudes towards the inflectional subjunctive as a form.

As regards the exemplification of the subjunctive in the individual accounts, some examples are translations from Latin, such as *daß ich liebe*, followed by the Latin example (see Antesperg, 1747, 1749). Other examples used appear to be made up, such as *Sie haben mir immer gesagt, er sey ein ehrlicher Mann* (*Deutsche Sprachlehre*, 1794, p. 187). Literary or Biblical examples were not obvious; that is to say the grammarians did not explicitly quote any such examples.

Explicit comments on the inflectional subjunctive and its development are rather rare. An alternative periphrastic form was used at the same time as the inflectional subjunctive, but the grammarians seemed to accept this alternative. One comment made by Gottsched suggests that there must be an alternative dialectal form of the subjunctive which is frequently used and which he does not approve of. In fact, several

grammarians hinted at unacceptable forms in the Austrian dialect, and Antesperg even provided some examples. It will therefore be one of my aims to find out whether such dialectal forms occur in the usage corpus (see Chapter 5, Section 3).

5 Subjunctive accounts after the eighteenth century

I concluded in Section 3.11 that the subjunctive accounts provided by eighteenth-century grammarians were rather homogenous. This section aims to determine whether successive grammarians adhered to the descriptions of their earlier colleagues and adopted these accounts or whether they elaborated on the descriptions of the subjunctive.

The school grammar *Kurze Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1862) by Moritz Alois Becker illustrates the so-called verbindende Art with 'er trinke, er tränke, er habe getrunken, er werde trinken' (Becker, 1862, p. 42) and some conjugation examples with modal auxiliary verbs as well as strong and weak verbs. The semantic aspect of the mood is described as follows: 'Die verbindende Art bezeichnet etwas Ungewisses, Unbestimmtes, welches entweder als möglich oder als bedingt hingestellt wird' [The subjunctive expresses something contingent or uncertain that is described as possible or conditional.] (*ibid.*, p. 121). Following this definition, the author illustrates the different semantic nuances – possibility and conditionality – of the subjunctive. He refrains from commenting on the status of the subjunctive, which may be explained by the fact that the grammar is aimed at pupils. The subjunctive account in Becker's grammar seems fairly similar to Brandl's school grammar titled *Deutsche Grammatik* (1870), which was published in Klagenfurt, Carinthia. Brandl explains and illustrates the conjugation of the subjunctive form (see for instance Brandl, 1870, pp. 104–108) and describes the semantic characteristics of the mood as well as the syntactic constructions in which it occurs (*ibid.*, pp. 193–194). It is noteworthy that the introductory part of the grammar contains a section on German dialects (*Mundarten*), of which an extract is given below:

Die meisten Mundarten thun es der Schriftsprache zuvor an sinnlicher Kraft und Anschaulichkeit des Ausdruckes, an Schmiegsamkeit, Traulichkeit und Wohllaut; dagegen zeigt sich die Schriftsprache als Sprache der Bildung und Wissenschaft überlegen an geistigem Adel und erhebender Schwungkraft.

Zwischen Mundart und Schriftsprache besteht fort und fort eine innige Wechselbeziehung.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 5–6)

[Most dialects outdo the written language with respect to sensual power and vividness of expression, flexibility, cosiness and melodiousness; in contrast, the written language as language of education and science may be regarded as superior in terms of intellectual nobleness and impressive buoyancy.

A deep continual interdependence exists between the dialect and the written language.]

Brandl's comment that dialect and written language influence each other shows an awareness on the grammarian's part that language learners might have experienced difficulties in keeping dialect and written language asunder. In fact, Helmsdörfer in his *Deutsche Sprachlehre für höhere Lehranstalten* (1908), published in Leipzig and Vienna, sheds light on the use of particular grammatical features and the role of dialects:

Für die *Erzählung* hat das Deutsche keine besondere Zeitform. Das Schriftdeutsche gebraucht wie das Niederdeutsche und Englische das *Imperfekt*, die mündliche Rede in Oberdeutschland und einem großen Teile von Mitteldeutschland wendet dagegen das Perfekt an (*historische, erzählendes Perfekt*). Das Imperfekt ist aus der Sprache Oberdeutschlands fast ganz verschwunden.⁶

(Helmsdörfer, 1908, p. 37)

[The German language does not have a particular tense for the *narration*. The written language uses, just as in Low German and English, the *past indicative*, while the spoken language in Upper Germany and a great part of Central Germany employs the present perfect tense (*historical, narrative perfect*). The past indicative has almost completely disappeared from the Upper German language.]

Helmsdörfer clearly states here that in the Upper German dialect, as used in Austria, the past indicative has almost disappeared. This would of course affect the past subjunctive as the form is based on the latter (see Chapter 5, Section 3). In fact, following the statement above, Helmsdörfer describes the four different moods and their morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics. The account of the subjunctive is interspersed with comments on the status of the mood in specific dialect areas, for instance: '*Der Gebrauch des Konjunktivs ist sehr zurückgegangen*. In der mündlichen Rede des mitteldeutschen Sprachgebietes erscheint er

kaum mehr' (*ibid.*, p. 38). The author states in the quotation above that the use of the subjunctive has strongly declined and that it is hardly used in spoken language in the Central German areas. Similarly, Helmsdörfer makes a comment on the use of the conditional form:

In Mittel- und Norddeutschland steht in der indirekten Rede *der Konditional an Stelle des Konjunktivs*: Er sagte, er hätte das getan. Im schwäbischen Sprachgebiet und in der Sprache unserer besten Schriftsteller tritt der Konditional in der Regel nur dann an die Stelle des Konjunktivs, wenn die Formen des Indikativs und Konjunktivs gleich lauten.

(*Ibid.*, p. 39)

[In Central and North Germany *the conditional form is used in place of the subjunctive* in indirect speech: He said, he had done it. In the Swabian language area and in the language of our best writers the conditional form, as a rule, only occurs in place of the subjunctive, if the forms of the indicative and the subjunctive are identical.]

The statement above indicates that the conditional forms such as *würde* and *hätte* are in the prestige variety of German only used if an indicative-subjunctive syncretism occurs, whereas in other varieties the use of the conditional forms has spread to other contexts. Finally, Helmsdörfer notes the following:

Da der Dialekt das Imperfekt und das von ihm abgeleitete Präsens des Konditionals verloren hat, umschreibt er dieses mit *tun*: Das Esse dêt kalt wern. Se dête komme. In Kreisen, die auf Bildung Anspruch machen, setzt man für *tun werden*: Sie sagt, sie würde sich so fürchten.

(*Ibid.*, p. 40)

The author remarks that due to the loss of the past indicative in the dialect and also the present tense of the conditional, which is derived from it, the conditional is paraphrased with *tun (to do)*. Only in higher educated circles *werden* is used instead of *tun*.

This survey of subjunctive accounts in grammars published in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century has shown that the grammarians had no difficulties in recognising and describing the characteristics of the mood. Some grammarians even commented on the mutual influence of dialects and the written language. Most

notably, one grammarian pointed out in which dialect areas the subjunctive was on the decline and how this situation might have started. While eighteenth-century grammarians only hinted at dialectal differences, their successors were already pinpointing some of the ongoing changes.

6 Conclusion

Conclusions may now be drawn with regard to the treatment of the subjunctive in eighteenth-century grammars of German. The terms used for the subjunctive are varied, but all of them denote that something is being joined together. Some of the grammarians focussed on the formal aspect and possibly on the syntactic aspect of the mood only; these are Antesperg, Popowitsch, Felbiger and Weitenauer. All grammarians presented the subjunctive as a mood that was primarily found in subordinate clauses. The grammarians also agreed on the so-called *Nebensilben* *-e* in the subjunctive mood; that is, in the third person singular present tense and imperfect tense the verbs (except for *sey*) have an *-e* added in the subjunctive mood, as in *daß er lobe, lobete; gehe, ginge, etc.* The grammarians also largely agree with respect to the umlaut in the imperfect tense.

Gottsched, Gerlach, Felbiger and Bob seem to be aware of the semantic aspect of the subjunctive but only briefly mention or discuss it. Extensive discussions of the meaning denoted by the subjunctive can only be found in Adelung's grammars and in *Deutsche Sprachlehre*, works published at the end of the eighteenth century.

The subjunctive mood was described in different ways, some descriptions being patchy and others very elaborate. Nevertheless, the grammarians' accounts can be considered as relatively homogeneous compared to subjunctive accounts in English grammars written at the same time.

The most important issue concerning the descriptions of the inflectional subjunctive has to do with differences in subjunctive accounts between German and Austrian grammarians. After all, the German grammarians were instrumental in laying down the language norms in eighteenth-century Austria. It was in fact possible to observe a transition from the Austrian norms, which contained features peculiar to the Austrian dialect, to the adoption of the norms previously limited to the central areas of Germany. The ideal example is Antesperg who tried to bridge between the traditions of the Austrian obsolete standard and the prestige standard. Antesperg objects to dialectal subjunctive forms like

fallete and *lassete*, as a solecism of this kind cannot be allowed to be part of German grammar (see Antesperg, 1747, p. 97). By making this comment, Antesperg supports Gottsched's claim that people ought to adhere to the 'best dialect', which is the prestigious language 'Ostmitteldeutsch'. Popowitsch (1754) follows Gottsched's example to improve the language – his grammar is however dedicated to the improvement of the Austrian vernacular only. Even though Popowitsch's subjunctive account is not very revealing, we can observe that Austrian grammarians make an effort to improve the language and make it more prestigious.

Overall, the periphrasis of the synthetic subjunctive forms with modal auxiliaries and even with *würde* appeared to be accepted by German and Austrian grammarians. It was dialectal forms that the grammarians objected to. It will therefore be interesting to find out in Chapter 5 whether, and, if so, how frequently, dialectal forms occurred in actual language usage.

5

The Subjunctive Mood in Eighteenth-Century Germany and Austria: A Corpus Study

1 Introduction

In 1890/91, Dr H. von Dadelsen, a teacher from Guebwiller in Alsace complained in two issues of the *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht* about the increasing use of the *würde*-periphrasis of the German subjunctive II in place of the synthetic past subjunctive forms. He was particularly incensed about the use of the *würde*-periphrasis in the wrong context, that is, not simply in conditional sentences but also in main clauses, wishes and indirect speech. Von Dadelsen (1890) believed that the origin of this development lay in the widespread use of the periphrastic form in conditional clauses from where it had been adopted in other contexts in which the synthetic past subjunctive forms had originally been used. He made the following prediction:

Wenn das so weitergeht, so werden die klangvollen Formen des Konjunktivs wie gäbe, träte, grübe, flöge allmählich ganz verschwinden, und dann ist unsere Sprache auf dem Standpunkte der englischen angelangt, die nur noch unbedeutende Überreste dieser Präteritalformen besitzt und den Konjunktiv entweder umschreibt oder durch den Indikativ ersetzt.

(von Dadelsen, 1890, p. 159)

In this citation von Dadelsen points out the danger of the German subjunctive developing in a similar way to the English subjunctive, of which only remnants of preterite forms are found in the language. According to von Dadelsen, the functions of the subjunctive were taken over by the indicative or periphrases of modal verbs (see Chapter 3, Section 3 for the results of the English corpus study). Finally, von

Dadelsen calls for a battle against the misuse of the subjunctive in order to prevent the decline of the synthetic forms, because he considers these more effective and melodious (see von Dadelsen, 1890, pp. 158–159). In subsequent issues, von Dadelsen's criticism was taken up by other German scholars and teachers who suggested different reasons for this development. One of these scholars was Dr G. Burghauser from Prague, who opposed von Dadelsen's statements in two ways. First, Burghauser criticises von Dadelsen's puristic attitude towards language change, and second, he proposes another reason for the increase of the *würde*-periphrasis, namely a phonetic one. He states that the phonetic difference between past subjunctive forms and indicative forms is obscured in the case of weak verbs. However, language tends to differentiate functional variety in a phonetic way, which is why the *würde*-periphrasis became useful. Burghauser argues that synthetic past subjunctive forms like *ich redete* were first replaced by the periphrasis, followed by *ich bliebe*, *ich schliefte* (except for first- and third-person singular); eventually, *ich gäbe* was replaced by *würde geben*. Since languages tend to eliminate superfluous irregularities, this *würde*-construction also began to replace synthetic forms that were phonetically distinct (see Burghauser, 1891, pp. 49–51). Von Dadelsen and, especially, the editor of the magazine, Dr Otto Lyon, did not accept Burghauser's contention that synthetic forms are on the decrease, although both forms might still be around for centuries. In his response, von Dadelsen listed all the synthetic past subjunctive forms that had been used in the former issue of *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht* claiming that they were used in the correct context. Thereupon Burghauser implied that the editorial board was using an affected and archaic style (von Dadelsen, 1891, pp. 267–268). The editor's response then denounces Burghauser by stating that his claims are unscholarly, as he was merely observing an Austrian linguistic peculiarity, instead of studying varieties of German, which might have led to different results (see Lyon, 1891, pp. 268–269). More scholars contributed to the discussion, two of whom were Austrian. Rudolf Reichel from Graz presented 'incorrect' examples of *würde*-periphrasis from Molière and Jokai translations. Reichel responded to the editor's claim that the misuse of the form was an Austrian peculiarity by doubting whether it was merely an Austrian mistake, as examples in the works of the Austrian writer Stifter (1805–1868) were hard to be found. He agrees, however, that the decline of the synthetic past subjunctive should be stopped (see Reichel, 1892, pp. 57–59). Georg Weitzenböck from Graz blamed the influence of wrong translations of verb forms in textbooks for teaching French, as *serais* was

usually translated as *würde sein* instead of *wäre* (see Weitzenböck, 1893, pp. 134–135).

The sometimes acrimonious debate about the *würde*-periphrasis in the *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht* leads us to consider whether the periphrastic form had in fact been on the rise in the German-speaking areas. If so, the question poses itself as to whether the *würde*-periphrasis was more frequently used in particular regions and what the reason for this might be. After all, the debate in the latter journal suggests that a significant rise in *würde*-periphrasis must have occurred during or after the eighteenth century,¹ mainly in the East Upper German, that is, Austrian, area. Then again, we saw in Chapter 4 that neither Austrian nor German grammarians of the eighteenth century stigmatised the *würde*-periphrasis when it was employed as an alternative to the synthetic past subjunctive. Some ideas as to why the *würde*-periphrasis might have increased in certain dialect areas of German were given by a later grammarian (Helmsdörfer, 1908, discussed in Chapter 4, Section 5), whose thoughts will be followed up here.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the use and the development of the subjunctive in the usage corpus GerManC (newspaper genre only), which covers the time span 1650–1800 and contains data from five different varieties of German (North German, West Central German, East Central German, West Upper German and East Upper German). The first part of this chapter (Section 2) seeks to determine the distribution and the development of subjunctive I and subjunctive II forms in all five varieties. As the Austrian (East Upper German) variety stood out in the debate on the increase of the *würde*-periphrasis, the second part of the chapter (Section 3) will especially focus on this variety, to the purpose of which an Austrian corpus consisting of more than one genre has been compiled. The use of *würde*-periphrasis in the Austrian text corpus will be examined and the results obtained from this will be analysed. I aim to resolve the question of why there may have been an increasing use of the *würde*-periphrasis of subjunctive II in place of the synthetic past subjunctive in Austria. Section 3 will thus also deal with reasons that may have triggered the decrease of synthetic past subjunctive forms and reinforced the increase of the *würde*-periphrasis.

2 The subjunctive mood and its diachronic development

Until the publication of the pilot corpus of GerManC in 2007, there was a lack of historical German corpora as well as of corpora representing different varieties of German. Earlier studies of the subjunctive

in German were therefore largely based on self-compiled corpora that were restricted to, for instance, particular periods, genres or varieties. An example is Schrodts study (1983) that examined the subjunctive in Old and Middle High German. The texts under investigation were *Otfrid's Evangelienbuch*, *Isidor* and *Konrad von Würzburg's Trojanerkrieg*. Schrodts was not interested in frequencies of use, but he analysed the examples with respect to the following features: (a) implicative verbs, (b) negative-implicative verbs, (c) *wenn*-verbs, negative-only *wenn*-verbs, (d) factive verbs and (e) non-factive verbs. Previous quantitative studies of the German subjunctive were carried out by Jäger (1971), who investigated the use of the subjunctive in contemporary German, and Engström-Persson (1979), who studied the use of the subjunctive around 1800. Jäger's study² focuses on the use of the subjunctive in German since 1945. His aim was twofold, namely, (a) to demonstrate the distribution of subjunctive forms in different contexts and (b) to determine the function of the present and past subjunctive as opposed to the indicative (see Jäger, 1971, p. 25). The works selected cover the period from 1950 to 1966. Jäger's corpus consists of 28 texts³ from the representative *Mannheimer Corpus*. These texts were subdivided into five genres, which are poetry, light fiction, scientific and popular scientific literature, reports and newspapers. Engström-Persson's study of the subjunctive mood around 1800 is largely based on Jäger (1971), in particular with regard to method. Engström-Persson describes one of her aims as comparing subjunctive use around 1800 with present-day usage; the latter data used for comparative purposes is taken from Jäger's work (see Engström-Persson, 1979, p. 15). The corpus compiled by Engström-Persson consists of texts which she subdivides into four genres: fiction and poetry, light fiction, scientific literature and newspapers. The selected texts, which cover the period from 1790 to 1815, are not exclusively based on first editions of this period. The fact that some of the selected texts are twentieth-century editions by dtv, Reclam and other publishing companies raises the question of how representative the subjunctive usage around 1800 is in these texts.⁴ The corpus consists of approximately 82,000 finite verb forms, which almost equals the number of finite verb forms in Jäger's study (c. 82,400). Both scholars differentiate their results, which are presented in statistical form, according to sentence type, person, tense and so forth. Jäger's and Engström-Persson's studies were mainly concerned with investigating the distribution of subjunctive forms in different contexts. My study differs from these earlier studies in that I am concerned with the distribution of subjunctive forms in different varieties of German and

Table 5.1 The distribution of word frequencies and finite verbs in GerManC

Variety of German	1650–1699: no. of words/finite verbs	170–1749: no. of words/finite verbs	1750–1799: no. of words/finite verbs
<i>East Upper German</i>	6894/418	7042/433	6722/483
<i>West Upper German</i>	6992/477	6439/469	6484/664
<i>East Central German</i>	6670/425	6580/413	6634/540
<i>West Central German</i>	6973/414	6765/413	6427/555
<i>North German</i>	6005/427	6556/496	6705/546
TOTAL	33,534/2161	33,382/2224	32,972/2788

the development of the subjunctive in the period from 1650 to 1800. Moreover, I aim to find out what happened to the *würde*-periphrasis and what roles regional forms played in the development of the Austrian subjunctive. I therefore take up the issues that were identified in the German precept corpus (see Chapter 4).

In line with earlier quantitative studies of the German subjunctive, the number of words and the distribution of finite verbs in the corpus and its sub-sections were determined (see Table 5.1).

The GerManC pilot corpus, which at this stage consists of newspapers only, contains 2161 finite verbs in the text samples in 1650–1699, 2224 finite verbs in 1700–1749, and 2788 finite verbs in 1750–1799. Even though the word counts per 50-year time spans are slightly lower in 1700–1749 and 1750–1799 compared to 1650–1699, the finite verbs are on the increase. This may be explained by the fact that earlier texts often lack the finite verb where a reader would nowadays expect them to be. In the two examples given below, the places where a finite form could be expected are marked with [?]:

- (1) Nachdeme wie vor acht Tagen gemeldet/ der H. General Würtz am 12. dises einen starcken Außfall zu Roß vnnd Fueß auß Stettin gethan [?]/ etliche der Keyserl. Reduiten vnnd Lauffgräben/ auch Battereyen erobert [?]/ in 100. Mann nidergemacht [?]/ vil beschädiget vnd gefangen [?]/ warunter der Obrist Leutenant Schlebusch/ der Obrist Wachtmaister vom Georgischen Regiment/ zway Hauptleuthe vnd andere Officierer/ ist er weiter vnd fast nahe an das Läger zum Fähnlein kommen/ in Mainung solches gar auffzuschlagen/ aber darüber also empfangen worden [?]/ daß er sich mit Hinterlassung 70. Mann zurück begeben müssen. [East Upper German, 1650–1699]

- (2) Verwichnen Donnerstag nachts ist ein Expresser bey dem Keyserl. Hoff allhier angelangt/ welcher mitgebracht [?]/ daß Jhre Durchl. Printz Ludwig von Baaden sich der Vestung und Statt Widin/ so ein vornehmer Paß an der Thonau gelegen [?]/ bemächtiget [?]. [West Upper German, 1650–1699]

It should be pointed out that ‘expected’ finite forms in the corpus were not taken into consideration, but only actually occurring finite forms were counted.

The German subjunctive usage study differs from the English study (Chapter 3) in that the investigation was not restricted to adverbial clauses only. Owing to the small size of the GerManC corpus at this stage, the numbers retrieved would be too low to make any significant claims. The approach taken was therefore to read through the corpus and select all the subjunctive verb forms, which could be lexical verbs, *sein* (to be), *haben* (to have), *werden* (to become), or modal verbs (*können*, *müssen*, *mögen*, *dürfen*, *sollen*, *wollen*).

The distribution of subjunctive forms, as given in Table 5.2, enables us to calculate how many of the finite verbs are in fact unambiguous subjunctive forms. The data show that in the period 1650–1699 there are 480 subjunctive forms out of 2161 finite verbs, which is 22.2% of the total. The period 1700–1749 contains 463 subjunctive forms out of 2224 finite forms, which is 20.8%. Finally, the period 1750–1799 contains 328 subjunctives out of 2788 finite verbs, which is 11.7% of the total. These

Table 5.2 The development of the subjunctive in German from 1650 to 1800

Five varieties of German	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799
Subjunctive I			
<i>full verbs</i>	14.1% (38)	22.9% (51)	23.3% (37)
<i>sein, haben</i>	26.8% (72)	33.6% (75)	38.3% (61)
<i>werden</i>	14.9% (40)	8.5% (19)	18.9% (30)
<i>modal verbs</i>	44.2% (119)	35% (78)	19.5% (31)
TOTAL	269	223	159
Subjunctive II			
<i>full verbs</i>	9% (19)	15% (36)	20.1% (34)
<i>sein, haben</i>	27.5% (58)	35% (84)	28.4% (48)
<i>werden</i>	13.3% (28)	12.1% (29)	11.8% (20)
<i>modal verbs</i>	50.2% (106)	37.9% (91)	39.7% (67)
TOTAL	211	240	169

findings reveal that the subjunctive forms have gradually declined in the period 1650–1800. While the first sub-period (1650–1699) still contains 22.2% and the second sub-period (1700–1749) 20.8%, the third sub-period (1750–1799) reveals a decline of the forms to 11.7%. A subdivision into different varieties of German (see Tables 5.3–5.7) might reveal interesting patterns that contribute to an explanation of the

Table 5.3 The development of the subjunctive in North German from 1650 to 1800

North German	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799
Subjunctive I			
<i>full verbs</i>	15.6% (7)	28.6% (12)	20.7% (6)
<i>sein, haben</i>	35.6% (16)	33.3% (14)	10.4% (3)
<i>werden</i>	20% (9)	2.4% (1)	31% (9)
<i>modal verbs</i>	28.8% (13)	35.7% (15)	37.9% (11)
TOTAL	45	42	29
Subjunctive II			
<i>full verbs</i>	8.1% (3)	27.3% (9)	22.2% (8)
<i>sein, haben</i>	43.2% (16)	27.3% (9)	25% (9)
<i>werden</i>	8.1% (3)	6% (2)	16.7% (6)
<i>modal verbs</i>	40.6% (15)	39.4% (13)	36.1% (13)
TOTAL	37	33	36

Table 5.4 The development of the subjunctive in East Central German from 1650 to 1800

East Central German	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799
Subjunctive I			
<i>full verbs</i>	16% (8)	42.2% (19)	25% (8)
<i>sein, haben</i>	10% (5)	22.2% (10)	34.4% (11)
<i>werden</i>	14% (7)	15.6% (7)	12.5% (4)
<i>modal verbs</i>	60% (30)	20% (9)	28.1% (9)
TOTAL	50	45	32
Subjunctive II			
<i>full verbs</i>	3.9% (2)	12.5% (12)	20.8% (5)
<i>sein, haben</i>	17.6% (9)	36.5% (35)	12.5% (3)
<i>werden</i>	11.8% (6)	14.6% (14)	–
<i>modal verbs</i>	60.8% (31)	36.4% (35)	66.7% (16)
TOTAL	51	96	24

Table 5.5 The development of the subjunctive in West Central German from 1650 to 1800

West Central German	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799
Subjunctive I			
<i>full verbs</i>	17.9% (10)	10.8% (4)	24.4% (9)
<i>sein, haben</i>	16.1% (9)	35.1% (13)	45.9% (17)
<i>werden</i>	10.7% (6)	10.8% (4)	16.2% (6)
<i>modal verbs</i>	55.3% (31)	43.3% (16)	13.5% (5)
TOTAL	56	37	37
Subjunctive II			
<i>full verbs</i>	7.7% (2)	17.9% (5)	15.2% (5)
<i>sein, haben</i>	26.9% (7)	39.3% (11)	27.3% (9)
<i>werden</i>	19.2% (5)	7.1% (2)	12.1% (4)
<i>modal verbs</i>	46.2% (12)	35.7% (10)	45.4% (15)
TOTAL	26	28	33

Table 5.6 The development of the subjunctive in East Upper German from 1650 to 1800

East Upper German	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799
Subjunctive I			
<i>full verbs</i>	9.4% (3)	11.4% (5)	24.1% (7)
<i>sein, haben</i>	28.1% (9)	27.3% (12)	48.3% (14)
<i>werden</i>	21.9% (7)	9.1% (4)	24.1% (7)
<i>modal verbs</i>	40.6% (13)	52.2% (23)	3.5% (1)
TOTAL	32	44	29
Subjunctive II			
<i>full verbs</i>	15.7% (8)	17.7% (6)	18.4% (7)
<i>sein, haben</i>	31.4% (16)	23.5% (8)	44.8% (17)
<i>werden</i>	9.8% (5)	8.8% (3)	7.9% (3)
<i>modal verbs</i>	43.1% (22)	50% (17)	28.9% (11)
TOTAL	51	34	38

observed decline. Before focussing on the subjunctive data per region, I will deal with the overall distribution of forms (Table 5.2).

The use of full verbs in the categories subjunctive I and subjunctive II are on the increase in the period 1650–1800: the subjunctive I data show 14.1% in 1650–1699, 22.9% in 1700–1749 and 23.3% in 1750–1799, and subjunctive II also increases from 9% in 1650–1699 to 15% in 1700–1749, to 20.1% in 1750–1799. The results in Table 5.2 also reveal

Table 5.7 The development of the subjunctive in West Upper German from 1650 to 1800

West Upper German	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799
Subjunctive I			
<i>full verbs</i>	11.6% (10)	20% (11)	21.9% (7)
<i>sein, haben</i>	38.4% (33)	47.3% (26)	50% (16)
<i>werden</i>	12.8% (11)	5.4% (3)	12.5% (4)
<i>modal verbs</i>	37.2% (32)	27.3% (15)	15.6% (5)
TOTAL	86	55	32
Subjunctive II			
<i>full verbs</i>	2.2% (1)	8.2% (4)	23.7% (9)
<i>sein, haben</i>	21.7% (10)	42.9% (21)	26.3% (10)
<i>werden</i>	19.6% (9)	16.3% (8)	18.4% (7)
<i>modal verbs</i>	56.5% (26)	32.6% (16)	31.6% (12)
TOTAL	46	49	38

that modal verbs were most frequently used for subjunctive I and II in the periods 1650–1699 and 1700–1749, and for subjunctive II in 1750–1799. The lowest numbers in the distribution of the forms can be found with *werden*. It is striking that the development of *würde* (*werden* – subjunctive II) reveals a gradual decrease rather than increase: from 13.3% (1650–1699) to 12.1% (1700–1749), to 11.8% (1750–1799). After all, the debate in the *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht* (Section 1) suggested that the *würde*-periphrasis was on the increase, which should be reflected in the numbers. As the debate took place towards the end of the nineteenth century and the corpus only covers the time span 1650–1800, the increase of the *würde*-periphrasis must have commenced in the intermediate years, that is, between 1800 and 1890 (also see Chapter 4, Section 5).

As regards the contexts in which the subjunctive forms occurred, a lot of the forms can be found in (free) indirect speech, as illustrated in example (3) below. This is not surprising given that the corpus is restricted to the newspaper genre (at this stage) and the aim of newspapers is to report new information.

- (3) Man sagt/das Parlament zu Toulouse habe allen Geistlichen verboten/keine Pöpstliche Bullen/aussert was Heuraths Dispensationen betreffe/anzunehmen/sie seyen dann vorhero von des Königs Schriff gut geheissen worden. [West Upper German, 1650–1699]

A subdivision of the distribution of subjunctive forms into different varieties of German implicates that the numbers are rather low and the results can thus at best be interpreted as tendencies in the development of the subjunctive.

The results of the North German variety are displayed in Table 5.3. Throughout the period 1700–1799, the modal verbs occur most frequently in the North German sub-corpus. The frequency of full verbs (subjunctive I and II) was higher in the period 1700–1749 than in the period before and the period following. As regards subjunctive II *werden* (thus *würde*), an increase of the form from 1700–1749 to 1750–1799 can be observed.

The next sub-corpus investigated contains the East Central German data (Table 5.4), which is the prestige variety of German (see Chapter 6). As with North German, the modal verbs can frequently be found under subjunctive I and subjunctive II in all three sub-periods, that is, except for the time span 1700–1799 under subjunctive I. A particularly high frequency of full verbs can be noticed in subjunctive I in the period 1700–1749. As regards the *würde*-periphrasis, we can observe an increase from 11.8% to 14.6%, followed by no occurrences in 1750–1799.

The West Central German sub-corpus (Table 5.5) also reveals that modal verbs were frequently used throughout all three sub-periods, but a gradual decline can be noticed with the subjunctive I forms. All other verbs display high-low-high or low-high-low patterns in the chronological distribution.

The data of East Upper German (Table 5.6), which corresponds to the Austro-Bavarian language variety, also shows some high-low-high and low-high-low patterns. We can observe an increase of subjunctive I full verbs as well as of *sein* and *haben*. The *würde* forms (subjunctive II) are on the decrease, but due to the low numbers no conclusions can be drawn.

The final table to discuss contains the subjunctive distribution in West Upper German (including Switzerland). The full verbs (both subjunctive I and II) are gradually increasing from 1650 to 1800 whereas the modal verbs (subjunctive I and II) are on the decrease.

The investigation of the sub-corpora may not be considered particularly fruitful, the reason for which is the low numbers that do not allow us to make strong claims. There are also some problems with the genre, as it is questionable whether the language used in early newspapers reflects different varieties of German. After all, it is no longer possible to trace the identity and therefore the birth place and education of the correspondents and agents who sent their reports, that is, letters, to the newspaper printers. Moreover, the news reports were allegedly not only

sent to one printer in one particular city, but the correspondents who travelled abroad sent their reports everywhere (Durrell *et al.*, forthcoming). In view of the lack of results and the uncertainties with regard to the newspaper genre, in Section 3 I will focus on one language variety only, for which a larger corpus has been compiled.

3 The subjunctive mood in Austrian German

As the GerManC corpus only contains one genre at this stage, I compiled a set of Austrian texts, which shall be used as a corpus. In view of the influence of the Jesuit order on printing in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 6 for a description of the standardisation process in eighteenth-century Austria), it is not surprising that certain types of writing were not printed in Austria at the time. It is therefore not possible to include the same range of genres and texts used by Jäger and Engström-Persson. The Austrian corpus contains the genres *sermons*, *journals and reports*, and *newspapers*; a list of selected texts can be found in the bibliography. The genre *dialect poetry* will be used in the discussion following the corpus study outcome.

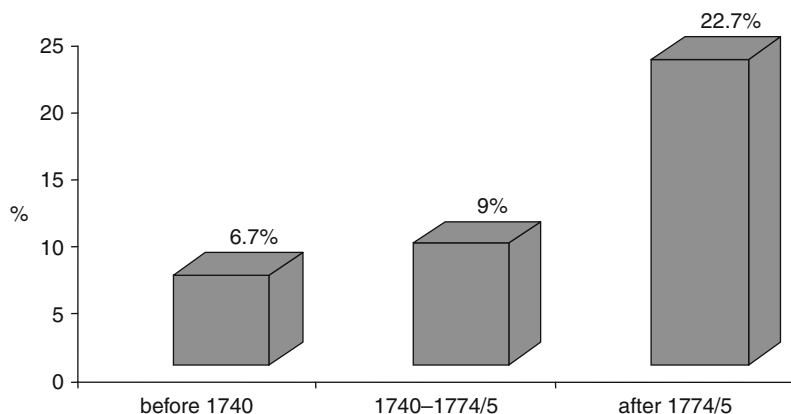
Three chronological periods can be distinguished in these texts. The first stage contains texts printed before 1740, which marks the beginning of language standardisation in Austria. The second stage lasts from 1740 to 1774/75, which corresponds with the main period during which the reform took place. Compulsory schooling was introduced in 1774/75 by the Empress. The final stage contains texts printed after 1775, that is, the end of the language reform and almost the end of Maria Theresia's reign in 1780. With respect to the adapted Konopka model (see Chapter 1, Section 2), in this study the usage corpus, which ranges from 1723 to 1799, does not much exceed the precept corpus (1747–1794).

The Austrian corpus contains approximately 19,230 finite verbs, of which 2278 (11.8%) are unambiguous subjunctive forms.⁵ The total number of subjunctive forms can be subdivided into 1272 subjunctive I forms and 1006 subjunctive II forms; the latter forms include all the *würde*-periphrasis examples, which provide 16.2% of the subjunctive II forms. Table 5.8 shows the distribution of the subjunctive forms into different kinds of verbs.

It is striking that the texts contain only 21.3% full verb subjunctives, whereas there are 46% *sein* and *haben*, 12.6% *werden* and 20.1% modal verbs. This outcome shows that almost 80% of subjunctives in

Table 5.8 The distribution of the subjunctive forms in Austrian German

	Subjunctive I	Subjunctive II	All Subjunctive Forms
<i>lexical verbs</i>	397 (31.2%)	89 (8.8%)	486 (21.3%)
<i>sein, haben</i>	560 (44%)	487 (48.4%)	1047 (46%)
<i>werden</i>	125 (9.8%)	163 (16.2%)	288 (12.6%)
<i>modal verbs</i>	190 (15%)	267 (26.6%)	457 (20.1%)
TOTAL	1272 (100%)	1006 (100%)	2278 (100%)

Figure 5.1 *Würde*-periphrasis in eighteenth-century Austria

eighteenth-century Austrian texts are formed with auxiliary or modal verbs rather than full verbs.

The next phase of corpus data study was to allocate the *würde*-periphrasis examples according to their occurrence in texts before 1740, between 1740 and 1774/75, and after 1775 as shown in Figure 5.1. It can be noticed that the use of the *würde*-periphrasis is still rather low before 1740 at 6.7%. However, from then onwards it increases to 9% in the 1740–1774/75 period and to 22.7% after 1775; the occurrence is highest after the language reform was finished and compulsory schooling had been introduced.

In the introduction to this chapter I presented comments by von Dadelsen (1890) in *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht* about the use of the *würde*-periphrasis in the wrong context. According to him, the periphrastic form (*es würde geben*) was not only found in conditional clauses but had been adopted in other contexts such as main

clauses, wishes and indirect speech, which is where the synthetic past subjunctive forms (*es gäbe*) ought to be used. My study of the occurrence of the *würde*-periphrasis in eighteenth-century texts supports von Dadelsen's observation. As regards the contexts in which the *würde*-periphrasis occurred, it was almost exclusively found in conditional clauses before 1740. From 1740 onwards the periphrastic form gradually extended its usage to indirect speech, hypothetical comparative clauses, final clauses and concessive clauses.

While investigating the text corpus with respect to *würde*-periphrasis examples, I came across a different type of past subjunctive forms. These forms, which are probably best described as synthetic regional forms of subjunctive II, may be exemplified with *es gebete* as opposed to *es gäbe* (regular past subjunctive form) and *es würde geben* (*würde*-periphrasis). The reason I refer to these forms as synthetic regional forms is that they are still commonly used in Austrian dialect. The examples found in the corpus are listed below:

- (4) [...] wann sie der Medicus nicht wieder durch sitzen und schwitzen/lauffen und schnauffen/Gfahren und harren/durch tausend Verdruß ohne Genuß/durch Wissenschaft und Kunst dem Tod *entreissete*/ [...]. (Mayer, 1753, pp. 11–12)
[... if the doctor *plucked* her not from the jaws of death ...]
- (5) So will ich aber zulaßen, daß einige und nicht wenig menschliche Fehler in sich selbst gering wären, und auch dermahls keine Folgen von besonderer Wichtigkeit nach sich *zieheten*, sind sie wohl darumen außer acht zu laßen? (Borgia Tausch, 1765, p. 167)
[This way I will admit though that some ... human mistakes *would involve* no consequences of particular importance ...]
- (6) Da man nun auf die Ermahnung des Propheten die Anstalten gemacht, verfinsterte sich der ganze Himmel, ein Sturmwind jagte, und *stoßete* von allen Seiten die Wolken zusamm, welche in einen häufigen Regen sich ergoßen haben, 3. Reg. 18. (Borgia Tausch, 1765, p. 169)
[... a heavy gale would blow, and *would push* the clouds together from all sides, ...]
- (7) Es habe der gerichtl. verordnet Fontanaische Curat. ad lites Herr Ernst v. Namponi, der Rechten Doktor, a. H. u. Gr. Adv. hierorts die Anzeige gemacht, daß, nachdem das in die Fontanaische Kridanrassa gehörige Haus zu Simering licitando verkauft worden, es darauf *ankommete*, daß die diesfällig auf den Paschal Fontana, und Maria Anna seine Ehwirthin ausgefertigte Hausgewöhr ad

cassanduro eingelegt werden sollte. (Wiener Zeitung, 31 March 1781)

[... after ... the ... house in Simmering ... was sold, it *would depend* on the fact that ...]

- (8) Es hätte Leopold Nagle, als von well. seiner Ehwirthin Theresia, vorhin verhehelt gewesten Rudnin sel. eingesetzter Universalerb angezeigt, daß seiner Ehwirthin und resp. Erblasserin sel. Verlassenschaft vollständig abgehandelt worden wäre, in derselben Verlassenschaft *befindete* sich aber unter andern ein diesseitig löbl. Grundbuch dienstbare Behausung zur schönen Schäferin Nr. 11 am obern Neustift, um welche er sich nunmehr gegen ad cassandum einzulegenden alten Hausgewöhr an Nutz und Gewöhr bringen zu lassen *gedenkete*; [...] (Wiener Zeitung, 31 March 1781)

[... in the same inheritance *were to be found* among other things ... he *would consider* ...]

- (9) Bankodeputation beschedene Erinnerung, obbemeldte 2 Kapitalien zwar wirklich noch hafteten, selbe jedoch nicht bey der Banko=Haupt=Kassa, sondern bey der Universal=Staatsschuldenkassa *anliegenen*, [...] (Wiener Zeitung, 17 November 1781)

[... above-mentioned 2 assets ... not in the main bank but in the universal national debt bank *were invested*]

The occurrence of these synthetic regional subjunctive forms in written texts is surprising. It should also be noticed that the forms occur in texts from 1753, 1765 and 1781; these are years in which the language reform was going on or was largely finished. The forms might have been less unusual in texts dating from before 1740, the point in time before the language reform had had any effect on the written language used in Austria.

Further investigation into subjunctive forms such as *gedenkete*, *zieheten* is therefore essential. The authors' original manuscripts are not available, and as the printed versions of the original manuscripts serve as the only source, it is important to obtain information on printing during Maria Theresia's reign.

3.1 The power and influence of the printing industry

When Maria Theresia came to power in 1740, she found an empty treasury, stagnation in the field of home affairs and tension in the field of foreign affairs. This led her to carry out a number of reforms. Some of these reforms also affected printing, which had severely suffered over

the preceding decades. Reasons for this development can be found in the censorship by the Jesuits after the Counter-Reformation, in the Thirty Years' War, in the poor quality of printed books in the Empire, in the increase in the price of paper in 1675 to obtain money for national defence, in the lack of fiction and poetry writers during the Baroque period, in the belief that books conveyed heretical ideas, and finally, in the lack of proof readers and journeymen. In order to get trained staff, the printers had to rely on Protestant journeymen who had migrated from Northern or Central Germany (see Durstmüller, 1981, pp. 93–96; pp. 173–174). Durstmüller also assumes that the printing masters were not willing or able to train apprentices.

The consequences of this situation need to be considered. The language used in the Habsburg Empire until the language reform was the Austro-Bavarian written variety. However, the journeymen that were employed in eighteenth-century Austrian printing houses were Protestant and were likely to have been trained in Germany, and therefore used different varieties of German. It can be assumed that the journeymen's education and use of language influenced their work as typesetters and proof readers. Thus, it seems likely that the language used in printed Austrian texts did not exactly reflect actual language use in the Empire. It is generally known that a raw manuscript handed over to a publishing company will have changes made with regard to grammar and sometimes even content. Nowadays people in charge of improving manuscripts are editors and proof readers; however, in eighteenth-century Austria typesetters, too, exercised the power to change texts. Wiesinger (1999) analysed part of a sermon published in 1765 with regard to a number of Austrian language peculiarities. He noticed that two typesetters set the sermon, each of them working on a single sheet of paper. Wiesinger (1999) listed 20 features and compared the language use, which showed that different language varieties were used. One typesetter was more conservative, that is, he included more Austrian language features, whereas the other one had already largely taken on the rules imposed by the language reform. As Wiesinger points out, it is most likely that the Austrian features were used in the original manuscript, but one of the typesetters adapted the text to the prestige standard more than the other (see Wiesinger, 1999, p. 221). From this evidence, it can be inferred that inconsistencies with regard to the introduced language norm occur in most of the texts during the eighteenth century. Rather than imagining the language reform and its changes as a linear progression after 1740, it looks probably more like a drift towards the prestige language.

This information on printing in the eighteenth-century Habsburg Empire certainly opened up a new angle from which the situation and therefore the corpus results must be viewed.

3.2 The regional (Austro-Bavarian) inflectional subjunctive form

In eighteenth-century Austria there were a primary dialect and a highly codified superposed variety, the prestige written standard (the standard language used in Central and North Germany). The primary dialect was exclusively spoken whereas the prestige variety, which was codified in grammar books from 1734 onwards, provided a norm for the written language. Considering that the Austrian text corpus contained subjunctive II examples like *entreissete*, *zieheten*, *stößete*, *ankommete*, *befindete*, *gedenkete* and *anliegeten*, which still occur in dialect speech, it appears that features of the primary dialect interfered with the prestige variety in eighteenth-century Austria. The correct forms of these regional synthetic subjunctives are *entriesse*, *zöge*, *stieße*, *ankäme*, *befände*, *gedächte* and *anlägen*. All seven verbs are in fact strong, but the inflection of the synthetic past subjunctive in the Austro-Bavarian region is similar to (and derives from) the past tense forms of weak verbs, which was extended to strong verbs by analogy (whereby they could retain or lose the strong-verb vowel alteration). The originally ‘weak’ *-(e)te* suffix then spread to originally strong verbs.

Information on the subjunctive in present-day Austro-Bavarian dialects can be found in Mindl (1924), Keller (1961), Wiesinger (1989) and Merkle (1990). Mindl (1924) claims that the subjunctive I has vanished from language use and, with regard to subjunctive II, the weak forms have largely taken over at the expense of strong verb forms. Relics of strong verb subjunctive forms are only found in ablaut classes 3, 4 and 5. However, even these verbs are often mixed forms, with the ablaut retained and a weak ending added (see Mindl, 1924, pp. 108–109). The past subjunctive of the strong verbs was derived from the stem of the past tense form of the indicative and sometimes an umlaut was added. However, the stem of the weak verbs had the suffix *-et-* added and then the personal endings. These analogical synthetic forms, or synthetic regional subjunctive forms, are characteristic of the Austro-Bavarian dialects. The Table 5.9 illustrates past subjunctive forms in Standard German and in Austro-Bavarian dialect.

As regards the periphrasis of the past subjunctive, it is usually formed with *tun* (to do), that is, *täte* (dial. *dad* or *tad*) rather than *würde* (would).⁶ Examples like *ī dād ēām žō žrai(b)m* (*ich täte ihm schon schreiben*) and *ī žraibat ēām žō* are frequently used in dialect. It should be remarked

Table 5.9 Past subjunctive forms in standard German and in Austro-Bavarian

		strong tragen (to carry)	weak zeigen (to show)
<i>past subjunctive</i>	<i>Standard German</i>	ich trüge – wir trügen	ich zeigte – wir zeigten
(First pers. singular and First pers. plural)	<i>Austro-Bavarian</i> (synthetic regional subjunctive form)	i drågäd – mia drågädn	i zoågäd – mia zoågädn

that *würde* would probably be used instead of *täte* in a standard written text, as the *tun*-periphrasis sounds rather stilted.

3.2.1 The synthetic subjunctive in eighteenth-century Austrian dialect

Probably the closest possible approach nowadays to the spoken dialect of the eighteenth century is through the dialect poetry of the period. Although this does not provide a wholly accurate representation of actual speech, it gives us an idea of how the subjunctive mood was used. Maurus Lindemayr (1723–1783), a priest and preacher at the monastery in Lambach, also made himself a name as the first poet of the people in his home area, Upper Austria (see Tatzreiter, 1996). As a Benedictine monk, Lindemayr was not necessarily in favour of the language reform as it had a Protestant flavour to it. Lindemayr's dislike of the North and Central German prestige variety can be seen from his comments about his grudging acceptance of the German grammatical rules. It would appear that in speech he consistently adhered to spoken Austrian usage (see Wiesinger, 2000, p. 530). Lindemayr's opinion on the imposed variety suggests that his dialectal texts are fairly authentic.

The dialect poetry corpus under investigation does not only contain poems by Maurus Lindemayr, but some of the poems were written by his brother Peter Gottlieb Lindemayr, who was employed as a city clerk in Lambach. This dialect poetry was investigated with a view to finding instances of the use of the subjunctive, of whatever form. In fact, the dialect poetry corpus (Lindemayr, 1875, pp. 265–359) contains 23 regional synthetic past subjunctive forms, some of which are illustrated in examples (10) and (11) below:

- (10) Und 's Tueh, dös kain Stempel nöt trait, Is schölmisch und zrissátást d'Goschen, Má nihmt dá's; du wirst ga nöt gfrait.
(M. Lindemayr 1723–1783)

[... is mischievous and *tore* the mouth (= gossip a lot) ...]

- (11) Wann I no bimföst in Födábött *schnaurát*, Müet schan á Brádl in Rahr drinná stehn, Und dáß má 's Fruehstück recht *habát* und *daurát*, Müeten's má kochá nôt z'airá, nôt z'lehn. (M. Lindemayr 1723–1783)

[If I... *would snore*, ...so that...the breakfast... *would taste and last* ...]

The presence of similar (synthetic regional) past subjunctive examples in the standard Austrian written text corpus indicates that these forms were used in speech. All the examples there, except for *bagázát* (word no longer used), can be recognised. Out of the 22 verbs, 19 are weak verbs (*kriegást*, *fürchtát*, *brauchát*, *schauát*, *fürchtát*, *stürmát*, *brauchát*, *gaffát*, *schnaurát*, *daurát*, *suchát*, *sagát*, *zweiflát*, *herát*, *renát*, *setzát*, *kriegát*, *herát*, *váehrát*) and only 3 verbs, namely *zrissátást* (second pers. sing. – zerreißen), *habát* (third pers. sing. – anhalten) and *frössát* (third pers. sing. – fressen), are strong verbs. Once more, examples (10) and (11) would be described as synthetic analogical past subjunctive forms. As regards the results of subjunctive II periphrasis, the dialectal poems only contained 6 *würde-periphrasis* examples, one of which is given in example (12).

- (12) I *hett* á Holz, *wurden* schen Scheitá, Und dient derf i gleiwohl kains schlag. (M. Lindemayr 1723–1783)

[I would have a forest/wood that *would make* good logs, ...]

- (13) Má *thát* si nôt gar lang b'sinná; Dá Herr Pffarrá lögt was an, Is kain Pfaid, sánd Falten drinná, Daß i's halt nôt nenná kan. (M. Lindemayr 1723–1783)

[One *would not reflect* for long; ...]

However, 33 examples of *tun*-periphrasis, as illustrated in (13), occurred in the texts. The preference for the *tun*-periphrasis over the *würde*-periphrasis in spoken language agrees with Mindl's (1924) and Wiesinger's (1989) findings in present-day Austrian dialect. The question then arises whether there were any 'grammatical' past subjunctive forms and, if so, how many of them were used. Note that in some cases a past subjunctive–preterite syncretism can occur, which means that the difference between the subjunctive and the indicative is no longer given by inflectional means. The Lindemayrs used the present perfect more often than the preterite when expressing the past; the past subjunctive–preterite syncretism was thus avoided. However, in cases in which the syncretism occurred, the meaning suggested that the forms

were subjunctives and were therefore included. In Lindemayr's poems I found a total of 103 synthetic past subjunctive forms, out of which 68 were used in third person singular, 23 in first person singular, 8 in third person plural, 3 in second person singular, and 1 in second person plural. Out of 103, as many as 71 past subjunctives were formed with the modal verbs *haben*, *sein*, *können*, *mögen*, *müssen*, *sollen* and *wollen*, which leaves only 32 full-verb past subjunctives. The latter verbs are *kommen*, *gehen*, *geben*, *lassen*, *sehen*, *schmeißen*, *begreifen*, *helfen* and *nehmen*. These 103 past subjunctive forms do not mirror the standard written forms. They vary greatly, and one form is often presented in many different ways, as, for example, *he/she/it would have* occurs as *hett*, *hätt* or *hiet*. All the other past subjunctives in third person singular were found as follows: *wár* (wäre), *kunt/künt* (könnte), *kám* (käme), *mecht/möcht* (möchte), *gieng/gáng* (gienge), *gáb* (gäbe), *müet/müed* (müsse), *ließ* (ließe), *sol(l)t* (sollte), *wollt* (wollte), *sáh* (sähe), *schmiß* (schmisste), *begrif* (begriffe), *hálf* (helfe), *náhm* (nähme). The examples lack the *-e* inflection, and some of the forms seem to differ a fair amount from their grammatical written counterparts.

The more oral types of data (dialect poetry) investigated would suggest that modern Austrian dialect speakers are no longer particularly comfortable with synthetic past subjunctive forms. They are often avoided, either by simply adding an */at/* suffix or by paraphrasing with *tun* and sometimes *würde*. To resolve the question of why there is an increasing use of the *würde*-periphrasis of subjunctive II in place of the synthetic 'past subjunctive' in Austria, the observations so far indicate that the avoidance of the correct forms in spoken language might have affected the written language. Before offering a solution, we can investigate whether eighteenth-century grammarians had anything to say about the periphrasis issue.

3.2.2 *Meta-linguistic comments by grammarians and prescriptivists*

As argued in Chapter 4, grammarians who influenced the Austrian language reform can be divided into two groups: (a) German grammarians, whose prescriptive grammars were imported into or reprinted in Austria, and (b) Austrian grammarians, who were familiar with language use, both written and spoken, in the Habsburg Empire. The German grammarians described and also prescribed a North and Central German prestige variety, which was the variety Austrian grammarians were also aiming for. However, it is likely that the latter grammarians were also descriptive to a certain extent, which means that they observed the language use in the Habsburg Empire and commented on the language

features in their grammars. The statements on the subjunctive mood and its periphrasis, which have already been treated in Chapter 4, will again be taken up and related to the results of the usage corpus study. The first grammarian to comment was the Austrian Antesperg, who made the following remark after exemplifying the past tense in German:

Dass alle Verba, welche das Imperfectum nicht also in *ete, etest, ete*, zc. formiren, irregularia seyen, Z.E. *ich kam* veniebam, *ich fiel* cadebam, *ich ließ* sinebam, &c. von Verbis *kommen, fallen, lassen*: Dann man kan nicht sagen, *ich kommete, ich fallete, ich lassete*, zc. ohne einen groben Schnitzer wider die deutsche Grammatick hervorzubringen.

(Antesperg, 1747, p. 97)

[So that all verbs that do not form the past tense with *ete, etest, ete, etc.* are irregular, for example, *I came* veniebam, *I fell* cadebam, *I permitted* sinebam, &c. from the verbs *come, fall, permit*: Then one cannot say, *I came* [*ich kommete*], *I fell* [*ich fallete*], *I permitted* [*ich lassete*], etc. without committing a serious solecism against German grammar.]

The verb forms Antesperg objects to look very familiar, and although he describes them here as wrong alternative forms of the past tense, the corpus data show that these forms were also used for the synthetic past subjunctive. Since it is recorded that Antesperg's grammar was read by the German language authority Johann Christoph Gottsched before it was published, it can be inferred that some of Antesperg's remarks were influenced by Gottsched (see Brekle *et al.*, 1992, p. 81). This conclusion is based upon the fact that Antesperg seems to accept Austrian subjunctive forms as alternative forms when listing the conjugations of 213 'ungleichfließende' (strong) verbs in the same grammar (see Chapter 4, Section 3.2). This list suggests that the synthetic regional past subjunctive forms, although considered incorrect, were widely used in spoken Austrian as well as in written texts during the eighteenth century. It would appear that Antesperg was unaware that these forms were dialectal, or that he might actually consider them acceptable.

Popowitsch (1754a), another Austrian grammarian, states that Austrians were unsure concerning the usage of the strong preterite, which of course also affected the past subjunctive (see Wiesinger, 1999, p. 218). This suggests that 'Präteritumschwund' (loss of simple past tense forms) has already occurred, as suggested by Guchmann and Semenjuk who noticed this phenomenon in the southern German area

in the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century (see Guchmann and Semenjuk, 1981, p. 256; cf. Helmsdörfer, 1908, in Chapter 4, Section 5).⁷ Popowitsch's grammar as well as all the other grammars I looked at, namely Adelung (1781, 1782), Bob (1771, 1780), Felbiger (1774, 1779), Gerlach (1758) and Weitenauer (1774), presented examples containing the *würde*-periphrasis, but no other grammarians remarked on the regional subjunctive forms.

The journal *Jugendfrüchte des K.K. Theresianum* (1772) contains a treatise by Paul Grafes Amor von Soria on the main mistakes of Austrian dialect, in which the following is stated:

Fünftens werden die unrichtigen Zeitwörter in der kaum vergangenen Zeit oft wie richtig ausgedrückt. Wie niedlich lautet es, wenn man zuweilen höret: Wenn Sie auf die Nacht nicht so viel esseten, so schlafeten sie besser. Wo doch äßen, und schliefen seyn sollte.

(von Soria, 1772, pp. 231–232)

[Fifth, the irregular verbs are in the past tense often formed in a regular way. How cute it sounds, when one sometimes hears, if you ate not (*nicht... esseten*) so much in the evening, you would sleep (*schlafeten*) better. Where ate (*äßen*) and slept (*schliefen*) it should be.]

This quotation shows that von Soria considered the past subjunctive to be used incorrectly in spoken language. Grammarians and other Austrian prescriptivists appeared to be aware of the 'incorrect' use and even made attempts to correct it in their efforts to also speak and write 'the best dialect'.

3.3 The language situation in eighteenth-century Austria – a bi-polarity model

It is now possible to combine the evidence, and an answer to why the *würde*-periphrasis is so popular in Austrian German will be provided. The main reason for the *würde*-periphrasis lies in the Austrian language situation in the eighteenth century, with a primary dialect and a prestige variety. As the corpus data show, the forms of the past subjunctive are very different in spoken and written language. The forms used in spoken language are dissimilar to the grammatical past subjunctive forms, which are based on the synthetic past indicative forms. However, the data from dialect poetry show that Austrians seem to feel uncomfortable with synthetic past indicative forms, which was also claimed by

Popowitsch (1754). This is not only the case with the subjunctive data, but it can also be deduced from the preference for the present perfect at the expense of the past indicative, as illustrated by the use of *habe gegessen* (have eaten) rather than *aß* (ate). Since Austrians avoid the past indicative forms in spoken language, it will be difficult for them to retrieve a verb form that is rarely used when they are writing. As using the regional synthetic subjunctive forms in writing is regarded as non-standard, the only possible preterite avoidance strategy is to paraphrase. Since the auxiliary *tun*-construction is stigmatised in writing (see Langer, 2001, for a diachronic study that traces the stigmatisation of auxiliary *tun*), the *würde*-periphrasis is a possible alternative. The latter periphrasis was mainly used in conditional sentences at first, from where it spread into other subjunctive contexts.

A few remarks ought to be made on the seven examples that started off the discussion on the regional past subjunctive forms. Examples (4) and (5) were found in the 1765 sermon that Peter Wiesinger (1999) analysed with regard to the typesetters. The two examples were on the sheet set by the more conservative typesetter. Examples (3)–(5) can be interpreted as uncertainties in the transitional phase of the language reform. As regards the 1781 examples, I came across them in three advertisements on house liability in an issue of the *Wiener Zeitung*. Since these were the only non-standard examples in the whole newspaper, it might be deduced that the typesetters or proof readers did not correct adverts but adopted the original item. The fact that hardly any ungrammatical subjunctives occurred in the written Austrian corpus can probably be explained by the interference of the typesetters and proof readers, who tried to adhere to the imposed prestige standard as closely as possible.

Figure 5.2 shows an attempt to depict what the language situation was like in eighteenth-century Austria.⁸ It consists of two opposing horizontal bars, one representing the spoken dialect and the other representing the written prestige standard, which is closer to Gottsched's norm. In between the two levels, closer to the prestige standard, are two almost parallel, rising trend lines. The lower trend line is labelled 'manuscript' for original manuscript; the higher trend line, which is fairly close to the prestige standard bar is labelled 'print' for actual printed text. The model shows that there are various levels between the spoken and written variety in Austria. These levels are affected by both opposing poles, as was the case with the past subjunctive. The interference of the dialect led to the use of an alternative form, which was, although less prestigious, accepted by the prestige variety. The model is an extremely

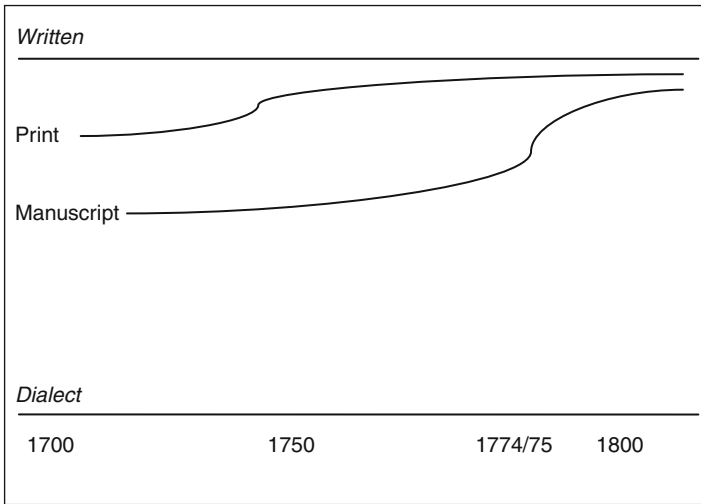


Figure 5.2 A bi-polarity model

simplified representation of the language situation, as we are not dealing with distinct varieties in the variety space between the two poles but a continuum,⁹ and this is difficult to depict in a chart.

4 Conclusion

This chapter set out with the aim to resolve how the subjunctive developed in different varieties of German over the time span 1650–1800. Moreover, I focussed on two issues concerning the Austrian subjunctive mood in the eighteenth century, namely, (a) the controversy over the increasing use of the *würde*-periphrasis of subjunctive II in place of the synthetic past subjunctive forms; and (b) the role dialectal forms, as implied by Antesperg (1747) and Gottsched (1749, 1762), played in the development of the Austrian subjunctive. I thus also tried to find out whether eighteenth-century German and Austrian grammarians influenced subjunctive usage in Austria.

It would seem that the external norm was successfully imposed on Austria in that regional peculiarities were eliminated. Unlike English, this did not lead to an increase in the use of the subjunctive. After all, the mood was in common use in Austria. Instead, the prescriptions

increased a certain insecurity in subjunctive usage, which favoured the (from a German viewpoint) overuse of the *würde*-periphrasis in subjunctive II contexts. I suggested that the *würde*-periphrasis was a strategy to avoid use of the preterite from which the synthetic subjunctive is formed. This was due to dialect speakers' unfamiliarity with the form, as it was and still is rarely used in spoken language.

6

Standardisation Processes in England and the German-Speaking Areas

1 Introduction

Chapters 2–5 were largely concerned with the question of whether eighteenth-century prescriptivism exercised an influence on actual language usage, which I investigated by analysing precept corpora and tracing the development of inflectional subjunctive usage in English and German. By adapting the approach used by Konopka (1996), I was able to show the impact of grammarians' rules on actual language usage and identify similarities and differences between the accounts of the subjunctive in English and German grammars. We saw that the subjunctive in the two languages is characterised by different kinds of language usage. Several English grammarians associated the inflectional subjunctive with 'polite' language usage, which suggests that the subjunctive was more likely to be used in more formal genres and also that it became a social shibboleth. In German, on the other hand, the grammarians make reference to a dialectal subjunctive form that ought to be avoided but appears to have influenced the development of the subjunctive. In English we are therefore dealing with the subjunctive as a polite language marker, whereas it may be described as a dialect marker in German and in particular in Austrian German. These differences between the accounts of the subjunctive in English and German grammars turn out to have affected the development of the inflectional subjunctive in the respective languages. What we were unable to explore within the framework of Konopka's method was the question of why the subjunctive was associated with different kinds of language usage in the two languages. To find out we need to focus on the socio-political context and the standardisation processes that took place in both languages. As Joseph (1987) rightly claims, '[t]he interaction of power, language,

and reflections on language, inextricably bound up with one another in human history, largely defines language standardization' (Joseph, 1987, p. 43). This suggests that a knowledge of the socio-political context as well as an awareness of language change in the country in which language standardisation takes place is essential to understand the initial motives for standardisation and the processes involved.

In this chapter we will therefore take a step back from the precept and usage corpora and put the development of the inflectional subjunctive in English and German into the larger picture of language standardisation. I will be concerned with the reconstruction of the standardisation processes in England and Germany/Austria in the eighteenth century and earlier centuries for the coherence of the accounts. The GerManC corpus study did not reveal many results due to the size of the corpus at this stage whereas the Austrian corpus study was successful in shedding light on the use and the development of the German subjunctive – therefore, the standardisation history of German will be particularly concerned with the processes that occurred in Austria. Haugen's four-step concept of standardisation, which has been dealt with in the Introduction (Chapter 1, Section 3) to this book, may serve as a model for the portrayal and comparison of the standardisation process in both languages. The four stages of the model will be discussed individually in both languages and then compared. In the end, the findings of the comparative standardology study will be related to the development of the inflectional subjunctive.

Before describing and comparing the standardisation accounts in English and German, I will outline the four stages of Haugen's standardisation model. In the first stage of Haugen's model, *selection of norm*, an existing regional or social variety is, consciously or subconsciously, 'selected' by an influential social group. This process of norm selection is strongly linked to evaluations of language varieties; the selection process can be carried out by labelling certain varieties as 'bad' language, and subsequently an emerging more prestigious variety begins to serve as standard. In the *codification* stage, material is produced which lays down the norms of the standard such as, for instance, grammars and dictionaries. *Elaboration of functions*, as the name of the stage already implies, is concerned with the extension of the functional range of the standard variety. This includes literary language, language of religion, education, the law, and so forth. The ideal goals of a standard language are possibly best summarised by Haugen who stated that 'codification may be defined as *minimal variation in form*, elaboration as *maximal variation in function*' (Haugen, 1966, p. 931). The fourth stage – *acceptance by the*

speech community – may be connected with a feeling of solidarity among the speakers and their notion of a common identity. Language varieties provide group identity on a social and regional level, whereas the standard provides group identity on a larger cultural level; this is usually on a national level. As hinted at earlier, prestige factors play an important role in all standardisation stages.

2 Selection of norm – the situation in England and Austria

It is noteworthy that the application of Haugen's four-step model to the standardisation processes in England as well as in Austria is not always straightforward, as most of the stages overlap. In the Austrian case, however, the greatest part of the development happened in the eighteenth century.

2.1 Selection of norm in England

The Early Modern English period plays an important role with respect to the selection process. In the first half of the fifteenth century a modern standard emerged that started to constitute a linguistic norm for a written supra-regional variety (Görlach, 1999, p. 459). Events that possibly contributed to this selection were the increase of English nationalism (after the war with France from 1417–1421) and the political centralisation. English became accepted in public domains,¹ and the written variety was used for government documents issued by the King's writing offices (Görlach, 1999, p. 459; Nevalainen, 2003, p. 128). The introduction of printing with movable type by Caxton in 1476 encouraged the dissemination of English as a written language.

Samuels (1963) identifies four types of incipient written standard in his work on Middle English dialectology. These are (1) the language associated with the majority of the Wycliffite manuscripts of the second part of the fourteenth century, 'this is a standard literary language based on the dialects of the Central Midland counties' (Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire) (Samuels, 1963, p. 85); (2) the type that represents a group of texts from the mid-fourteenth century, which exhibits features from texts from London or Essex; (3) the group associated with Chaucer's best manuscripts, the language which is London English of around 1400 (*ibid.*, p. 88); and (4) the type called 'Chancery Standard', which represents the mass of government documents that emerged around 1430. It may be noticed that types (2)–(4) represent varieties of London English. As regards the variety of English that was selected as a standard, linguists' views differ. Leith (1987, p. 311, 1997,

p. 39) claims that the variety that came to be regarded as the standard was the South-East Midland dialect of the merchant class based in London. Barber states that the 'new literary standard was based on the ME dialect of the East Midlands, which by now had become the form of English used in the court and the capital' (Barber, 1976, p. 24). A point Leith and Barber agree on is that the selected standard was based on the East Midland dialect and used in the capital, London. A somewhat different account is provided by Blake (1996, pp. 172–173), who argues that the standard variety, which was constructed in the fifteenth century, is the so-called Chancery Standard. Other explanations that are often put forward consider standard English either to be based on the speech of educated speakers from the Oxford, Cambridge and London triangle or to have come into existence 'naturally' (Wright, 2000, p. 1).² Since most of the accounts do not clearly differentiate between spoken and written language and are therefore partly contradictory, research into the topic of standardisation has been resumed by taking different factors into consideration.

The conventional explanation of describing the standardisation process is still the 'Chancery Standard' explanation (written standard), which was East Midland-based in the fifteenth century (Nevalainen, 2003, p. 133). Blake claims that the immigration pattern into London with a change from a predominantly East Anglian to Central Midland origin cannot be regarded as 'a determining factor in the formation of the Chancery Standard'. Although so-called proto-standards did exist in London before the Chancery Standard, there was no standard language as such. It is argued that the rise of the Chancery Standard as the accepted English standard was influenced by the Lancastrian monarchy and Henry V in particular. In the fourteenth century, English was the language primarily spoken, whereas French and Latin were mainly used in writing. Latin was the spoken language of the Church, and French was the language of the Court. Gradually writing in English became more common, which contributed to the formation of standardised varieties. Official records were still composed in French or Latin, but this situation started to change when Henry V ascended the throne in 1413. During his second war against France in 1417, Henry V used English for all the letters he sent to England. Also, the series of signet letters (produced by the Signet Office), which reported the progress of the war to the mayor and aldermen of London, were written in English (Blake, 1996, pp. 174–182; Nevalainen, 2003, p. 132). The war against France certainly contributed to the increase of English nationalism, which was also reflected by the language used for written

records. It may be argued that the choice of using English as an official written language and of the form of English established as a standard was due to the impetus of Henry V. The choice of a standard variety was closely linked to political centralisation, as the chosen variety also represents the interests of the nation. The standardised spelling of the Signet Office was adopted by the Chancery,³ the secretariat of the state. Documents issued by the Chancery, which had legal status and thus very high prestige, were sent to all parts of the country; this certainly promoted the spread of the written standard throughout England.

A factor that encouraged the dissemination of English as a written standard was the introduction of printing with movable type by William Caxton in 1476. Caxton claimed to have based the variety he printed on Chaucer's language; however, he allegedly used a Chancery English version (see Fox, 2000, p. 53). Chancery English, which was gradually adopted by other writers, eventually superseded Latin and French in many domains. In the law and statutes, French texts were printed until the sixteenth century. As for spoken French, it was merely learned as a foreign language in the form spoken in France (see Blake, 1996, p. 181). The spoken variety of Latin, namely Vulgar Latin, gradually decreased, the reason for which was not the rise of English as a spoken language but the rise of humanism – the re-establishment of Latin of the classics. The scholars disapproved of Vulgar Latin and promoted Classical Latin, which continued to be the language of international scholarship. Vulgar Latin lost ground to English on a spoken level by around 1500 (*cf.* Blake, 1996, p. 182; Görlach, 1990a, p. 12).

It may be assumed that English would have been able to develop and be recognised as the written and spoken standard by now. However, this development was hampered by comparisons with the fashionable literary language French and the dead language Latin, which were considered to be far more elegant and refined. These complaints started as early as the fifteenth century and largely concerned the written style of English. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, English was more highly approved of due to outstanding literary work by Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower, Sidney and Spenser. The translations of the Bible in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries also contributed to the acceptability of English. Comparisons with Latin were still being made, particularly with regard to poetry. Consequently, handbooks of rhetoric were produced in order 'to provide rules and examples for English poets to create a high style' (Blake, 1996, p. 194; also see Adamson, 1999, p. 596).

Another dispute aimed at the vocabulary and how it could be enlarged. This need was satisfied by borrowing words from Greek and in particular from Latin that expressed technical concepts in English. In the case of vocabulary, which ‘found its way into English by 1900’, Bradley remarks that ‘Latinized English could provide a complete alternative language’ (Bradley, 1904, p. 63 as quoted in Adamson, 1989, p. 204). Adamson (1989) used the concept of *diglossia*⁴ to provide a new understanding of the historical creation of a double lexicon in English, which was due to Latinisation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (for details on lexical borrowing from Latin, see Nevalainen, 1999, pp. 364–367). Adamson points out that Ferguson originally favoured the terms ‘the Classical’ for ‘H’ and ‘the Colloquial’ for ‘L’ or the German terms *Schriftsprache* (H) and *Volkssprache* (L). Adamson argues that these terms are more appropriate as they emphasise the fact that ‘H’ is mainly a literary language, in both form and function (Adamson, 1989, p. 205). Diglossia is characterised by the existence of a dual standard, that is, spoken and written norms. Although the two norms should ideally be ‘in a relationship of complementary distribution’, the bipolarity can imply a competition, which then affects both standards. Adamson claims that a similar process occurred in the history of English which started out in the seventeenth century when a *literary* standard was consciously created. This creation sets apart literary and colloquial norms. Throughout the standardisation process in England, French and Latin were gradually replaced by English, which took over in official functions. There is an interesting development: on the one hand, Latin transferred its functions to English in the Renaissance period, but on the other hand, the Latinisation of English forms took place. Adamson describes this situation as a ‘paradoxical conjunction [...] of a desire to enshrine the classics as a repository of cultural values and literary models with the desire to promote the cause of the national vernacular’ (Adamson, 1989, p. 207). The Latinisation process refers to enrichment with regard to the lexicon. This is laid down in seventeenth-century monolingual dictionaries, which were aimed at a group of people who wish ‘to be fully literate’ (Adamson, 1989, p. 209). The influx of Latin vocabulary ultimately led to the emergence of an English variety that can be described as H in Ferguson’s diglossia terms. The following list applies some of Ferguson’s features that are relevant for the H–L classification. As for H, it is predominantly used in written form; it is considered prestigious since it is associated with the classics and later the neo-classical styles (literary heritage); and it is acquired through education and precept only. As these points already suggest, H differs

strongly from the language of ordinary people (see Adamson, 1989, p. 210). In the eighteenth century this H variety served as the model of polite and correct language usage that prescriptivists and language theoreticians adhered to. The firm adherence to the Classical model, be it the grammatical structure or the striving to perfection, has already been illustrated in this volume, when Johnson's definition of the subjunctive (Chapter 2, Section 4.2) was under discussion. The decline of Latin in favour of English left H as a variety associated with 'the most formal styles of discourse: it has been "frozen" as the language of education and books' (Joos, 1961, as quoted in Adamson, 1989, pp. 212–213). The variation present in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England may therefore be described as functional style variation.

The kind of English used in London and the Home Counties towards the end of the sixteenth century is considered to be the prestigious 'standard' for pronunciation. This source of spoken language was provided by George Puttenham, who commented on it in *The Arte of English Poesie*: 'ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much above' (Puttenham, 1589, p. 121). Puttenham also comments on differences in register by distinguishing between the language of gentlemen and the language of the common people; he suggests the use of the language of the Court, as it is associated with good pronunciation. Furthermore, Puttenham makes a distinction between speech and writing. He seems to accept that people who speak a different dialect are still able to use the standard in writing (Puttenham, 1589).

Some of the factors that contributed to the development and spread of the new standard were 'the rise of a centralistic state, the economic power of London, the prestige of the Court, the emergence of a new bourgeois class, the spread of cheaper paper, and a growing awareness of the value and possibilities of the mother tongue, [...]' (Görlach, 1990b, p. 23).

2.2 Selection of norm in Austria

The standardisation process in Austria was completely different to the situation in England, as it was not the Chancery language used in Austria that developed into the modern standard but the prestige variety from North and Central Germany; it superseded the Austrian written idiom and became accepted as standard in Austria. In the case of English it may be argued that some kind of dialect levelling took place, which resulted in one emerging variety becoming a standard. In Austria, on

the other hand, a superposition situation occurred, defined by Joseph as 'the coexistence of two or more languages of significantly different prestige within a single-speech community' (Joseph, 1987, p. 48). To more suitably describe the situation in Austria, the word 'languages' ought to be replaced by 'varieties'. Superposition situations were usually created through migration, federation, Imperial conquest and border area intercommunication (see Joseph, 1987, p. 49).

By the end of the fifteenth century, five major written varieties had been established in the German-speaking areas. These were Middle Low German, which was the language used by the Hanseatic league; a written language that was solely used in Cologne; West Upper German, that is, the written idiom in Switzerland; East Central German, which is the language associated with Meißen and the Reformation; and finally, East Upper German or *gemeines Teutsch*, that is, the language of the Imperial Chancery and the Counter Reformation (von Polenz, 1994, pp. 171–173). After 1500 the two latter Chancery languages, East Central German and East Upper German, had risen to prominence as they had progressed faster than the other varieties. The East Central German Chancery replaced Middle Low German, the Cologne variety and West Central German in the sixteenth century, and West Upper German adopted the East Upper German Chancery in the seventeenth century (Langer, 2001, pp. 103–107). The language used by Martin Luther was the Common German from the East Central German area. Although Luther was not involved in the initiation of the standardisation process, as frequently claimed, the written idiom he used had a normative power on the grounds that his Bible translation had been disseminated in large areas of Germany, where it enjoyed great popularity (Stedje, 1994, pp. 147–148). Although Luther's language was influential, it had not reached the level of a literary standard by the end of the sixteenth century. The spread of the written idiom did however continue, which led to East Central German being regarded as a prestige variety by the seventeenth century.

The fact that grammarians and other people in the sixteenth century became more aware of and showed greater interest in the status of the language and its grammatical design contributed to the ascertaining of one standard variety. The standard was then largely based on East Central German 'and influenced by the desire to copy certain linguistic models' as, for example, *Meißnisch*, Luther's language, and Opitz's⁵ poetic language (1624) (Langer, 2001, p. 106). The codification of the prestige variety in grammars and dictionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be regarded as one of the final stages in the

standardisation process, which is generally agreed to have ended in the eighteenth century (Kriegesmann, 1990, p. 279).

The two Chancery languages East Central German and East Upper German had achieved a prominent status after 1500. A brief account of the development of the East Central German variety and its gain in prestige will be provided before discussing what happened to the other established Chancery language, the written idiom used in Habsburg Austria. The reason for providing a more detailed account of the development of the prestige variety is that it eventually superposed the East Upper German variety used in Austria. The following account will therefore contribute to a better understanding of why the Austrian written form did not evolve into a standard.

2.2.1 *The emergence of standard German*

The German standard is today a well-defined and clearly codified variety. However, its development is generally regarded as the most controversial topic in the historiography of the German language (Penzl, 1986, p. 165). One reason for the disagreement between scholars is the difficulty of weighting the great number of individual factors involved in the development of the language (Langer, 2001, p. 99).

The earliest accounts of the emergence of standard German by Raumer (1894) and Müllenhoff (1863) maintained that the starting point of German standardisation could be found at Charlemagne's Court in the ninth century. The establishment of a German prestige variety was thus considered to have started with the German variety (Franconian) used at the Carolingian Court. The next stage in this linear development is 'the *höfische Dichtersprache* of South West German (Alemannic, Swabian: *Staufer*) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', which is continued by 'the *gemeine Teütsch* of South East German (East Upper German: identified with the *Wettiner, Luxemburger, Habsburger*) of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries'. The final stage is considered to be '[*m*]eißnisch of East Central German (East Central German, Saxon: associated with the *sächsische Kanzlei* [Saxon Chancery], Luther) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' (Langer, 2001, p. 100; see also Hartweg & Wegera, 1989, p. 37). The accounts made by Raumer and Müllenhoff were rejected by linguists in the twentieth century on the grounds that the pluricentricity of the development of the language was underrated, and the socio-economic and political prerequisites for the emergence of a standard variety were misjudged (Hartweg & Wegera, 1989, p. 37).

Other models attempting to explain the emergence and development of standard German were proposed by Burdach (1884), who regarded the

Chancery language in Prague in the fourteenth century as the starting point of the standard, and Frings, who considered the basis to be spoken German by people from Northern, Southern and Central Germany who settled in what is now known as Upper Saxony from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. A detailed discussion of these early and rejected models explaining the emergence of standard German can be found in Hartweg and Wegera (1989, pp. 36–43) and Kriegesmann (1990).

More recent approaches by for instance Guchmann (1964, 1969) and Besch (1967) attempting to clarify the controversy regarding the development of standard German contributed to a change of method. The assumption of linear continuity and one particular linguistic area as a starting point of the process was played down in favour of emphasis on a polygenetic origin of the German standard (Hartweg and Wegera, 1989, p. 44; von Polenz, 2000, p. 160; Kriegesmann, 1990, p. 277). The standard is thus 'based on various supraregional written idioms in several' linguistic areas (*Sprachlandschaften*), which were 'first identified in the late fourteenth century' (Langer, 2001, p. 106). Processes of alignment (*Angleichungsprozesse*: see Kriegesmann, 1990, p. 223) and levelling (*Ausgleichsprozesse*: see Takada, 1998, p. 1) are considered to have gradually eliminated different varieties until one variety, which is regarded as standard, remained. It is generally agreed that a number of factors were involved in this standardisation process. The most influential factors up to around 1650 are considered to be the increase of correspondence, the introduction of the printing press, the reputation of Luther's language, the expansion of the school system and the importance of certain cultural centres such as major scriptoria and chanceries (Takada, 1998, p. 1; Langer, 2001, p. 102).

2.2.2 *The standardisation process in Austria*

During the reign of the Emperor Maximilian I, that is, 1493–1519, the Chancery language⁶ gained a high reputation, which was still upheld during Luther's lifetime. The Emperor was considered a patron of culture, who had Classical texts translated into East Upper German and medieval heroic poetry recorded (Kluge, 1918, pp. 26–38). The Chancery language introduced by the Emperor Maximilian I served as the basis for a language variety that had been established in Austria by 1700. This variety had a certain prestige and the potential to develop further as a 'standard language' in the modern sense; however, this was not to be the case.

Eighteenth-century Austria was a multinational Empire ruled by the Habsburg dynasty, in particular Maria Theresia (1740–1780) and her

son Joseph II (1780–1790), in which various languages were spoken. Although a large number of languages and dialects were used in the Austrian territories,⁷ a language variety had been established that was associated with the political, administrative, commercial and academic centre Vienna; this existing written idiom was East Upper German.

With regard to spoken language, the Viennese dialect was a consolidated metropolitan spoken standard, or maybe it should be called a ‘proto-standard’, as it was not really codified. The use of this variety was not restricted to an elite group but spoken by lower classes as well as higher social groups such as the gentry and the bourgeoisie. In 1800 the Benedictine Matthias Höfer described the language situation in Austria as follows:

Die Sprache an sich selbst betrachtet, richtet sich nach der Verschiedenheit des Standes. Gleichwie die Art, sich zu kleiden, nach dem Ausdrücke des Pöbels, dreyfach ist: 1) städterisch oder herrisch; 2) markisch, wie es unter gemeinen Bürgern in den Marktfecken üblich ist; und 3) bäurisch. Eben so verhält es sich auch mit der Art und Weise, im Reden sich auszudrücken.

(Höfer, 1800, p. 56 as quoted in Wiesinger, 1995, p. 325)

[The language, on closer examination, depends on the difference of status (class). Like different ways of dress, there are three kinds of dialect (as the mob expresses it): 1) metropolitan and aristocratic; 2) a dialect used by the common citizen in small towns; and 3) rural dialect [which equals unschooled and lower class]. This is also the way in which speech is expressed.]

According to Höfer, three kinds of dialect can be distinguished in eighteenth-century Austria: a metropolitan and aristocratic dialect,⁸ a dialect used in small towns, and a rural dialect. This threefold differentiation not only sheds light on different kinds of dialect used at the end of the eighteenth century but also provides some insight into the class system and different degrees of prestige associated with the respective dialects.⁹ The metropolitan dialect refers to the speech of the upper class of gentlemen. The ‘markisch’ dialect is used by common citizens – middle class – who live in small towns. The final and lowest dialect described by Höfer is a basic dialect used by farmers and uneducated people in the country.

Höfer’s description of the Austrian spoken language situation is rather similar to Puttenham’s 1589 account of a prestigious English

pronunciation. Puttenham, whose aim was to give advice to poets, differentiates between the language of the gentlemen and the language of the common people. Moreover, Höfer and Puttenham agree that the most prestigious speech is the one of the capital, London and Vienna, where the Court resides. It is recorded that the Empress Maria Theresia spoke Viennese dialect with her family and employees, except for her husband Francis Stephen of Lorraine with whom she conversed in French. Rather than using a standard form of German, the gentry was more interested in learning foreign languages such as French, Spanish and Italian. French was used in diplomacy, for intellectually stimulating conversation and for literature, and Spanish was sometimes spoken at the Court in order to maintain the tradition of the Emperor Charles VI.¹⁰ Italian was the language of music and the opera, and Latin was used by university scholars.¹¹ The Viennese dialect was cultivated by gentlemen of the upper class and can be distinguished from rural dialects with respect to phonetics and morphology. A kind of standard pronunciation did exist in Austria, namely a reading pronunciation, which was based on the Upper German written standard. This language was used by the Empress when giving speeches and at public sittings and by the common people in church for praying, singing and reading (Wiesinger, 1995, pp. 325–329).

Unlike England and Germany, a history of literature with ‘great’ authors did not exist in Austria. As mentioned earlier, the educated upper classes were fond of French literature, and an East Upper German literature never had the chance to evolve. Since the Counter-Reformation, the Catholic Jesuit Order was in charge of the education system and literature in Austria,¹² which became liable to censorship.¹³ Established literature from Protestant Northern and Central Germany was considered heretical and was banned.¹⁴ Only after the expulsion of the Jesuit Order in 1773 did masses of Enlightenment literature flood into Austria. Despite the lack of a national literature, it can be argued that other conditions for a naturally evolving written standard were largely in place (Wiesinger, 1995). Nevertheless, the Austrian variety did not gain acceptance. With respect to literature in Austria, drama played an important role also throughout the eighteenth century. The texts of school and university dramas, which played a central role in the educational programmes of the teaching orders (Jesuits, Benedictines, Piarists), ‘were usually stripped-down and straightforward Latin, but broadly reinforced by spectacular visual and aural effects’ (Fichtner, 2003, p. 143).

The leading intellectual circle surrounding Maria Theresia saw the neglect of a cultivated language as a reason for the relative lack of cultural achievement and impact in Austria compared to East Central German and North German areas. The belief was conveyed by the Enlightenment that a controlled, refined language would cultivate reasoning and thus be the condition for achievements in all fields of knowledge for the benefit of the common good. These reasons induced the Empress to start a language reform in Austria, which stretched over the second half of the eighteenth century. Wiesinger (see 1995, p. 321) argues that two events triggered off the interest in language in Austria after 1730. On the one hand, Protestant scholars from Southern Germany, who were in touch with the enlightened Protestant culture in Central Germany, started criticising the different language situation of South-German Catholics. This was then firmly in the hands of the Jesuits as the Order was in charge of the education system and literature in Austria. On the other hand, individual Austrian scholars who were interested in the active cultural and literary events taking place in Central Germany took notice of the literary and linguistic critic Johann Christoph Gottsched from Leipzig. Gottsched and his linguistically critical works had a determining influence on the Austrian efforts for the German language from 1740 to 1760 (see for instance Chapter 4, Section 3.2). The preoccupation with the German language and literature involved the reception of the ideas of the Enlightenment. It may be argued that the language reform in Austria went hand in hand with the Enlightenment. It must be pointed out that the Enlightenment only affected a small elite in the Habsburg Empire, namely the emergent bureaucracy and the supra-national army rather than the bourgeoisie that supported Maria Theresia with her reforms. This elite was not so much concerned with political and economic theories but problems of religion, education and national culture (Bérenger, 1997, p. 68).

I will be concerned with the Austrian written proto-standard before discussing the individual stages of the language reform. Wiesinger (1995, pp. 348–350) has compiled a list of ‘mistakes’ from a range of eighteenth-century texts in which the authors remarked on or even used ‘peculiar’ forms; he organised his findings according to grammatical categories and terms used nowadays. The peculiarities and deficiencies of the Austrian written form, as so considered by eighteenth-century prescriptivists, are not so much connected with clumsy expressions but with the grammar of the variety. The forms can be traced back to (1) the

obsolete written tradition, or (2) the influence of the spoken language on written forms.

1. 'Mistakes' (a contemporary judgement) due to the obsolete written tradition are

- a) the use of extended forms of article instead of the simple plural in genitive and dative as, for example, in *die Schriften derer/der Meister; bei denen/den Waaren, welche zu Land gefrachtet werden*
- b) the use of the strong inflected adjective after the definite article instead of the weak inflection in nominative and accusative plurals as, for example, in *die zweifelhafte/zweifelhaften Aussprüche, die gegebene/gegebenen Befehle*
- c) the use of the weak inflected adjective instead of the strong one in the plural form of address as, for example, in *Lieben Brüder/Liebe Brüder, Glücklichen Kinder/Glückliche Kinder!*
- d) the use of a superfluous *-e* when forming the plural of substantives ending in *-er* as, for example, in *die Vertreter, die Vormünder* instead of *die Vertreter, die Vormünder*. The surplus *-e* was also used with articles and personal pronouns such as *deme, ihme, ihne* instead of *dem, ihm, ihn*.
- e) Confusion of the prepositions *vor* and *für* as, for example, in *er hat es vor/für mich gethan, er gehet für/vor die Thüre*. The confusion also affected the formation of words with prefixes such as *Fürsorge* instead of *Vorsorge*, *vorladen* instead of *fürladen*.
- f) the use of the present participle instead of the past participle as, for example, in *ihnen mittheilende Umstände* instead of *ihnen mitgetheilte Umstände*, as well as the required use of *zu* with the present participle when used as gerund as, for example, in *die zu beweisende Richtigkeit* instead of *die beweisende Richtigkeit*.

2. The second list consists of 'bad' features based on the influence of spoken language and in particular the use of dialect. These are

- a) the non-use of *-e* in the feminine singular such as *die Seel* instead of *die Seele*, in the nominative singular of the weak masculine nouns (which was still taught as the appropriate form by Bob in 1780) as, for example, in *der Both* instead of *der Bothe*, and in the strong nominative and accusative plural of masculine and feminine nouns such as in *die Fisch, die Nächt* instead of *die Fische, die Nächte*

- b) the non-use of *-e* with verbs with stem-closing *-s* in second person singular present tense as, for example, in *du ißt, du läßt* instead of the correct (standard) forms *du issest, du lässest*
- c) differing gender use with nouns such as *das* instead of *der* *Gesang*
- d) The confusion of dative and accusative with masculine definite articles and personal pronouns as, for example, in *ich habe dem/den Mann gesehen, ich habe ihm/ihn gesehen*
- e) the use of *ihm* as a reflexive pronoun in third person masculine instead of *sich* as, for example, in *er hat ihm/sich Schaden gethan*
- f) the use of the preposition *ohne* with the dative instead of the accusative case as, for example, in *ohne mir* instead of *ohne mich, ohne allem/allen Nutzen*
- g) the use of *wie* as a comparative particle instead of *als* as, for example, in *größer wie/als der andere*
- h) the use of the conjunctions *wann* and *dann* instead of *wenn* and *denn* as, for example, in *wann/wenn man sie mit harter Mühe versteht, dann/denn es ist nicht wenig zu betauren*
- i) the contraction of preposition and article such as *vom Lande* instead of *von dem Lande, zum Kinde* instead of *zu dem Kinde*
- j) the usually necessary use of the prefix *ge-* as in *geworden*, however not in conjunction with the already prefixed past participle as, for example, in *er ist geliebt worden, es ist verkauft worden* instead of *er ist geliebt geworden, es ist verkauft geworden*
- k) the formation of the pluperfect with *habe gehabt* instead of *hatte* as, for example in *ich habe geschrieben gehabt* instead of *ich hatte geschrieben*
- l) the periphrasis of the past subjunctive of strong verbs with *würde* instead of using the synthetic forms as, for example, in *würde er sich entschließen* statt *entschlösse er sich*; it ought to be noted that the majority of people probably did not know the synthetic forms
- m) the unnecessary use of the reinforcing particle *halt* such as *er ist (halt) mein Bruder*¹⁵
- n) the use of oral (dialectal) forms of adverbs of place as, for example, in *geh rein* oder *geh eini* instead of *geh hinein, nacher Frankfurt* (Antesperg) instead of *nach Frankfurt*¹⁵ (Wiesinger, 1995, pp. 348–350)

Having looked at a range of Austrian forms that were considered responsible for the poor linguistic standard, as contemporaneously perceived, I need to make two observations. First, these Austrian forms were all mentioned in texts of eighteenth-century grammarians or writers. This

shows that there was, as in England, a complaint tradition in Austria (for the complaint tradition in England see Section 3.1), which suggests that the language theoreticians must have already orientated themselves towards the prestigious East Central and North German variety. In connection with the development of the inflectional subjunctive in German, von Soria (1772) had already noticed in the eighteenth century that the periphrastic form *würde* was increasingly used in place of the synthetic subjunctive form.

2.3 Selection of norm – a comparison

The selection of a standard variety took place in different periods in England and in Austria: In England a modern standard emerged during the first half of the fifteenth century and the process lasted for approximately four centuries (from the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries to the eighteenth century). Irregularities in the language were improved and codified by individual, educated people who acted as authorities. However, in Austria the Upper German written standard was in its development superseded by a closely related language of higher prestige – a standard written language as it had emerged in Central and North Germany. Even though this written standard was first identified in the sixteenth century, it was only selected as a norm in Austria in the eighteenth century. The language reform in Austria therefore took place in a briefer period, namely the second part of the eighteenth century. The language development in Austria was controlled by the Empress Maria Theresia, who invited or appointed influential people to authoritative positions of language reform. The difference in development can be accounted for by the difference in cultural forces involved, that is, literary, religious, political and social factors, which will be compared to the English situation in Section 5.3.

As discussed in Section 2.1, events that might have been conducive to the selection of the English standard are the increase in English nationalism and the political centralisation, which also involved the introduction and acceptance of English in public domains. In the Austrian case, the interest in and finally the adoption of the prestige variety had to do with the criticism of the different language situation in South German areas by Protestant scholars from the South (see Section 2.2.2). At the same time Austrian scholars took notice of Johann Christoph Gottsched, a German literary and linguistic critic, who had the status of a language authority in North and Central Germany. His critical

linguistic works turned out to have an important influence on the standardisation process in Austria (see Section 3.2.).

3 Codification of form – the situation in England and Austria

3.1 Codification of form in England

The codification stage, in which rules on how to use language the correct way were laid down in grammars and dictionaries, started at the beginning of the sixteenth century and reached its climax in the eighteenth century. In England the variety that had been established by the eighteenth century was the polite language of gentlemen, a taught standard ‘associated with a certain level of education and social position’ (Blake, 1996, p. 240). This standard was associated with the political, commercial and academic centre of London and was thus termed ‘London English’, which was also recognised as the written standard form in eighteenth-century England. It may be argued that the chosen variety is used by a prestige group, where prestige means political or economic power and education. The polite usage of London English was clearly distinct from ordinary or colloquial usage. Since education was essential to acquire polite speech, the lower and uneducated classes were excluded from becoming polite speakers (Görlach, 1999, p. 463).

The proto-standard was no longer associated with the royal Court and thus the language of the royal Chancery. After the death of Queen Anne in 1714, the throne of England passed to the German Hanoverians, who reigned throughout the eighteenth century until 1837. According to Blake (1996, p. 236), ‘George I knew little English when he came to the throne; his son George II was better informed; and his grandson George III suffered from periods of mental instability’. The Hanoverian kings thus did not play a role in the process of language standardisation in eighteenth-century England. This strongly differs from the situation in Austria where the Empress was very much involved in the standardisation process (see this Chapter, Section 3.2).

As mentioned earlier, great writers influenced the process of standardisation. By 1700, a variety of literature existed in English; Chaucer, Spenser, Marlowe and Shakespeare, to name a few ‘great’ authors, had produced popular works. Adamson (1999, p. 539) remarks that ‘the rise of a national standard language in the period 1476–1776 had its literary counterpart in the formation of *a national literature*, embodied in the

works of those whom influential opinion identified as the nation's best authors'. Writers exerted an influence on the growth and perfection of literary English. Then again, the prestige of literary English supported the use of the written standard. As will be seen later (see Section 5.3), the role of literary language in Austria was very different.

The next topic to be discussed concerns codification and prescriptivism. Watts (2000, p. 30) claims that the development of a widely accepted 'ideology of prescriptivism' is mirrored in meta-linguistic statements made in works that were published during the eighteenth century. There are two prerequisites for achieving this ideological belief, which are (a) a long history of beliefs about and attitudes towards a language, and (b) a centrally significant social institution that confirms the ideology, as, for instance, public education. In order to reconstruct the ideology of prescriptivism, Watts (2000, pp. 34–35) collected and listed the following myths:¹⁶ (a) language and nationality myth, (b) language variety myth, (c) myth of superiority, (d) myth of the perfect language, (e) golden age myth, and (f) myth of the undesirability of change. The final three myths (d–f) are relevant for the discussion about the influence of the 'best authors' on the standardisation process in the eighteenth century. In order to present English as a superior language, which is associated with the economic and political power of the country, the language must have achieved a state of perfection. This state of perfection can be seen as a so-called golden age, a period that 'writers and speakers should desire to recreate'. Since a perfect language can only pejorate, the aim of language authorities is to prevent any change (Watts, 2000, p. 35). The efforts to achieve the perfect language, admiration for a golden age and attempts to prevent language change are reflected in eighteenth-century works. Hence Johnson describes the English language as 'neglected; suffered to spread, under the direction of chance, into wild exuberance [...]'. Swift expresses his opinion in *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712, 2nd edition):

But what I have most at Heart, is, that some Method should be thought on for *ascertaining* and *fixing* our Language for ever, after such Alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of Opinion, that is better a Language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing; and we must give over at one Time, or at length infallibly change for the worse: [...].

(Swift, 1712, p. 31)

Swift and Johnson are only two examples of eighteenth-century writers who complained about the language. Both agree that the 'golden age' in which the English language was most improved started with the accession to the throne of Queen Elizabeth in 1558. What these eighteenth-century writers aspired to recreate was the practice of writers from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Consequently, Johnson quoted examples of the 'best' writers in his *Dictionary of the English Language* to promote or even 'prescribe' good English.¹⁷ A group of English authors (Dryden, Swift, Addison, Steele, Pope, Lord Chesterfield, Fielding, Johnson, Goldsmith, Gibbon and others) worked in the so-called Neoclassic period (c. 1660 to c. 1780). As the name of the period already implies, these writers greatly admired the work of Classical authors and in particular the Romans. It was believed that the latter had created and perfected the main literary genres for all time; these genres were associated with reason and judgement (Age of Reason) and decorum, which was considered essential.

An important factor for the promotion of the standardisation process in England, which was briefly mentioned in the above discussion, is considered to be the so-called complaint tradition (Milroy & Milroy, 1991, pp. 29ff). The early eighteenth-century London English standard was not codified; the language was more likely to change, and it was difficult to adjudicate what was acceptable. Increasing complaints about language change called for standardisation and a language authority. One possible authority would be an official language academy comparable to the *Académie Française* in France, which was founded in 1635, or the *Accademia della Crusca* in Italy, which was founded in 1582. Compared to continental languages, English seemed 'uncultivated – unpolished, unrefined, unstable, and unregulated' (Finegan, 1998, p. 538). Remarks on the decay of the language were made by literary authorities such as Daniel Defoe, John Dryden, Jonathan Swift, who aimed for the highest, most ideal form of language.¹⁸ This was considered to be the literary language of the greatest earlier writers. Swift's *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) is probably the best-known call for authoritative measures. The much-desired English academy never came into existence, which is why the task of acting as authorities was taken up by individuals. It became the aim of grammarians and writers in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to 'fix' and 'improve' the language, which explains the great number of English grammars and also dictionaries published at the time. The grammarians made attempts to codify the language, which are often referred to as 'prescriptive grammars'. Leonard (1929) characterises a number

of eighteenth-century grammarians such as Johnson, Priestley, Lowth, Murray and Cobbett among others as subscribing to a 'doctrine of correctness', which implies certain usages must either be right or be wrong. Note that Leonard's view has recently been challenged in a special issue of *Historiographia Linguistica* (2006). For detailed accounts of levels of codification (vocabulary, spelling, pronunciation and grammar) in the eighteenth century, see Görlach (1999, pp. 486–527) and Nevalainen (2003, pp. 136–149).

3.2 Codification of form in Austria

It may be argued that the codification stage in Austria started with the publication of Antesperg's and Gottsched's grammars and covered the second part of the eighteenth century. In this section I will look at the steps that were taken in order to purify the language and to make it more prestigious. The different stages of the language reform will be listed in chronological order.

1734: Johann Balthasar von Antesperg's German grammar *Die Kayserliche deutsche Sprachtabelle zur Verbesserung der deutschen Sprache und zum einhellig nutzlichen Gebrauch des ganzen Deutschlands*¹⁹ was published. Being aware of the poor linguistic standards in Austria, the Austrian grammarian Antesperg started a correspondence with Gottsched. It is believed that the latter also corrected Antesperg's grammar *Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatik* (1747); however, a manuscript of the grammar with corrections is yet to be found.

1747: Antesperg's second grammar *Kayserliche Deutsche Grammatik* was published.

1748: Gottsched's *Deutsche Sprachkunst* was first published and his tragedy *Sterbender Cato* (Dying Cato) was performed at the Imperial theatre in Vienna in the presence of the Empress Maria Theresia.

1749: Gottsched and his wife were received by the Empress Maria Theresia at the castle Schönbrunn. At that time the Empress apologised for the poor use of German by the Austrian people.

The Viennese civil servant, poet and journalist Franz Christoph v. Scheyb, who was a Swabian, informed Gottsched in a letter that his grammar was very popular in Austria and helped improve the language.

The Thuringian Friedrich Wilhelm Gerlach started teaching history and the German language at the Ingenieur-Akademie Wien-Gumpendorf.

- 1750: The Thuringian administrative scholar Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, who was befriended by Gottsched, was appointed Professor of German Rhetoric at the Theresian Academy in Vienna, where the young gentry of the monarchy were educated. By order of the Empress, Gottsched's *Sprachkunst* was introduced as the textbook.
- 1751: Censorship imposed by the Jesuit Order was lifted, which made the dissemination of Enlightenment literature in Austria possible; the country was consequently flooded with books (and even pirate editions) from Central and North Germany.
- 1753: The Empress Maria Theresia founded a chair for German at the University of Vienna, to which Popowitsch was appointed Professor of German rhetoric. Popowitsch is a grammarian who could be labelled as 'radical' since he recognised the age and the Germanic affinity between Upper German dialects and defended them against Gottsched's beliefs. Popowitsch supported empirically based studies of the Austrian language variety as opposed to Gottsched whose research was founded on rational speculative principles (von Polenz, 1994, p. 162).
- 1754: Two versions of Popowitsch's grammar *Nothwendigste Anfangsgründe der Teutschen Sprachkunst zum Gebrauche der Österreichischen Schulen* were published.
- 1758: Gerlach's grammar *Kurzgefaßte Deutsche Sprachlehre* was published.
- 1761: The Berliner journalist, theatre critic and administrative scholar Joseph von Sonnenfels and the lawyer Joseph Anton Rieger founded a language society called *Deutsche Gesellschaft* in Vienna, which was based on Gottsched's example.
- In 1763 Sonnenfels was appointed Professor of Law by the Empress. The Viennese Court printer and publisher Johann Thomas (von) Trattner (1717–1798) supported the language reform by printing the 'correct' language and teaching it to the young typesetters.
- 1762: The language teacher Christian Gottlob Klemm, who stemmed from the Saxon Erzgebirge, moved from Frankfurt on Main to Vienna where he worked as proof reader for a publishing company, author and secretary. He founded the first Viennese *moralischen Wochenschriften* (weekly journal) called *Die Welt und Der oesterreichische Patriot*.
- 1764: Gottsched's grammar *Kern der deutschen Sprachkunst* was reprinted in Vienna.

- 1768: The grammar *Anleitung zur deutschen Rechtschreibung* by the Swabian Franz Joseph Bob, who was connected with the *Deutsche Gesellschaft*, was published.
- 1771: Bob's second grammar *Nöthigste Grundsätze der deutschen Schreibkunst* was published in Freiburg/Breisgau (which belonged to Austria at the time).
- 1774: The Empress Maria Theresia appointed the Silesian Augustinian Ignaz von Felbiger to promote the school reform (see Chapter 4, Section 3.8). Felbiger's (mostly anonymous) textbooks on the German language, which were revised with regard to Adelung's example, were in use until 1848. The four published works by Felbiger are *ABC oder Namenbüchlein*, *Anleitung zur deutschen Rechtschreibung*, *Anleitung zur deutschen Sprachlehre* and *Anleitung zur Schreibart in Briefen, und einigen andern Aufsätzen*.
- 1774/75: Compulsory schooling was introduced by the Empress.
- 1775: Gottsched's *Sprachkunst* was reprinted in Vienna.
- 1781: Joseph II appointed Sonnenfels Professor of business style (*Geschäftsstil*). With his publications the reformer Sonnenfels influenced the transition from the use of Latin in administration and jurisprudence to German.
- 1781/82: Johann Christoph Adelung, who was Gottsched's successor with regard to professional importance and influence, published his grammar *Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1781) and its commentary *Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache, zur Erläuterung der Deutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen* (1782).
- 1782/83: The circle around Leopold Alois Hoffmann, the Professor of good style and German language, published five volumes *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien*, which criticised and mocked church sermons for their provincial and barbaric expressions, vulgar language and the lowest accent used in the city and villages.
- 1783: Joseph II ordered German, instead of Latin, to be used as the language in which lessons are conducted in schools and universities; the order also required the use of German as administrative language in Hungary.
- 1784: Joseph von Sonnenfels contributed to the spread of the reformed language with the publication of his work *Über den Geschäftsstil* (On business style).
- 1786: Adelung's *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart* was published (1774/86).

1788: Adelung's *Vollständige Anweisung zur Deutschen Orthographie, nebst einem kleinen Wörterbuche für die Aussprache, Orthographie, Biegung und Ableitung* was published.

1807/08: Two editions of Adelung's dictionary came out in Vienna, which became the binding authority regarding vocabulary usage (*Wortgebrauch*).

To summarise the Austrian language reform, it can be said that the Empress appointed professors for the German language in grammar schools and the university. Gottsched's grammar *Grundlegung einer neuen Sprachkunst* (1749) and other influential grammars were used as textbooks. A number of publishers from Central Germany started work in Vienna following which weekly journals that discussed language matters became popular. A language society called *Deutsche Gesellschaft* was founded, and, most importantly, compulsory school attendance for all children was introduced in 1774. It ought to be noted that this occurred almost a hundred years before compulsory schooling started in England.²⁰ The unsatisfactory language situation in Austria was commented on by grammarians and even apologised for by the Empress herself on the occasion when she met Gottsched in 1749. It may be summarised as having a neglected, non-standardised orthography and using obsolete forms – in the written language, use of complicated and confused constructions, as well as a wide use of dialect in speech. The intellectual elite regarded the neglected language situation as the reason for the lack of intellectual and scientific achievements in Austria.

If I were to present the English standardisation process and in particular the codification stage in a chronological presentation as found above, the list would mainly include texts on the establishment of an Academy and publication details of grammars and dictionaries, which were written by authoritative and prestigious scholars in the eighteenth century. The difference between these two descriptions would clearly show that the standardisation process in Austria was much more politically influenced than it was in England.

3.3 Codification of form – a comparison

As regards this stage, in both languages the forms were laid down in grammars and dictionaries. As pointed out above, in England this process was carried out by individual, educated people who acted as authorities. In Austria individuals wrote the grammars and dictionaries but the Empress and her advisers decided which grammars were used in

schools. In both countries a so-called complaint tradition existed – in England literary authorities commented on the decay of the language and appealed for the re-creation of the perfect language, which was the language used by writers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Austrian prescriptivists who complained about the poor linguistic standard in the Empire compared the Austrian language to the East Central and North German prestige variety, which was also regarded as a literary standard. In England, the language variety that grammarians aimed at codifying was the polite language of gentlemen, which is a standard that was associated with a certain level of education and social position as well as with the commercial and academic centre of London. The aim of the Austrian authorities involved in the standardisation process was to improve the Austrian written standard by conforming to the prestige variety used in North and Central Germany. The grammars and dictionaries published and disseminated in eighteenth-century Austria were therefore written not only by Austrian but also by German grammarians.

4 Acceptance by the speech community – the situation in England and Austria

4.1 Acceptance by the speech community in England

The notion of ‘acceptance by the speech community’ is a difficult matter to discuss as not everybody accepted the standard at the same time, especially considering that a large part of the population was illiterate.²¹ The variety was possibly first accepted by people who were involved with official and public discourse. The fact that the standard was used as a literary standard by the end of the sixteenth century supports the assumption that the educated class would have also accepted and used the written standard. It may be assumed that an increase in schooling and literacy over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gradually led to the acceptance of the standard by the population at large.

I claimed in Section 1 that a standard language provides group identity on a larger cultural level. Then again, if the standard language is associated with a certain class of people and a certain level of education, a large group of people will not be able to identify with the language and this social class, which is the ‘polite society’ in the case of English. People who aimed at becoming part of polite British society would however try to speak and write the standard language in order to be accepted.

4.2 Acceptance by the speech community in Austria

The imposed German standard was first accepted by people in official positions associated with the Court and Protestants, and then gradually by the common people when compulsory schooling was introduced in 1774/75. A section of the people that particularly rejected the imposed prestige variety was Catholic priests who considered it an insult to be 'forced' to use a language associated with Luther. This opposition can be exemplified in a comment made by the Upper Austrian monk Maurus Lindemayr (1723–1783). In the preamble to his confrere Graser's rhetoric manual for sermons, Lindemayr makes the following statement:

Was fragt Jesus Christus darnach, ob die Gedanken fein, die Ausdrücke gottschedisch, die Mundart sächsisch, die Einrichtung französisch sey? [...] Alles, was ich hiemit [...] tadle, ist das Unverständliche in den Concepten, das Pedantische in der Einrichtung, das Schwülstige und Hochtrabende in den Beweisen, das Affectierte oder Gezwungene in der Aussprache. Niemand missbilligt es; ja es scheint, im Gegenteil, vielmehr rathsam zu seyn, daß man im Schreiben derjenigen Mundart nachahme, welche in Deutschland unstreitig die beste ist, nämlich der sächsischen. Welche Vernunft aber will es gestatten, daß man vor dummen Leuten auch also rede, wie man schreibt?

(Lindemayr, 1769, p. XIV as quoted in Wiesinger, 1995, p. 354)

Lindemayr agrees to accept the German grammatical rules, but he does not adhere to speaking the Saxon vernacular, which he considers to be for written texts only. He therefore decides to stick to the Austrian spoken language when preaching (Wiesinger, 2000, p. 530). Maurus Lindemayr is nowadays known as the originator of the Upper Austrian poetry of the people.

A few more remarks are in order with regard to this stage, *acceptance by the speech community*. Hudson argues that

the standard language serves as a strong unifying force for the state, as a symbol of its independence of other states [...], and as a marker of its difference from other states. It is precisely this symbolic function that makes states go to some lengths to develop one.

(Hudson, 1996, p. 33)

Hudson's statement does not appear to entirely apply to the language situation in eighteenth-century Austria. By adapting to or adopting the

language of another region, the country whose language was superseded will not necessarily be able to use the language as a strong unifying force and a symbol of independence. These considerations concern the Empire of the Habsburgs. However, if we consider Austria's position in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, of which Maria Theresia was the Empress as well, we are looking at a different situation. The adoption of the German language which was used in a number of states such as Prussia, Bavaria and others can then be interpreted as a linguistic union on a larger scale. The superposition of a prestigious language variety used in parts of the Holy Roman Empire was not considered to be a threat but was probably meant to serve as a unifying force within that Empire, whose ruler was Austrian. It has been argued that Austria adopted the Northern and Central German prestige variety for patriotic reasons, namely, to improve their cultural position through a 'better' language, which is beneficial for the common good (Wiesinger, 2000, pp. 530–531). The German variety is still more dominant today than the Austrian variety, which means that German norms will be readily accepted in Austria, whereas this is not the case vice versa. Clyne (1995, p. 31) referred to this behaviour on the Austrian side as 'linguistic cringe'. Considering the Austrian standardisation process, it can be argued that this behaviour started in the eighteenth century.

The selection of a standard variety is a matter of ambivalence in every language. On the one hand, it is important for the upholding of nationhood; it serves as a symbol of national unity; and it is also useful as a *lingua franca* so that dialect speakers with mutually incomprehensible dialects are able to communicate with each other. On the other hand, a standard is always regarded as the 'best' variety, which automatically means that other dialects become increasingly stigmatised (Leith, 1987, p. 312). Having accepted the 'best' variety from another region, the Austrians' own language use will always be stigmatised as 'bad'.

4.3 Acceptance by the speech community – a comparison

I have already pointed out in Section 4.1 that it is difficult to summarise this point as not everybody in the two countries accepted the standard at the same time. In both countries the standard would have been first accepted by people in official positions associated with the Court. As regards acceptance of the standard by the population at large, schooling and literacy play an important role. In England an increase in both schooling and literacy was recorded during the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. In Austria, on the other hand, compulsory schooling for all children had already been introduced in 1774. Finally, it was pointed out that a standard will always be regarded as the 'best' variety, which means that other varieties will be considered as less prestigious.

5 Elaboration of function – the situation in England and Austria

5.1 Elaboration of function in England

A discussion of the elaboration of functions of English cannot be carried out without taking into account the roles that Latin and French played in England at the time. French was used in schools as the medium of instruction until the fourteenth century, which was when John of Cornwall introduced English. This did not affect grammar schools and universities, where Latin was the compulsory language until the late seventeenth century (Görlach, 1999, p. 464). Latin was therefore strongly associated with the educated; the discussion of the English precept corpus did still reflect this with regard to logic and linguistic constructions (see Chapter 2). Latin played an important role in education, and there was the lack of 'a well-defined norm for English up to the eighteenth century. "Good education" became closely connected with "proper language" comparatively late in the social history of English' (Görlach, 1999, p. 465). Only from 1737 onwards, which is when Lord Chesterfield raised the issue in a series of letters to his son, did good and proper English as a means of education of a gentleman become a matter of concern (Görlach, 1999, p. 465). After all, education was an important social factor in a society that was very competitive and had 'a high degree of social (upward) mobility' (Görlach, 1999, p. 517). Görlach states, based on Jones' (1953) account of the competition between Latin and English, that the status of the former language changed 'from a second to a foreign language after 1660' (1999, p. 477).

The Chancery standard superseded French as the medium for the law and statutes as well as for everyday communication in the course of the fifteenth century. As far as French as a modern foreign language is concerned, it was not affected by the rise of the Chancery standard, but remained prestigious and was frequently used (Görlach, 1999, pp. 478–479).

Since the emergence of a standard variety is necessarily linked to variation reduction, it is no surprise that dialectal use was stigmatised, which happened rather quickly in English. Even though dialect poetry became

increasingly popular in the eighteenth century, there was still a clear difference in status between dialect and the standard (Görlach, 1999, p. 485).

5.2 Elaboration of function in Austria

This stage, *elaboration of function*, developed rather quickly in all areas in which the written idiom was used after compulsory schooling was introduced. Austrian forms based on the Upper German Chancery or dialectal forms were rarely found in texts by the end of the eighteenth century.

As regards the replacement of Latin, Joseph II in 1783 ordered German to be used as the language in which lessons were conducted in schools and universities;²² this order also demanded the use of German as administrative language in Hungary. The dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 certainly marked a change, as from then onwards the German language was strengthened at the expense of Latin.

5.3 Elaboration of function – a comparison

Görlach (1990a, pp. 10–11) suggests a range of linguistic functions that fit into Haugen's *elaboration of function* stage. The functions he recognises are (a) written language, (b) literary language, (c) language of religion, (d) language of education and science, (e) language of law, parliament and the ruler's Court, (f) *lingua franca*, (g) national language and (h) language of media.

The function of the *written standard* is mandatory for the development of a standard language. In England, the written standard is considered to be based on the Chancery standard; so far, this explanation, into which research has been resumed, suggests that a unitary process took place. With regard to Austria, the written standard that had evolved in a part of Germany was superposed by the Empress mainly for Enlightenment reasons.

A prestigious *literary language* existed in England, as a national literature had been created from the sixteenth century onwards (see Section 2.1). Admiration of the writers' styles and languages after the Reformation led Johnson and his contemporaries to complain about the decay and the irregularities of the English language in the eighteenth century and to act by codifying the 'best' language. Austria lacked a body of literature, the development of which was largely suppressed by the conservative Jesuit Order that preferred Latin to be used (Latin Jesuit drama)

and stigmatised Protestant literature from the rest of Germany. Nevertheless, the latter literature was secretly imported into Austria for the intellectual elite. A kind of literature that did exist in the eighteenth century is poetry for the people (Maurus Lindemayr) and collections of sermons (Abraham A Santa Clara). Only after the abolition of the Jesuit Order in 1773 was German literature introduced into Austria.

As regards English as the *language of religion*, it has to be noted that the Reformation is an important extralinguistic factor for this development. Wycliffe's Bible translation into English in the second half of the fourteenth century, as well as Tyndale's translation of the Bible in the first part of the sixteenth century and then the Authorised Version that became available in 1611, had a bearing on the dissemination of English in church. Michael (see 1999, p. 60) notes that in the period 1700–1830 the Bible and the prayer book had a strong literary influence on young children. Stories from the Old Testament were retold in spelling books, and children had to learn verses from the Bible by heart. In Catholic Austria the language of religion was Latin, which was promoted by the extreme attitude of the Jesuits. More moderate priests used the Austrian spoken variety, as is known from Lindemayr's statement presented above. From the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards, sermons were increasingly given in German, as reflected in the number of sermon collections available from the eighteenth century.

English was the *language of education* from approximately 1350 onwards (Görlach, 1990a, p. 18). Until the introduction of English by John of Cornwall in the fourteenth century, French had been used as the medium of instruction in schools. Latin remained the compulsory language in grammar schools and universities until the late seventeenth century (Görlach, 1999, p. 464). In Austria, Latin was the language used by university scholars. As discussed earlier, the Latin language was very much associated with the Jesuit Order. After the lifting of censorship of literature in 1751 and finally the dissolution of the Order in 1773, German was allowed to become the language of science and education.

The next function considered is English as the *language of law, parliament and the ruler's Court*. The functions *lingua franca* and *national language* are closely related to the latter and will therefore also be discussed here. As it is argued that the Chancery Standard played a crucial role in the English standardisation process, English used as a language of law and parliament is one of the most important and earliest functions. This is supported by Görlach who claims that 'court cases and the opening of Parliament had to be carried out in English from 1362 onwards' (1990a, p. 18). English can be described as a *lingua franca* in

the eighteenth century as it was the 'national' standard for speakers of divergent dialects within Britain. In Austria, it was the Empress who promoted the adoption of a standard language and therefore also used it, as it was of great advantage for her political dealings, particularly with respect to the Holy Roman Empire. Also, considering that the Habsburg Empire was multilingual, the German standard may be defined as a national language as well as *lingua franca*.

Finally, the collections of newspapers in English as well as in German used as corpora in Chapters 3 and 5 would suggest that these languages were used as the *language of the media* in the eighteenth century.

6 Conclusion

The discussion of the standardisation processes in England and Austria portrayed two very different ways in which languages can develop. In order to compare the differences in development, Haugen's four-stage model was applied to this exercise of comparative standardology. I discussed language variation and the differences in eighteenth-century England and Austria and demonstrated that the variation found in English was of a stylistic nature whereas Austrian German was characterised by dialectal variation. This raises the all important final question, which is as follows: How do the differences between the standardisation processes in the two countries determine the development of the inflectional subjunctive?

During the study of the precept corpora in Chapter 2 (for English) and Chapter 4 (for German) it was observed that some grammarians had indicated what the status of the subjunctive in the two languages was. In English the mood was associated with formal style and 'polite' British society – it may therefore be described as a politeness marker. In the German-speaking countries, on the other hand, selected grammarians commented on a dialectal form of the subjunctive that was considered inappropriate and that ought to be replaced by the correct subjunctive form. The reason for this difference was revealed during the comparison of the standardisation processes in England and Austria. In England the standard variety selected was the polite language of gentlemen, which was associated with a certain level of education. During the standardisation period, a lot of lexical borrowing from other languages took place. The language authorities' aim to create a prestigious language involved, amongst other things, borrowing from Latin (Latinisation) and basing English grammars on Latin models. This led to the emergence of an English variety which may be described as 'H' in Ferguson's

diglossia terms. In the eighteenth century the subjunctive was perceived as a feature of this variety rather than the colloquial 'L' variety. When eighteenth-century grammarians noted that the subjunctive, which was on the decline, ought to be revived, we were able to observe a brief reversal of the trajectory of decline. Considering the subjunctive was associated with polite language usage, this reversal seems to prove that the subjunctive was still considered to be a feature of the 'H' variety and worth using and/or imitating.

The standard variety selected in Austria was the prestige variety used in East Central and North Germany. The Austrian written standard was therefore superseded by another standard. I tried to illustrate the language situation by way of a bi-polarity model. The Austrian variety infiltrated the imposed prestige variety (see Chapter 5). The subjunctive forms some grammarians objected to were an Austro-Bavarian dialectal feature. When grammarians commented on the 'mistake', an interesting development took place: The *würde*-periphrasis of subjunctive II increased in place of the 'synthetic' past subjunctive. The increasing use of the *würde*-periphrasis can therefore be interpreted as a strategy to avoid the use of the preterite from which the synthetic subjunctive is formed. This is especially so, as many dialect speakers are unfamiliar with the form because it was and still is rarely used in spoken language.

The study of the subjunctive in England and the German-speaking countries showed that it is important also to consider the socio-political background, as it revealed what determined the development of the subjunctive in English and German.

Notes

1 Introduction

1. A note on terminology: In this study the term 'Austria' will be used in order to refer to the German-speaking part of the Habsburg Empire (including 'Vorderösterreich') in the eighteenth century. At the time the Habsburg Emperors were also ruling the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The German-speaking part of this nation may therefore be subdivided into and labelled 'Austria' and 'Germany'.
2. Note that the inflectional subjunctive was taken over by the periphrastic form *würde* in German, which cannot be labelled a modal auxiliary verb.
3. Guchmann and Semenjuk did however notice 'Präteritumschwund' (loss of preterite forms) in the southern German area in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century (see Guchmann and Semenjuk, 1981, p. 256), a development that can be observed in Austrian German in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 5).
4. ARCHER-3 = A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers 3. 1990–1993/2002/2007. Compiled under the supervision of Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan at Northern Arizona University, University of Southern California, University of Freiburg, University of Heidelberg, University of Helsinki, Uppsala University, University of Michigan, and University of Manchester.
5. See this website for details: <http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/germanic/>
6. Fitzmaurice, for instance, carried out investigations on the use of relative markers (2000) and modal auxiliaries and lexically explicit stance expressions (2003) by Joseph Addison and his social network. Social network theory was originally developed as a research tool in the social sciences from where it was adopted into socio-linguistics. In this research area, it was first deployed by Lesley Milroy in her studies on the Belfast vernaculars (see Milroy, 1987, p. 45).
7. Parts of the research described here have appeared in Auer (2006).
8. Bergmann argues that it is very difficult to prove the effectiveness of grammarians in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the language theorists orientated themselves to language usage (see Bergmann, 1982, p. 279).
9. Gustafsson's study concentrates on the verb *write* only. Gustafsson found a great variety of participle forms in the epistolary usage, which she compared to the forms prescribed in grammars. She concluded that 'the prescriptive selection of variants emerges as an attempt to find a uniform principle for the codification of fluctuating usage' (Gustafsson, 2002b, p. 9). Although the evidence of usage testifies to the prevalence of other variants in the case of letter-writing, the participle *written*, which was the only suggested form by grammars in the last decades of the eighteenth century, persists.

10. An alternative explanation for this situation has been provided by Yáñez-Bouza (2006) with regard to preposition stranding. She argues that the decline of the construction before grammarians' normative rules and comments were published can be interpreted as the effect of ideology, which was promulgated earlier and paved the way for the norms.
11. I first came across this term in John E. Joseph's *Eloquence and Power. The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages* (1987).
12. The term 'norm implementation' is used for 'norm acceptance' in selected chapters.
13. Other standardisation accounts in Deumert & Vandenbussche (2003) that differ from Haugen's original model are Faroese (codification, comments on selection, elaboration, and implementation), Luxembourgish (norm elaboration and norm acceptance), as well as Scots (Selection, Codification, Ongoing codification and Norm acceptance: Good or bad Scots?).
14. Milroy and Milroy (1991), who also provided a model, claim that the main characteristic of standardisation is 'intolerance of optional variability in language' (*ibid.*, p. 26). Their standardisation model additionally contains the stages maintenance, prestige and prescription (*ibid.*, p. 27). Even though I find the reason for the inclusion of the additional stages convincing, I find that the looser fit of the Haugen model is more suitable for my study. As I am concerned with a particular linguistic feature, I feel that 'sub-labelling' the codification stage prescription stage already suggests in advance that the grammarians tried to prescribe rules rather than describe the use of the subjunctive. An assessment of whether the grammarians' treatment of the mood was in fact prescriptive should only be made when all the available accounts have been carefully studied.
15. Mattheier (2003) provides an account of the standardisation process in Standard German based on Haugen's model and briefly mentions the situation in Austria in the codification section. He notes that the southern German and Austrian regions participate in the standardisation process after the publication of Gottsched's grammar. The only other grammarian who is mentioned with respect to the Austrian standardisation process is Antesperg, who is the first Austrian to publish a German grammar in 1747 (see Mattheier, 2003, pp. 226–227).

2 Eighteenth-century English Grammarians and the subjunctive mood

1. Parts of the research described here have appeared in Auer (2004).
2. In fact, Michael surveys an impressive number of 258 grammars, which he treats anonymously, and ascertains 'at the very least' 24 different systems in the period (Michael, 1970, p. 434).
3. This confirms Vorlat's statement that '[w]hat they do, in fact, is translate whole chapters of the Port-Royal grammar. Their theorizing is singled out typographically, by smaller print and by means of footnotes' (Vorlat, 2007, p. 501).
4. I thank Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade for the advice to compare Lowth's first and second grammar editions.

5. It should be pointed out here that it is not relevant to the argument of this study that changes found in editions after Murray's death may be attributable to successive editors.
6. In Tieken-Boon van Ostade's study of exemplification in eighteenth-century grammars, she suggested four categories into which the different examples can be divided. These are 'a) examples that have obviously been made up by the author; b) examples that have been translated from those traditionally found in Latin grammars; c) examples that have been copied, or translated from grammars published previously; and d) examples that are quotations' (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1990, p. 483; also see the classification provided by Sundby *et al.*, 1991).
7. For detailed studies on Lowth's corpus of prescriptivism, see Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1997) and Navest (2006).
8. The use of writers as models is supported by Joseph's (1987) statement that '[i]n Western culture generally, creative literature is revered as a manifestation of the "genius" of the language within which it is written' (Joseph, 1987, p. 78).
9. I thank Sylvia Adamson for pointing out this change.
10. I thank Carol Percy for drawing my attention to Ellin Devis's comment on the subjunctive.
11. Merrick's criticism that Lowth ignores actual language use for the sake of propriety indicates why Lowth is largely considered the pre-eminent language prescriptivist of the eighteenth century.
12. Note that eighteenth-century grammarians did not use the term 'functional overlap'. From a present-day point of view, the confusion of the subjunctive with the indicative and modal auxiliaries would suggest that the subjunctive's functions were replaceable by other forms.
13. In this study conditional clauses will also be treated under the term adverbial clauses.

3 The subjunctive mood in eighteenth-century England: a corpus study

1. Harsh's study may be considered as more on par with corpus studies in the modern sense. Harsh's textual sampling was regulated by a finite-verb count, which he limited to 500 per text. As regards the selection method of textual sampling, Harsh used Chapters 7–14 of the Gospel of St Matthew for the comparisons of the biblical translations and the beginning of texts or specific sections in most cases of the Old and Middle English texts (see Harsh, 1968, pp. 101–102).
2. Note that Harsh (1968) classes Shakespeare as a seventeenth-century writer because of the edition of the work used.
3. The translators of the Authorized Version stated in the introduction to the Bible that '[t]ruly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, [...] but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not iustly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeauour, that our marke' (1611, Introduction). The 1611 King James Version of the Bible may therefore be regarded as a revision,

which was largely dependent on the scholarship of Tyndale, Coverdale and the translators of the Geneva Bible (see Hammond, 1982, p. 193). This suggests that the English language used in the Authorized Version reflects more archaic language use from the sixteenth century.

4. The grammarian Maittaire also noticed the decline of the subjunctive in different versions of the Bible: 'Indicative or Potential; as the Conditional *if*; the Exceptive, *except* or *unless*; *if thou dost well*; *if thou do well*, Gen.4.7. (the last is read rather in old, the first in new-printed Bibles) [...]' (Maittaire, 1712, p. 172).
5. I must point out here that one advantage of Harsh's study is the fact that he was able to investigate the subjunctive in different syntactic contexts (Wish-Curse, Command, Indirect Narrative, Noun Clause, Relative Clause, Purpose, Conditional, *etc.*), something that is difficult to do when the investigation is based on corpora in the modern sense (see Section 2).
6. The letters SC are an acronym for Scottish Corpus and the numbers following represent different periods.
7. In 1603, after the death of Elizabeth I, the Scottish king James VI became James I of England.
8. Note that the subjunctive investigation in German considers more constructions, as the self-compiled corpus was searched by hand. This means that the results of the English and German corpus studies are not directly comparable.
9. Only few eighteenth-century grammarians, one of which was White (1761, p. 126, pp. 131–134), pointed out that *command*, *provided* and *words of wishing* should also be followed by the inflectional subjunctive. Due to the lack of comments in the eighteenth century, the development of the inflectional subjunctive in mandative and 'optative' constructions will not be discussed in this chapter.
10. The term non-indicative only refers to the inflectional subjunctive and the periphrastic subjunctive and does not include the imperative mood, which can also be labelled non-indicative.
11. The decision to count all core modals as periphrastic subjunctive was made on the assumption that the claim of modal auxiliaries taking over the functions of the inflectional subjunctive can only be supported or disproved when all modal verbs are being counted, which can then be seen as the strongest possible case. Scholars who discussed the subjunctive or carried out empirical studies on the form disagree on or ignore the issue of the choice of modal verbs subsumed under periphrastic subjunctive; for example, Poutsma (see Poutsma, 1926, pp. 11–12) claims that the auxiliaries of the subjunctive are *may*, *shall*, *might* and *should*. Harsh (see Harsh, 1968, p. 107) adopts Poutsma's list. Moessner (2002a, 2002b) does not provide a list of modal auxiliaries; however, she informed me of her choice of modals, which are all modal auxiliaries except for *have to*, *be to* and *ought to* (pers. comm.). Even though both Övergaard (1995) and Serpollet (2001) investigate the development of the mandative subjunctive, Övergaard (see 1995, p. 92) lists *shall*, *should*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *will* and *would* whereas Serpollet (2001) restricts her study to the modal verb *should*. This certainly raises the question of comparability of these studies, an issue that will be discussed elsewhere.
12. Parts of the research described here have appeared in Auer and González-Díaz (2005) and Auer (2006).

13. Denison makes no judgement as to what is the competing form, but he claims that the functions of the subjunctive 'were being lost either to the indicative or to the modal verbs' (Denison, 1998, p. 160).
14. The equivalent to these present-day influences on language usage might be publisher house styles in the eighteenth century.
15. This table only contains data, the total number of which exceeds 20 instances. For the final results, however, all occurrences were taken into consideration.
16. For a study on the diachronic development of *lest* as a trigger of the inflectional subjunctive see Auer (2008).
17. I decided to exclude legal texts from the discussion as the lack of data does not allow us to make claims about the development of the subjunctive form in this genre.
18. Moessner (2002b) who investigated the subjunctive in the Early Modern English period noticed that '[h]andbooks, a genre which is nowhere mentioned in the context of subjunctive use, show a significantly high frequency' (Moessner, 2002b, p. 229). The handbooks Moessner refers to here are handbooks on husbandry, wines, witches, country contentments, anglers and fruit-trees (see Online Manual to Helsinki Corpus).

4 Eighteenth-century German grammars and the subjunctive mood

1. Note that the functions of *würde* can be the replacement of the synthetic past subjunctive as well as a future-in-the-past, which makes the form part of the indicative system.
2. The influences on the three grammarians' works, that is to say the scholars on whom they drew or borrowed material from, are discussed in detail in Jelinek (1913, 1914), McLelland (2001); Weidling (1894) for Clajus, and Müller-Fraureuth (1895) for Albertus.
3. In eighteenth-century grammars of English the 'participle' as a separate mood was introduced by White (1761) and adopted by Lowth (1762) and Story (1783) (see Chapter 2, Section 2).
4. For an account of the tradition of the Latin term 'coniunctivus' in the German language and grammar see Ising (1970, pp. 151–152), who argues that there are three ways the term could have been handed down.
5. This is to exemplify one of his comments on dialect: 'Auf dem Lande höret man oft die fehlerhaften Ausgänge auf a, er, oder end z.B. reda, drescha, oder ich will ausgeher, arbeiter, ich werde lesend, singend, anstatt reden, ausgehen, lesen' (Felbiger, 1775, p. 46).
6. The words in italics are written in bold in Helmsdörfer's original text.

5 The subjunctive mood in eighteenth-century Germany and Austria: a corpus study

1. In a related study Durrell (2007) argues that the traditional prescription to avoid the *würde*-periphrasis, as found in *Zeitschrift für den Deutschen Unterricht*, was probably first formulated in the early nineteenth century.

2. Jäger's findings on the subjunctive, which are presented in his 1971 monograph, were also used for another book called *Empfehlungen zum Gebrauch des Konjunktivs* (1970). These recommendations for the subjunctive use in German were decided on by a commission from the Institute of the German Language in Mannheim (IDS).
3. Out of the total of 28 texts, Jäger used 9 complete texts, 5 texts partly, that is, the first 100 pages of the text, and the selected newspapers in part.
4. As it is known that Reclam tends to modernise editions, the possibility that printers made changes to the texts over the last one and a half centuries has to be taken into consideration. (David Bell, pers. comm.)
5. The distribution of finite verbs in the texts of the three genres is as follows: (a) Sermons: Fritz (1723) – 1316; Fritz (1730) – 1016; Fritz (1731) – 2797; Tausch (1751) – 799; Tausch (1765) – 2650; Freindaller (1799) – 3003; (b) Journals and reports: Hoffmändl de Mangeram (1710) – 1316; Mayer (1753) – 495; Hoffmann (1782) – 405; Hoffmann (1783) – 554; Hoffmann (1792) – 464; (c) Newspapers: *Wiener Zeitung* (1.7.1780) – 499; *Wiener Zeitung* (30.8.1780) – 416; *Wiener Zeitung* (16.9.1780) – 471; *Wiener Zeitung* (25.10.1780) – 446; *Wiener Zeitung* (11.11.1780) – 460; *Wiener Zeitung* (13.12.1780) – 402; *Wiener Zeitung* (3.1.1781) – 495; *Wiener Zeitung* (31.3.1781) – 449; *Wiener Zeitung* (16.5.1781) – 491; *Wiener Zeitung* (21.7.1781) – 472; *Wiener Zeitung* (12.9.1781) – 443; *Wiener Zeitung* (17.11.1781) – 520.
6. A recent survey carried out by Stephan Elspaß and Robert Möller in the context of creating the *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache* (AdA) has shown that the past subjunctive periphrasis *tät-* is used more frequently in Central and South Germany, Austria and South Tyrol than in Switzerland, East Belgium and North Germany. For details, see the following website: http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/lehrstuehle/germanistik/sprachwissenschaft/ada/zweite_runde/probieren/
7. The empirical study on the loss of simple past tense forms in Upper German by Lindgren (1957) shows that the simple past started decreasing from 1530 onwards whereas the perfect tense was still widely used (in narratives).
8. Ammon describes the present-day socio-linguistic relations in Austria and Southern Germany as *dialect–standard continuum* while labelling the situation in Northern Germany as *dialect attrition* and the situation in Switzerland as *diglossia* (Ammon, 2003, p. 163).
9. An extensive discussion on the issue of the linguistic continuum in German can be found in Durrell (1992) and (1998).

6 Standardisation processes in England and the German-speaking areas

1. After the Norman Conquest (1066), French was introduced as the language of literature, religion and administration. Latin was also still in use in administration, and it was the language of higher education and the church (Görlach, 1999, p. 462; Nevalainen, 2003, p. 128).
2. The use of the term 'naturally' is awkward in this context, as the development of a standard is inherently a cultural artefact. Wright (2000) does not explicitly explain the term 'naturally', which leaves us with two

- interpretations. Standardisation is regarded as either a unitary process following the 'single ancestor-dialect' hypothesis, which means that the standard evolves organically from one dialect, or linguistic processes that went through selections and self-censorships resulting in one standard variety (Hope, 2000, pp. 49–52).
3. Fisher (1984, 1996) argues that Henry V initiated the adoption of precise spelling forms (Horobin and Smith, 2002, p. 34). Fisher's opinion has been challenged by Benskin (1992), who claims that the standardisation of spelling in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was driven by 'communicative pressures', by which he means that the standardisation of spelling was 'a by-product of the general elaboration of English, and not the result of a centrally controlled codification' (Horobin and Smith, 2002, p. 34).
 4. The concept of *diglossia* was first discussed and defined by the American linguist Charles Ferguson (1959), who suggested that speech communities in which two or sometimes even more language varieties are used be called diglossic if these varieties are perceived as having different and non-overlapping functions. In most instances two varieties are involved that can be distinguished with regard to prestige. The *High* (H) variety is used in the context of more formal communication and is learned through formal education. The *Low* (L) variety, which is the first language of all speakers, enjoys little prestige. The low variety is employed for more intimate communication. In order to decide which language situations belong in the category of *diglossia*, Ferguson (1959) proposes a classification of nine diglossic features. These are (1) function, (2) prestige, (3) literary heritage, (4) acquisition, (5) standardisation, (6) stability, (7) grammar, (8) lexicon and (9) phonology. Ferguson's notion of *diglossia* has been extended and revised by other scholars (cf. Fishman, 1967; Fasold, 1997). Fishman's (1967) revision of Ferguson's model includes the possibility of comparing language varieties (rather than languages), which differ with regard to functions. Fasold further extended Ferguson's and Fishman's models; he describes *diglossia* as a continuum of formality–intimacy (see Fasold, 1997).
 5. The German Baroque poet Martin Opitz (1597–1639) aimed at establishing a German literary language that would, like French and Italian, step out of the shadow of Latin. In order to achieve this goal he suggested that poets should study Classical as well as Western European poetry (see Pochlatko *et al.*, 1976, p. 132; for influences on succeeding writers see Blackall, 1978).
 6. Maximilian's main Chancery was at Innsbruck, which is situated in the Austro-Bavarian dialect region. Tennant (1985) notes that 'Maximilian is said to have caused a standardization and streamlining in the language of his Chancery, which set the pace for chanceries and printers throughout the Empire [which included Burgundy, Carniola, large areas in Italy, and the Habsburg ancestral territories that are now Switzerland and Austria]' (Tennant, 1985, p. 9).
 7. Bérenger (1997, p. 50) describes the monarchy as 'a tower of Babel where the peculiar identity of each group was respected'. The following five languages had the status of official languages in the Habsburg Empire: Latin, German, Czech, Hungarian and Croat (Bérenger, 1997, p. 53). In addition to these languages there were also the languages of culture and the Court and the sovereign, which were Italian, French and Spanish.

8. The gentry and bourgeoisie in seventeenth-century Saxony used a vernacular that was already closely related to the literary language.
9. It is possible that the English translation of the three types of dialect does not express the implication with respect to class and prestige as clearly as the German terms denote.
10. Charles VI (who reigned during 1711–1740), the father of Maria Theresia, was as Charles III the designated King of Spain (Bérenger, 1997, p. 26).
11. Until 1720 Italian was the dominant language of politics and culture, which receded after Maria Theresia came to power in 1740. The high status of Italian in the Empire before 1740 may be best illustrated by the fact that the first Viennese newspaper, which was published in 1672, and the theatre were in Italian. Moreover, Italian or Latin was used for important discussions (Bérenger, 1997, pp. 50–53).
12. In 1620 a censorship commission (*Bücherkommission*) was established, which 'had authority to inspect bookshops and to search private houses for any "bad books", books on the Index' (Bérenger, 1997, pp. 70–71).
13. In 1759 Maria Theresia withdrew the Jesuits' control over censorship and the commission was subsequently put under her control. This may be considered as a starting point of Maria Theresia regaining control over intellectual activity (Bérenger, 1997, p. 71).
14. According to Fichtner (2003, p. 143), '[I]teracy was the hallmark of Protestantism and Protestantism the engine of sedition'.
15. The last two points on the list are concerned with dialectal expressions whose use is not appropriate in written texts.
16. The notion of 'myth' does not only fit with the codification stage in Haugen's model but already plays an important part in the selection stage of a variety. This is the same in the case of Austrian German, where the notion of 'myth' equals the ideas of Enlightenment.
17. The writers Johnson most frequently quoted in his dictionary are Shakespeare (1564–1616), Milton (1608–1674) and Dryden (1631–1700) – writers from the 'golden age'.
18. For remarks on the decay of the English language see Defoe's 'Of Academies' in *An Essay upon Projects* (1697), Dryden's *Defence of the Epilogue* (1672) and Swift's *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712).
19. The title of Antesperg's German grammar translates as 'The Imperial German grammar for the improvement of the German language and for the unanimous, helpful use for the whole of Germany'.
20. The establishment of the modern education system in England, which had been impeded by the social, economic and religious climate, eventually took place in 1870 (1st Education Act). Formal education had already started to take shape during the Renaissance period when schools were established in many places; these were either attached to the cathedral or they were independent grammar schools. What all these schools had in common is that they taught Latin (see McDowall, 1993, p. 41). During the fifteenth century education developed enormously. Numerous schools were founded by powerful men, and other schools were also established as there was an increasing need for educated people to work in the areas of government, the law, the trade and the Church.

21. Cressy (1980, pp. 141–177 as quoted by Nevalainen, 2003, p. 129) estimates that around the year 1500, approximately 10% of the male and 1% of the female population, which was less than 2 million in total, were able to both read and write. In London literacy was higher compared to other places in the country. By 1640 it is assumed that 30% of the male population in the country and 60% in London were literate.
22. English replaced Latin as the medium of instruction and became the *language of education* in schools from around 1350 onwards (Görlach, 1990b, p. 18). The universities Oxford and Cambridge retained Latin though.

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Corpora used for the analyses

- (a) *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER)
ARCHER, a 1.7 million-word corpus, consists of examples from British and American English ranging from 1650 to 1990. The corpus contains a variety of texts from different genres, which are journals, letters, drama, fiction, news, sermons, scientific prose, medical prose and legal opinions. In this study the search is restricted to the British English variety and often to the period 1700–1900. See Biber, Finegan and Atkinson *et al.* (1994) for more information.
- (b) Chadwyck Healey Eighteenth-century Poetry Corpus (self-compiled)
This corpus is a large collection of poems, the size of which is 385,534 words. CORPUS (listed in alphabetical order):
- Akenside, Mark, 1721–1770: *The Poems* (1772)
Amhurst, N. (Nicholas), 1697–1742: *Poems on Several Occasions* [1723]
Arnold, Cornelius, 1711–1757?: *Poems on Several Occasions* (1757)
Ayres, Philip, 1638–1712: *Emblems of Love* [1683]
Barber, Mary, *ca.* 1690 to *ca.* 1757: *Poems on Several Occasions* (1735)
Bishop, Samuel, 1731–1795: *The Poetical Works* (1796)
Boyse, Samuel, 1708–1749: *Translations and Poems* (1738)
Carey, Henry, 1687?–1743: *Poems on several occasions* (1729)
Cobb, Samuel, 1675–1713: *Poems on Several Occasions* (1710)
Cooke, Thomas, 1703–1756: *Poems* (1742)
Cotton, Charles, 1630–1687: *Poems on Several Occasions* (1689)
Derrick, Samuel, 1724–1769: *A Collection of Original Poems* (1755)
Fawkes, Francis, 1720–1777: *Original Poems and Translations* (1761)
Jemmat, Catherine, 1759–1838: *Miscellanies* (1766)
Lansdowne, George Granville, Baron, 1667–1735: *The Genuine Works* (1736)
Nicol, Alexander: *Poems on several subjects* (1766)
Oldham, John, 1653–1683: *The Works* (1684)
Winchilsea, Anne Kingsmill Finch, Countess of, 1661–1720: (alias Anne Finch): *Miscellany Poems, On Several Occasions* (1713)
- (c) GerManC: A 100,000 word newspaper corpus of German, which contains the language varieties North German, West Central German, East Central German, West Upper German, East Upper German and covers the period 1650–1800. This corpus is an ongoing project at the University of Manchester. See this website for details: <http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/germanc/>

(d) A Corpus of Eighteenth-century Austrian texts (self-compiled)

This corpus consists of a variety of genres (sermons, journals and reports, newspapers, dialect poetry) and covers a time span from 1710 to 1799. CORPUS (listed according to genre and chronology):

Sermons

Fritz, Gregorius (1723) *Der Wohlversehene Feyertragsprediger/ Oder Feyertägliche Predigten Auf das gantze Jahr/* (etc.), Wien: Wohlrabs, pp. 1–58.

Fritz, Gregorius (1730) *Der Aufrichtig- und Wohlmeynende Landprediger auf alle Sonntäge des ganzen Jahres* (etc.) (microfilm), Wien: Wolrabs, pp. 0–25.

Fritz, Gregorius (1731) *Der Feyertägliche Landprediger* (etc.), Wien: Wolrabs, pp. 0–91; pp. 502–526.

Tausch, Franciscus Borgia (1751) *Ehren- und Trauer-Rede- Über den Schmerzlichen Hintritt Elisabethae Christinae, Weyland Römischer Kayserin . . . Da Ihrer Majest. Leich-Besingnuß In der Hof-Kirchen deren . . . Augustinern-Baarfüßern . . . Den 18.19.20. Jenner . . . 1751 Jahr gehalten worden . . . Von P. Francisco Borgia Tausch*, Wien: Trattner, pp. 3–50.

Tausch, Franciscus Borgia (1765) *Christliche Erinnerungen über die sonntäglichen Evangelien*, Wien; Prag: Joh. Thomas Edlen v. Trattnern, pp. 126–235.

Freindaller, Franz (1799) *Kurze Reden bey dem akademischen Gottesdienste in Linz*, Linz: Josef Fink, 137 pages.

Journals and Reports

Hoffmändl de Mangeram, Wolfgang Josephus Anton (1710) *Wienerischer Secretarius. Das ist: Der in denen sowol Ob- als Unter-Österreich Hoch- und Nidern Instanzen, auch groß- und kleinen Cantzleyen der Zeit sich befindenen vortrefflichen Schreib-Arth, sambt Einem . . . Tractat der Derzeit in Schwung gehenden Hochdeutscher Wörter* (microfilm), Wienn: Danner, pp. 367–377.

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Wiener Zeitung (selected days in the years 1780–1781).

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