

Early Modern Printed Sermons as Evidence for Idiolect: Lancelot Andrewes' Use of Third-Person Singular Inflection¹

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1. Introduction

1.1 *Aims and scope*

This paper examines the use of third-person singular inflections *-th/s* in Lancelot Andrewes' sermons and argues that the language in the *XCVI Sermons* represents the author's linguistic choice, drawing on evidence from (i) textual transmission, (ii) intra-writer variation, and (iii) Bible quotations. This case study suggests that Early Modern English sermons may be valuable evidence of the authors' idiolects of morphosyntactic features relatively free from editors/printers linguistic intervention.

In third-wave sociolinguistics, researchers are increasingly recognising individual linguistic users as active “agents” of language variation and change, concentrating on the usage patterns of individual linguistic users, i.e. idiolects (cf. Eckert 2018; Hall-Lew et al. 2021). Scholars in historical linguistics are also adopting this trend, employing comparable analytical approaches (Conde-Silvestre 2016; Beal 2019), which have provided stimulating insights into individuals' interactions with ongoing linguistic changes, as seen in studies by Nevalainen et al. (2011) using CEEC and Petré et al. (2019) using EMMA. However, a significant “bad data” problem (Labov 1994: 11) hampers microscopic analyses of language variation and change at the idiolectal level. This paper does not undertake a third-

wave sociolinguistic analysis; rather, it seeks to evaluate the reliability of printed materials as evidence for idiolects, thereby underpinning the foundation for historical sociolinguistic research, as demonstrated by Yadomi (2019) and aforementioned studies.

Large-scale corpora have hugely contributed to our understanding of language variation and change during the Early Modern period. These corpora include Helsinki Corpus (HC), Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC), Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (CED), Corpus of English Religious Prose (COERP), and the more recent Early-Modern Multiloquent Authors (EMMA, Petr   et al. 2019). Such collections primarily employ printed texts as source material, though some corpora such as CEEC and EMMA, are designed to facilitate idiolect analysis.

Nevalainen and her colleagues compiled the CEEC and their research significantly advanced our understanding of the interplay between language and society during the Early Modern period, with particular attention to individual language users (Raumolin-Brunberg 2005, 2006, 2009; Nevalainen et al. 2011; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2017). The CEEC comprises letters mainly from edited collections, supplemented by a select number of original manuscripts. In instances where the editions are considered problematic, cross-referencing with the original manuscripts is conducted. This ensures cautious representation of individual language use in printed texts. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 45) elucidate that the CEEC “has been designed to provide access to the language of individual informants”. They acknowledge, however, that “the CEEC is a reliable tool for research on grammar, lexis and pragmatics but not necessarily for orthography and phonology” (44).

When printed texts are used for linguistic analysis, especially idiolectal

one, it is essential to maintain a critical stance regarding the authenticity of the language investigated, questioning whether it truly reflects the authors' original usage and intentions because printers and editors could intervene the original texts in the process of publication (Pollard 1917; Howard-Hill 2006). Suhr observes that "Early modern authors just produced the text, and even that was subject to editing without the author's permission; authors had little or no control over the way it was transformed into a printed product" (Suhr 2011:37 after Pollard 1917: 25). Jonathan Hope has similarly expressed this concern through his study of morpho-syntactic linguistic features in Shakespeare's work and that of his contemporaries, employing these characteristics for authorship detection in printed editions of drama (1994: 33). Hope maintains that "the possibility of printing house standardisation" should be considered and argues that in the case of the linguistic features he examined (the auxiliary *do*, relative markers and second person pronouns *thou* and *you*) there is little chance that printers made alteration to the use of them (1994: 33, 75). However, he warns that printing house standardisation is probable especially "on forms which did not have syntactic consequences", citing the evidence that modernisation on spelling and the morphological feature from *-th* to *-s* forms are present in the later editions of Shakespeare folios (73-5).

The selection of third-person singular inflections between *-th* and *-s* in Early Modern English is a morphological phenomenon, which is often subject to the issue of "bad data" due to its textual instability (cf. Hope 1994: 77). The stability of linguistic features varies: for example, lexical choice seems more stable than the spelling which is often considered as fluid. Howard-Hill (2006: 16), for example, notes that "early modern printers—unlike present-day printers—did not follow the spellings of

their copies”. Identification of idiolects is particularly problematic in Early Modern texts. During this period, the new technology of printing was spreading, and the concept of authorship was still developing. Consequently, authors exerted less control over publishing, and interventions by printers in the texts were more commonly accepted than in later periods.

Therefore, it is crucial to determine whether the use of *-th/s* truly reflects the authors’ intentions. This study addresses methodological issues in idiolectal analysis and aims to contribute to the development of a methodological framework for historical (socio-)linguistic research based on idiolects.

1.2 Third-person singular inflections in Early Modern English

The transition from *-th* to *-s* in the third-person singular inflection is one of the major linguistic changes in the Early Modern period. The variation and change of the linguistic feature have been extensively studied from a range of perspectives (Holmqvist 1922; Stein 1987; Kytö 1993; Ogura & Wang 1996; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2000, 2003; Gries & Hilpert 2010; Walker 2016, 2017), including studies focusing on the usage of individuals (Nevalainen et al. 2011; Petré et al. 2019). During the Early Modern period, both inflectional forms were available as example (1)² shows, while the innovative variant *-s* was increasingly replacing the traditional *-th* suffix.

- (1) The Text is of a *gathering*; and that falls fitt with the *season*; and giveth us great cause to admire the high wisdom of GOD, in the dispensation of *seasons*;

“1623 Christmas Sermon” in *XCVI Sermons* (1629), Lancelot Andrewes)

Given the bad data problem, we have only a limited amount of data to study language variation and change/maintenance. Despite this difficulty, there are plenty of printed sermons as potential source for linguistic data. Kohnen et al. (2011) and Yadomi (2019) both use sermons and religious texts as evidence for linguistic analyses. Thus, it is worthwhile to examine how far Early Modern sermons are eligible for linguistic (especially idiolectal) evidence. Lancelot Andrewes, whose language we will look at in this paper, is a renowned clergy, bishop and preacher of the time. The rationale for examining his sermons is threefold; corpus size, availability of different text formats, and access to social and ethnographical background.

1.3 *Lancelot Andrewes and his texts*

Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) was a distinguished ecclesiastical figure, occupying a range of prominent positions: Dean of Westminster (1601-1605), Bishop of Chichester (1605-1609), Lord Almoner (1605-1619), Bishop of Ely (1609-1619), and Dean of the Chapel Royal (1618-1626). He was influential over church and state politics and also served as the chief translator of the King James Bible (published in 1611). As a distinguished preacher at the Court, Andrewes regularly delivered sermons in front of King James I, who “admired [him]... beyond all other Divines” (Isaacson 1650: *2^v). His contemporaries celebrated his oratory excellence; Henry Isaacson hailed him as “Stella praedicantium; and an Angell in the Pulpit” (Isaacson 1650: [* *4r]), while John Buckeridge lauded him as “the great Actor and

performer” (Buckeridge 1629: 16). As will be examined in greater detail, Andrewes had a very meticulous and careful attitude about preparing and publishing his sermons.

Lancelot Andrewes has left us the folio edition of sermons, *XCVI Sermons* (1629), including 96 sermons delivered at the Court from 1589 to 1624. This volume, edited posthumously by his colleagues William Laud and John Buckeridge, provides a comprehensive collection of his homiletic contributions. The folio edition was printed by George Miller for Richard Badger, who was printer to Archbishop Laud (Plomer 1907: 11). Particularly notable is that the folio edition was published swiftly considering that Andrewes died on 25 September 1626 and the folio was published in 1629. Among 96 sermons, the two Easter sermons from 1618 (preached on 5th April, based on 1 Corinthians 11:16) and 1620 (preached on 16th April, based on John 20:11-17) survive in manuscript form and were also disseminated in quarto editions published shortly after their delivery. The manuscript sermons (1618 and 1620) were both penned by Andrewes’ amanuensis Samuel Wright with some insertion and corrections by the amanuensis and Andrewes himself (Klemp 1995: 154-5). Both Easter sermons are preserved within the collection at Trinity College, Cambridge (MS B. 14. 22). The quarto editions of the sermons were published within the same year of preaching immediately after the delivery, probably by the direction of King James I. The 1618 quarto was printed by John Bill and the 1620 quarto by Robert Barker and John Bill, printers to the King. Consequently, the sermons from Easter 1618 and 1620 are extant in three distinct forms: manuscript, quarto, and folio.

2. Data & Analysis

2.1 *Philological evidence: Textual transmission*

This section demonstrates that the choice of *-th/s* inflections is largely retained after the process of editing and printing, suggesting that Andrewes' printed sermons reflect his linguistic choice. As previously noted, Lancelot Andrewes has left two Easter sermons that exist in manuscript, quarto and folio editions. The use of the linguistic feature in different formats was compared to see how consistent the usage is retained and if editorial or printer linguistic intervention may be evident.

All instances of third-person singular endings in the three versions of the two sermons were retrieved and analysed. The fundamental structure and content of the sermons are strikingly similar across different formats. Table 1 displays the distribution of *-th/s* suffix across different formats. The frequency of the linguistic features exhibits notable consistency across the formats, which points to a deliberate preservation of the linguistic feature through the editorial and printing process, complying with the author's original usage pattern.

Table 1: The distribution of third-person singular inflections across texts

	1618 sermon		1620 sermon	
	<i>th</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>s</i>
MSS	70	63	35	106
Quarto (1618/1620)	71	63	36	107
Folio (1629)	71	61	36	108

The 1618 sermon exhibits minimal variation. In the manuscript, 133 instances of third-person singular suffix were identified: 70 occurrences of

the *-th* ending and 63 of the *-s* ending. The quarto and folio editions show a slight difference with an additional instance of *-th*, because the use of the preterit form “opposeth” in the manuscript is rendered as the present tense form “opposeth” as illustrated by Example (2). The folio edition contains two fewer instances of the *-s* suffix than the other formats; this discrepancy arises because notes containing the *-s* inflection (“Videtur Seemes” and “There wants not Scripture for Easter”) are omitted only in the folio edition.

- (2) MSS [f019v]: NII To these contentions ye Church custome opposed.
1618 Quarto: Note: To these contentions the *Church custome*
opposeth.
1618 Folio: Note: To these contentions, the *Church custome*
opposeth.

The 1620 sermon exhibits greater variation between different formats, probably due to the 1620 manuscript being an earlier, less refined draft compared to the 1618 version (Klemp 1995: 158). The manuscript contains 141 occurrences of third-person singular inflections, comprising 35 *-th* endings and 106 *-s* endings. The printed versions exhibit a higher count of the *-s* form because the manuscript’s past tense verbs “stood” and “wept” are rendered as present tense “stands” and “weeps” in two instances, as demonstrated in examples (3) and (4), though the use of “wept” is retained in the quarto.

- (3) MSS [f042r]: He comes vnknown, stood by her, and ...
1620 Quarto: He comes vnknown, stands by her, and ...

1620 Folio: He comes unknowne, stands by her, and ...

(4) MSS [f043v]: Still she wept So he beginns with *quid ploras?*

1620 Quarto: STill *she* wept: So *Hee* begins with *quid ploras?*

1620 Folio: Still *shee* weeps: So *He* begins with *quid ploras?*

Furthermore, the printed texts contain an additional instance of the *-s* suffix; this arises from a minor modification of a phrase in the manuscript, evidenced in example (5).

(5) MSS [f047r]: Her eyes were holden till her eares were opened comes aures autem aperuisti mihi, & there it bi:gan.

1620 Quarto: *Her eyes were holden*, till her eares were opened; comes *aures autem aperuistimihi*, and that opens them.

1620 Folio: *Her eyes were holden*, till her eyes were opened; comes *aures [...] aper [...]stil mihi*, and that opens them.

There is a single instance where the use of *-s* ending “refuses” in the manuscript is altered to the *-th* ending in the printed editions, as illustrated by (6). This instance is the sole occurrence of interchange between the *-th* and *-s* suffixes across different text formats. Discrepancies in other cases (such as the transformation from preterit to third-person present tense, the omission, and the addition of phrases as exemplified above) may be attributed to reasonable modifications made by Andrewes himself before finalising the fair copy for the editors and printer. Such changes were

likely to be authorised by Andrewes himself, as amanuenses, editors, or printers would have lacked the authority, expertise, or inclination to make substantial alterations to the texts.

- (6) MSS [f041v]: her soule refuses all manner comfort ...
1620 Quarto: her soule refuseth all maner comfort ...
1629 Folio: her soule refuseth all manner comfort ...

In addition, there is one example where the use of “do” is deleted, though the use of *-th* form is retained as in (7).

- (7) MSS [f041r]: for, her Lord she doth acknowledge Him, is neither
ashamed ...
1620 Quarto: for her Lord, shee acknowledgeth Him, is neither
ashamed, ...
1629 Folio: for her Lord, she acknowledgeth Him, is neither
ashamed, ...

It is worth noting that most of these changes are found in the plates (f041r, f041v, f042r), which are right after a major insertion presumably by Lancelot Andrewes himself on f040v. This suggests Andrewes’ careful control over the sermon texts and the language therein.

According to contemporary conventions, preachers were expected to deliver sermons without the assistance of drafts, though the sermons were not typically delivered *ex tempore*. They usually prepared extensive drafts or notes and memorised them in advance (Sparrow 1930: 151; Mitchell 1932: 26). Lancelot Andrewes, a reverend orator, is posited to have adhered

to this practice, delivering sermons without the aid of written drafts (Klemp 1995: 150-1). Andrewes appears to have prepared complete sermon drafts before preaching. Buckeridge noted in his eulogy for Andrewes on November 11, 1626 that “most of his Solemne Sermons he was most carefull of, and exact: I dare say, few of them, but they passed his hand, and were thrice revised, before they were preached” (Buckeridge 1629: 16). In addition, Klemp (1995: 151) observes that four sermons Andrewes did not deliver due to illness are presented in the same structured format as his other works in the *XCVI Sermons* (1629), supporting his meticulous sermon preparation practice.

The manuscripts under examination are not considered to be the final drafts prepared for printing. Klemp (1995: 157) describes Lancelot Andrewes' approach to sermon composition as follows: Andrewes drafted initial versions, then Samuel Wright, his secretary, prepared semifinal drafts. These drafts were subsequently revised by Andrewes and rewritten by Wright to produce the final drafts, which were intended to be ready in time for the sermon delivery. The revised final drafts are regarded to have served as the basis for the printed quarto and 1629 folio editions. Moreover, Klemp suggests (1995: 158) that the 1618 manuscript likely represents an early version of the final draft, pre-revision, and the 1620 manuscript reflects a later version of the semifinal draft, as it contains more explicit corrections and additions.

The quarto editions were both published shortly after the delivery within the same year, and the folio edition was later compiled by Andrewes' peers, William Laud and John Buckeridge, who noted:

There came to our hands a world of sermon notes, but these came

perfect. Had they not come perfect, we should not have ventured to add any limme unto them, left mixing a penn farre inferiour, we should have disfigured such compleat bodies.

(“The Epistle Dedicatorie” in *XCVI Sermons*, Laud & Buckeridge 1629: i)

Considering this editorial strategy, it is unlikely that the editors introduced arbitrary modifications to the texts. Moreover, given that Laud and Buckeridge were both colleagues and close friends of Andrewes, they were unlikely to modify his language without good cause. Similarly, it is improbable that the printers and Andrewes’ amanuensis, Samuel Wright, possessed the authority or the expertise to alter the texts significantly (Klemp 1995: 177-178). Given that Richard Badger, the printer of the *XCVI Sermons*, was a printer to Laud (Plomer 1907: 11), it is unlikely that the printer would have altered the texts at his own will without Laud’s direction. In addition, considering the timing of publication of 1629 after his death on 25 September 1626, the editorial and printing process proceeded fairly rapidly. Under such time constraint, it is not likely that editors and printers were motivated to intervene the use of features such as inflectional ending. Thus, based on this philological and ethnographical evidence, it is very likely that the language printed in the *XCVI Sermons* represents Andrewes’ idiolect.

2.2 Sociolinguistic evidence: Intra-writer variation

Figure 1 illustrates the frequency of *-s* forms in the Lancelot Andrewes’ Christmas sermons delivered between 1605 and 1623, contained in the *XCVI Sermons* (1626). Three high frequency verbs—*have*, *do* and *say*—are excluded from the data, as they are particularly slow to adopt *-s* forms

and may skew the overall distributional patterns. The raw frequency of third-person singular inflections for each sermon is given in Appendix A.

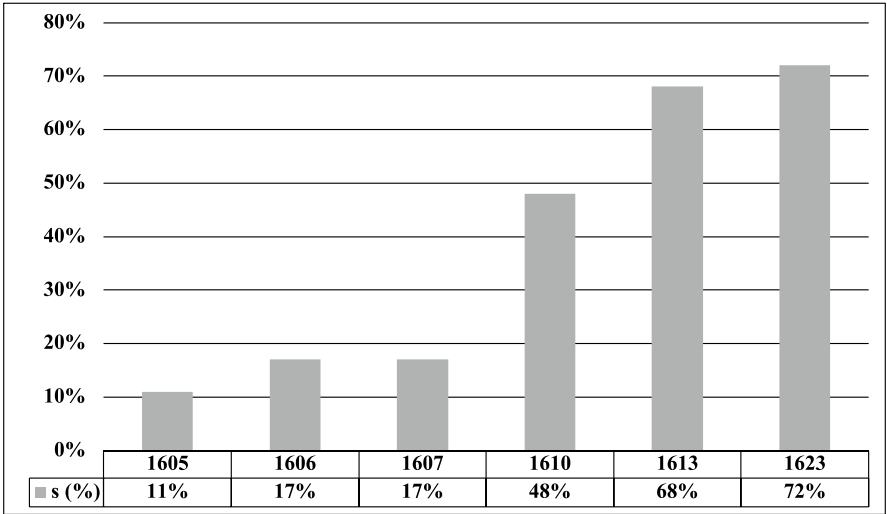


Figure 1: The frequency of *-s* forms by Lancelot Andrewes across his career

Considering his birth year of 1555, the data correspond to his language use from approximately age 50 to 68. This demonstrates that Lancelot Andrewes increasingly adopted the innovative *-s* forms throughout his late career, indicating a case of language change across the lifespan. Notably, there was a discernible increase in the *-s* forms after 1610, aligning with Andrewes' 55th year, and this upward trend continued in the subsequent years. The philological and ethnographical evidence presented earlier suggests that these distribution changes reflect Andrewes' own practice. Moreover, this pattern of lifespan change indicates that the texts reliably convey the author's intended usage, as no other factors seem to account

for the increasing use of the *-s* form as presented in the table.

3. Pragmatic Considerations: Bible Quotations

Sermons often include quotations from the Bible. Sermon writers may have quoted directly from the scriptural texts, leaving them no choice between the *-th* and *-s* endings, as the Early Modern English Bibles consistently maintained the archaic *-th* form. Thus, it is worthwhile to assess whether sermon writers had any choice between the inflectional forms when quoting from the Bible. The analysis is based on selected works of Andrewes and Donne within the Corpus of Sermons in Early Modern English (CoSEME, Yadomi 2019), encompassing the sermons detailed in Tables 2 and 3, along with their word counts. Although the linguistic practices of Lancelot Andrewes are the primary concern of this study, the prevalent use of biblical quotations also justifies incorporating John Donne’s sermons into the analysis, thereby providing a broader perspective on this insufficiently explored topic.

Table 2: Donne’s sermons and their word counts

John Donne	20913
SERMON III. Preached upon Christmas day, at S. Pauls, 1625.	7830
SERMON XIII. Preached in Lent, To the KING. April 20. 1630.	8127
SERMON XIV. Preached at VWhite-hall, March 3. 1619.	4956

Table 3: Andrewes’ sermons and their word counts

Lancelot Andrewes	22224
A SERMON Preached before the KINGS MAIESTY, AT WHITE-HALL, on Tuesday, the XXV. of December, A.D. MDCV. being CHRIST-MASSE day.	6847
A SERMON PREACHED before the KINGS MAIESTIE, at White-hall, on Saturday, the XXV. of December, A. D. MDCXIII. being CHRIST-MASSE day.	7483
A SERMON PREACHED before the KINGS MAIESTIE, at White-hall, on Thursday, the XXV. of December, A. D. MDCXXIII. being CHRIST-MASSE day.	7894

During the Early Modern period, it was customary to italicise biblical quotations, with reference denoted as “Iob 35.11” in marginalia, which is transcribed as [Note: Iob 35.11] in EEBO-TCP. However, italics did not exclusively signify quotations. Additionally, biblical quotes were sometimes included without explicit references. This analysis has extracted and examined all instances of *-th* and *-s* forms in italicised text, categorising them to discern the usage of italicisation and the manner in which biblical lines are quoted. In the corpora under investigation, italicised words constitute 12% of Donne’s sermons and 18% of Andrewes’ sermons. The frequency of third-person singular inflections in and outside italics by Andrewes and Donne are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: The frequency of *-th/s* in and outside italics

		<i>-th</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-s %</i>
L. Andrewes	Non-italic	68	94	58%
	Italic	11	4	27%
	Overall	79	98	55%
J. Donne	Non-italic	3	202	99%
	Italic	4	8	67%
	Overall	7	210	97%

The overall frequency of *-s* forms is 55% in Andrewes’ sermons and 97% in Donne’s sermons. The frequency of *-s* in italics is, as expected, lower than the overall figures. However, the raw frequencies in italics are relatively low, indicating a limited impact from the italicised examples on the overall usage. The count of third-person singular inflections in italicised words totals 15 in Andrewes’ sermons and 12 in Donne’s texts. Various patterns have been observed in italicised texts, which can be classified

into three broader categories: direct quotations, indirect quotations, and others. Within these, we have identified six sub-categories, referred to as “types” in this analysis. These types include (1) *-th* to *-th* (retained original form), (2) *-th* to *-s* (modified form), (3) explicit references to Bible verses, (4) translations from Latin quotations, (5) non-biblical references, and (6) instances of emphasis. Table 5 presents the raw frequencies of *-th* and *-s* forms corresponding to these categories and types in the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes and John Donne.

Table 5: The use of third-person singular inflections in sermons of Andrews and Donne

Category	Type	L. Andrewes		J. Donne	
		<i>th</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>s</i>
Direct Quotation	1	<i>th</i> > <i>th</i>	7	4	
	2	<i>th</i> > <i>s</i>		1	1
Indirect Quotation	3	Reference	1	1	3
	4	Translation			4
Others	5	Non-Biblical	2		
	6	Emphasis	1	2	

In quoting biblical texts, there are varying degrees of adherence to the source material. Direct quotations, such as types 1 and 2, closely mirror the exact phrases from the Bible. Types 3 and 4 are indirect, referring to specific verses, though the text may diverge from the source material in word choice and verbal form. Italics in types 5 and 6 are classified as non-quotations, where the italics are used to signify references to non-biblical texts or to add textual emphasis.

The Biblical sources available to Andrewes and Donne include the

Geneva Bible (1560), the Bishops' Bible (1568), and the King James Bible (1611). Quotations in their sermons have been collated with the corresponding sections from these editions of the Bible. While it is feasible that they consulted the Bible in other languages, such as the Latin Vulgate, the Hebrew Old Testament, and the Greek New Testament, this research is fundamentally confined to English translations, deferring the analysis of biblical texts in original languages to subsequent studies.

3.1 *Direct biblical quotations*

Type 1: *-th* to *-th* (retained original form)

When sermons contain lines that are direct quotations from the English Bible, the original *-th* ending is often preserved. This pattern is identified in 11 instances, exemplified in (8).

(8) That God teacheth vs more then the beasts, and giveth vs more vnderstanding then the foules of the ayre;

[Job. 35:11] (Lancelot Andrewes)

Which teacheth vs more then the beastes of the earth, and giueth vs more wysdome then the foules of the heauen.

(Geneva Bible 1560)

Which teacheth vs more then the beastes of the earth, and geueth vs more wysdome then the foules of heauen.

(Bishops' Bible 1568)

Who teacheth vs more then the beasts of the earth, and maketh vs wiser then the foules of heauen.

(King James Bible 1611)

These examples are typically presented with explicit references to the biblical source. However, there are two instances where italicised texts in sermons reflect the biblical texts without explicit citations, as shown in example (9). The underlined passage “His *Church*, which is His *body*, the *fullnesse of Him that filleth all in all*” likely echoes Ephesians 1:22-23, but without a direct reference to the biblical source. This omission could be due to the author’s oversight, a judgement that citation was unnecessary, or an intentional choice not to reference.

- (9) The *Summe* is at the *foot*; the *Oration*, at the *periode*; the *Building*, at the *head-stone*; the *Tide*, at the *full*: the *fullnesse of the Gentiles* are come in into His *Church*, which is His *body*, the *fullnesse of Him that filleth all in all*.

(Lancelot Andrewes)

... the Church, Which is his bodie, euen the fulnes of him that filleth all in all things.

[Ephesians 1:22-23] (Geneva Bible 1560)

... the Churche, Which is his body, the fulnesse of him that fylleth all in all.

(Bishops’ Bible 1568)

... the Church, Which is his body, the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all.

(King James Bible 1611)

In John Donne’s excerpt in (10), the treatment of third-person singular inflections provides insight into a transient usage of quotations in Early Modern English sermons. Donne initially quotes Hosea 4:2 with the phrase

“*blood toucheth blood*” in italics and the *-th* form, aligning with the wording in the English biblical translations. Subsequently, the phrase is reiterated with variations in form; first appearing in non-italicised text in the *-th* form, and then in the *-s* form as “blood touches blood”. This fluctuation could suggest that biblical phrases, even when they are directly quoted, were not always preserved in their original form upon repetition within a sermon, potentially due to the preacher’s linguistic habits.

- (10) Therefore, sayes one Prophet, *the land is full of bloody crimes*; And, another, *blood toucheth blood*, whom the Chaldee Paraprase expresses aright, *Aggregant peccata peccatis*, blood toucheth blood, when sin induces sin. Which place of *Hosea*, *S. Gregory* interprets too, then blood touches blood, *cum ante oculos Dei, adjunctis peccatis cruentatur anima*; Then God sees a soule in her blood, when she wounds and wounds her selfe againe, with variation of divers, or iteration of the same sins.

[Hosea 4:2] (John Donne)

By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and whoring they breake out, and blood toucheth blood.

(Geneva Bible 1560)

By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they breake out, and blood toucheth blood.

(King James Bible 1611)

Type 2: *-th* to *-s* (modified form)

Even if the original biblical sentences have *-th* endings, the third-person inflection is occasionally switched to *-s* ending. This type of alteration is

observed once in both the sub-corpora, shown in (11) and (12).

(11) Then, the reaper fills his hand, and he that bindeth up the sheaves,

[Psalm 129:7] (Lancelot Andrewes)

Whereof the mower filleth not his hand, nether the glainer his lap:

(Geneva Bible 1560)

Whereof the mower filleth not his hande: neither he that bindeth vp the sheaues his armes full.

(Bishops' Bible 1568)

Wherewith the mower filleth not his hand: nor hee that bindeth sheaues, his bosome.

(King James Bible 1611)

(12) The dayes are prolonged, and every vision failes?

[Ezekiel 12:22] (John Donne)

The dayes are prolonged and all visions faile?

(Geneva Bible 1560)

The dayes are slacke in comyng, & all visions fayle?

(Bishops' Bible 1568)

The dayes are prolonged, and euey vision faileth?

(King James Bible 1611)

Types 1 and 2 represent quoted sentences per se. The analysis of these types indicates that while original *-th* endings are generally retained, they can occasionally be altered to *-s* endings.

3.2 *Indirect biblical quotations*

Type 3: Explicit references to Bible verses

In the sermons of Andrewes and Donne, certain instances illustrate a fluid approach to biblical quotations, one that does not strictly adhere to verbatim reproduction. Such instances were found in 5 cases within their sermons, with 4 instances of *-s* inflections and 1 example of *-th* suffix. This is evident in the usage of third-person singular inflections that diverges from the original English Bible texts, which instead employ different tenses and moods, such as preterit (13), the infinitive with an auxiliary verb (14), or the present subjunctive (15).

In Example (13), Andrewes references Isaiah 29:22 but shifts from the past narrative tense found in three English Bible editions to the present tense.

(13) Thus saith He that redeemes ABRAHAM.

[Isaiah 29:22] (Lancelot Andrewes)

Therefore thus saith the Lord vnto the house of Iaakob, euen he that redemed Abraham, Iaakob shal not now be confounded, neither now shal his face be pale.

(Geneva Bible 1560)

Therefore thus saith the Lorde to the house of Iacob, euen thus saith he that redeemed Abraham: Iacob shall not nowe be confounded, nor his face pale.

(Bishops Bible 1568)

Therefore thus saith the LORD who redeemed Abraham, concerning the house of Iacob: Iacob shall not now be ashamed, neither shall his face now waxe pale.

(King James Bible 1611)

Example (14) from Donne's sermon shows a similar shift from a conditional perfective aspect to a present indicative in referring to Job 9:20.

- (14) *If I say I am perfect*, sayes he in the same place, *even that proves me perverse*;

[Job 9:20] (John Donne)

If I wolde iustifie my selfe, mine owne mouth shal condemne me: if I wolde be perfite, he shal iudge me wicked.

(Geneva Bible 1560)

If I will iustifie my selfe, myne owne mouth shall condempne me: if I will [put foorth my selfe for] a perfect man, he shall proue me a wicked doer.

(Bishops' Bible 1568)

If I iustifie my selfe, mine owne mouth shall condemne me: If I say, I am perfect, it shall also prooue me peruerse.

(King James Bible 1611)

In Example (15), Donne's sermon references Leviticus 5:1, omitting the conditional *if* structure present in the original verse. Rather than directly quoting the biblical text, Donne incorporates it into the fabric of his sermon, subtly recontextualising the original words.

- (15) *He that heares the voyce of swearing, and is a witnesse*, sayes *Moses*, in the first word of our Text;

[Leviticus 5:1] (John Donne)

Also if anie haue sinned, that is, If he haue heard ye voyce of an othe,
& he can be a witnes,

(Geneva Bible 1560)

If a soule sinne, and heare the voyce of swearing, and is a witenesse,
(Bishops' Bible 1568)

And if a soule sinne, and heare the voyce of swearing, and is a
witenesse,

(King James Bible 1611)

Example (16) presents a subtle yet illustrative shift from “answered” to “replies,” suggesting that Donne might have recalled the biblical text from memory rather than quoting it directly, which is further hinted at by an error in the biblical reference (cf. Note 3).

(16) *Amos replies, I was no Prophet nor the son of a Prophet, but in an
other course, and the Lord tooke me and said unto me, Goe and Prophecie
to my People.*

[Amos 7: 14]³ (John Donne)

Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I was no Prophet, nether
was I a Prophetes sonne, but I was an herdman, and a gatherer of
wilde figges.

(Geneva Bible 1560)

Then answered Amos, and sayde to Amazia, I was no prophete,
neither was I a prophetes sonne: but I was an heardeman, and a
gatherer of wilde figges.

(Bishops' Bible 1568)

Then answered Amos, and sayde to Amaziah; I was no Prophet,

neither was I a Prophets sonne, but I was an heardman, and a gatherer of Sycomore fruit.

(King James Bible 1611)

Such examples demonstrate that Biblical quotations are not always “verbatim”; modifications may be made to accommodate the context or to fit the syntactic structure of their discourse. The emphasis is placed on referencing the biblical text rather than on precise replication. Furthermore, the preachers’ familiarity with various English translations, the Latin Vulgate, and the original Hebrew and Greek texts suggests that they might have quoted from memory, adjusting the citations to suit their homiletic purpose.

Type 4: Translation of Latin quotations

In Type 4, which pertains to the translation of classical languages, Donne’s sermons showcase a unique linguistic engagement with Latin biblical phrases. The sermon text moves beyond direct translation to a more nuanced rendition that reflects Donne’s deliberate linguistic choices. The five instances of type 4 all appear in the long excerpt (17). In this example, Latin phrases such as “Sedet in coelis” and “habitat in coelis” are quoted and immediately translated into English. Although these Latin phrases use the third-person singular forms, which could correspond to either the *-th* or *-s* English ending, Donne consistently opts for the *-s* form in translation. This suggests that the choice of inflection is influenced not by the Latin source but by Donne’s preference in linguistic choice.

(17) The first comfort is, [Note: Quia in Coelis.] *Quia in Coelis*,

because he, whom I rely upon, is in heaven. For, that is the foundation and Basis upon which our Saviour erects that prayer, which he hath recommended unto us, *Qui es in coelis, Our Father, which art in heaven*; when I lay hold upon him there, in heaven, I pursue cheerefully and confidently all the other petitions, for daily bread, for forgiveness of sins, for deliverance from tentations; from, and for all. [Note: Psal. [...] Acts. [...]] *Est in coelis, he is in heaven*, and then *Sedet in coelis, he sits in heaven*; That as I see him in that posture that *Stephen* saw him, *standing at the right hand of the Father*, and so, *in procinctu*, in a readinesse, in a willingnesse to come to my succour, so I might contemplate him in a judiciary posture, in a potestative, a soveraigne posture, sitting, and consider him as able, as willing to relieve me. He is in heaven, and he *sits* in heaven, and then *habitat in coelis, he dwels in heaven*, [Note: Psal. 113.5.] he is, and he is alwayes there. *Baals* Priests could not alwaies finde him at home; *Iobs* God, and our God is never abroad. *He dwels in the heavens*, and, (as it is expressed there) *In excelsis, he dwels on high*; so high, that, (as it is there added) God humbles himselfe, to behold the things that are in heaven.

("Sermon XIII" in *LXXX Sermons* (1630), John Donne)

Example (18) shows texts for Psalm 2:4 in different translations. The comparison reveals that Donne's reference to Psalm 2:4, "*Sedet in coelis*", aligns more closely with the phrasing of the King James Bible, which chooses "sitteth" over "dwelleth" in the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles. This indicates that Donne's interpretation of Latin is not merely a literal

translation but is informed by his engagement with contemporary English versions of the Bible.

(18) qui habitat in caelis inridebit eos et Dominus subsannabit eos

(Psalmi 2:4, Latin Vulgate Bible)

But he that dwellleth in the heauen, shal laugh: the Lord shal haue them in derision.

(Geneva Bible 1560)

He that dwellleth in heauen wyll laugh them to scorne: the Lorde wyll haue them in derision.

(Bishops' Bible 1568)

Hee that sitteth in the heauens shal laugh: the LORD shall haue them in derision.

(King James Bible 1611)

Example (19) illustrates an even more creative approach. Donne seems to be translating the English back into Latin, using “habitat in coelis... In excelsis”. The Latin phrase he uses does not match the Vulgate’s phrase “in altis habitat”. Also, the phrase “in excelsis” does not appear in the Vulgate. Instead, “in excelsis” is found in Jerome’s *Psalterium iuxta Hebraicos*, indicating that Donne is drawing from a broader textual tradition, encompassing both the Vulgate and Jerome’s later translation.

(19) quis sicut Dominus Deus noster qui in altis habitat

[Psalmi 112:5] (Latin Vulgate Bible, Iuxta Septuaginta)

quis ut Dominus Deus noster qui in excelsis habitans

[Psalmi 112:5] (Iuxta Hebraica)

Who is like vnto the Lord our God, that hathe his dwelling on high!

[Psalm 113:5] (Geneva Bible 1560)

Who is like vnto God our Lord that dwellesh on hygh aboue all:

[Psalm 113:5] (Bishops' Bible 1568)

Who is like vnto the LORD our God: who delleth on high:

[Psalm 113:5] (King James Bible 1611)

3.3 Others

Type 5: Non-biblical references

For Type 5, non-biblical references, the italicised texts do not originate from the Bible; instead, they are drawn from significant classical works within the Christian tradition. An example of this is found in (20), referring to the writing of John Chrysostom (c. 347-407), the renowned saint and Archbishop of Constantinople, who was also an eminent early Church author. Lancelot Andrewes references St. Chrysostom, noting "(saith *S. Chrysostome*,)" to signify an interpretative engagement with his thought, rather than providing a direct quotation.

- (20) This being 4 beyond the rules and reach of all reason, is surely matter of astonishment: [...], &c. (saith *S. Chrysostome*,) this, *it casteth me into an extasie, and maketh me to imagine, of our Nature, some great matter,*

(Lancelot Andrewes)

Chrysostom originally wrote in Greek in the 4-5th century, and by the Early Modern period, his works had been translated into Latin and should have been available in England. However, without access to the

precise Greek or Latin phrases that Andrewes may have consulted, it is challenging to ascertain the impact of the original language on the use of the *-th* form in Andrewes' sermons. It is conceivable, though, that the Greek or Latin versions did not strictly dictate Andrewes' linguistic choice in his English rendering.

Type 6: Emphasis

In Type 6, which relates to emphasis, the italicised lines are utilised in the sermons to underscore particular points rather than to indicate quotations. For instance, example (21) seems to allude to the First Epistle of Peter 1:24 though without such reference, as seen in the King James Bible passage (22):

- (21) They, *immortall spirits*; that is their durance. Our time is proclaimed in the Prophet: Flesh, *All flesh, is grasse, and the glorie of it, as the floure of the field*, (From *Aprill, to Iune*.) The *scithe commeth*; nay, the *wind* but *bloweth*, and, *we are gone*. *Withering* sooner then the *grasse*, which is short: Nay, *fading* sooner, then the *flower of the grasse*, which is much shorter: Nay (saith Iob) *rubbed in peeces* more easily, then any *moth*.

(Lancelot Andrewes)

- (22) For all flesh *is* as grasse, and all the glory of man as the flowre of grasse: the grasses withereth, and the flowre thereof falleth away.

[1 Peter 1:24] (King James Bible 1611)

However, the sentence in the middle “The *scithe* commeth; nay, the *wind* but *bloweth*, and, *we are gone*.” is not biblical, but seems Andrewes’ own words. The first third-person singular inflection “commeth” is not italicised, but the second one “bloweth” is italicised. Thus, this use of italics seems to represent emphasis rather than indicating the designated parts are quoted. In examples (23) and (24), there is an absence of explicit references to the biblical source, suggesting that the italicised words “calls” and “gathers” are employed primarily for emphasis.

- (23) And heer now *one day calls another*: this day of His calls to minde another day of His, called so in twenty places (*His Day*;) And called [*That day*,] in plaine reference to *this*.

(Lancelot Andrewes)

- (24) The *incorporating* CHRIST; *the ordeining Him a body*; that, is the *new* and *living way*, [Note: Heb. 10.20.] *through the veile, that is His fl[...]**sh*. With that He comes this *day*, and *gathers* all *again*e.

(Lancelot Andrewes)

These examples illustrate how Andrewes used italics not only as a signpost of scriptural references but also as a rhetorical device to lend certain words additional weight and draw the listener’s attention to the spiritual and theological significance of his statements.

3.4 Summary

To summarise, the analysis of biblical quotations and the use of italics in Early Modern English sermons is complex. Italicisation typically

signifies a biblical quotation with an accompanying citation. Nevertheless, italicised text does not invariably denote a direct scriptural quotation; the proportion of direct quotations to italicised instances is 9 out of 15 in Andrewes' sermons and 4 out of 12 in Donne's. There are also instances where the text appears biblical but lacks a reference. In two noted examples (one each from Andrewes and Donne), the *-s* ending is employed even though the source texts in English Bibles utilise the *-th* form. This suggests a discretionary use of *-th* or *-s* endings by the authors, possibly reflecting a deliberate choice or an unconscious preference. There are indirect quotations where biblical references are made without adhering strictly to the original texts, sometimes involving translations from Latin. The remaining examples showcase non-quotations, which encompass quotations from non-biblical source and cases where texts simply meant emphasis.

The process by which sermon writers engaged with the biblical text—whether through direct consultation or from memory—is uncertain. Influences from classical languages such as Hebrew, Greek, and Latin may have played a role. Given these intricate patterns, it is challenging to establish a general rule for the retention of form in biblical quotations. Each case of direct or indirect quotation should be uniquely shaped by its scriptural influence to varying extents.

Table 6 presents an updated result that illustrates the frequency of *-th/s* endings in direct biblical quotations as distinct from their occurrence in italicised texts. Upon reviewing the data, I have calculated the frequency of *-th/s* forms in direct quotations and, when compared with their overall usage, it emerges that the impact of these quotations on the use of third-person singular inflections in Early Modern English sermons seems

relatively small.

Table 6: The frequency of *-th/s* in and outside direct Bible quotations

		<i>-th</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-s %</i>
L. Andrewes	Non-Quotation	72	97	57%
	Direct Bible Quotation	7	1	13%
	Overall	79	98	55%
J. Donne	Non-Quotation	3	209	99%
	Direct Bible Quotation	4	1	20%
	Overall	7	210	97%

In conclusion, the boundary between direct and indirect quotations is nuanced. The degree of fidelity to the source text and the quotation methods varies, emphasising that a verbatim approach was not always the norm and sermon writers could choose the inflectional endings *-th/s* even when quoting from the Bible.

4. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that Lancelot Andrewes' *XCVI Sermons* likely present an trustable representation of his linguistic choices, as evidenced by philological, ethnographical and sociolinguistic analysis in addition to pragmatic considerations of biblical quotations. The findings suggest that printed sermons from the Early Modern English period can serve as reliable evidence for an individual's idiolect.

Philological scrutiny reveals a largely consistent use of third-person singular inflections across various textual formats—manuscripts, quarto, and folio editions. This retention implies that editors and printers did not haphazardly alter the language of the sermons during the publication

process. Additionally, a diachronic examination of the texts suggests a lifespan change, further affirming the authenticity of Andrewes' linguistic selection.

Biblical quotations, ubiquitous in Early Modern English sermons, exhibit variability in their adherence to the original texts. The analysis has shown that quotations often deviate in wording and that the selection of third-person singular inflectional forms within sermons is not necessarily dictated by the original biblical texts as sources of reference. In fact, the relative frequency of *-th* and *-s* inflections in quotations within these sermons appears to be low. Consequently, given the variable treatment of Bible quotations, they might be regarded as elements of individual idiolects, reflecting a deliberate choice in the form of third-person singular inflection.

The *XCVI Sermons* (1629) genuinely reflect Andrewes' use of third-person singular inflections, indicating that morphosyntactic features, barring orthographic variations, are likely preserved in these sermons. This supports the notion that printed sermons from the Early Modern English period could serve as valid evidence for the use of third-person singular inflections. Nevertheless, any generalisations derived from this study should be approached with caution; it is a single case study and not indicative of a universal trend.

This study does, however, highlight an instance where contemporary editors and printers demonstrably recognised and respected the differentiation between *-th* and *-s* endings, thereby ensuring the preservation of this linguistic element in the folio edition. It also offers insight into the flexible nature of the language represented in biblical quotations within Early Modern English sermons. The findings of this

research may potentially enrich our understanding of idiolects within the framework of historical (socio-)linguistics.

Note

- 1 This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI (Grant Number 21K13031).
- 2 In this paper, underlined elements within examples have been added by the author for emphasis, while italics reflect the original texts.
- 3 The reference in the text is “Amos 23”, but there is no such chapter in the Bible. Thus, it should be just a mistake for Amos 7:14.

Appendix A: Raw frequencies of third-person singular inflections in Lancelot Andrewes’ Christmas sermons excluding *have*, *do* and *say*

Sermons	<i>-th</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-s (%)</i>
1605	40	5	11%
1606	35	7	17%
1607	40	8	17%
1610	40	37	48%
1613	18	38	68%
1623	21	55	72%
Total	194	150	44%

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