

Evaluative Subject Modifiers in Early Modern English¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

It has generally been assumed that Early Modern English (EModE) is a transitional period as far as adverb usage is concerned, that is, a period in which adverbialisation really began accelerating (see Nevalainen 1994: 256). The main aim of the present study is to determine to what extent this holds true with respect to evaluative subject modification.

Evaluative subject modifiers (henceforth ESMs) are adverbs which evaluate the subject with respect to an action or state of affairs, as illustrated by *wisely* in (1):

- (1) The defendant *wisely* didn't answer his questions.

This implies there is a causal relationship between the adverb and the propositional content of the sentence (Swan 1990: 29). Thus, in the example above, the subject is evaluated as wise because he hasn't answered the questions. Following Ernst (1984: 26), it might have been better to call these adverbs 'agent' rather than 'subject' modifiers, since the former term "allows for cases where the adverb does not have anything to do with a syntactic subject", as in (2):

- (2) The bomb was *foolishly* placed under his own car, which is supervised every morning before he starts it.

Most linguists –one notable exception being Schreiber (1968)– agree that ESMs are disjuncts (see *e.g.* Dik 1975; Lehrer 1975; Bellert 1977; Quirk *et al.* 1985; Koptová 1986; Swan 1990). This means that they are speaker-oriented (Lehrer 1975: 240; Swan 1990: 26) and have the entire sentence in their scope, as the paraphrases they allow show:

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- (3) a. Wisely, he invested only half of the money.
b. =(I deem) it wise (of him) that he invested only half of the money.
c. =That he invested only half of the money was wise (of him) (I think).

It also means that they may co-occur with stative verbs (Greenbaum 1969: 113), as evinced by (4):

- (4) John wisely does not like dentists.

ESMs, however, differ from other disjunct classes in that they prefer mid rather than initial field placement (on the position of disjuncts see Swan 1988: 515-524).²

It is important to note that my definition of ESMs excludes other subject-oriented adverbs often included within ESMs in the literature, namely subject adjuncts.³ These latter also attribute a trait or characteristic to the subject and are typically placed medially, but they do not co-occur with stative verbs, as can be seen in (5) (see Swan 1990: 42),⁴ do not have a causal relationship to the rest of the sentence (6b), and most important of all, do not convey a value judgement (6c).

- (5) *John angrily does not like dentists.
(6) a. Blushingly she left the room.
b. ≠She was blushing because she left the room.
c. ≠I deem it blushing of her that she left the room.

The ESM class being delimited, I shall now turn to its historical development. My exploration of the development of ESMs through time takes Swan's (1988) diachronic study as a starting point. She concludes that, in OE and ME the members of the ESM class are in most cases only "embryo" disjuncts (Swan 1988: 164, 328). Although she finds instances of true disjunct use, such as (7) below, in many cases it is very difficult to determine what the actual scope of the adverbs is, since position is not, as in PE, a clue for scope selection. Thus, the adverb in (8) is ambiguous between the manner reading 'wield authority in a right way' and the disjunct reading 'it is right that authority is wielded...'. The adverb in (9), on its part, does not allow a manner reading, presumably since the verb is stative, nor is it likely to mean 'it is right that', and should probably be interpreted as a blend of this latter and an intensifier reading ('truly understand'):

² The question which arises here is why ESMs, unlike epistemic and illocutionary disjuncts, favour mid position. Bolinger's (1952) linearity principle seems to provide a neat answer. The principle in question basically states that any element overshadows everything to the right of it in the sentence and whole-splits the immediately preceding elements (see Bolinger 1952: 1121). If Bolinger's whole-split effect holds true, then an element does not only work on the elements to its right, but has both a rightwards and a –more limited– leftwards scope. Middle position then would seem ideal for ESMs since in this position the adverb can operate both on the subject/agent to its left and on the VP to its right (see also Lysvåg 1989: 199-201).

³ Subject adjuncts are considered disjuncts in Jackendoff (1972), Huang (1975), Bartsch (1976), Bellert (1977) and Ernst (1984), among others.

⁴ As Swan (1990: 42) notes, subject adjuncts occasionally collocate with stative verbs "when the verb has become dynamic in some sense", as in (i), where the embedded clause *him leave* makes the stative perception more dynamic. (i) Sorrowfully, he saw him leave.

- (7) *Anglo Saxon Writs* 219 [Swan 1988: 170]: *Ælce mannum gebyred swyðe rihte ure drihten God luuien 7 hehlice weorðien.*
 ‘It very rightly behoves every man to love and highly honour our Lord God’
- (8) King Alfred *Pastoral Care* 115 [Swan 1988: 168]: & ðeah *suiðe ryhte* stihtað ðone anwald se ðe geornlice conn ongietan ðæt...
 ‘And yet he very rightly wields authority who well knows how to ...’
- (9) King Alfred *Boethius* 107 [Swan 1988: 167]: *Genog rihte* ðu hit ongist.
 ‘Very rightly you understand’

Swan further shows that in OE and ME evaluative subject modification, though semantically diversified, was primarily realised by the adverb *rightly* and its variants, and only cursorily by other adverbs.

Once we know how far OE and ME have gone in the adverbialisation of evaluative subject modification, we are ready to embark on the investigation of EModE usage, which, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, is the main aim of the present study. For this purpose, I will be adducing data retrieved, basically, from the EModE section of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (551,000 words; see Kytö 1996), which is temporally divided into three subsections, covering the periods 1500-1570 (E1), 1570-1640 (E2) and 1640 to 1710 (E3). Since this corpus does not always yield enough examples to allow safe generalisations, the *OED*, the *MED*, *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* on-line (c.1,180,000 words), the *Michigan Early Modern English Materials* on-line and *The Century of Prose Corpus* (c. 500,000 words; see Milic 1995) were also consulted. This additional material was used merely as a touchstone to check tendencies when the examples found in the *Helsinki Corpus (HC)* were insufficient. For this reason, the figures in the tables include only the examples drawn from the *HC*.

2. EVALUATIVE SUBJECT MODIFIERS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

According to Swan’s corpus-based study (1988: 217), the OE ‘embryo’ ESM class is quite large in number of occurrences, but dwindles considerably throughout the ME period (Swan 1988: 326). As becomes apparent in Table 1, the decline continues in EModE, the sharpest drop taking place in the second subperiod: Of the 131 instances of ESMs recorded in the *HC*, 74 occur in period 1, 30 in period 2 and only 27 in period 3. Such decline must undoubtedly be considered a cultural phenomenon in the sense that moral evaluation becomes less and less important.

TABLE 1. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ESMs IN THE THREE EMOdE SUBPERIODS
 (ABSOLUTE FIGURES AND MEAN FREQUENCIES NORMALISED PER 10,000 WORDS)

	WORDS	ESMs	/10,000
E1	190,160	74	3.89
E2	189,800	30	1.58
E3	171,040	27	1.57
TOTAL	551,000	131	2.37

In terms of individual members, however, there is a significant increase with respect to Swan’s (1988) OE and ME data. Thus, while in OE the ESM class is dominated by two adverbs, namely *rihte*

and *rihtlice*, which account for almost a half of the total number of occurrences, the EModE ESM class contains many adverbs (38, in fact), most of which occur only once or twice. The EModE situation just depicted reveals no striking differences to the picture presented by Swan (1988: 494) for PE, where the ESM inventory is large but most of the adverbs occur very seldom.

The semantic subsets discernible in EModE are also roughly the same as those of PE, namely, one group includes adverbs where the choice on the part of the subject either to do or not to do something is judged to be right or wrong, the second group refers to the wisdom or foolishness of the subject with regard to the action or event described by the sentence, and, finally, the third refers to the subject being good or bad in relation to some act. These groups shall be referred to as \pm right, \pm wise and \pm good, respectively. This classification is not always unproblematic. On the one hand, there is some overlapping between the subsets. For example, the adverb *reasonably*, included here within the \pm wise group, may well be seen as belonging to the \pm right group in some cases. On the other hand, as shall become apparent below, there are also blurry borders between \pm good ESMs and subject adjuncts (see Killie 1993: 17, 22-23 and Swan and Breivik 1997: 396).

The three subsets differ quantitatively, as can be seen from the breakdown in Table 2 below. Clearly the \pm right group is in the lead during the whole EModE period, as it was in Swan's OE and ME corpora. Yet its share decreases as time wears on from 54.1% in E1, via 50% in E2, to 40.7% in E3. The \pm good group undergoes a sharper drop, becoming the less frequent type by the end of our period (with only 22.2%). Conversely, the proportion of \pm wise adverbs, which is rather low in E1 (16.2%), increases dramatically in periods 2 and 3 (26.7% and 37.1%, respectively), so that by E3 speakers' comments on the subject's wisdom are almost as frequent as \pm right ones.

TABLE 2. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE THREE ESM SUBSETS IN THE THREE EModE SUBPERIODS

	E1	E2	E3	EModE
\pm right	40 54.1%	15 50%	11 40.7%	66 50.4%
\pm wise	12 16.2%	8 26.7%	10 37.1%	30 22.9%
\pm good	22 29.7%	7 23.3%	6 22.2%	35 26.7%
TOTAL	74 100%	30 100%	27 100%	13 100%

Apart from the differences in quantity, the three subsets also differ syntactically. For one thing, though ESMs in the three groups occur with stative verbs (14 tokens, *i.e.* 10.68%), as in (10) to (12), \pm wise and \pm right adverbs do so more frequently than \pm good ones, of which (12) is the sole instance in the corpus.

- (10) 1684/88 Locke *Directions Concerning Education* 51: They are only our ofspring that we neglect in this point and haveing made them ill children we *foolishly expect* they should be good men.⁵
- (11) 1556 Roper *Sir Thomas More* 92: the supreme government of which, or of any parte whereof, may no temporall prince presume by any lawe to take vppon him, as *rightfully belonging* to the Sea of Roome.
- (12) 1680 Burnet *The Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester* 17: though he had such a strong Presage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he *generously staid* all the while in the place of greatest danger.

For another thing, \pm wise and \pm right adverbs, unlike \pm good ones, begin to differentiate between manner and disjunct positions. Thus, as in PE (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 627-628), disjuncts are more apt to occur medially, while adjuncts favour post-verbal placement. In the case of \pm good adverbs, however, medial position is still in most cases ambiguous between manner and disjunct readings.

In the ensuing sections I will examine each semantic subset individually.

2.1. \pm RIGHT ESMs

Altogether 10 adverbs belong to this subset. As can be seen in Table 3, all of these show a decline in the second half of our period.

TABLE 3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF \pm RIGHT ESMs IN THE THREE SUBPERIODS OF EModE

	E1	E2	E3	EModE
<i>aptly</i>	2	0	1	3
<i>falsely</i>	6	0	1	7
<i>fitly</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>justly</i>	8	5	1	14
<i>lawfully</i>	8	2	1	11
<i>properly</i>	6	3	3	12
<i>rightfully</i>	3	0	0	3
<i>Rightly</i>	2	4	2	8
<i>Unjustly</i>	1	1	2	4
<i>Wrongfully</i>	3	0	0	3
TOTAL	40	15	11	66

Aside from *aptly* and *fitly*, all the items listed in Table 3 are also encountered in ME. In fact, by the end of the ME period many of them could already be used as disjuncts. The important difference is that no single adverb dominates \pm right evaluation in EModE. Rather, five adverbs, namely *justly*, *properly*, *lawfully*, *rightly* and *falsely*, show high frequencies of occurrence. *Justly* is a case in point.

⁵ Unless stated otherwise, the historical examples are drawn from *HC*.

It occurs in ME only as a non-disjunct, as can be inferred from the quotations in the *MED*. In EModE not only does it become the most frequent \pm right ESM, but stabilises in the positions where it is generally found in PE, to wit, middle position when it functions as a disjunct and final position when it functions as a non-disjunct (chi-square = 7.285; $p \leq 0.05$, 2df, see Table 4).⁶ As a full-fledged disjunct, quite a few tokens collocate with stative verbs, as witnessed by (13):

- (13) 1551 Record *The First Principles of Geometrie* E4v: that whan you perceae the truth of the one, you can not *ustly doubt* of the other truthe.

TABLE 4. THE POSITION OF DISJUNCT AND NON-DISJUNCT (UN)JUSTLY⁷

	I	M	E	Ellip	NF	TOT
disjunct	1	12	3	--	2	18
(un)justly	5.5%	66.7%	16.7%	--	11.1%	100%
non-disjunct	--	2	6	--	1	9
(un)justly	--	22.2%	66.7%	--	11.1%	100%

The fast shift of *justly* from adjunct to disjunct suggests that manner adverbs in the semantic field of *rightly* are a well-established source for ESMs at the end of the ME period. This is confirmed by fact that newcomers such as *aptly* and *fitly*, are used as disjuncts only ten to twenty years after their first attested use as adjuncts, probably by analogy.

It must be acknowledged, nonetheless, that not all the adverbs are equally developed as disjuncts by the end of the period under study. *Rightly*, for example, is still in many cases troublesome with regard to scope selection. Thus, in (14) the adverb could be interpreted as ‘I was right to conclude...’ or as ‘I concluded rightly...’ or as a blend of the two senses:

- (14) 1695 Preston *Boethius* 137: But I have *rightly* concluded that Good and Happiness are the chief Good.

Besides, position is not in the case of *rightly*, as was in the case of *justly*, scope-disambiguating, as evinced by the data in Table 5. Thus, though final position is more or less reserved for manner *rightly*, middle position is equally occupied by disjuncts and non-disjuncts.

⁶ Admittedly, there are some examples, such as (i), in which position is not disambiguating and it is practically impossible to determine the scope of the adverb. (i) 1550-2 Edward VI *Journal* 463 [*Century of Prose Corpus*]: First, that although mr. Sidney’s and mr. Winter’s matters ware *justly* condemned, yet...

⁷ *I* stands for initial field or pre-subject placement, *M* stands for post-subject pre-verbal positions and *E* for post-verbal positions. Adverbs in ellipted (*ellip*) and non-finite (*NF*) sentences are counted separately.

TABLE 5. THE POSITION OF DISJUNCT AND NON-DISJUNCT (UN)RIGHTLY

	I	M	E	Ellip	NF	TOT
disjunct	1	4	--	1	2	8
<i>rightly</i>	12.5%	50%	--	12.5%	25%	100%
non-disjunct	--	7	6	1	--	14
<i>rightly</i>	--	50%	42.9%	7.1%	--	100%

2.2 \pm WISE ESMs

Although we have seen a steady decline of the \pm right group and the ESM class in general, the distribution of the \pm wise group remains remarkably stable over time, with very small fluctuations between the three subperiods, as can be seen from the breakdown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. THE DISTRIBUTION OF \pm WISE ESMs IN THE THREE SUBPERIODS OF EModE

	E1	E2	E3	EModE
<i>Craftily</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Cunningly</i>	0	0	2	2
<i>Foolishly</i>	1	2	1	4
<i>Ingeniously</i>	0	0	2	2
<i>Judiciously</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Providentially</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Prudently</i>	1	1	0	2
<i>Reasonably</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Subtilly</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Unwisely</i>	1	0	1	2
<i>Wisely</i>	7	3	1	11
<i>Wittily</i>	1	0	1	2
TOTAL	12	8	10	30

Apart from *ingeniously*, *judiciously* and *providentially*, none of the adverbs in the \pm wise subset can be said to be brand-new items, considering their *OED* datings (e.g. *wittily* 1350, *cunningly* 1375, *prudently* 1382, *craftily* and *wisely* going back to OE). However, only two of them, namely *wisely* and *foolishly*, inherit their disjunct status from OE or ME times (Swan 1988: 195-7, 345). *Wisely* is by far the most frequent adverb in the group, though by E3 it has lost its dominant status, presumably because of the wealth of new adverbs signifying 'wisely', such as *artfully*, *ingeniously*, *judiciously*, *shrewdly*. *Wisely* and *unwisely* (the two adverbs will be henceforth treated as one) are in most cases unambiguously used as disjuncts. The disjunct and the adjunct have come to be functionally differentiated by means of position. A comparison of the figures in Table 9 reveals that, if the adverb precedes the main verb, it is more likely to be a disjunct, while post-verbally it is more apt to be a non-disjunct.

TABLE 7. THE POSITION OF DISJUNCT AND NON-DISJUNCT (UN)WISELY

	I	M	E	ellip	NF	TOT
Disjunct	--	7	1	1	4	13
(un)wisely	--	53.8%	7.7%	7.7%	30.8%	100%
Non-disjunct	--	--	3	1	--	13
(un)wisely	--	--	75%	25%	--	100%

Foolishly is also a well-established speaker comment in EModE. Three of the tokens found in my corpus occur in medial position, the remaining one being placed post-verbally. Significantly, the only non-disjunct token appears in final position, which would suggest that disjunct and non-disjunct positions are being differentiated. However, figures are very low and thus statistics are in this case uncertain. In one instance, namely (15), the adverb co-occurs with a stative verb:

- (15) 1660 Locke *The Old Art of Teaching Schoole* 51: and haveing made them ill children we foolishly expect they should be good men.

Apart from *wisely* and *foolishly*, all the adverbs listed in Table 6 were before EModE only used as manner adjuncts, *i.e.* as word modifiers. Throughout the period under study these adverbs undergo both syntactic and semantic shifts. Syntactically, they widen their scope and become sentence modifiers. Semantically, they develop meanings which are far removed from those of their source adverbs. In the following paragraphs I shall trace the historical evolution of each of the adverbs in question.

Craftily is one of the adverbs which undergoes a semantic-functional shift in EModE. According to the *OED*, in OE and ME it is only used as a manner adjunct meaning “skilfully, cleverly” (*OED* s.v. *craftily* 1). In the early 1500’s, however, some texts begin to betray contextually negative connotations in the adverb (*OED* s.v. *craftily* 2). In the E1 example below, for instance, *craftily* co-occurs with *subtilly*, which by that time has already gained implications of disapproval (*OED* s.v. *subtilly*).

- (16) 1523-34 Fitzherbert *The Book of Husbandry* 98: In the whiche boke he shewed so many wayes, howe a man shoulde atteyne to his purpose, to brynge a woman to vice, the whiche wayes were so naturall, and the wayes to come to theyr purpose were soo subtilly contryued, and *craftely* shewed, that harde it wold be for any woman to resyste or deny theyr desyre.

This negative meaning is the one found in all the E2 and E3 occurrences in my corpus, though the evidence adduced by the other sources consulted indicates that the positive sense is not completely ousted until the LModE period. The evidence derived from the *OED* quotations suggests that it is also at the beginning of EModE that this adverb starts to be used as an ESM, the sole instance of disjunct usage in the *HC* being from the second subperiod.

- (17) 1592-3 *The Statutes of the Realm* IV 857: and yet have *craftelye* and *deceyfullie* uttered and sould the same, being tarred, as newe good and stronge, & as made of newe and p~fecte stuffe.

The history of *cunningly* is remarkably similar to that of *craftily*. In its earliest uses, *cunningly* also seems to have been exclusively a manner adverb with a meaning that the *OED* describes as “with skill, knowledge or wisdom” (*OED* s.v. *cunningly* 1). This is the meaning we find in our E1 material, as (18) illustrates:

- (18) 1570 Ascham *The Scholemaster* 217: To daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe of instrumentes *cunnyngly*: to Hawke: to hunte: to playe at tennes, & all pastimes generally.

In the second subperiod, however, examples in which *cunningly* has a positive meaning, such as (19), occur side by side with examples in which the adverb is used in negative contexts, such as (20):

- (19) 1630 Taylor *Pennyles Pilgrimage* 130.C: In the inner Court, I saw the Kings Armes *cunningly* carued in stone.
(20) 1611-3 Middleton *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* 23: That shall not serue your turn, what a Rogue’s this, how *cunningly* he came ouer vs?

Shakespeare’s corpus provides much stronger evidence for the existence of the modern negative sense in E2. Indeed, the 6 instances of *cunningly* in his works carry implications of disapproval. Witness, for example (21):

- (21) 1613-14 *Two Noble Kinsmen* 193-5 [Shakespeare]: Why then would you deal so *cunningly*, So strangely, so unlike a noble kinsman, To love alone?

In all my E3 instances the adverb has the modern negative meaning “with knowledge employed to conceal facts or designs, or to deceive or circumvent” (*OED* s.v. *cunningly* 3).⁸ As far as scope is concerned, ESM *cunningly* is not attested in the sources consulted until our third EModE subperiod. Excerpt (22) below contains the earliest record in my corpus:

- (22) 1670 Milton *The History of Britain* 274: Edmund dead, Canute meaning to reign sole king of England, calls to him all the Dukes,..., *cunningly* demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and Edmund dividing the Kingdome,

⁸ The additional material consulted, however, provides examples in which *cunningly* is still being used with the positive sense, such as (i): 1640 brathwait, ar’t asleepe, 76 [*Michigan Early Modern English Materials*]: “The next was of the lemnian order, a black-smiths wife; one, who could forge and hammer any thing *cunningly*, to compasse her pleasure.” In actual fact, the victory of the negative sense does not seem to have been complete until the LModE period (see Menner 1945: 65 and Rudskoger 1952: 354-357).

whether the Sons and Brothers of Edmund were to govern the West-Saxons after him, Canute living?

The history of *cunningly* and *craftily* is paralleled by many other adverbs in the semantic field of ‘clever’, such as *artfully*, *guilefully* and *slyly*. According to Görlach (1991: 202), these items are also still neutral in their first EModE contexts (with the exception of *guilefully*), and gain negative connotations in the course of the period under study.

Subtilly could also have been included in this list. The history of this adverb is, however, slightly different from that of *cunningly* and *craftily*. For one thing, *subtilly* is attested with the negative sense ‘guilefully’, ‘insidiously’ as early as 1385 (*OED* s.v. *subtilly* 2). Secondly, in this case the positive meaning came to predominate, so that PE *subtly* means “with subtle (fine-drawn) thought or argument” (*OED* s.v. *subtly* 2).⁹ Thirdly, *subtilly* seems to have reached ESM status earlier than *craftily* and *cunningly*. Actually, Swan (1988: 346) records 9 instances of disjunctive use in her late ME corpus.¹⁰ Example (23) below is the sole instance in my corpus:

- (23) 1608 Armin *A Nest of Ninnies* 14: and straight, *very subtilly*, leapes into the moate up to the arm-pits, and there stood eating the pie.

Shrewdly is another adverb which loses former implications of disapproval and gains connotations of approval throughout the EModE period (see Barber 1997: 251). It is not listed in Table 6 since in the *HC* it is only found as a manner adverb with the early meaning “sharply, severely” (*OED* s.v. *shrewdly* 2), as illustrated by (24), and as a mere intensive, as exemplified by (25):

- (24) 1582 Madox *The Diary of Richard Madox* 88: Henshaw of Christchurch comyng into a howse with a low dore knock his head *shrewdly* to the post.
 (25) 1554 *The Trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton* 71.C1: Methinke the Matters confessed by others against you, together with your owne Confession, will weye *shrewdlye*.

Shakespeare’s works do display its current sense ‘with shrewd intelligence’, but only in adjunct function, as in (26):

- (26) *Much Ado* II, i, [Shakespeare]: *Leonato*. Cousin, you apprehend passing *shrewdly*.

Actually, the earliest record as a speaker comment in the material consulted, to wit (27), is only from 1691:

- (27) 1691 *The Gentleman’s Journal* 0021/088 [*Century of Prose Corpus*]: However, I have been promised a manuscript, which is *shrewdly* suspected to be his.

⁹ In some contexts PE *subtly* has gained the connotation of “excessive” refinement of thought (*OED* s.v. *subtly* 5).

¹⁰ It should be noted, however, that the three examples she quotes are, in my opinion, ambiguous as to scope.

Disjunct *wittily* is, like the adverbs just described, an EModE development. It is found as a speaker comment at the beginning of the EModE period. However, it does not acquire its PE meaning until our third subperiod (see Lewis 1969: 100-110; Görlach 1991: 205-6, and Barber 1997: 245-6). Thus, in (28), the earliest –though ambiguous– example of its use as a disjunct in the corpus, it does not have the PE meaning ‘with wit or humour’ but means ‘intelligently, ingeniously’. Note that *wisely* is the adverb chosen by Ascham to paraphrase it two lines below:

- (28) 1570 Ascham *The Scholemaster* 218: and therefore sayth Horace
verie wittelie, that, that Poete was a verie foole, that began hys
booke, with a goodlie verse in deede, but ouer proude a promise ...
And after, as *wiseli*...

In the following example taken from Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night*, however, the meaning ‘wisely’ seems to overlap with the new meaning ‘with an apt, agile or entertaining use of language’, the meaning from which the PE senses of *wittily* are descended:

- (29) 1601 *Twelfth Night* 12-17 [Shakespeare]: *Sir Toby*. Jove bless thee,
Master Parson.
Feste. Bonos dies, Sir Toby, for as the old hermit of Prague, that
never saw pen and ink, *very wittily* said to a niece of King
Gorboduc, “That that is, is.” So I, being Master Parson, am Master
Parson, for what is “that but “that”, and “is” but “is”?

It is in the second half of the seventeenth century that the first record of disjunct *wittily* with the modern sense is found, namely (30):

- (30) 1691 Sir T. P. Blount *Ess.* i 19 [*OED* s.v. *wittily* 3]: Therefore one
wittily calls these Indulgencies Emulgenes.

Prudently also seems to have become a disjunct in EModE. At least, none of the quotations in the *MED* or the *OED* allow a disjunct reading. Swan (1988: 346) does list this adverb among ME ESMs, but her only record of the adverb, namely (31), is, in my opinion, an extremely dubious disjunct case. Certainly, a manner reading like ‘you are wise and discrete, and rule everything in a prudent way’ seems preferable here:

- (31) *Middle English Sermons* 220 [Swan 1988: 348]: O þou most wisse
and discrete, rewlyng *prudently* al þinge.

In the first EModE subperiod, we find one speaker-oriented example, namely (32). Whether it in fact represents true disjunct use is perhaps uncertain because of the presence of *so*, though the sentence may reasonably be interpreted to mean ‘the peace that was so prudent of the king to make’.

- (32) 1514-8 More *The History of King Richard III* 16: all the worlde
would ... say that thei had vnwyselye and vntrewlye also, broken the
amitie and peace that the kyng her husband so *prudently* made,
betwene hys kinne and hers in his death bed.
-

Period 2, however, clearly has a disjunct *prudently*, (33):

- (33) 1602 Clowes *Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of Struma* 27: And he that is chosen to be the Operator of the said action, must *prudently* and wisely ... co~sider the greatnes & smalnes of the said Tumor.

Finally, the adverb *sensibly* is attested in my corpus, though only as a manner adjunct and an intensifier. A survey of the instances found in Shakespeare's works and the *OED* confirms that in EModE it is still not used as a disjunct. Besides, all the instances attested in my historical sources display the early meaning 'in a manner perceptible to the senses'. My first instance of its modern sense 'intelligently, judiciously', drawn from *The Century of Prose Corpus*, is from 1748, while the first acceptable record of its use as a disjunct dates back only to 1932 (*OED* s.v. *sensibly* 4).

In sum, many of the PE \pm wise adverbs entered the language as manner adjuncts in the ME period. Though some (e.g. *foolishly*, *subtily*) started to expand their scope as early as the fourteenth century, most do so throughout the EModE period. Once \pm wise manner adverbs establish as a frequent source of ESMs with items like *craftily*, *cunningly*, *wittily* or *foolishly*, its diffusion to later incorporations in the same semantic field, such as *cleverly*, *intelligently* or *stupidly*, is unstoppable.

2.3 \pm GOOD ESMs

\pm Good adverbs are used to evaluate the subject positively or negatively with respect to some state of affairs, the exception being *boldly* and *carefully*, which are neutral. Most of these adverbs occur only in the first subperiod, a sharp drop, both in terms of individual members and in the number of total occurrences, taking place in period 2, as is displayed in Table 8 (see next page).

The \pm good inventory contains the same central units as that of Swan's (1988: 337-339) ME data, to wit *benignly*, *cruelly*, *graciously* and *treacherously*. There are also recent incorporations, such as the new Latinate *corruptly*, *courteously* and *generously*.

Compared to the \pm right and \pm wise groups, the adverbs in the \pm good subset are relatively underdeveloped as disjuncts. In some cases, it is extremely difficult to decide whether \pm good adverbs are coloured by the speaker opinion or not, that is, to ascertain whether the adverbs in question are disjuncts or subject adjuncts. Sometimes, as in (34) below, the line between the two types of adverbs is so indistinct that one is forced to conclude that the adverb can function as either a subject adjunct or a disjunct, depending on whether the boldness is seen as a mental state or as an evaluation. Thus, we can interpret (34) as 'he was bold, as manifested in his maintaining such an opinion', or 'he can be judged bold because he maintained such an opinion'. The difference is so slight that it seems to be a matter of 'different ways of looking at it':

- (34) 1602 Clowes *Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of Struma* 16: a certaine repynning enuious man, ... reported that the aforesaid plaister De Ranis was dangerous vnto the patient; and said, who so did holde the contrary opinion, it was erroneous, foolish and deceptfull: by reason (quoth hee) of the coldnes of the Quick-siluer: and *boldly* did seeme to maintaine the same, with a number of very spruse termes, and picked phrases.

TABLE 8. THE DISTRIBUTION OF \pm GOOD ESMs IN THE THREE SUBPERIODS OF EModE

	E1	E2	E3	EModE
<i>Benignly</i>	2	0	1	3
<i>Boldly</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Carefully</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Corruptly</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Courteously</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Cruelly</i>	2	0	1	3
<i>Dispitously</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Favourably</i>	2	0	0	2
<i>Generously</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Graciously</i>	2	3	1	6
<i>Maliciously</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Mercifully</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Presumptuously</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Rudely</i>	1	0	1	2
<i>Seditiously</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Treacherously</i>	4	1	0	5
<i>Untruly</i>	3	0	0	3
<i>Wickedly</i>	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	22	7	6	35

In other cases, the difficulty resides in deciding between the manner and the disjunct readings. Thus, in (35) it may be either the manner of disputing the title of succession or the fact that the book disputed it that is corrupt, though it is difficult to separate both readings and probably the manner should be included in the disjunct reading:

- (35) 1600 *The Arraignment of the Earles of Essex and Southampton* 14:
there was a sedicious booke sett out, vnder the name of one Dallman,
w^{ch} *very corruptly* disputed the tittle of the succession, deriuinge it
as Lawfull vppon the Infanta, as any other.

Position is scope-disambiguating only to a certain extent, since, though post-verbal position seems to be reserved for non-disjuncts, medial position is equally occupied by disjuncts, as in (36), and non-disjuncts, as in (37):

- (36) 1554 *The Trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton* 76.C1: for Wordes
onely, many great Personages, and others of good Behaiour, hath
bene *most cruelly* cast away by these foremer sanguinolent thirstie
Lawes.
- (37) 1535 Fisher *The English Works by John Fisher* 1,398: not for him
self, nor for hys owne sinne, but for ours was he *thus cruelly*
intreated, wee were the cause, wee committed the sinne.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Though the adverbialisation of evaluative subject modification started in OE with adverbs such as *rihtlice* and *wislice*, EModE can be regarded an ESM watershed in many respects. First, though moral evaluation loses ground in that it becomes less and less frequent to judge the subject's involvement in the action denoted by the verb, the repertoire of ESMs increases significantly, particularly that of adverbs describing the subject as (un)wise. Secondly, many such adverbs acquire their PE senses throughout this period. Thirdly, many ESMs start to show their predilection for mid position, unlike their adjunct homonyms, which favour post-verbal placement, and also unlike other disjunct adverbs, which prefer initial field. These changes point towards a more subjective expression by adverbial means in the Early Modern English lexicon.¹¹

All my evidence for ESM change, both for syntactic and semantic change, supports the thesis of the transitional status of the EModE period in terms of adverbial change. The data suggest that important developments continue in LModE and some of them only gather momentum in the twentieth century.

¹¹ Important changes which involve subjectification also take place in EModE focusing adverbs (Nevalainen 1994: 254-256) and in intensifiers (Peters 1994).

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