Oriented *-ingly* adjuncts in Late Modern English

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This paper investigates the history of *-ingly* adjuncts (such as *warningly* and *sneeringly*) which are obtained from present participles and which occur mainly with verbs of saying, watching and motion. Such adverbs can be used in two different ways, depending on the content of their verbal bases. They can refer to a subjective evaluation of a perceptual input (e.g. *warningly*), thus triggering a manner interpretation. Alternatively, they can describe an independent event which is simultaneous with the main clause event (e.g. *sneeringly*). In either case, such *-ingly* adjuncts are classifiable as oriented adverbs since they can be predicated (through their verbal bases) of the main clause subject (in active sentences). On the basis of corpus evidence drawn from the Helsinki Corpus, ARCHER, CLMETEV and the LOB family corpora, it is shown that, although *-ingly* adjuncts in general became common in the Early Modern English period, the specific verb-based, oriented typed investigated here increased dramatically in fiction writing in the first half of the 19th century and has remained relatively constant since then. Finally, the rise of *-ingly* adjuncts is related to Swan’s adverbialization process.

1. Introduction

If you have ever read any of the Harry Potter novels, you may have noticed that J.K. Rowling has a penchant for adverbs, which is sometimes the object of criticism. Scouring the web, for example, one can come across critical reactions such as the following, attributed to the well-known writer Stephen King:

Alongside the *-ly* examples mentioned in the extract above, which are all based on adjectives (*quiet, automatic, nervous, slow* and *angry*), you can also find instances where the adverbial base is a verb, as the examples in (1), from *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, show.

(1) a. ‘I’m not sure this is going to work, you know,’ said Hermione warningly. (p. 228)

b. ‘Hagrid’s been in loads of trouble before, and Dumbledore’s never sacked him,’ said Ron consolingly. (p. 324)

c. He [Mr. Malfoy] nodded sneeringly to Mr. Weasley and continued down the line to his seats. (p. 92)

d. He seemed to be making some inquiry of the stranger, who shook his head *unsmilingly* and replied in an undertone. (p. 164)

In such cases, the *-ly* suffix attaches to a participial form ending in *-ing*, which can also be negated by way of the prefix *un-*, as in (1d). It should be noticed, however, that *-ingly* adverbs, as I will refer to them in the rest of this paper, are not always (at least synchronically) analysable as verb-based. *Willingly*, for example, would probably be regarded as being derived from the adjective *willing* rather than the verb *will*.

*-ingly* adverbs in general, i.e. not necessarily verb-based ones only, have received little scholarly attention so far. Baayen and Renouf (1996) have pointed out that *-ingly* adverbs are relatively common in Present-day English and Killie (1998) has shown that this pattern has been on the rise since, at least, the Early Modern English period. In this paper, however, I will argue that the *-ingly* adverbs of the type exemplified in (1) actually began to establish themselves somewhat later, namely from the 19th century onwards.1

2. *Harry Potter* adverbs

When dealing with *-ingly* adverbs like those in (1), the first question you may ask yourself is whether they are *manner* adjuncts. You could argue that they modify the verbal event – hence they are classifiable as adjuncts – by providing some additional information about the manner in which the verbal event took place. But is this really so in all of the examples in (1)? In (1c)–(1d), in particular, the adverbs seem to describe situations, those referred to by the bases of the *-ingly*

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1. Cf. also the contribution by Michael Bilinsky in this volume, pp. 31, 41; *-ingly* adverbs (*e.g. musingly, ponderingly*) are in Bilinsky’s group d11.
adverbs, which unfolded in time together with the events symbolised by the main verbs. You could paraphrase (the relevant parts of) (1c) and (1d) as (2a) and (2b), respectively:

(2)  a. Mr Malfoy was sneering while nodding.
    b. The stranger was not smiling as he shook his head.

As the temporal subordinators while and as make clear, it is possible to envisage a temporal relation of simultaneity between the events referred to by the tensed verb and the -ingly verbal base in both examples. Further, the intended subject of the -ingly verbal base is the same as the subject of the main verb, i.e. Mr Malfoy and the stranger in (1c) and (1d), respectively.

This is an important point because even in (1a) and (1b) – which are probably more amenable to a manner paraphrase, see below – it is possible to detect a predicative relation between the intended subject of the -ingly verbal base and the subject of the clause. (1a) and (1b) seem to imply (3a) and (3b), respectively:

(3)  a. Hermione seemed to be warning somebody.
    b. Ron seemed to be consoling somebody.

In other words, the act of speaking is interpretable as an act of warning in (1a) and as an act of consoling in (1b) on the part of Hermione and Ron thanks to the way in which the words uttered by Hermione and Ron were delivered. A simultaneity paraphrase is therefore not as appropriate as in (1c) and (1d) since you are not, strictly speaking, dealing with two different events, as was the case in (1c) and (1d), but, rather, with the same event, that of speaking, viewed from two different points of view. The main verb said simply signals the objective fact that words were uttered, while the -ingly verbal bases imply a subjective evaluation of the speech events. The writer conjures up a world where the words uttered by her characters constitute a perceptual input which should (or, at the very least, could) be interpreted as manifesting her characters’ intentions to an external observer. An external observer evaluating the way in which Hermione and Ron spoke would conclude that Hermione’s intention was that of warning and that Ron’s attempt was that of consoling. This characterization of the -ingly adverbs in (1a) and (1b) is, in fact, typical of how manner adverbs in general could be described. Although a detailed characterization of the notion of “manner” is rather elusive, manner adverbs could be described as involving some subjective evaluation of an event, see Broccias (2011), Geuder (2000) and Swan (1999) for some discussion.

We conclude that the fundamental difference between (1a) and (1b), on the one hand, and (1c) and (1d), on the other, involves a contrast between subjective evaluation and objective description of some perceptual input. While the
-ingly verbal bases in (1a) and (1b) point to an external observer's subjective interpretation of the characters' intentions by way of an auditory (verbal) input, the -ingly verbal bases in (1c) and (1d) describe 'objective' events, i.e. events which do not involve an evaluation of internal states but rather take place simultaneously with the main verb event.

Nevertheless, as was remarked above, (1a) and (1b), on the one hand, and (1c) and (1d), on the other, share with each other the fact that the -ingly verbal base can be predicated of one of the participants of the main clause event, namely the one realised as the main clause subject (in an active sentence). The -ingly adverbs in (1) can therefore be described as oriented adverbs in the sense of e.g. Geuder (2000) and Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005). As is also pointed out in Broccias (2004), oriented adverbs involve a mismatch between form and function. Formally, the -ly suffix signals that the adverb is to be related to the main clause verb but, functionally (i.e. from the point of view of meaning), the verbal base of the adverb is oriented towards (i.e. can be predicated of) one of the main clause participants.2

If we now go back to the difference between subjective evaluation and objective description, we can observe, quite trivially, that this difference is a function of the -ingly verbal base. An objective description obtains with verbal bases whose intended subjects are not necessarily agents. Contrast, for example, “[...] said Hermione unsmilingly” with “[...] said Hermione waringly”. The former, unlike the latter, does not imply that Hermione did not smile intentionally.

The examples in (1) also show that -ingly adverbs are found with verbs of saying and verbs of motion (e.g. body motion). Another verb type commonly used

2. Oriented adverbs can be distinguished from “pure manner” adverbs in that the latter involve predication over an event rather than a participant. For example, considering (i)

(i) 
   a. John walked sadly off the stage.
   b. John walked loudly off the stage.

Schäfer (2002) points out that the event in (ib) can be said to be loud but the event in (ia) cannot be said to be sad. “Rather, it expresses sadness” (Schäfer 2002:314). Loudly would therefore be categorised as a pure manner adverb while sadly would be regarded as an oriented adverb. It should be pointed out, however, that the difference between the two categories may be a matter of degree. In (ii), for example,

(ii)  John answered stupidly.

stupidly can be predicated of the verbal event (cf. a stupid answer) but can also be viewed as an oriented adverb because the event “manifests” stupidity on John's part.
with -ingly adverbs involves verbs of visual perception, as in (4).\(^3\) Notice incidentally that (4a) involves an objective description (i.e. staring without blinking) whereas (4b) implies some subjective evaluation (i.e. looking in a way which is interpreted as an instance of pleading).

(4)  
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. Harry was staring unblinkingly ahead of him [...]. (p. 430)
  \item b. Neville looked pleadingly at Harry, Ron, and Hermione [...]. (p. 193)
\end{itemize}

In the rest of the discussion, for the sake of brevity, I will refer to the -ingly adverbs exemplified in (1) and (4) as (the -ingly adverbs of) the Harry Potter type. These are adverbs whose bases are clearly verbal (at least from a synchronic point of view) and which allow for a predicative paraphrase as in (2) and (3). Further, they usually (though not necessarily always, see Note 3) co-occur with verbs of saying, motion and watching.

3. Previous analyses

As was hinted at in Section 1, to date the only corpus-based analysis of -ingly adverbs, not necessarily of the Harry Potter type (see below), is Killie (1998). Killie suggests that "the Middle English era [is] the period when the pattern became established, and the Early Modern era [is] the period when it began to be used" (Killie: 123). That is, -ingly adverbs have become relatively common since the Early Modern English period. Killie arrives at this conclusion by inspecting -ingly adverbs in the Oxford English Dictionary and by analyzing all instances in the Helsinki Corpus (see Kytö 1996), which spans from the beginning of the Middle English period (c. 1150) to the end of the Early Modern English period (c. 1710). I believe, however, that it is useful to scrutinize the Helsinki Corpus data. The -ingly adverbs found in the Helsinki Corpus are reproduced in Table 1.

\[^3\] In fact, verbs of saying, motion and visual perception virtually exhaust all of the examples (forty in total) found in Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire. Possible exceptions include:

(i)  
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. 'Bone of the father, unknowingly given, you will renew your son!' (p. 556)
  \item b. They walked back through Ottery St. Catchpole and up the damp lane toward the Burrow in the dawn light, talking very little because they were so exhausted, and thinking longingly of their breakfast. (p. 130)
\end{itemize}

However, give in (ia) could be interpreted as a motion verb and think in (ib) could be regarded as similar, metaphorically speaking, to a verb of watching.
Table 1. *ingly* adverbs in the *Helsinki Corpus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ingly</em> adverb</th>
<th>No. of instances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>willingly</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accordingly</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exceedingly</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cunningly</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sparingly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wittingly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lovingly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seemingly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everlastingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everlastingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exceedingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feelingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleyingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swimmingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vnseesingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vnseesingly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most frequent *ingly* adverb in the *Helsinki Corpus* is *willingly*. A representative example is offered in (5).

(5) wee desired the (^Moore^) to goe aboard with vs, who *willingly* agreed thereto (cetrav2b)

However, *willingly* is probably not of the Harry Potter type since a paraphrase along the lines of (2) or (3) is doubtful. *Willingly* does not point to either an independent event or a facet of the main clause event but rather refers to a disposition towards the actualization of the main clause event. Further, and more importantly, the verbal status of its base is debatable since the adverb is perhaps best viewed as being obtained from the merging of the adjective *willing* with the adverbial suffix *-ly.*

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4. Needless to say, how native speakers analyse *willingly* (as either deriving from a verb or an adjective) may have changed over the course of the history of English. This also applies to the discussion of the other adverbs below.
Accordingly, the second most frequent -ingly adverb in the Helsinki Corpus, is also probably not of the Harry Potter type. First, it is not always used as an adjunct but can function as a conjunct as in (6a). Second, when it is used as an adjunct, as in (6b), it is debatable whether it should be analyzed as involving a predicative relation between its verbal base (accord) and a participant of the main clause event. Provided that the adverb is indeed analyzed as being derived from the verb accord rather than directly from the adjective according, the preferred orientation seems to be an event one rather than a participant one. That is, what accords (with e.g. what was previously decided) is the way in which the event referred to by the main clause is carried out.\footnote{Notice that in Present-day English accord with the meaning of “to match or agree with something” (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English) seems to take eventive nouns as subjects.}

(6)  
   a. Accordingly we mett when his Mat=ie= made us ye enclosed gracious speech […] (ceoffic3)
   b. […] to whom we shall then with our lettres sende sufficient commyssion accordingly. (ceoffic1)

Exceedingly should probably also be discounted as a Harry Potter adverb because it is often used as a modifier of adjective phrases as in (7a) or simply refers to some excessive increase as in (7b).

(7)  
   a. there bee some kine which are so exceedingly ful of milk (cehand2b)
   b. the water prevayled and increased exceedingly vppon the erth (ceotest1)

Reasons of space prevent me from detailing the other adverbs listed in Table 1. It will suffice here to say that the most convincing contenders for a Harry Potter adverb status from the Helsinki Corpus – at least considering their verbal bases – seem to be lovingly, feelingly, pleyingly (i.e. playingly) and swimmingly. The relevant examples are reproduced in (8)–(11) below.

(8)  
   a. But also at his departure out of the world, with teares taking him about the necke, [he] most lovingly kissed and imbraced him […] (cebio1)
   b. My brother Riche remembers you lovingly […] (cepriv2)

(9)  
   a. Gosnole broughte me both the letters, and in my letter he did pleade for me, as feelingly against those enemyes and pointed them owt as plainly as was possible. (cetri2a)
(10)  +Tis is childly and *pleyingly* spoken, +tee +tink, parauenture. (cmcloud)

(11)  So, Matters go swimmingly [...] (ceplay3a)

*Pleyingly* in (10) seems to resemble the adverbs in (1) most closely since what was said was uttered by someone who *seemed to be playing* (see the paraphrases in (3) above and notice that a verb of saying is used in (10) as well). I do not think that it is important to make a categorical decision as to whether the remaining cases in (8)–(11) instantiate the Harry Potter type or not. The data from the *Helsinki Corpus* shows that, although *-ingly* adverbs in general are not uncommon before the end of Early Modern English period – and, as Killie (1998) shows, become more common from the Early Modern English period onwards – the Harry Potter type is rare before the end of the Early Modern English period. A later (and ideally larger) corpus is therefore needed to investigate this matter further. This is the topic of the next section.

4.  Harry Potter adverbs in Late Modern English: The ARCHER evidence

In order to study the development of the Harry Potter type in the period following the Early Modern English period, i.e. the Late Modern English period (see Beal 2004 for a general introduction), I initially used the 1.7 million word ARCHER corpus (*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*), see Biber et al. (1994), which includes a British English section and an American English section. I restricted my analysis to the former because it is much larger than the latter, standing at more than 1.2 million words, and can be regarded as a continuation of the *Helsinki Corpus*. It should be borne in mind, however, that there is some temporal overlap between the *Helsinki Corpus* and ARCHER since the latter spans from 1650 to the late 20th century. The label Late Modern English, as applied to ARCHER, will therefore be used to refer to the period from 1650 onwards (rather than 1710 onwards, as the Helsinki Corpus would imply).

I first extracted all *-ingly* tokens (251 in total) and inspected them manually so as to discard clearly non-verbal cases such as *kingly*, *singly* (but I kept *willingly* and *accordingly* instances, for example). I then categorised the remaining tokens (241) into three groups: (a) oriented adjuncts of all types, i.e. including those whose bases may not be described as “truly” verbal such as *willingly*; (b) *-ingly* adverbs modifying APs, PPs and AdvPs; (c) other cases, e.g. *accordingly* used as a conjunct. The overall picture is represented diagrammatically in Figure 1. (“Ao” stands for oriented adjunct; the numbers on the vertical axis give the number of tokens.)

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The data seems to suggest a dip in the 18th century against a background of relative stability as far as oriented adjuncts are concerned. Further, -ingly adverbs used as modifiers of APs, PPs and AdvPs seem to have increased over time (although a dip can be observed in the 20th century), while the ‘other’ category progressively tends to decline. Although the last two observations are undoubtedly interesting, I will not pursue them any further here but rather leave them for future research. Incidentally, one may suggest that the decline of the ‘other’ category, for example, should be linked to the decline of adverbs like accordingly, which decreases substantially as we move from the 18th to the 19th century.

At this juncture, it should be remembered that the lion’s share in the Helsinki data, see Table 1, was taken by willingly. Since the “oriented adjunct” in Figure 1 also includes this adverb, it is important to check what happens if (un)willingly and other “similar” (i.e. not clearly Harry Potter) adverbs, such as knowingly and obligingly, are factored out. The resulting diachronic pattern is shown in Figure 2.

6. These are adverbs for which a direct verbal derivation may be questionable.
As Figure 2 shows, the raw numbers are low but, if the figures are indeed representative of general trends, there seems to be a decline in the use of \textit{(un)willingly} over time while the category “other” (i.e. potential Harry Potter adverbs) exhibits an overall development similar to the one observed for the more inclusive category “oriented adjunct” in Figure 1.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, most instances of the “other” category occur in the fiction section of ARCHER, as is shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total (fiction)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1650–1699</td>
<td>7 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700–1749</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750–1799</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800–1849</td>
<td>7 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850–1899</td>
<td>15 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–1949</td>
<td>11 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950–1990</td>
<td>11 (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I therefore decided to concentrate on fiction only. The overall pattern which emerges by restricting the analysis to this genre is not dissimilar to the one in Figure 2, as is shown in Figure 3.

![Figure 3. Potential Harry Potter adverbs in the fiction subcorpus](image)

Despite progressively restricting the search domain, we can observe that the overall behaviour of potential Harry Potter *-ingly* adverbs remains roughly constant. The numbers are admittedly low but, if reliable, point to a dip in the 18th century and, perhaps (see Figures 2 and 3 especially), a rise from the 19th century. But is this really so or is it perhaps an artefact of data selection? What happens if we restrict our search further so as to only include clear cases of the Harry Potter type (e.g. we exclude cases containing *lovingly* as in “[…] they congratulated one another right *lovingly* […]” (ARCHER: 1661f1at.f2b))? When I did this, I obtained a slightly different pattern, which is shown in Figure 4.

7. The code identifying each ARCHER example gives first the year and then the text file in which the example occurs. The “f” after the dot identifies the example as belonging to the fiction register; “2” identifies the period, the first (i.e. the second half of the first century considered in the corpus, hence 1650–1699), and finally “b” specifies that the example is from the British English subcorpus.
Once more, I would like to stress that the numbers are low so the issue of statistical significance should not be discounted. Still, if we take the figures as representative, we now observe that Harry Potter adverbs are clearly rarer before the 19th century than after it. They become more common from the beginning of the 19th century with, apparently, a peak in the second half. Since the examples are few, I have reproduced all of them (per period) below.

(12) […] when he *smilingly* interrupted me, and told me […] (1675barn.f2b)

(13) […] for he looked, tho’ *smilingly*, yet earnestly, at us […] (1753rich.f4b)

(14) a. […] “Do,” *approvingly* said the doctor, […] (1848kava.f5b)
b. […] said Houseman, *doubtfully*, […] (1832bulw.f5b)
c. […] Roddy looked at him *inquiringly*. (1847carl.f5b)
d. […] said Jem *soothingly*. (1847gask.f5b)
e. […] tortuous passage, into which the cavalier *unhesitatingly* plunged. (1837ains.f5b)

(15) a. […] I told her, *admiringly* […] (1895core.f6b)
b. […] laying her hand *coaxingly* on Lucio ’s arm […] (1895core.f6b)
c. […] she said, looking *doubtingly* at him […] (1873hard.f6b)
d. […] and looked *inquiringly* at him. (1887shaw.f6b)
e. […] which the girl-children in their turn *laughingly* threw among the admiring guests. (1895core.f6b)
f. […] she declared *pantingly* […] (1895core.f6b)
g. […] and gazing *searchingly* into her eyes […] (1895core.f6b)
h. […] Mr. Burton *smilingly* refused the offer […] (1895mach.f6b)
i. He glanced at me furtively and *unsmilingly* […] (1895core.f6b)
(16)  a. He scrutinised the scene not quite **believingly** while it was in sight. (1930toml.f7b)
    b. The women would look at him more openly; more softly and **broodingly** [...]. (1923step.f7b)
    c. [...] she sank **despairingly** forward and burst into tears. (1917firb.f7b)
    d. [...] and looked at them **inquiringly**. (1934chri.f7b)
    e. The king, with his elbow on his knee, continued to regard her **mockingly**. (1923step.f7b)
    f. [...] passed mysteriously in and out **unceasingly**. (1930toml.f7b)

(17)  a. The woman nodded **approvingly**. (1973trev.f8b)
    b. [...] she smiled **encouragingly** at Cuckoo [...] (1960cowa.f8b)
    c. I asked her **jokingly** [...] (1977fras.f8b)
    d. [...] she repeated, **prisingly**. (1973trev.f8b)
    e. [...] D’arcy would have **smilingly** told Mrs Passes to go to hell [...] (1973trev.f8b)
    f. [...] who were grumbling **threateningly** about lawsuits [...] (1960cowa.f8b)

On closer inspection, the peak observed in the 1850–99 period turns out to be an instance of term clustering or burstiness (see Evert 2006), since, as the data in (15) shows, six out of the nine examples come from the same file, namely 1895core.f6b, which is an extract from Marie Corelli’s *The Sorrows of Satan*. To conclude, on the basis of the evidence gathered from ARCHER, it seems that the Harry Potter type began to emerge in the 19th century and its frequency has been relatively constant since then. In particular, the ARCHER data suggests a five-fold increase in Harry Potter adverbs as we move from the latter half of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century.

5. More corpus-based evidence

Given the paucity of Harry Potter adverbs in (the fiction section of) ARCHER, I decided to verify the finding reported in Section 4 – a five-fold rise in Harry Potter adverbs in the 19th century compared to the previous century – by conducting a search in a larger and freely available historical corpus, CLMETEV (Corpus of

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8. Since the number of words per period in the fiction subcorpus is approximately the same (about 44,000 on average per period), raw figures, as in Figure 4, can be used instead of percentages. The per million words (pmw) frequencies are however given in Table 4.
Late Modern English Texts extended version), see De Smet (2005). Unfortunately, CLMETEV covers a shorter time span than ARCHER, from 1710 to 1920, and is divided into longer temporal segments (1710–1780, 1780–1850, 1850–1920). Further, the texts used in the corpus are not identical in size but vary from 14,901 to 202,593 words and the three subperiods 1710–1780, 1780–1850, 1850–1920 also differ in size (3,037,607 words, 5,723,988 words and 6,251,564 words, respectively). Finally, at the time of writing it is not possible to automatically restrict a query to a specific genre unless the researcher has manually selected the texts identified as belonging to that specific genre. (The identification of the texts belonging to a specific genre must also be carried out manually because no information about genre is provided in the extracts themselves.) This, however, may only marginally be a problem since, as was observed above, most potential Harry Potter adverbs are found in fiction. Nevertheless, the three subperiods may not be balanced in terms of e.g., the proportion of fiction to the other genres represented so it makes sense to calculate both the percentage of Harry Potter adverbs in the corpus as a whole and in the fiction section only. In order to do so, I extracted all *ingly* adverbs from the whole corpus (4262 tokens) and identified those of the Harry Potter type (934 instances) manually. Next, I removed all the examples from the files which I had previously categorised as fiction, thus obtaining a total of 768 examples, which incidentally shows once again that the majority of Harry Potter adverbs are found in fiction. The statistics per subperiod are given in Table 3.

**Table 3.** Harry Potter adverbs in CLMETEV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subperiod</th>
<th>The whole corpus</th>
<th>Fiction only</th>
<th>Fiction only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raw count</td>
<td>Percentage pmw</td>
<td>Raw count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710–1780</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780–1850</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850–1920</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we consider the corpus as a whole, we observe a dramatic increase in Harry Potter adverbs from the first subperiod to the second subperiod of about 5.5 times (i.e. 550%). There is also a slight increase (of about 15%) from the second to the third subperiod. If we consider fiction only, the increase from the first subperiod to

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9. Full details about the corpus can also be found at http://perswww.kuleuven.ac.be/~u0044428/clmetev.htm.
the second subperiod is still consistent, amounting to about 3.2 times (i.e. 320%). The rise from the second to the third subperiod is much more modest, amounting to about 13%. Hence, no matter whether we consider the corpus as a whole or just its fiction section, the resulting pattern is identical. There is a substantial increase in the second subperiod and a much slighter rise in the third subperiod. Let us now compare these figures with those from ARCHER (Table 4), bearing in mind that the latter are based on a very limited data set and that the peak of the 1850–99 period is due to burstiness.

Table 4. Harry Potter adverbs in ARCHER (fiction only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Frequency pmw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1650–1699</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700–1749</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750–1799</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800–1849</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850–1899</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–1949</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950–1990</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that despite the differences between the two corpora and the issue of representativity for the ARCHER data, the conclusions we arrive at are in fact largely similar. Both corpora point to a considerable rise in Harry Potter adverbs as we move from the 18th to the 19th century. However, since we have few data for ARCHER and since CLMETEV includes samples only until 1920, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the development of Harry Potter adverbs in the 20th century.

In order to investigate any possible changes in the 20th century in more detail, I turned to the fiction sections of the Lob family corpora, which include the Blob corpus for the 1930s (see Leech & Smith 2005), the Lob corpus for the 1960s and the Flob corpus for the 1990s. The results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Harry Potter adverbs in the Lob family corpora (fiction only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Raw count</th>
<th>Percentage pmw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blob (1930s)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lob (1960s)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flob (1990s)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data suggests that Harry Potter adverbs are more common in 20th century fiction texts than in the ones of the 19th century, if we compare it with the data from CLMETEV and ARCHER. Further, the pattern may have been increasing over the course of the last century. However, there seems to be no dramatic change if we compare the 19th and 20th centuries contrary to what was observed when the 18th and 19th centuries were contrasted.

6. Conclusion

Although Killie (1998) shows that -ingly adverbs in general established themselves in the Early Modern English period, the corpus evidence from both ARCHER and CLMETEV suggests that -ingly adverbs used in conjunction with (mainly) verbs of saying, moving and watching – the Harry Potter adverbs – emerged somewhat later, from the beginning of the 19th century, i.e. in the Later Modern English period.

More generally, the rise of Harry Potter adverbs, which are usually found in fiction, can be related to Toril Swan’s adverbialization hypothesis. She has argued in various publications (see e.g. Swan 2006 for a recent overview) that English -ly adverbs (i.e. not only -ingly adverbs), unlike their Germanic counterparts, have expanded considerably from their prototypical (and diachronically prior) manner use. For example, English allows -ly adverbs to be formed from stative adjectives and such adverbs seem to subject-oriented (see Killie 2007) so that they can be in parallel distribution with the base adjectives, as in the almost identical pair Finn blushed hotly vs. Paul flushed hot reported in Killie (2007: 335). Interestingly, Killie (2007) shows that the frequency of such adverbs has also increased considerably over the last two centuries. That is, the last two centuries seem to be a critical period for the expansion of -ly adverbs. The rise of Harry Potter adverbs can therefore be regarded as part and parcel of the increasing importance of -ly adverbs in modern fiction.

As Swan (2006: 265) observes, it is difficult to pin down the factors contributing to the adverbialization process. She mentions grammaticalization, subjectification (for sentence adverbs) and analogy as possible sources. We could perhaps add that the development of the progressive may have facilitated the spread of the Harry Potter type since this type involves participial forms. Admittedly, however, it is hard to see how this hypothesis could be tested. Be that as it may, the emergence of the Harry Potter pattern is an interesting change (affecting in particular fiction writing) which we should look at inquiringly.
Sources

ARCHER = A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers. 2006. (http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/archer/)

CLMETEV = The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts. (https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/)


The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. 1989-. (http://icame.uib.no/hc/)

References


