CBDA5

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

TUESDAY 4TH JULY

The absolute construction in English and French: a case of syntactic influence?

Hubert Cuyckens, Michèle Goyens, Marie Lamblin (Leuven)

Peter Petre (Antwerp)

While the lexicon of English has unmistakably been influenced by French in the course of its history (especially in the Middle English period), there is less agreement among linguists as to syntactic influence of French on English. Fischer (2013: 40), for instance, states that "syntactic borrowing is unlikely to have occurred as a result of contact with Latin and French", but still allows for the existence of syntactic borrowing when an analogous construction was available in the target language (English). One such instance of an analogous construction is the ***absolute construction* (AC)**, which has occurred across the various stages of the history of English as well as of French.

The absolute construction can be defined as a non-finite or verbless construction in which a (pro)nominal subject and a predicate (or head) are combined, and which often bears an adverbial relation to the matrix sentences (ex. 1 and 4). Absolutes can also be augmented (ex. 2 and 5), which means that they can be introduced by a preposition or conjunction. Typically, the head is a past or present participle, but non-verbal heads are also possible (adjectival (ex. 3 and 6), adverbial, PP) (see van de Pol 2016: 1-2).

(1) *Her mistress having died, she adopted us, not we her, about 5 weeks ago, ...* (BNC, Personal letters, 1985-1994)

(2) *The Rebels win a pyrrhic victory, **with the war destroying them almost beyond recognition**.* (http://www.cracked.com/article_22906_6-dumb-aspects-original-star-wars-trilogy-youforgot.html, access 10-08-2015)

(3) *The mass of silver hair framed a perfectly formed face, though the lips seemed thinner, theeyes above the high cheek bones **cold** and **unsmiling**.* (BNC, The prince of darkness, 1992)

(4) *Sa mission accomplie*, *Lucien est pris en chasse par un autre tueur, Lenny*. (corpus used by Télé Z, n° 489, 25.01.1992, example taken from Müller-Lancé 1994: 59)

(5) **Avec son mari buvant comme un trou**, *Bernadette est de plus en plus malheureuse.* (example taken from Choi-Jonin 2007)

(6) *Gil [...]/Parvint, la lance haute et la visière basse, / Aux confins du pays. (*Victor Hugo, Légende des siècles)

On the basis of parallel corpus data from the Penn-parsed corpora for Middle and Early Modern English (PPCME2, PPCEME), and the MCVF corpus for French, this paper examines contact influence of the AC in French on its English counterpart. In particular, it weighs different types of evidence of contact influence between French and English ACs, distinguishing between types of evidence for real-time influence in Medieval England (from 1100 up until about 1400) and post-contact effects.

Direct, real-time contact influence will be traced in two ways:

1. A contrastive diachronic analysis of ACs in the two languages in the period 1100-1500 will be carried out. Taking "synchronic snapshots" at 75/100-year intervals (intervals for English and French determined by the periodization in the PENN corpora), we will trace the various types of AC present at each of these moments, and the frequency distribution of the various types. If it can be demonstrated that particular types of AC in French precede (or occur more frequently at any given time than) their English counterpart, this is hypothesized to be suggestive of syntactic influence. In that case, the AC in English may still have developed independently from (but later than) the development in French, but, arguably, the fact that the AC was already present in English would have made it receptive to influence from French. French may therefore have reinforced the presence of ACs in Middle English.

2. Depending on the availability of relevant data, we will examine the typology and frequency of ACs in English texts translated from French (1100-1500) and compare with original English texts; to the extent that translated texts from French show a wider range of ACtypes and a higher frequency of ACs than non-translated texts, contact influence may be (or will be argued to be) in play.

We will then examine post-contact effects (i.e., when English and French were no longer in direct contact). Tracing the afterlife of the constructions is likely to tell us more about the preceding period of direct contact: if both languages go their own way starting from a shared initial setting (the point reached after direct contact stopped or became less intense), this is additional evidence that there was contact in the period when they ran in parallel. An interesting issue in this respect is the development of the AC with quasi-coordinate (rather than adverbial) status in English.

References:

Choi-Jonin. 2007. La construction en 'avec' en position détachée. In Nelly Flaux & Dejan Stosic (eds.) *Les constructions détachées*, Jun 2005, Timisoara, Roumanie, 57-74. Arras : Artois Presses Université. Available at https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00497349/document

Fischer, Olga. 2013. Contact and syntactic change in Old and Middle English. In Daniel Schreier & Marianne Hundt (eds.), *English as a contact language,* 18-40. Cambride: Cambridge University Press.

Müller-Lancé, Johannes. 1994. *Absolute Konstruktionen vom Altlatein biz zum Neufranzösischen. Ein Epochenvergleich unter Berücksichtigung von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

van de Pol, Nikki. 2016. *The development of the Absolute Construction* in English. PhD Dissertation, KU Leuven.

Corpora:

Corpus MCVF: *Modéliser le changement : les voies du français*, dir. France Martineau, Université d'Ottawa; http://continent.uottawa.ca/fr/corpus/corpusmcvf/

PPCEME: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*. 2004. Anthony Kroch, Beatrice Santorini, and Ariel Diertani. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/.

PPCME2: *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English,* 2nd edn. 2000. Anthony Kroch. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/.

The question of the influence of the Wycliffite Bible on later English religious writings: towards a methodological approach

Stephen Morrison (Poitiers)

The English translation of the Vulgate bible, traditionally but perhaps erroneously attributed to Wyclif himself (ob. 1384), exists today in a variety of forms in over 250 manuscript copies. Its editors, Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, in 1850 put forward the plausible idea that the Wycliffite Bible (WB) must have been popular and influential, an idea recently revived by Ralph Hanna, who speaks of its 'great success.' There is, however, very little evidence available today to substantiate this view.

This paper seeks to construct a methodological approach to the question based both on an appreciation of the ways in which texts produced and transmitted in manuscript culture change, and on a consideration of certain distinctive lexical items occurring in WB but encountered only rarely elsewhere. On the first point, it is evident that up until now commentators have sought and demanded too high a degree of textual similarity in their analyses, and that this is unreasonable because manuscript culture, by its very nature, did not produce such texts. On the second point, it is possible to identify words and expressions which bear a distinctive Lollard hallmark, the scarcity of which in texts unconnected with Lollardy makes coincidental appropriation unlikely. It will be argued that a combination of these two considerations form a powerful tool allowing us to answer a question, the nature of which has been misunderstood for too long.

Be+ing in Old and Middle English:

from imperfective to progressive

Dominique Boulonnais (Paris 3)

The present contribution revisits the much discussed question of the emergence and early evolution of the expanded form (EF) in the wake of some recent studies supporting the views that the EF was originally used for highlighting purposes and that its present grammar evolved through a process of lexically-based extensions and contractions (e.g. Hancil 2008, Killie 2014, 2015, Kranich 2010, Ziegeler 1999).

It is argued first that the EF was aspectual from the start, and second that its evolution resulted from a discontinuous process, from imperfective (Higher Asp) to progressive (Lower Asp), with a turning point at the end of the Middle English period.

The first occurrences of the EF in Old English are shown to have been strictly durative. With the development and massive spread of participial expressions in the course of the Old English period, the new aspectual marker started acquiring stative uses, thereby initiating a new cycle of grammaticalization in a pattern characteristic of imperfectives. The EF, however, remained infrequent in most texts and, as is well known, the number and variety of forms in the South underwent a sharp decline in the Middle English period.

By that time, the use of the EF in the present tense had led to ambiguities as to the aspectual status of the forms, which could be interpreted either as habitual or episodic, triggering a strategy of disambiguation. In late Middle English, new locative expressions involving gerundial structures, some introduced by prepositions, started replacing the old participial forms in sentences with episodic reference, in a pathway of change typical of the establishment of progressives (e.g. Bybee et al., Heine and Kuteva). Although none of these early attempts at distinguishing transitory from habitual uses survived into standard

contemporary English, they initiated a new cycle of grammaticalization. It was this second reanalysis that led to the establishment of the progressive and to the subsequent disappearance or reinterpretation of the old temporally unrestricted present-tense uses, giving rise to the present-day distribution of the form.

The approach is bottom up. The aim of the study is to present an integrated lexical, functional, and syntactic account of the early history of the EF based on a systematic re-examination of the forms occurring in selected Old and Middle English prose texts, with special attention paid to context.

References:

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hancil, Sylvie. 2008. '*Beon + -ende* en vieil-anglais.' *Cycnos*. Vol. 17 n° spécial Journée Charles V sur les propositions relatives et l'aspect "*be+ing*".

Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP.

Killie, Kristin. 2014. 'The development of the English BE + V-*ende*/V-*ing* periphrasis: from emphatic to aspectual marker?' *English Language and Linguistics* 18:3, 361-386.

Killie, Kristin. 2015. 'The early grammaticalization of progressive constructions with a focus on the English progressive.' In Haug, Dagg T.T. (ed.) *Historical Linguistics* 2013. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 223-232.

Kranich, Svenja. 2010. *The Progressive in Modern English. A Corpus-Based Study of Grammaticalization and Related Changes*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Kranich, Svenja. 2010. 'Grammaticalization, subjectification and objectification.' In Stathi, Katerina, Elke Gehweiler, and Ekkehard König (eds.) *Grammaticalization: Current Views and Issues*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 101-121.

Ziegeler, Debra. 1999. 'Agentivity and the history of the English progressive.' *Transactions of the Philological Society* 97:1, 51-101. Revised version to appear in 2017.

Sudden semantics:
Identifying and analysing meanings and discourses of 'suddenness' in 55,000 early English books

Justyna Robinson (Sussex)

Seth Mehl (Sheffield)

This paper presents the ongoing work of a major research project which maps 'discursive concepts' in Early Modern English texts, employing computational methods alongside close reading. In this talk, we define 'discursive concept', discuss issues surrounding the use of digitised historical texts, outline the groundbreaking methods that we have designed, and then share some preliminary findings on discursive concepts related to the notion of SUDDENNESS.

The project investigates 'concepts' in Early Modern English texts not as word senses, but as discursive constructs, and context-dependent meanings. In this case, meaning is linked to discourse context, beyond the level of the utterance or sentence, as well as to real-world knowledge (cf. Evans 2009). We begin with a bottom-up, data driven computational analysis of every word in every text of Early English Books Online (specifically, EEBO-TCP), which contains 55,000 printed Early English texts, and over one billion words, hand-keyed by the Text Creation Partnership. The data include all of the spelling variation, printing errors and idiosyncrasies common to Early Modern English, as well as a range of transcription issues. The project pre-processes this data using MorphAdorner (Burns 2013), which tokenises texts, regularises spelling, and tags words with lemma and Part Of Speech information. Then, we analyse lemma co-occurrence, calculating Pointwise Mutual Information (PMI) for co-occurring lemmas across relatively large proximity windows of one hundred tokens and two hundred tokens, respectively, reflecting the project's interest in meaning as it is constructed in discursive contexts well beyond the level of the utterance or sentence. The project then employs a technique for calculating PMI not just between pairs of co-occurring lemmas, but also trios and quartets.

The outputs of these computational approaches indicate trends, variation, and change in sets of related lemmas. With careful interpretation, these sets of lemmas in turn suggest the emergence, shift, and decline of particular culturally important concepts within particular contexts and discourses.

We present the example of discursive concepts that relate to the lemmas *sudden* and *suddenly*, and their strong co-occurrences, a category of meaning whose vocabulary expanded dramatically in Early Modern English according to the Historical Thesaurus of English. We discuss the relationship between *sudden* and the discursive contexts it occurs in, identifying multiple discourses related to SUDDENNESS, and providing textual examples to connect these discourses to historical and social contexts in meaningful ways.

Paradigmaticization and subjectivity:
a case study of final *but*

Sylvie Hancil (Rouen)

A number of recent studies have underlined the importance of dialogicity and interactionality in favouring the emergence and the development of linguistic expressions (Waltereit & Detges 2007, Traugott 2010) in the history of English, and this paper is situated within this tradition.

The phenomenon of final particles in European languages has been the object of relatively few studies. In English, it is the final particle *but* that has attracted the attention of researchers such as Mulder & Thompson (2008) and Mulder, Thompson & Williams (2009) in synchronic studies of American and Australian English. The purpose here is to fill the gap by means of a diachronic study of cases such as that illustrated below:

> A: Was that the other night
>
> B: Ehm what day is it
>
> A: It would have been
>
> B: Friday
>
> A: It would have been not last night **but**
>
> B: Wednesday
>
> (DECTE)

The study proposes a diachronic analysis of final *but* in a corpus of Northern English (DECTE), extending over a 50-year span (1960-2010). It is shown that final *but* undergoes the process of paradigmaticization (Heltoft 2010) as it enters the paradigm of final particles by enriching it with lexical and structural persistence (Breban 2009). Besides, the three criteria for a grammatical sign are fulfilled and the particle is communicatively obligatory, as it displays a relation function and it belongs to a new paradigm (Diewald 2011). The subjective

values are closely evaluated on Traugott and Dasher's (2002) subjectivity cline. The study concludes by a discussion of the interrelation between right periphery and intersubjectivity.

References:

Breban, Tine. 2009. 'Structural persistence: A case based on the grammaticalization of English adjectives of difference.' *English Language and Linguistics*. 13: 1, p. 77-96.

Diewald, Gabriele. 2011b. 'Pragmaticalization (defined) as grammaticalization of discourse functions.' *Linguistics* 49, 2, 365-390.

Heltoft, Lars. 2010. 'Paradigmatic structure and reanalysis: from NPs to DPs in Scandinavian.' *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 42: 1, 11-25.

Mulder, Jean & Sandra A. Thompson. 2008. 'The grammaticization of *but* as a final particle in English conversation.' In Ritva Laury, *Crosslinguistic Studies of Clause Combining. The multifunctionality of conjunctions.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 179-204.

Mulder, Jean, Thompson, Sandra A. & Cara Penry Williams. 2009. 'Final *but* in Australian English conversation.' In Pam Peters, Peter Collins & Adam Smith (eds.) *Comparative Studies in Australian and New Zealand English.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 339-359.

Traugott, Elizabeth. 2010. 'Dialogic contexts as motivations for syntactic change.' In Robert A. Cloutier, Anne Marie Hamilton-Brehm, & William Kretzschmar (eds.) *Variation and Change in English Grammar and Lexicon.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 11-27.

Traugott, Elizabeth and Richard Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: CUP.

Waltereit, Richard & Ulrich Detges. 2007. 'Different functions, different histories. Modal particles and discourse markers from a diachronic point of view.' *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 6 (2007), 61-80.

Nice to meet you or *Nice meeting you*:
on futurity in the past

Michał Kaluga (Warsaw)

Following Bolinger's (1968:127) golden rule that "a difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning,", this paper aims at investigating the complementation of adjectives commonly used when making new acquaintances, most typically:

(1) (It is) Nice to meet you.

(2) (It was) Nice meeting you.

At first sight these phrases concur with Wierzbicka's conclusions on futurity or potentiality versus resultativity (1988:27), as well as with Bolinger's statement that the use of a *to*-complement "expresses an attitude towards an event, not a reaction to it" (1984:52).

However, as noted by de Smet (2013:44), "the matches between predicates and complement types turn out to be historically unstable", i.e. there may have been a time when adjectives were followed by the infinitive only, consequently with only a single meaningbeing possible (cf. Los 2005:171):

(3) namely to þase bestez þat er gude and **happyto mete** [Mandev. 82]

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to establish a possible timeframe for the grammaticalization of those complements, bearing in mind that the verb *meet* occurs as early as the 9th-century, in thetranslation of the *Historiae adversum paganos*:

(4) He hwæðre þa burg gewann & eall þæt moncynn acwealde þæt he ðærinne **mette** [Hist. III. VII. 62]

whereas gerund complementation is a much more modern invention, which in the case of verbs must have taken place in early Modern English (cf. Smet 2013: 152).

The analysis here is based on the linguistic material included in such extensive electronic databases as the *Middle English Dictionaryonline*, *the Oxford English Dictionary online* and *the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*.

References:

Bolinger, Dwight L. 1968. 'Entailment and the meaning of structures.' *Glossa* 2, 119:127.

Bolinger, Dwight L. 1984. 'Surprise.' In Carolyn B. Raphael& Miriam R. Valdovinos (eds.) *Language and Cognition: Essays in Honor of Arthur J. Bronstein*, 45-58. New York and London: Plenum Press.

Los, Bettelou. 2005. *The Rise of the to-Infinitive*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

de Smet, Hendrik. 2013. *Spreading Patterns: Diffusional Change in the English System of Complementation* (Oxford Studies in the History of English). New York: Oxford University Press.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

On the issue of some Old English collective nouns

Oxana Kharlamenko (Paris)

A common assumption is that Old English (OE) had three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. And yet, regarding other groups of the Indo-European language family, Loporacno & Paciaroni (2011), following Stang (1945), describe the collective as a separate gender, thus referring to Indo-European as a four-gender system which includes the masculine, feminine, neuter and collective, the remains of which can still be found in Modern Italian dialects as well as in some other European languages. Other scholars speak of collectives as a number category (Acquaviva 2004, Grimm 2012, among others). The present work, combined with recent studies on number conducted by Acquaviva and Grimm, focuses on collective nouns as designating a collection/group of objects/individuals with specific syntactic – and not exclusively semantic – features, such as *furniture* or *cattle* in Modern English. Such an approach places them closer to the plurals, yet with the negative value of the feature [individualised] and excludes commonly used "collective" terms such as *group* or *family*.

The current research focuses on the expression of the collective in OE through specific morpho-syntactic markers that would allow for a separate category. The initial results reveal that there are several words in OE that show gender variation which could be explained by a [+collective] feature. This feature becomes apparent through the nominative/accusative plural neuter vocalic ending *-a*/*o*/*u* and on some occasions contrasts with plural masculine markers. These findings echo those presented by Loporacno and Paciaroni on gender and by Acquaviva on number and contribute to a larger project on collective nouns in OE.

References:

Acquaviva, Paolo. 2004. 'The morphosemantics of transnumeral nouns.' In Geert Booij, Emiliano Guevara, Angela Ralli, Salvatore Sgroi & Sergio Scalise (eds.) *Morphology and Linguistic Typology*. On-line Proceedings of the Fourth Mediterranean Morphology Meeting (MMM4), Catania, 21–23 Sept. 2003.

Fraurud, Kari. 1996. 'Cognitive ontology and NP form.' In Thorstein Fretheim & Jeannette K. Gundel (eds.) *Reference and Referent Accessibility*, 65–87. Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Grimm, Scott. 2012. *Number and Individuation*. Stanford: Stanford University.

Joly, André. 1967. '*Ge-* : préfixe lexical en vieil-anglais.' *Revue Canadienne de Linguistique* 12 (2), 78–89.

Kharlamenko, Oxana. 2015. *La fluctuation en genre grammatical des substantifs inanimés en vieil-anglais*. Unpublished doctoral thesis: Université Paris-Sorbonne.

Loporcaro Michele & Tania Paciaroni. 2011. 'Four-Gender Systems in Indo-European.' *Linguistica*, Societas Linguistica Europaea, 45 (2): 389–434.

Mossé, Fernand. 1949. *Manuel de l'anglais du Moyen-Age des origines au XIVème siècle. Vieil-anglais*. Paris: Aubier.

Newman, John. 2008. *The Spread of the S-Plural Formative in Old and Middle English Nouns*. Warsaw: Institute of English Studies, University of Warsaw.

Schwink, Frederick W. 2004. *The Third Gender: Studies in the Origin and History of Germanic Grammatical Gender*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Stang, Christian S. 1945. 'Zum Indoeuropäischen Kollektivum.' *Norsk Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 13: 282–294.

von Fleischhacker, Robert. 1888. 'On the Old English Nouns of More than One Gender.' *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 235–54.

Wiese, Heike. 2012. 'Collectives in the intersection of mass and count nouns: a cross-linguistic account.' In Diane Massam (ed.) *Count and Mass Across Languages*, 54–74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wright, Joseph. 1914. *Old English Grammar*. London: Oxford University Press.

Semantic shifts among selected
Late Middle English 'battle' nouns

Weronika Kaźmierczak (University of Warsaw)

In the course of their evolution words frequently change their core meaning under the influence of a number of extra-and intra-linguistic factors. The period between 1400-1500 known as Late Middle English is marked by many lexical and grammatical innovations, including the introduction of new military terms, mostly of French origin. The present paper focuses upon the shifts in meaning within the lexical field of terms evoking 'battle' from the moment when they first appear in the language up to the Late Middle English period. The basis for the present investigation is provided by the principal division of semantic changes proposed by Ullman (1957, 1962), who discriminates between the nature and the consequences of semantic changes. A terminology search resulted in a selection of terms such as *bargain, strut, bargaining, poynye*, *militation, tugging, acountering* and *field,* each of which dates back to the era between 1400-1500.The data under investigation are taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Online Etymological Dictionary* and the *Middle English Dictionary*, with an emphasis on their dialectal distribution in particular Middle English varieties.

References:

(a) **Sources:**

Middle English Dictionary. University of Michigan. Available at:

http:// quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/

Online Etymology Dictionary. Available at: www.etymonline.com

Oxford English Dictionary. Available at: www.oed.com.oed.han.buw.uw.edu.pl

(b) Special studies:

Algeo, J. 2010. *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (6th ed.). Boston: Wadsworth & Cengage Learning.

Allan, K. & Ch. Kay. 2015. *English Historical Semantics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Baugh, C. & T. Cable. 2003. *A History of the English Language.* London:Routledge.

Fritz, G. 2012. 'Theories of meaning change:an overview.'.In Claudia Maienbon, Claus von Heusinger&Paul Portner (eds.) *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*. Vol. 3. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Krifka, M. 2001. 'Historical semantics and grammaticalisation.'Ms., Institut für Deutsche Sprache und Linguistik, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. (http://amor.cms.huberlin.de/~h2816i3x/Lehre/2001_HS_LexikalischeSemantik/LexSemantik 4.pdf). Accessed: December 2016.

Stenroos, M. 2004. 'Regional dialects and spelling conventions in Late Middle English: Searches for (th) in the LALME Data,' In M. Dossena & R. Lass (eds.) *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, 257-285. Bern: Peter Lang.

Stern, G. 1931 [1964]. *Meaning and Change of Meaning*. *With Special Reference to the English Language*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.

Ullman, S. 1957. *Principles of Semantics*(2nd ed.), Oxford: Blackwell.

Ullman, S. 1962. *Semantics: An introduction to the science of meaning.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Word Order Change, Stress Shift and Old French Loanwords in Middle English

Harumasa Miyashita (Tsurumi University)

HisaoTokizaki (Sapporo University)

The Minimalist Program, a research strategy advocated by Noam Chomsky, maintains that linear order is not a feature of morphosyntax alone but is determined at the interface with phonology. Working from this standpoint and employing cross-linguistic data, Tokizaki (2011)suggests that the relative order of a head and its complement is determined by the location of word stress. This paper argues that this stress-based theory of linearization is also supported by the facts obtained from the history of English. It is argued, more specifically, that the validity of this theory is attested by the word order patterns of a main verb (V) and its object (O) observed in the *Ancrene Wisse* and the five texts in the Katherine Group (*Sawles Warde*, *Hali Meiðhad*, *St. Katherine*, *St. Juliana*, and *St. Margaret*),which are written in the so-called AB language (i.e. one of the West Midland dialects of 13th century English).The stress-based theory of linearization accurately captures the tendency that languages with left-hand word stress (e.g. Germanic languages) adopt OV order while languages with right-hand word stress (e.g. Romance languages) adopt VO order. According to this theory, the juncture between a head (H) and its complement (C) is stronger in CH order (i.e. left-branching structure) than in HC order (right-branching structure), whereby the CH order is considered to be a phonological compound bearing compound stress, and the HC order to be a phrase bearing phrasal stress. Thus, left- hand-stress languages prefer the CH (e.g. OV) order with compound stress, whereas right-hand-stress languages prefer the HC (e.g. VO) order with phrasal stress. Investigation of the *Ancrene Wisse* and the five texts in the Katherine Group with the aid of the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition (Kroch & Taylor 2000), a syntactically annotated electronic corpus, shows that with sporadic exceptions, the O with a word of Old English origin (bearing left-hand word stress) tends to appear in OV order while the O with an Old French loanword (bearing right-hand word

stress) tends to appear in VO order. These findings demonstrate that the borrowing of Old French words into Middle English brought about a change in the Old English word stress system, thereby inducing the well-known change from OV to VO order in the history of English. This word order change is exactly what the stress-based theory of linearization predicts.

References:

Kroch, Anthony & Ann Taylor. 2000. *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, 2nd edition, Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania.

Tokizaki, Hisao. 2011. 'The nature of linear information in the morphosyntax-PF interface.' *English Linguistics* 28.2, 227-257.

Information Structural Effects
on DOS Constructions

Yana Chankova (SW University, Blagoevgrad)

The analysis proposed here focuses on constructions involving D(irect) O(bject) *S(crambling)* in O(ld) E(nglish) and O(ld) Ice(landic) and invokes semantic and information-structural factors in an attempt to determine to what extent the general linearization principles (weight, definiteness, pronominality) can be affected by such factors. The ultimate aim is to describe and evaluate the ways the core properties of *Scrambling* interface with semantic, discourse-informational and prosodic properties (based on papers in Kemenade & Los 2006; Barðdal & Chelliah 2009; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009; Meurman-Solin, López-Couso & Los 2012; Nevalainen & Traugott 2012; Bech & Eide 2014; Bowern & Evans 2014). Data have been collected from two corpora: *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (2003) and the corpus of *Íslendinga Sögur* (1998).

The present proposal draws on theoretical assumptions borrowed from sources advocating a movement approach to *Scrambling* phenomena. Specifically, I hold that *Scrambling* applies optionally to raise internal Arguments and Adjuncts into left-phrasally-adjoined targets but is prohibited by *Conservation of C-Command* (Wallenberg 2009: 132) from moving constituents across c-commanding functional heads. Relativizing the application of *Scrambling* to the type of moving constituents and to the type of targeted landing sites, this account discusses V_{fin}-DO(Acc)-$V_{non\text{-}fin}$-IO(Dat) orders in OE and OIce constructions involving trivalent verbs of the *give*-class, characterized by the Theta grid <Agent, Benefactive/ Recipient, Theme>. Some *scrambled* orders involving PPs and non-constituents are considered as well.

Such an account stands as an alternative to case-feature-driven analyses under which movement is triggered by the need for the internal Arguments to have their case-features checked. It also diverges from the weak version of semantic/discourse/informational analyses which assume that Topic and Focus are purely semantic features accessible at the interface, as well as from the strong version whereby Topic and Focus attract movement of constituents to specific functional projections.

The analysis enables us to draw conclusions about the referential types of the ex-situ constituents, the type of the source and target positions, the barriers to movement, and most importantly about the set of factors that trigger DOS. OE and OIce DOS may evoke either old, specific, topical, defocalized readings or non-presupposed, contrastive, focused, accentuated readings. DOS seems to be able to apply in both directions : it either affects the information structurally neutral constituent or it moves a constituent into the Middle Field to mark it as information structurally prominent.

References:

Barðdal, Jóhanna & Shobhana Chelliah (eds.). 2009. *The Role of Semantic, Pragmatic and Discourse Factors in the Development of Case* (Studies in Language Companion Series 108). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bech, Kristin & Kristine Gunn Eide (eds.). 2014. *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in Germanic and Romance Languages* (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 213). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bowern, Claire & Bethwyn Evans (eds.). 2014. *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics.*(Routledge Handbooks in Linguistics). London & New York: Routledge.

Hinterhölzl, Roland & Svetlana Petrova (eds.). 2009. *Information Structure and Language Change. New Approaches to Word Order Variation in Germanic* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs [TiLSM] 203). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

van Kemenade, Ans & Bettelou Los (eds.). 2006. *The Handbook of the History of English.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Meurman-Solin, Anneli, Maria Jose Lopez-Couso & Bettelou Los (eds.). 2012. *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in the History of English.*(Oxford Studies in the History of English). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nevalainen, Terttu & Elizabeth Closs Traugott (eds.). 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wallenberg, Joel. 2009. *Antisymmetry and the Conservation of C-command: Scrambling and Phrase Structure in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective.* University of Pennsylvania dissertation. http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/77

The TRAP-BATH split in RP: to prosper or perish?

James H. Yang (Yunlin)

The TRAP-BATH split (TBS) may date from the 17th century, when it was stigmatized as a Cockneyism, and this was the case until well into the 19th century (Beal, 2008). Today it is regarded as a southern innovation accepted in Received Pronunciation (RP). This sound change features the vowel /ɑ:/ in the BATH lexical set (such as *class*, *path*, and *last*) (Upton 2008), which differs from most northern British English dialects using /a/ (Gupta 2005) and from General American English (GAE), where the vowel is realized as /æ/ (Kretzschmar 2008). Despite some exceptions like *class* but *gas*, *path* but *math*, and *last* but *enthusiast* (Wells1982), this sound change is highly predictable in words with such codas as *–ft*(*er*) (as in *craft* and *after*), *-sk* (as in *ask*), *-sn* (as in *fasten*), *-nch* (as in *branch*), and *–mand* (as in *command*) (Yang 2015). The question that arises is whether this sound change is going to expand to the whole BATH lexical set and spread towards northern Britain. To answer this question, this study examines the sound change using the four-quadrant model proposed by Sewell (2016). Based on the four aspects including language learning, intelligibility, identity, and normativity, the investigation indicates that the TBS will slowly spread out in south-eastern England but not further northwards. A detailed account will be presented at the conference.

References:

Beal, J. 2008. 'English dialects in the North of England: phonology.' In B. Kortmann & C. Upton (eds.) *Varieties of English 1: The British isles,* 122-144. New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gupta, A. F. 2005. 'Baths and becks.'*English Today, 21*(1), 21-27.

Kretzschmar Jr., W. A. 2008. 'Standard American English pronunciation.' In E. W. Schneider (ed.) *Varieties of English 2: The Americas and the Caribbean*, 37-51. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sewell, A. 2016. *English Pronunciation Models in a Globalized World*. New York: Routledge.

Upton, C. 2008. 'Received pronunication.' In B. Kortmann & C. Upton (Eds.), *Varieties of English 1: The British isles*, 237-252. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wells, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yang, J. H. 2015. *'Bath or bhath? Let's call the whole thing off*.' Paper presented at the 2015 Taipei Tech International Conference on Applied Linguistics.

What the emergent DP brought about: the emergence of the double object construction in English

Fuyo Osawa (Hosei)

I claim that Old English had no counterpart of the Present-day English Double Object Construction (DOC) as in (1). The PDE DOC emerged in the 14th century, and its emergence is deeply related to the emergence of a functional system, i.e. DP in English:

(1) John gave Mary a book.

Although, the treatment of the DOC varies among researchers (Larson 1988, Aoun and Li 1989, Hornstein 1995), the following are widely accepted as typical features of the DOC:

(i) Direct Object NP and a predicate V must be adjacent.
(ii) Reflexive binding
    (2) a. I showed Mary herself.
     b.* I showed herself Mary
(iii) The implication that the direct object (DO), i.e. *a book* in (1), actually reaches *Mary*; the indirect object (IO) must be the possessor of the direct object (Gropen et al. 1989).

It follows that the NP1 (IO) asymmetrically c-commands the NP2 (DO). It can never be a flat structure like (3) (Oehrle 1976: 168), but a hierarchical structure something like (4):

(3)
```
        VP
       /|\
      / | \
     V NP1 NP2
```

(4)
```
        VP
       /  \
      V'    NP
     /  \
    V    NP
```
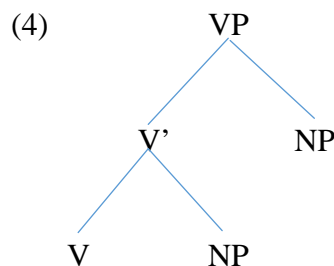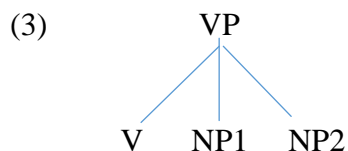
Interestingly, the above features are not observed in OE. First of all, a variety of orders of two objects are possible. [V DO IO] [V IO DO] [IO V DO] [DO V IO] are all attested:

(5) hie   tæcen   sum   gerad   hiera   geonglingum =
     they   teach   some   wisdom.Accusative.DO   their   young   men.Dative.IO
(Ælfric's Grammar)

Secondly, OE lacked the reflexive binding of (2), and simple personal pronouns were used as anaphors. (Gelderen 2000).

The third striking difference between the PDE DOC and its apparent OE counterpart is that there is no semantic constraint as in (iii) for the OE sentences:

(6) and   him fela   gifa bead ac he heora   onfon nolde
     "and offered him many gifts, but **he would not receive them**"
(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* 31. 681.)

There is no syntactic and semantic evidence, then, supporting the hierarchical structure like (4) in OE. Rather, the above facts suggest that the NP structure of OE is a flat structure like (3). In this structure there is no privileged status for a certain argument; accusative NPs, dative NPs, and genitive NPs are all equal with the predicate verb. Then there is no anti-symmetric relation between NP1 and NP2. The DOC appeared in the 14th century due to the emergent DP. This is when the reflexive binding and the group genitive constructions were established, which are not feasible without the DP.

References:

Aoun, Joseph and Yen-hui Audrey Li. 1989. 'Scope and Constituency.'*Linguistic Inquiry*20, 141-172.

Gelderen, Ellyvan. 2000. *A History of English Reflexive Pronouns*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gropen, Jess et al. 1989. 'The learnability and acquisition of the English language dative alternation.' *Language* 65, 203-257.

Hornstein, Nobert. 1995. *Logical Form: From GB to Minimalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Larson, Richard. 1988. 'On the double object construction.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 335-391.

Oehrle, Richard T. 1976. *The Grammatical Status of the English Dative Alternation.* Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.

Subject-verb inversion in Old English negated
main clauses: the role of *and*

Anna Cichosz (Lodz)

It is generally agreed that Old English (OE) negated main clauses followed two main patterns of constituent order, illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) *nelle*   **ic**   *hine*   *geunrotian*   *on ænigum þincge*
   NEG-will   I   him   grieve   in any thing
   'I will not grieve him in any thing' (coalieve, ÆLS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]:291.1119)

(2) *and*   **heo**   ne mihte   *þa ecnysse*   *forleosan*
   and   she   NEG could   the immortality   lose
   'and it could not lose immortality' (coalieve, ÆLS_[Christmas]:152.122)
   (after Ringe & Taylor 2014: 410)

As can be seen, in (1) the negated verb occupies the clause-initial position and the subject undergoes inversion, while in (2) the negated verb follows the subject. It is reported that (1) is the dominant pattern (Kemenade 1997: 91)and therefore negation is treated as one of the basic factors favouring the use of the verb-initial order in OE (Mitchell 1985: §3935; Fischer et al. 2000: 106; Hopper 1975: 52). However, (2) is usually shown as a well-represented alternative (Mitchell 1985: §3935; Ringe & Taylor 2014: 410), though with no clear suggestions as to the factors which might have underlain the variation between the patterns.

This study, based on the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE) (Taylor et al. 2003), is a comprehensive corpus-based analysis whose main objective is to find answers to the following research questions: a) what are the proportions between (1) and (2) in the whole corpus of OE prose and in individual texts?, b) how is the variation between (1) and (2) influenced by subject type and its information status, verb type and the

presence of other clause constituents and/or extra-clausal elements?, c) is there a diachronic trend within the OE period which would show a clear direction of change?

Primary results show that if all main clauses are viewed as a whole, (1) is not as dominant as other studies seem to suggest because it may be found in (only) 52% of main clauses with a negated verb (1282 out of 2449). However, the variation between (1) and (2) is to a large extent dependent on the presence or absence of a coordinating conjunction (predominantly *and*) in the clause. If there is no conjunction, the V-initial pattern may be observed in ca. 77% of clauses. If the conjunction is used, the frequency of the pattern falls to 13%, which is in line with Bech's (2016) findings that SV inversion is generally rare in OE conjunct clauses (i.e. main clauses introduced by *and* or *ac*). Thus, the analysis of inversion in negated main clauses may shed more light on the differences between OE non-conjunct and conjunct clauses, because the structure of the latter, despite Bech's (2016) analysis, is not fully understood yet.

References:

Bech, Kristin. 2016. 'Old truths, new corpora: revisiting the word order of conjunct clauses in Old English.' *English Language and Linguistics*, 1-25. (FirstView).

Hopper, Paul J. 1975. *The Syntax of the Simple Sentence in Proto-Germanic*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman & Wim van der Wurff. 2000. *The syntax of early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kemenade, Ans van. 1997. 'Negative-initial Sentences in Old and Middle English.' In 'A Festschrift for Roger Lass on his Sixtieth Birthday.' *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* XXXI. 91-104.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ringe, Don & Ann Taylor. 2014. *The development of Old English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths. 2003. The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). Department of Linguistics, University of York. Oxford Text Archive. (Available online at http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YcoeHome1.htm)

From cotton fields to the *Lancet*: emergence and conventionalization of *like* meaning *as if*

Mathilde Pinson (Paris III)

The word *like* is one of the most polyfunctional words in English. Its use as a conjunction meaning *as if* is said by the OED to date back to the Early Modern English period. Yet no occurrences of this type of *like* can be found in the Helsinki corpus for the period 1150-1710 (Gisborne and Holmes 2007). Additionally, it has been demonstrated that 70% of the adverbial subordinators introduced during that period were either rarely used or turned out to be short-lived (Kortmann 1997: 301). The Early Modern examples mentioned in the OED may therefore be considered instances of an experimental use of the conjunction, which did not catch on in the language of the time.

An analysis of the *Corpus of Historical American English* (1810s-2000s) (Davies, 2010-), demonstrates that the use of *like* meaning *as if* that can be observed today originated in non-standard Southern varieties of American English, before being adopted across the United States. Interestingly, it appears to have spread very fast: originally socially stigmatized, it gradually became a mere stylistic marker. It is now on the verge of completely superseding *as if* and *as though* in American English and is even gaining a foothold in academic English.

Rather than the simple extension of a preposition to a conjunction, the conjunction *like* meaning *as if* derived from the grammaticalization of the epistemic adjective *like* meaning *likely*. Due to the semantic opacity of this rare adjective, the construction {*it* + copular verb + *like*$_{ADJ}$ + ØP} was reanalyzed as containing an overt complementizer, *like*. This bridging context led to the reanalysis of structure (1) as structure (2):

(1) It looks like$_{ADJ}$ [Ø he's going to be sick]. (≈ It looks likely that he's going to be sick.)
(2) It looks [like$_{COMP}$ he's going to be sick]. (≈ It looks as if he's going to be sick.)

Subsequently, the empty subject was reanalyzed as a referential subject, leading to the emergence of structure (3):

(3) He looks [like$_{COMP}$ he's going to be sick].

Ultimately, by analogy with *as if* and *as though*, *like* also became an adverbial subordinator, as in (4):

(4) He looks pale, [like$_{ADV\ SUB}$ he's going to be sick].

By showing how a rare and obsolete adjective has become an adverbial subordinator and a high-frequency complementizer, this study hopes to shed some light on the processes at play in language change.

References:

Davies, Mark. 2010-. *The Corpus of Historical American English: 400 million words, 1810-2009*. Available online at http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/

Gisborne, Nikolas and Jasper Holmes. 2007. 'A history of English evidential verbs of appearance.'*English Language and Linguistics 11.1*, 1-29.

Kortmann, Bernd. 1997. *Adverbial Subordination: A Typology and History of Adverbial Subordinators Based on European Languages.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Affirmative interrogatives without the auxiliary *do* in Modern English

Fujio Nakamura (Aichi Prefectural)

On a continuum with Nakamura (2001, 2003, 2004, 2010, 2013), the present paper focuses on how affirmative interrogatives without the auxiliary *do* (*do*-less Q) persisted in Modern English until their ultimate expiration from standard Present-day English.

Regarding the critical period in which affirmative interrogatives with *do* (*do*-Q) took precedence over *do*-less Q, work by Ellegård (1953) holds most credibility. Supported by 3,054 examples collected from documents written between 1400 and 1711, he insists on its establishment in the mid-16th century. His well-known line graph may lead to speculation that *do*-Q was regulated around 1700. Based on 372 verbs together with more than 2,300 examples compiled from 130 volumes of diaries and correspondence written between the mid-seventeenth and early twentieth centuries, however, Nakamura (2003) elucidates that, although *do*-Q was considerably more frequent, it was only around 1900 that *do*-less Q became virtually obsolescent.

Thus, questions remain over what made the *do*-less Q extant in Late Modern English lexically, phonologically, semantically and syntactically. Söderlind (1951), Ellegård (1953) and Tieken (1987) mention *come*, *do*, *say* and *think* as typically having adhered to *do*-less Q. All are basic monosyllabic Anglo-Saxon verbs of high frequency. Nakamura (2003) implies, however, that the retention of *do*-less Q was not induced simply by the verbs themselves but by certain semantic and syntactic factors; for example, even with the verb *think*, which had the highest statistics of *do*-less Q, *do*-Q being far more frequent throughout the periods investigated (67 vs. 302). Regarding such semantic and syntactic environments, six relevant categories are mentioned by researchers, including Visser (1969). Nevertheless, showing only such categories in which *do*-less Q was retained does not reveal its history, because the question of whether those categories prolonged the generalisation of the interrogative *do* in

reality cannot be confirmed without clarifying the frequency with which *do*-Q was utilised under the same categories.

Evidence gathered thus far shows that *do*-less Q was more frequently used than *do*-Q in questions beginning with *wh-/how*, especially set phrases such as *How do/go/like you?*, *How comes it (to pass) that --?*, *What say you (to -)?* and *What think you (of -)?* Therefore, this presentation attempts a more thorough analysis of competition between *do*-Q and *do*-less Q in Modern English.

References:

Ellegård, A. 1953 *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Nakamura, F. 2001. 'A history of the interrogative *do* in seventeenth to nineteenth-century diaries and correspondence.' Paper presented at the First International Conference on the English Language in the Late Modern Period 1700-1900, University of Edinburgh.

Nakamura, F. 2003. 'A history of the affirmative interrogative *do* in seventeenth to nineteenth-century diaries and correspondence.' *Studies in Modern English: The Twentieth Anniversary Publication of the Modern English Association*, 207-221. Tokyo: Eichosha.

Nakamura, F. 2004. 'A history of the negative imperative *do* in seventeenth to nineteenth-century Diaries and Correspondence.' Paper presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, University of Vienna.

Nakamura, F. 2010. 'A history of the auxiliary *do* occurring in affirmative imperatives in Late Modern English.' Paper presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, University of Pecs.

Nakamura, F. 2013. 'A History of the third person singular present *don't*: transition from *he don't know* to *he doesn't know*.' Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Late Modern English, University of Bergamo.

Söderlind, J. 1951. *Verb Syntax in John Dryden's Prose,* I. Uppsala, Rpt., Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1973.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade, I. 1987. *The Auxiliary Do in Eighteenth-century English: a Sociohistorical-linguistic Approach*. Dordrecht / Providence: Foris.

Visser, F. Th. 1969. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, Part III, First Half. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

WEDNESDAY 5ᵀᴴ JULY

- Plenary conference -

The history and classification
of English light verbs

Marion Elenbaas

(Leiden University - Centre for Linguistics)

This talk focuses on the synchronic and diachronic characteristics of English light verbs. In *John gave a scream*, the verb *give* is generally referred to as a light verb because most of the lexical meaning is located in the nominal deverbal complement, instead of in the verb. Other examples of English light verbs include *take*, *make*, *have*, *do*.

Light verbs are well-attested cross-linguistically (see e.g. Mohanan 2006 andreferences cited there) and appear to have properties of both lexical and functional categories, which has led to proposals in which light verbs are a separate category (see e.g. Hale & Keyser's 1993 little *v*) and to the view that light verbs are a(n optional) diachronic stage on a grammaticalisation cline from main verb to auxiliary (Hopper & Traugott 1993:108).

I will present synchronic and diachronic evidence that English light verbs are synchronic variants of main verbs (see e.g. Bruening 2016), not grammaticalised main verbs (see also Elenbaas 2013). (1) provides examples of early English light verbs from the *York-Toronto-Helsinki parsed corpus of Old English prose* ((1a), Taylor et al. 2003) and from the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English* ((1b), Kroch & Taylor 2000; (1c), Kroch et al. 2004; (1d), Kroch et al. 2010).

(1) a. OLD ENGLISH:

Þa **namon** þa heafodmen. **andan**. ongean his lare.

then took the leaders envy against his lore

'Then the leaders took envy to his lore.' (cocathom1, ÆCHom I, 14.1: 295.159.2684)

b. MIDDLE ENGLISH:

… but of þe two furste **makyþ** þis gospel **mencion**.

only of the two first makes this gospel mention

'… the gospel makes mention only of the two first.'   (CMWYCSER, 291.1169)

c. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH:

Then they **gave a shute** with a loude voyce, …

'Then they gave a shout with a loud voice, …'   (TYNDNEW-E1-P2, VII,40A.137)

d. LATE MODERN ENGLISH:

We **had a hearty laugh** over it.   (THRING-187X, 219.112)

Throughout the history of English, light verbs remain form-identical to main verbs and are affected by the same (morpho-)syntactic changes as main verbs, such as the loss of verb movement. Whether or not a verb can be used as a light verb depends on its semantics: verbs with general semantics are the most likely candidates (see Butt 2010: 72, 75). This, together with the option of eventive noun phrases, allows the occurrence of so-called light verb constructions, but a separate category 'light verb' is not warranted in English.

References:

Bruening, Benjamin. 2016. 'Light verbs are just regular verbs.' *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 22.1, article 7 Available at: http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol22/iss1/7

Butt, Miriam. 2010. 'The light verb jungle: still hacking away.' In Mengistu Amberber, Brett Baker & Mark Harvey(eds.) *Complex Predicates: Cross-linguistic Perspectives on Event Structure*, 48-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elenbaas, Marion. 2013. 'The synchronic and diachronic status of English light verbs.' *Linguistic Variation* 13.1, 48-80.

Hale, Kenneth & Samuel J. Keyser. 1993. 'On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations.' In Kenneth Hale & Samuel J. Keyser (eds.)*The View from Building 20: A Festschrift for Sylvain Bromberger*, 53-108. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*, 1st edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kroch, Anthony & Ann Taylor.2000.*Penn-Helsinki parsed corpus of Middle English*. Second edition. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-2/

Kroch, Anthony, Beatrice Santorini & Ariel Diertani. 2004. *The Penn-Helsinki parsed corpus of Early Modern English*. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCEME-RELEASE-2/index.html.

Kroch, Anthony, Beatrice Santorini & Ariel Diertani. 2010. *The Penn parsed corpus of Modern British English*. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCMBE-RELEASE-1/index.html.

Mohanan, Tara. 2006. 'Grammatical verbs (with special reference to light verbs).' In Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, vol. II,459-492. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing.

Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths. 2003. *The York-Toronto-

The diachronic distribution of theperfect auxiliaries with English intransitive verbs

Katarzyna Zdziera (Warsaw)

Although the category of aspect in English is generally thought to have been developed in Late Modern English, certain forms that resembled contemporary perfective and progressive constructions, past and present, are found as early as Old English (Hogg 1992: 187-193). Those perfective constructions, sometimes referred to as "periphrastic" perfect, were formed by combining the auxiliary verb *beon/wesan* 'be' or *habban* 'have' with the past participle. This way of building perfective constructions is characteristic of many European languages, such as German, French or Italian. Typically for all of them, the auxiliary *be* is used before intransitive verbs, especially those connected with physical motionor transitition from one state to another, whereas all the other verbs combine with *have*. This was also the case in Old English, but contrary to languages such as those mentioned earlier, English has failed to retain this distinction until the present day. Instead, the verb *beon/wesan* as perfective auxiliary gradually disappeared from the language up to the point where *have* became practically the only possible choice when forming the present and past perfect, as is the case in contemporary English. The exact course and reasons for this change have already been addressed to in various historical linguistic studies (Denison 1993, Kytö1997, McFadden & Alexiadou 2006), yet many unanswered questions and doubts regarding this issue still remain.

In the present study an attempt is made to analyze the diachronic distribution of the competing perfective auxiliaries in Middle English through Modern English, basing on the texts collected in the *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* (Markus 2008). The study attempts to investigate the patterns of change for individual intransitive verbs, taking into account their frequency and origins in order to identify possible differences in syntactic behaviour between rare and frequent verbs as well as between native words and loanwords from French.

References:

Brinton, Laurel. 1988. *The Development of English Aspectual Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976.*Aspect. an Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Denison, David. 1993.*English Historical Syntax: Verbal Constructions*. London & New York: Longman.

Hogg, Richard M. (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language(Vol. 1): the Beginnings to 1066*. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008.

Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kytö, Merja. 1997.'*Be/have* + past participle: the choice of the auxiliary with intransitives from Late Middle to Modern English.' In M. Rissanen, M. Kytö and K. Heikkonen (eds.) *English in Transition: Corpus-based Studies in Linguistic Variation and Genre Styles*, 19-85. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Markus, Manfred. 2008.*Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose*. Innsbruck: ICAMET.

Mustanoja, Tauno F. 1960. *A Middle English Syntax*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech &Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Edinburgh: Longman.

Smith, J. J. 1999. *Essentials of Early English: an Introduction to Old, Middle and Early Modern English.* London: Routledge.

Multi-word sequences

in the early modern French, Scots and English versions of

Le Compost et kalendrier des bergiers

Hanna Rutkowska (Poznan)

Almanacs had enjoyed unprecedented popularity in early modern Europe by the late fifteenth century, for at least two hundred years. They were practical books, collections of texts on a variety of subjects, including astronomy, astrology, agriculture, medicine, and religion. As such, they are invaluable sources of information about the views of Renaissance Europeans concerning the world around them. One of the most common early modern almanacs was the late fifteenth-century French book entitled *Le Compost et kalendrier des bergiers*. It was translated three times, once into Scots, by Alexander Barclay, and twice into English, by Richard Pynson and Robert Copland (for Wynkyn de Worde) respectively, in the early sixteenth century.

The present contribution is a corpus-based (as understood in Biber 2009), comparative study, which traces the lexical, morphological, and stylistic choices made by the early modern translators and publishers in the process of rendering *Le Compost* available to the readers in the British Isles. The analysis compares the editions published by Marchant (1493, *GW* 5908; 1497, *GW* 5910), Vérard (1503, *STC* 22407), Pynson (1506, *STC* 22408), Notary (1518, *STC* 22410), de Worde (1528, *STC* 22411), and Powell (1556, *STC* 22412). Where relevant, references will be made to the other surviving French and English editions of the almanac. The modern sources reproducing the original editions used for the purposes of this study include *EEBO*, Sommer (1892), Engammare (2008), and Matsuda (2012).

The linguistic investigation in this paper focuses mainly on the changes in the use of multi-word sequences, especially binomials and multinomials, i.e. two or more coordinated and semantically linked lexemes (see e.g. Mollin 2012). They comprise mainly pairs of nouns, less frequently of verbs and adjectives, usually coordinated by means of the conjunction *and*, occasionally by *or* (e.g. *good or bad*) and *nor*. As regards the semantic relationship between

the coordinated elements, most of them are synonyms (e.g. *fortunes and destinies*), or complement each other (e.g. *old and feeble*). There are also instances of antonyms (e.g. *living and dying*), and cause-and-effect relationships (e.g. *cost and charges*).

A detailed comparison of the editions shows that the authors of the almanac translations do not simply imitate the wording of the previous editions. Instead, they make their own decisions concerning the necessary changes to the original text, including omissions in the text as well as additions to it. Some of these modifications can be considered to be determined by evolving views of the world due to the changing socio-historical background, e.g. the English Reformation; others are due to stylistic considerations or misinterpretation on the part of the translator. The frequency of binomials also depends on the subject area, with the passages devoted to medicine yielding a particularly high number of tokens.

References:

Biber, Douglas. 2009. 'A corpus-driven approach to formulaic language in English: multi-word patterns in speech and writing.' *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14, 3: 275-311.

Early English Books Online (*EEBO*) <http://wwwlib.umi.com/eebo/>

Engammere, Max (ed.). 2008. *Calendrier des Bergiers*. Paris: Fondation Martin Bodmer.

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (*GW*) <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>

Jackson, William Alexander, Frederic Sutherland Ferguson & Katharine F Pantzer (eds.) 1976, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, *Volume 2: I–Z*. London: Bibliographical Society (*STC*).

Matsuda, Takami. 2012. *Digital Microfilm and XML Edition of Early Printed Books*. <http://www.flet.keio.ac.jp/~matsuda/ks/185b/185bmenufr.htm>

Mollin, Sandra. 2012. 'Revisiting binomial order in English: ordering constraints and reversibility.' *English Language and Linguistics* 16/1: 81–103.

Sommer, Heinrich Oskar. 1892. *The Kalender of Shepherdes. Volume II: The Edition of Paris 1503 in Photographic Facsimile*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

A diachronic study of semantic specialization
and idiomatization in light verb constructions

Camille Ternisien (Tours)

Light verb constructions (LVCs) are conventionally defined as syntactic structures composed of a verb used as a support for predication but whose semantic weight is relatively light (*have, make, take, give*) (Jespersen 1942:17), combined with a noun phrase - composed of an indefinite article and a deverbal noun- which bears the semantic weight of the whole construction (Live 1973: 31; Quirk et al. 1985:750). *Take a shower* is a prototypical example of a light verb construction. The latter has to be substitutable by a simple lexical verb (SLV): in this case, *shower*. This definition, despite being operative and concise, does not fully account for the semantic differences which characterize many of the LVC/SLV couples. While the aspectual role of the LVCs has long been recognized – see Wierzbicka 1982, Brinton & Akimoto 1999 – the specific semantic extension some deverbal nouns take on when used within a LVC has rarely been mentioned (Stein 1963, Smith 2009).

Two types of occurrences will be investigated in this work-in-progress report, both illustrating, to some degree, semantic specialization and idiomatization. They will be referred to as the *have a drink* type and the *have a crack* type. The meaning of the *have a drink* construction is indeed more marked than the associated SLV since the LVC is used to refer specifically to drinking –most commonly alcohol and not just any type of beverage – in a social context (Stein 1963). The issue raised by the second type is slightly different, as the LVC cannot be replaced by the SLV morphologically related to the deverbal noun: *have a crack* is semantically related to *try*, not to *crack*. These examples show that, while the syntactic structure of these LVCs conforms to the prototypical pattern (*light verb + indefinite article + deverbal noun*), their semantics is atypical: the semantic extension of the deverbal noun is indeed different from the lexical verb it derives from, its meaning being more specific when used in the construction rather than in another context, suggesting some degree of

idiomatization.

Two issues will be addressed in this paper. First of all, the origins and development of these types of LVCs in the history of English will be investigated through a diachronic analysis of a set of corpora (the *BYU-BNC*, the *COCA* and the *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*). The Modern English period saw a significant rise in the frequency and diversity of LVCs (Brinton & Akimoto 1999). One can thus expect these specific types to be attested as early as ModE. Secondly, from a more theoretical perspective, the degree of semantic specialization and idiomatization of these types of LVCs will be examined in an attempt to determine whether these constructional changes could be identified as instances of lexicalization (Brinton & Traugott 2005) or constructionalization (Traugott & Trousdale 2013).

References:

Brinton, L. &E. Traugott. 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jespersen, O. 1942. *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, VI. London: Allen & Unwin.

Live, A. H. 1973. The *take-have* phrasal in English. *Linguistics 11*(95), 31-50.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, J. Svartvik, & D. Crystal. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Smith, A. 2009. 'Light Verbs in Australian, New Zealand and British English.' *Comparative Studies in Australian and New Zealand English: Grammar and Beyond*. In Pam Peters, Peter Collins & Adam Smith (eds.) *VEAW G* 39: 139-155.

Stein, G. 1991.'The phrasal verb type 'to have a look' in Modern English.' *IRAL – International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*. Volume 29, Issue 1: 1-30.

Traugott, E. &G. Trousdale. 2013. *Constructionalization and Constructional Changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. 1982. 'Why can you have a drink when you can't *have an eat?'*Language* 58, no. 4, 753–799.

Workshop on
"The role of an individual speaker in linguistic change"

Organiser: Justyna Robinson

University of Sussex

The workshop on individual variation in linguistic change considers the question of how linguistic innovation and change happens when viewed from the point of an individual speaker or a small group of speakers. By focusing on the diachrony of the English language the workshop presentations address a range of issues outlined below.

On the one hand, this workshop explores the way in which individual speakers participate in an ongoing community change by advancing it, resisting it, or following other response scenarios (what are the potential scenarios?). In this respect, the workshop aims to assess the importance of various factors in the differential individual response to change, such as the social position of a speaker, attitudes to and perceptions of change, the type of change (e.g. change at different levels of language, changes from above/below), etc.

On the other hand, the workshop considers the life-cycle of linguistic change and how it intersects with the life of a speaker or a small group of speakers. How do innovations arise and how are they 'managed' by individual speakers? How are the innovations passed on to other speakers during the diffusion of change? How is the process of receding usage managed by individuals? The workshop considers the issue of differential 'reaction' of individuals to change (participating in the change or not, other scenarios?) depending on the stage of change (e.g. new change, change towards completion) and depending on the life stage of an individual speaker. The individual perspective on the language change also allows to identify social, cognitive, and structural ingredients of 'a successful change' and the characteristics of ephemeral changes.

This workshop also aims to assess the effect of a 'generic' and 'specific' individual on language change. In doing so, the workshop considers how our understanding of the history of English is shaped by relying on historical records of individual usage.

Apart from theoretical issues, this workshop discusses methodological challenges involved in investigating linguistic change at the level of an individual speaker and outline the most pressing areas of further research. A desired outcome of the workshop is to obtain a more fine-grained

understanding of how the English language has changed, by considering the evidence from the language of individual speakers.

Presentations:

‘One change at a time: individuals, covariation and change in progress’

Cathleen Waters (University of Leicester)

Sali Tagliamonte (University of Toronto)

‘“Two steps forward one step back”: How do individual movements shape the diachrony of English adjectives?’

Justyna Robinson (University of Sussex)

‘Ælfric's attempt to create linguistic terminology in Old English’

Yekaterina Yakovenko

(Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

‘The emergence of the marked individual as a crucial agent of change: not “the” generic child's but specific individuals' actions as the focus of diachrony’

Richard D. Janda(Dept. of French & Italian, Indiana University; and Dept. of English, Ball State University)

‘Communal versus individual change in 17th century cleft and copula constructions’

Oscar Strik, William Standing, and Peter Petre (University of Antwerp)

One change at a time:

Individuals, covariation, and change in progress

Cathleen Waters (University of Leicester)

Sali Tagliamonte (University of Toronto)

Do the people who lead in one linguistic change, lead in others? Previous studies of phonetic or phonological change (Guy 2013; Labov 2001; Maclagan, Gordon and Lewis 1999; Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2010) have observed some, albeit limited, consistency across individuals. Morpho-syntactic and lexical changes have received less attention, though historical evidence from written material also suggests that most individuals do not participate in multiple non-phonological changes in progress (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Nevalainen, Raumolin-Brunberg and Mannila 2011), but this had not previously been confirmed with a study of PDE.

In this paper, we address the question through an examination of five lexical, morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic variables that are established changes in progress in present-day Canadian English: quotatives, e.g. *say, be like*; intensifiers, e.g. *really, so*; deontic modality, e.g. *have to, must*; stative possession, e.g. *have, have got*; and general extenders, e.g. *and stuff, and things like that*. By examining spoken data from over eighty speakers in Canada's largest urban centre, Toronto, we undertake close scrutiny of individual behaviour across multiple linguistic variables, i.e. covariation.

Categorization of individual linguistic behaviour requires a relative measure of frequency (Nevalainen et al. 2011: 5) because it is necessary to consider the individual with respect to the rest of population at the same point in time. Drawing on previous studies of the five variables in Toronto (self-citation), we identified the incoming form for each variable and calculated a factor weight for each individual's use of the incoming variant. Then, using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, we tested the consistency in use of incoming variants both by the sample of speakers as a whole and only by those who are leading change.

When considering all speakers in the sample, we observed some limited consistency in the use of more than one innovative form by an individual. However, the analysis of the leaders in the use of the innovative variants of these five variables (quotative *be like*, intensifier *really,* deontic *have to*, stative *have* and general extender *and stuff*) demonstrates that, although the leaders of these multiple linguistic changes may have common social characteristics (e.g. women lead more than one change), it is not the case that any one individual in a community is likely to be at the forefront of multiple changes.

References:

Guy, Gregory R. 2013. 'The cognitive coherence of sociolects: how do speakers handle multiple sociolinguistic variables?' *Journal of Pragmatics* 52, 63-71.

Labov, William. 2001. *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 2: Social Factors*. Malden: Blackwell.

Maclagan, Margaret A., Elizabeth Gordon & Gillian Lewis. 1999. 'Women and sound change: conservative and innovative behavior by the same speakers.' *Language Variation and Change* 11, 19-41.

Nevalainen, Terttu, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg & Heikki Mannila. 2011. 'The diffusion of language change in real time: progressive and conservative individuals and the time depth of change.' *Language Variation and Change* 23, 1-43.

Nevalainen, Terttu & Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. 2003. *Historical Sociolinguistics*. London: Longman.

Stuart-Smith, Jane & Claire Timmins. 2010. 'The role of the individual in language variation and change." In Carmen Llamas & Dominic Watt (eds.).*Language and Identities*, 43-51. Edinburgh University Press.

"Two steps forward one step back...":
How do individual movements shape the diachrony of English adjectives?

Justyna Robinson (University of Sussex)

Most historical linguistic research investigates language change across the whole speech community or focuses on the language of individual historical figures (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003, Evans 2015.). What still remains uncertain is how change at these two levels of language, i.e. individual and community, comes together to shape the language of a given historical period.

Useful insights into this question have been proposed in recent sociolinguistic research (Buchstaller 2015, Sankoff 2013, Wagner 2012) which demonstrate that individuals may: (1) display patterns of stability; (2) change in later life in the direction of a community-wide change; or (3) display retrograde change in later life, with older speakers reverting to earlier community patterns as they age. Patterns of individual variation-change may lead to the acceleration (2) or slowing down (3) of community-wide change (Wagner and Sankoff 2014). Studies also indicate that speakers' awareness of change increases in time, but it is uncertain to what extent this may affect the pace of on-going change. There is little information on the relationship between individual speakers and their participation in change that is at a different stage of development (early, middle, late). Finally, it is unclear how change at different levels of language adds to the dynamic relationship between individual and the community.

In my presentation I explore the relationship between lifespan and community-level change by looking at semantic variation of evaluative adjectives in the speech of ten Sheffielders (age 35–70) between 2005 and 2015. The results indicate that usage of variants undergoing community-wide change from below (e.g. *skinny* 'mean') remains most stable across the life of individuals. Markers and stereotypes, such as *wicked* or *cool* undergo some life-span change (2) thus accelerating the pace of the community-wide change to the extent

that the change to opposite happens just within one or two generations. The data also shows that speakers' awareness of change increases over time and this leads speakers, who oppose the change, to reject the use of a given adjective (e. g. *awesome*, *gay*) with all its senses, and not necessarily by reverting to previous 'pre-change' usage (3). The results also allow for discussion of the individual participation in changes at different stages of development, as speakers over 50 years of age participate in the ongoing change of *gay*, *happy*, *chilled*, whereas those below 50 participate in the change of *wicked, fit,* or *awesome*. I conclude by proposing the most fruitful lines of future enquiry aiming at deriving a more comprehensive theory of language change.

References:

Buchstaller, I. 2015.'Exploring linguistic malleability across the life span: age-specific patterns in quotative use.'*Language in Society* 44(4), 457–496.

Evans, M. 2015. '"The vsual speech of the Court": investigating language change in the Tudor

family network (1544–1556).*Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 1(2), 153–188.

Nevalainen, T. & H. Raumolin-Brunberg. 2003.*Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England.* London: Longman

Sankoff, G. 2013.'Longitudinal studies.' In Ceil Lucas, Richard Cameron, & Robert Bayley (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 261–279. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wagner, S. E. 2012.'Age-grading in sociolinguistic theory. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6, 371–382.

Wagner, S. E. & G. Sankoff. 2014. 'Senior peer pressure and late-stage language change.' Paper presented at NWAV43, University of Illinois, October 23–26.

Ælfric's attempt to create linguistic
terminology in Old English

Yekaterina Yakovenko

(Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

Most lexical changes that are accounted for by extralinguistic causes (growth of culture, science and technology, social development, international contacts, etc.) take place irrespective of humans' will and intentions. However, the history of English shows several examples of conscious changes introduced by individuals aiming at filling gaps in the vocabulary, ameliorating the language or carrying out a linguistic experiment. Though authors' inventions, being quite often far from successful, remain on the periphery of the lexical system, such attempts should not be underestimated as they reveal the nominative and word-building potential of the language system.

The given paper focuses on linguistic terminology introduced into English by Ælfric (10th c.) in his translation of Latin grammar going back to Priscian and Donat ("Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice"). Ælfric's metalanguage is quite varied, including proper borrowings, semantic loans and periphrastic expressions. While borrowings (*part*< pars, *casu*< casus, *diptongon* < diphtongus, *declining* < declination, etc.) and periphrastic expressions (*ælc oþer nama* ("any other name") – Lat. appellativum "vocative", *ða ðe cumað of oðrum namum* – Lat. derivativus "derivative", etc.) are rare, semantic loans – tranfers of meaning to already existing native words – and loan translations (morpheme-for-morpheme translations) seem to be the most widespread type of terms suggested by Ælfric (*clypjendlīce* (Lat. vocales) "vowels", *swēgende* (Lat. consonantes) "consonants", *stæfgefēg* (Lat. syllaba) "syllable", *dæl nīmend* (Lat. participium) "participle", *cynn* (Lat. genus) "gender", *gemet, hād* (Lat. modus) "mode", *hād* (Lat. persona) "person", *sweg* (Lat. accentus) "accent", *getacnung* (Lat. significatio) "meaning", *menigfeald* (Lat. pluralis) "plural", etc.). Semantic,

etymological and morphemic analysis of semantic loans suggested by Ælfric proves their appropriateness to the system of the receiving language.

Ælfric's work should be considered as an interpretation of Latin by means of a language that was indeed very ill-adapted to the expression of linguistic concepts. Regarded from the point of view of its utility in Anglo-Saxon epoch, it offers, together with the *Glossary* and *Colloquy,* possibilities for further use of Latin. Seen now, it can be spoken of as a precious input into the Old English language and culture. Even if this contribution, ousted later by other terminology, seems dubious now, the very attempt is valuable indeed.

Ælfric's linguistic activity is investigated in the wide range of original and translated works on grammar, philosophy and logic in Old Germanic languages (Notker's translation of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*, Old Icelandic Grammatical Treatises) as well as manifestations of language purism occurring in English and other Germanic languages (German, Icelandic) in later periods.

References:

Baker, Peter & Michael Lapidge (eds.). 1995. *Byrhferth's Enchiridion*. Oxford: Early English Text Society.

Benediktsson, Hreinn (ed.). 1972. *The First Grammatical Treatise: Introduction, Text, Notes, Translation, Vocabulary, Facsimiles.* Publications in Linguistics vol. 1. Reykjavík: University of Iceland.

Chapman, Don. 2010. 'Uterque Lingua / Ægðer Gereord: Ælfric's grammatical vocabulary and the Winchester tradition.' In *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*,vol. 109 n° 4 (October 2010), 421-445.

Notker. 1844-1849. De Interpretatione In *Notker's des Teutschen Werke. Des Aristoteles*. Bd. 2. St.Gallen, 465-526.

Gneuss, Helmut. 1989. *The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England.* The T. Northcote Toller Memorial Lecture, delivered in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester on 6th March 1989. Bulletin John Rylands Library, 1989 (single print).

Kastovsky, Dieter. 2011. 'Translation techniques in the terminology of Ælfric's Grammar: semantic loans, loan translations and word-formation.' In Merja Kytö, John Scahill and

Harumi Tanabe (eds.).*Language Change and Variation from Old English to Late Modern English*. Series: Linguistic Insights: Studies in Language and Communication, vol. 114, 163-174. Bern: Peter Lang.

Law, Vivien. 1987. 'Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric's «Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice»'. In: *Histoire. Épistémologie. Langage,* vol. 9, NN 9-1, 47-71.

Law, Vivien. 2003. *The History of Linguistics in Europe: from Plato to 1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Menzer, Melinda. 2004. 'Ælfric's English "Grammar".' In *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 103, n° 1, 106-124.

Williams, Edna Rees. 1958. 'Ælfric's grammatical terminology.' In *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. 73, n°5, 453-462.

Zupitza, Julius. (ed.). 1880. *Sammlung Englisher Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben. Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar. Erste Ablteilung: Text und Variante*. Bd 1. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

The emergence of the marked individual as a crucial agent of change: not "the" generic child's but specific individuals' actions as the focus of diachrony

Richard D. Janda

(Dept. of French & Italian,

Indiana University & Dept. of English, Ball State University)

English historical linguistics, like diachronic linguistics generally, has long reflected a dichotomy between explanations involving specific individuals and those centering on generic individuals. Shannon 1964 sought successive individual authorship across one Old English manuscript; Klima's 1965 centuries-long study followed Halle 1962 in focusing on "the [language-learning] child". These research traditions saw out the last millennium (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1999 vs. Lightfoot 1999) and remain active.

Contrary to the generic-individual focus, the most arbitrary — or even unique — innovations and adoptions by specific individuals arguably promise the greatest insights into everyday realizations of linguistic change. The discussion here centers on four English lexical-semantic changes: an unusual but clear 19th-century one, also partly morphological, vs. three less rare but less settled current cases (though supporting material adduces other sorts of grammatical domains and other languages). Emerging from such unusual examples is the conclusion that divergent linguistic innovations and practices of individuals may create short-lived but demonstrable periods of ambiguity and even confusion.

Studying changes that seem natural and hence due to central principles of Universal Grammar, we cannot tell whether individuals' joint change-participation reflects contact or independent convergence. But (1) the development from U.S. English *Buncombe* (*County*) to *bunk* 'bombastic nonsense,' which began on February 25, 1820 (cf. Janda & Joseph 2003), clearly occurred via individual action and individual reaction involving a politician's unusual locution. Yet (2) ongoing replacement of American English *buy* by *purchase*, being part of a

set of Latinate substitutions for Germanic originals, reflects harder-to-track individual interactions. The most ironic change concerns (3) the word *individual* itself: at least in the U.S., *individual* is replacing *person* (partly because *person* has two plurals, *persons* and *people*), whereby speech-style conditioning and other sociolinguistic concomitants are crucial.

Accident sometimes preserves individual usage from centuries past: e.g., the U.S. Declaration of Independence was first printed with Jefferson's intonational markup (cf. Boyd 1976). More susceptible to close investigation, however, is (4) divergence in the interpretation of *Midwest* among American-English speakers (cf. Kapatsinksi & Janda 2010). Solid documentation over time confirms innovated confusion: depending on their home state, Americans have surprisingly different referents for this common geographical term. (Confusion — but due to variable allomorphy — is also documented for Swiss German by Hofer & Häcki Buhofer 2001 and for Lebanese Arabic by Khattab & Al-Tamimi 2015). Even avoiding the difficulties posed by "the" generic individual, though, we still face a conundrum: as Piaget (1980) emphasized some time ago, novel linguistic behavior could, in principle, arise via genetic mutation within an individual — but without direct human agency.

References:

Boyd, Julian P. 1976. 'The Declaration of Independence: the mystery of the lost original.' *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 100.4, 438-467.

Hofer, Lorenz & Annelies Häcki Buhofer. 2001. 'Le changement linguistique en ville: l'exemple de Bâle.'*Travaux neuchâtelois de linguistique* 34/35, 203-217.

Janda, Richard D. & Brian D. Joseph. 2003. 'On language, change, and language change: of history, linguistics, and historical linguistics.' In B. D. Joseph & R. D. Janda (eds.).*The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, 3-180. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Kapatsinski, Vsevolod M. & R. D. Janda. 2010. 'It's around here: residential history and the meaning of *Midwest*.' In Laura Carlson,Christoph Hoelscher, & Thomas Shipley (eds.).*33rd Annual Meeting of the CognitiveScience Society 2011; Boston, MA...; 20-23 July*, 2,983-2,988. Austin, TX: Cognitive Science Society & Red Hook, NY: Curran Associates.

Khattab, Ghada & Jalal Al-Tamimi. 2015. 'The acquisition of gemination in Lebanese-Arabic

Children.' In Scottish Consortium for ICPhS 2015 (ed.), *Proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences; Glasgow, 10-14 August.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Klima, Edward S. 1965. *Studies in Diachronic Transformational Syntax.* Ph.D. dissertation.v Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University.

Lightfoot, David W. 1999. *The Development of Language: Acquisition, Change, and Evolution.* Oxford, UK:Blackwell Publishers. (Blackwell/Maryland Lectures in Cognition, 1.)

Piaget, Jean. 1980. 'Comments... on phylogenesis and cognition.' In M. Piatelli-Palmarini (ed.). *Language and Learning: the Debate between Jean Piaget & Noam Chomsky*, 241-243. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shannon, Ann. 1964. *A Descriptive Syntax of the Parker Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 734 to 891.* The Hague: Mouton. (Janua linguarum, Series practica, 14).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid. 1999. 'Of formulas and friends: expressions of politeness in John Gay's letters.' In Guy Tops, Betty Devriendt, & Steven Geukens (eds.). *Thinking English Grammar: to Honour Xavier Dekeyser, Prof. Emeritus*, 99-112. Leuven: Peeters.

Communal versus individual change
in 17th century cleft and copula constructions

Oscar Strik, William Standing, and Peter Petré

(University of Antwerp)

17th century England is a period of particular interest to historical sociolinguistics, because it was a time both of great social upheavals (including civil war, religious schisms, and the advent of scientific communities), as well as important developments in the history of the English language. The growth of permissible focus types in the *it*-cleft seems to proceed systematically with adverbials of means and reason attested in the construction prior to those of time and place (Patten 2012). We present corpus evidence that tentatively suggests that the same development is also manifested at the level of the adult individual. Loss of various functions of word order variation during the rigidification of the SV(O) word order may have contributed to the growth of acceptable types of adverbial foci as other strategies, such as inversion, became less viable. Features that are key properties of particular focus types are hypothesised to become associated, through their non-compositional nature, with the cleft more generally through close association in the focus position; exhaustiveness, factuality and presentational usage are associated with different focus types. The changes to constraints on focus type then have a part to play in the more general expansion of cleft type and function (Patten 2010).

Varying individual use of not only the novel focus and cleft types but of coercion strategies, such as focusing adverbs or contrastive focus, can give a clear fine-grain picture of the use and acceptability of variants. Individual's rates of variant use when compared to hypothetically related constructions can contribute to an understanding of the strength of associations between constructions in an individual's grammar, the features of those structures and whether they cluster.

The 17th century was also the stage for a pair of developments in the copular constructions of English. While the verb *grow* had acquired copular usage in the 14th century,

the types of subjects and predicates used in the construction expanded greatly in the 17th century. In addition, it is in this period that the verb *get* joins the ranks of English copular verbs. For both verbs, subtypes of the copular construction may be categorised based on the semantic and syntactic aspects of the predicate. We may, for example, distinguish between physical state and mental state changes, and between nominal and adjectival predicates. The animacy of the subject is also expected to interact with the usage of different sub-constructions.

Both studies are approached within the framework of construction grammar, and they make use of data from the newly compiled EMMA corpus (*Early Modern Multiloquent Authors*), a large-scale longitudinal corpus that comprises the works of 50 authors from the 17th century. With an average word count per author of around 1,500,000 tokens, the corpus offers a unique basis for data-driven historical sociolinguistics. The individuals in the corpus were partly selected based on their mutual relations and position in networks of writers, scientists, clergymen, etc., but also include several social 'outliers'. Due to this setup, we will be able to connect the usage of individuals to sociolinguistic variables such as gender and education, as well as apply a dynamic analysis based on their movements in social networks.

Subject-Verb Agreement in the Letters
of Virginian Soldiers during the Civil War

Gaëlle Lecorre (Brest)

This study examines variation in subject-verb agreement in the letters penned by low-ranking, semi-literate soldiers from Virginia during the Civil War. The 170,000-word corpus on which this study is based is composed of 366 letters written by 80 privates, corporals and sergeants from Virginia (1861-1865).

Three different types of variations will be analyzed, namely the absence of verbal *-s* with third-person singular subjects, the *was/were* variation in the past tense *be* paradigm as well as the generalization of verbal *-s* in the present tense. These linguistic features find their origin in various parts of Great Britain. The absence of verbal *-s* is said to have originated in East Anglia (Fisiak & Trudgill 2001). Wright (2001) shows that this variation was also found in the London area as early as the 16th century. The generalization of verbal *-s* is conditioned by specific syntactic constraints, which are the "Subject Type Constraint" and "Position Subject Constraint" (Montgomery, Fuller & DeMarse 1993, Montgomery 1997, Trüb 2006, Bismark 2010). This phenomenon, known as the "Northern Subject Rule," is said to be inherited from Northern Middle English (Pietsch 2005). Verbal *-s* is a common feature of the dialects of Northern England, Scotland and Northern Ireland. However, it can also be found in the South-West of England (Geoffrey & Tagliamonte 1999), where it can be used to indicate habitual aspect.

The objective of this study is to better assess the variation in subject-verb agreement found in the non-standard English spoken by the Virginian white population in the second half of the 19th century. Given the fact that Virginia English is one of the cradles of Southern American English, this study may help us to better understand the different linguistic influences that shaped Southern American English. Even though verbal *-s* and the use of the verb stem in the third-person singular are often associated today with African American Vernacular English (Schneider 1997, Geoffrey & Tagliamonte 1999), the instances found in this corpus reveal that this feature was also shared by white speakers in the 19th century.

References:

Bismark, P. 2010. 'Patterns of verbal -s in the Varieties of English Today.' *Lingua Culture* 1, 3-23.

Fisiak, J. & P. Trudgill. 2001. *East Anglian English*. Cambridge: D.S Brewer.

Geoffrey, E. & S. Tagliamonte. 1999. 'Another piece for the verbal -s story: evidence from Devon in south-west England.' *Language Variation and Change*, vol. 11, 87-121. Cambridge: CUP.

Montgomery, M. 1997. 'Making transatlantic connections between varieties of English: the case of plural verbal –s.' *Journal of English Linguistics* vol. 25, No. 2, 122-141.

Montgomery, M., J. M. Fuller & S. DeMarse. 1993. 'The Black men has wives and sweet harts [and third person plural -s] jest like the white men': evidence for verbal -s from written documents on 19th-century African American speech.' *Language Variation and Change* vol. 5, 335-357. Cambridge: CUP.

Pietsch, L. , 2005. *Variable Grammars: Verbal Agreement in Northern Dialects of English*, Tübingen: De Gruyter.

Schneider, E. W. 1997. 'Earlier Black English revisited.' In Bernstein, C., R. Sabino & T. Nunnally (eds.) *Language Variety in the South Revisited*. University of Alabama Press,

Trüb, R. 2006. 'Nonstandard verbal paradigms in earlier White southern American English.' *American Speech* vol. 81, No. 3, 250-265.

Wright, L. 2001. 'Third-person singular present-tense -s, -th, and zero, 1575-1648.' *American Speech* vol. 77, No. 3, 236-258.

Wright, L. 2002. 'Third person plural present tense markers in London prisoners' depositions, 1562-1623.' *American Speech* vol. 77, No. 3, 242-263.

Exaptation in the pronouns and determiners of Early Middle English dialects

Raffaella Baechler (Munich/Edinburgh)

Introduction: Exaptation is the re-use of formal morphological expressions even though the grammatical categories they originally expressed are being lost (Lass 1990). The goal of this paper is to explore exaptation in the demonstrative and relative pronouns, as well as in the determiners in Early Middle English dialects (Early ME) from different areas and periods.

Previous research: The pronouns and adjectives gradually lose their inflections from Old English to Middle English. Nonetheless, several instances show that the system maintains different forms of the demonstrative pronouns and of the adjectives. These forms are exapted in varying ways in the individual ME dialects (Jones 1988, McIntosh 1947/48, Samuels 1972, Smith 1996). However, no larger comparative survey has ever been made regarding the exapted forms in the Early ME dialects.

Method: The data is based on the LAEME (*A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*) Corpus of Tagged Texts, which is developed straight from the manuscripts.

Research questions and expected results:
The Early ME dialects exapted the debris in different ways. This may be expected because there is no standardised variety of English at that time influencing the dialects. Furthermore, the new generation (of a particular dialect) after the morphological loss could have ignored the debris. However, this does not happen, which is probably due to the tendency in language acquisition to construct hypotheses about the input. Thus, the new generation comes up with numerous interpretations, of which only few win out. This may be caused by language users' ability to converge on particular interpretations. Thus, the main question is how the various Early ME dialects exapted the debris of a formerly gendered case system.

- It is expected that maximally distinctive forms, and forms which undergo either less or no phonetic reductionwill be exapted (e.g. the strong rather than the weak adjective inflection).

- Exapted forms encode morphosyntactic features present in the system (e.g. case, number, animacy), but the original morphological encoding of these morphosyntactic features is reduced due to phonological changes. Furthermore, exapted forms encode specific meanings (e.g. directional, stative, reiterative, etc.).

- Based on Los & Kemenade's (2016) survey it can be expected that inflected demonstrative pronouns are preserved for a longer period of time in Spec, CP (as pronouns referring to an antecedent) than in other positions of a clause or as definite articles.

References:

Jones, Charles. 1988. *Grammatical Gender in English: 950 to 1250*. London, New York, Sidney: Croom Helm.

Lass, Roger. 1990. 'How to do things with junk: exaptation in language evolution.' *Journal of Linguistics*, 26, 79–102.

Los, Bettelou&Ans van Kemenade. 2016.'Syntax and the morphology of deixis: the loss of demonstratives and paratactic clause linking.' In Schlachter, Eva &Tonjes Veenstra (eds.) *Demonstratives*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1–24.

McColl Millar, Robert. 2000. *System Collapse,System Rebirth: the Demonstrative Pronoun of English 900-1350 and the Birth of the Definite Article*. Oxford, Bern: Peter Lang.

McIntosh, Angus. 1947/48. 'The relative pronouns Þe and Þat in early Middle English.' *English and Germanic studies* 1, 73–87.

Samuels, Michael Louis. 1972. *Linguistic Evolution. With Special Reference to English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Jeremy. 1996. *An Historical Study of English. Function, Form and Change*. London, New York: Routledge.

French influence or native origins:
the case of the metrical status of the *-ing* suffix in Middle English Poetry

Marta Kolos (Warsaw)

The expected stressing pattern for Germanic vocabulary is trochaic (Campbell 1959: 30), and yet non-root native syllables are commonly accented in Middle English verse. The *-ing* suffix is the most frequent non-root choice for ictic positions and is therefore the subject of the present analysis. A particularly interesting aspect of the suffix's metrical status is its employment in rhyming syllables, as these are considered to be the most inviolable positions in a line of verse (Minkova 1996: 103). The present paper therefore devotes particular attention to the *-ing* suffix in rhymes, while providing comparative data showing the extent of its use in both accented and unaccented positions elsewhere within the line.

The aim is to systematise the apparent irregularities, assess their scope and establish the reasons for their presence. In Old English both poetic and linguistic accentuation was closely connected to the issue of syllabic weight (Dresher & Lahiri 1991). The present paper considers the possibility that the phenomenon might be a reflection of Old English weight-sensitivity. Another factor to be analysed is the potential impact of the incomplete grammaticalisation of certain suffixes (Marchand 1969: 232). The above phonological and morphological aspects might point to a native rooting of the phenomenon. A different hypothesis is connected to the possible influence of French stress and accentuation patterns. The study tries to assess the extent to which the proximity of Romance borrowings which retained their original stress patterns might have contributed to the unexpected choice of the *-ing* suffix for ictic positions.

The study is based on the Humanities Text Initiative's *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse.* The data is classified in terms of chronological and geographical origin, syllable weight and morphological content. Due to the possibility of the influence of French

borrowings, a broader textual context is also considered for each occurrence of the suffix in an accented position

The expected results include a degree of continuity from Old to Middle English in the potential of heavy syllables for carrying poetic ictus. The potential would have diminished within the period. External influences as well as the role of incomplete grammaticalisation are also expected to have been of some significance.

References:

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dresher, B. Elan & Aditi Lahiri. 1991. 'The Germanic foot: metrical coherence in Old English.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 251-286.

Marchand, Hans. 1969.*The Categories and Types of Present-day English Word-formation. a Synchronic-Diachronic Approach* (2nd ed.). Műnchen: C.H. Beck.

Minkova, Donka. 1996. 'Non-primary stress in early Middle English accentual-syllabic verse.' In

C.B. McCully & J.J. Anderson (eds.). *English Historical Metrics*., 95-119. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The early German historical grammars of English:
a retrospective evaluation

Jerzy Wełna (Warsaw)

In my paper published around 10 years ago (Wełna 2008: 531), I characterised the state of studies on historical English as follows:

> The students of linguistic historiography doing research in the historical phonology and morphology of English are frequently surprised to find that the majority of early studies in those fields were not produced, as could be expected, in Great Britain and the United States, but that most of them came from the German-speaking countries, Germany and Austria.

The development of English historical linguistics at the turn of the 20th century reflected, to a large extent, the contributions of linguists from these two countries (cf. Wischer 2012). A flood of articles and major studies describing the language of the early periods of English chiefly appeared in journals like *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* (since 1846), *Englische Studien* (1877), *Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* (1878)*,* and its satellite *Beiblatt zur Anglia:Mitteilungen aus dem gesamten Gebiete der englischen Sprache und Literatur* (since 1891), to mention just a few.Among the contributors to these journals were Bülbring, Franz, Heuser, Holthausen, Horn, Luick, Morsbach, Sarrazin and a host of other scholars. Longer studies on historical English appeared in serial publications like *Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie* (1895),*Anglistische Forschungen* (Carl Winter in Heidelberg, 1901) and others. To the most representative works of the epoch belonged Karl Luick's innovative monograph *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, published in 1896.

The present paper concentrates on the earliest historical grammars of English, from around 1900, i.e. those by Sievers (1882/1886/1898; cf. also Brunner/Sievers (1965, 3rd ed.),

Morsbach (1896), Bülbring (1902) and Kaluza (1901-1902, 1906-1907[2]). The data from the first three grammars were frequently referred to by a later generation of scholars whose chief works were published after World War I, especially Karl Luick (1921/1940; cf. Wełna 2010) and Richard Jordan (1925/1934), undoubtedly the most prominent English historical linguists of the post-war period. But curiously, Kaluza's only complete historical grammar was hardly, if at all, mentioned in Luick or Jordan.

The paper will contain an evaluation of the four pre-World War I grammars(two of them unfinished, like those by Jordan and Luick) in order to verify to what extent their creators influenced the studies of the post-World War I generation of the authors of English historical grammars. In addition, attention will be focused on the mutual relationships of Luick's and Jordan's historical grammars (or, more accurately, phonologies).

References:

Brunner, Karl. 1965. *Altenglische Grammatik nach der Angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers* (3rd. ed.). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Bülbring, Karl Daniel. 1902. *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*. I. Teil: *Lautlehre*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Jordan, Richard. 1925/1934. *Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Kaluza, Max. 1900-1901. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*. Vols. 1-2. Berlin: Emil Felber.

Luick, Karl. 1896. *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Luick, Karl. 1921/1940. *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*. Vols. 1-2. Leipzig: Tauchnitz.

Morsbach, Lorenz. 1896. *Mittelenglische Grammatik*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Sievers, Eduard. 1882/1886/1898. *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Sievers, Eduard. 1885. *An Old English Grammar*, translated and edited by Albert S. Cook. (3rd ed. 1903). Boston - New York: Ginn.

Wełna, Jerzy. 2008. 'From Sievers to Kastovsky: German and Austrian contributions to English historical linguistics.' In: W. Czachur & Marta Czyżewska (eds.) *Vom Wort zum Text.*

Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Kultur, 531-539. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

Wełna, Jerzy. 2010. „Karl Luick". In: Albrecht Classen (ed.) *Handbook of Medieval Studies. Terms - Methods - Trends*, 2491-2493. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Wischer, Ilse. 2012. 'History of English historical linguistics: Germany and the German-speaking countries.' In: Alexander Bergs & Lauren J. Brinton (eds.) *English Historical Linguistics. An International Handbook*, 1325-1340. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

THURSDAY 6TH JULY

A detailed analysis of spelling in the texts of the *Poema Morale*: exploring the potential of computer processing

Marie Vaňková (Prague)

The *Poema Morale* (henceforth PM) holds an exceptional place among other early Middle English texts because of the existence of seven extant copies. As Laing (1992) explained, texts surviving in multiple copies represent a valuable source of evidence for historical linguists. In my MA thesis, I presented an analysis of the version D[1]based on the LAEME[2] (Vaňková, 2016).

The research included a brief comparison of the *inventories* of litterae[3]employed by the scribes of three versions of the text. The desired level of precision was relatively low and forms supposedly representing the same sound were mostly treated as equivalent.

The purpose of this follow-up project is to carry out a much more detailed and systematic analysis of the actual spellings employed in the seven MSs of the PM with minimal prior interpretation of the meaning of the individual litterae The first step was to pre-process data from LAEME. The procedure partly draws on the method proposed by McMahon and Maguire (2012) and consists in the identification of "slots" in individual types in the corpus[4]. The "slot" structure along with a list of possible litterae (taken from literature) are fed into a script, which analyses each form into a sequence of litterae where each littera should represent one potestas (phoneme).

The second step was to construct an interface enabling an analysis of a scribe's use of litterae in terms of their appearance at specific positions in specific words and to compare the usage in different versions of the PM. The scripts are used mainly to automatically retrieve a set of positions at which a given littera appears, alternative litterae found in the same position etc., including visualisation of the data. The idea behind this approach is to avoid excluding a

---

[1]Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 4.
[2]Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English.
[3]Terminologycf. Laing, 2013.
[4]Every item is assigned a structure in the form of a set of slots which are filled with different realisations of the given segment.

part of the data prior to the analysis and to provide a complete picture of the distribution of litterae before assigning sound values to them. In this way, the method along with the selection of texts responds to major issues of research into older English, namely the paucity of data and the challenge posed by the irregularity of ME spelling and the complicated interplay of spelling and pronunciation.

Key words: Poema Morale, LAEME, spelling, early Middle English, dialects

References:

Calle-Martín, J. &D. Moreno-Olalla. 2012.'Body of evidence: of Middle English annotated corpora and dialect atlases.' In Laura Wright & Richard Dance (eds.) *The Use and Development of Middle English. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Middle English, Cambridge 2008*, 17-34. Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt-am-Main & New York: Peter Lang AG.

Dossena, M. &R. Lass (eds.). 2004.*Methods and Data in Historical Dialectology*. Bern: European Academic Publishers.

Fisiak, J. 1986.*A Short Grammar of Middle English* (6. wyd.). Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Hill, B. 1977. 'The twelfth-century Conduct of Life, formerly the Poema Morale or A Moral Ode.'*Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 9, 97-144. Leeds University Digital Objects, University Library. Web. 20 January 2015.

https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/?func=dbinjumpfull&object_id=121820&silo_library=GEN01]

Hill, B. 1972. 'Early English Fragments and MSS Lambeth Palace Library 487, Bodleian Library Digby 4.' Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

Hudson, A. 1966. 'Tradition and innovation in some Middle English manuscripts.' *The Review of English Studies*, Vol. 17, no. 68, 359-372.

Laing, M. 1992. 'A linguistic atlas of early Middle English: the value of texts surviving in more than one version.' In M Rissanen & al (eds.) *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations in Historical Linguistics*: Topics in English Linguistics 10, 566-581. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Laing, M. 1993.*Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English*. Cambridge: Brewer.

Laing, M. 2013.*A Linguistic Atlas of early Middle English, 1150–1325, Version 3.2* Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme2.html

Laing, M2004. 'Multidimensionality: time, space and stratigraphy in historical dialectology.'

In M Dossena & R Lass (eds.) *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology*, Linguistic Insights 16, 49-96. Bern: Peter Lang

Laing, M. &R. Lass. 2013. *Introduction to the Linguistic Atlas of early Middle English*, *Part I*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme_intro_ch1.html

http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme_intro_ch2.html

Laing, M. &R. Lass. 2013.*Introduction to the Linguistic Atlas of early Middle English, Part II*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme_intro_ch3.html

http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme2/laeme_intro_ch4.html

McMahon, A. &W. Maguire. 2012. 'Quantitative historical dialectology.' In Denison, D., R. Bermúdez-Otero, Ch. McCully &M. Moore(eds.) *Analysing Older English*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Millward, C. M. &M. Hayes. 2012. *A Biography of the English Language*. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Moore, Samuel. 1930. 'Manuscripts of the Poema Morale: revised stemma.' *Anglia - Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*,vol. 1930, n° 54, 269–287.

Mugglestone, L. c2012.*The Oxford History of English [Online]* (updated ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

http://site.ebrary.com/lib/cuni/Doc?id=10694614

Paues, A. C. 1907. 'A newly discovered manuscript of the Poema Morale.'*Anglia –Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*,vol.1907, n° 30, 217-237.

Treharne, E. 2010. 'Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 14. 52.' In Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan & Elaine Treharne (eds.) 2010. *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*. University of Leicester, 2010, accessed 8th March 2016.

http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.CTC.B.14.52.htm

Upward, C., &G. Davidson. 2011. *The History of English Spelling [Online]*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell.

http://site.ebrary.com/lib/cuni/Doc?id=10483263

Vachek, J., &P. A. Luelsdorff. 1989. *Written language revisited*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Vachek, J. 1978. *A brief survey of the historical development of English* (4th. ed.). Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Vaňková, M. 2016. *Localisatino of Version D of the Poema Morale Based on the Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*. Unpublished MA thesis.

Zupitza, J. 1878. 'Zum Poema Morale.'*Anglia* 1, 5-38.

DigiZeitSchriften. Web. 20 January 2015.

https://www.digizeitschriften.de/dms/img/?PID=GDZPPN000010030

English loans and Norman bureaucracy
between 1066 and 1086

Olga Timofeeva (Zurich)

As new resources on the insular varieties of medieval Latin and French become available, it becomes increasingly clear that the outcome of language contact in the Old and Middle English periods was by no means limited to English replication of linguistic matter and pattern. A range of contact-induced features was also affecting Anglo-Latin, both before and after the Norman Conquest, and Anglo-French. While lexicographic evidence for English cultural loans in these varieties is immense, the mechanisms and settings in which they were adopted remain underexplored, inviting both close studies of the sources that display contact- and translation-induced phenomena and theoretical comprehension of how these phenomena should be described. This study offers a small step in this desirable direction, by, first, investigating the use of English terms in Latin writs and charters produced during the first two decades following the Norman Conquest and, secondly, tracing their adoption, or continuity, in the Domesday Book.

Both royal writs and the records of the great survey were produced by a multilingual community of clerks whose bureaucratic routines commonly included translation between Latin and the two vernaculars (French and English) (Baxter 2011). These practices encouraged the scribes to generate a professional vocabulary that was essentially identical in all three languages. One part of it consisted of traditional Anglo-Saxon legal lexis, including terminology for rights and privileges, land administration, and titles. A selection of such terms, extracted from the edition of William's acta by David Bates and the Domesday Book (using a combination of printed editions and digital databases), are analysed in this study, and their borrowing and currency reconstructed against the background of a wider corpus of Anglo-Latin and Old English texts and a wider sociolinguistic context of professional post-Conquest trilingualism.

References:

Bates, David (ed.). 1998. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I, 1066–1087*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Baxter, Stephen. 2011. 'The making of *Domesday Book* and the languages of lordship.' In Elizabeth M. Tyler(ed.) *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England, c.800–c.1250*, 271–308. Studies in the Early Middle Ages 27. Turnhout: Brepols.

Reconstructingearlier speechfeatures of the American Deep South: the problems and opportunities associated with the use of "literary dialect" as evidence

Michael D. Picone (University of Alabama)

The use of "literary dialect" in the portrayal of dialog for certain characters in the writings of nineteenth-century authors depicting the "Deep South" in the United States is an early example of "enregisterment" of dialect and its resultant commodification as an ingredient of literary success. Often referred to as "local color" authors, these writers were highly popular, being the eyes and ears of a public that, at the time, "traveled" primarily through reading. The question arises as to the usefulness of such literary dialect in the reconstruction of earlier features of actual spoken dialect. Indeed, literary dialect, both earlier and contemporary, often includes instances of "eye dialect", where non-standard spellings are incorporated to convey a notion of nonstandard speech but, in reality, correspond to no real difference in pronunciation (for example, "wuz" for 'was') and instances of stigmatized stock features (for example, "sho'nuff" for 'sure enough') showing that it is not intended by its authors, either nineteenth-century or modern, to be fully authentic. Nevertheless, it is argued that by maintaining awareness of such potential pitfalls and by employing strategies of triangulation with other evidence, it is possible in some cases to cautiously extract clues from literary dialect about authentic characteristics of earlier dialect. In fact, in some instances, it is argued, literary dialect is irreplaceable as a source of evidence for certain pronunciation features that will never surface as spelling mistakes in real correspondence from the same time period (for example, the dorsal articulation of /r/ among some speakers in Louisiana). In this regard, the literary dialect employed by nineteenth-century Louisiana-based authors, anglophones and francophones alike, can be a useful resource for reconstructing some earlier features when properly triangulated. Examples drawn from the literary dialect of George Washington Cable, Kate Chopin, Grace King, Alfred Mercier and Sidonie de la Houssaye demonstrate that representations of phonological features, discourse markers, lexical localisms and, to a lesser extent, code-mixing practices can be of value in reconstructing selected dialectal traits of nineteenth-century English, French and creole in Louisiana.

The selective vulnerability of Old English verb semantic classes in language shift

Richard Ingham (University of Westminster)

This paper reconsiders the long-term lexical effects of acquisition by a French-speaking population in the post-Norman Conquest period. The originally monolingual French-speaking social elite is assumed to have eventually shifted to English, though via a protracted period of bilingualism (Short 1980). French lexical influence on English at this time is typically conceptualised as a matter of loan vocabulary (Prins 1941, De Keyser 1986) taken in by a native English-speaking population. Here, we envisage the process rather in terms of the creation of an elite register of English used by French speakers during the process of shift, and assess its impact on particular parts of the verb lexicon.

The disappearance of nearly all Old English complement clause-taking verbs, as presented by Mitchell (1985) and Los (2005), is compared with the inventory of verbs featured in the forthcoming Bilingual Thesaurus of Mediaeval English Occupational Domains (Ingham, Sylvester & Marcus, to appear). This reveals a much higher survival rate of OE verbs with agent-affect-patient semantics. The nonfinite complement-taking verb repertoire of Middle English saw particularly strong substitution by preponderantly French-origin items, categorised by Los (2005) as verbs of intention (mental activity), those of commanding, permitting and promising, and verbs of persuasion. The high vulnerability to replacement of native verbs in these categories is discussed in terms of Ingham's (2017) interpersonal cognition hypothesis, according to which lexical items denoting events requiring metalinguistic judgement of the speech or mental activity being performed are harder to acquire/borrow than those having a physical denotation. French speakers acquiring English after the Norman conquest would thus have been led to largely relexicalise the clausal complement-taking verb inventory on French lines, whilst acquiring native verb lexis more successfully for semantic categories with physical denotations.

'Exile and banishment' in Early Modern English

Catherine Lisak (Bordeaux)

This study in phraseology works on the premise that the early modern vernacular, as a language in the making, progressively took shape through word-formation and the coining of phrases, as encountered, in particular, in Tudor and Stuart publications. Some such phrases were binary constructs based upon the pairing of synonyms - often Latinate cognates matched with their native equivalent, inherited from a Germanic source. In a case study of the expression "exile and banishment", this paper investigates the founding linguistic and cultural conditions that brought these two terms together. The study not only weighs the gain and loss of meaning for each of the terms that make up the diptych; it also considers the new syncretic meanings that emerged as both terms interlocked within a single phrase. If "exile" and "banishment" were terms characterised by their originally distinct routes and by the respective weight and significance which each possessed in its own right, it will be shown that, from the moment they operated alongside one another, through lexical twinning, a new meaning was produced in a way that was not simply the sum of their parts. This study further seeks to demonstrate that the fashioning of such an expression partook of a broader, ideological enterprise which sought to secure new linguistic tools and weapons in order to tackle the early modern crisis of identity that was profoundly under way in Reformation and post-Reformation societies.

In order to argue these points, the study is grounded on two major types of documents in which the phrase circulated in early modern times. A first category features glossaries, lexicons, and dictionaries that shed light on the way a linguistic form of "twin terminology" created meaning through analogy, apposition, superimposition and the alignment of words. A second category of documents made up of theological treatises, chronicles, or other historical accounts and, most importantly, of judicial tracts, represents texts that construct an argument or a narrative around the question of chastisement, specific ally of such punishments that fall short of the death penalty. Through an exploration of this second set of documents, our study discovers the vitality as well as the combinatory possibilities of the phrase "exile and

banishment", thus revealing to what degree the phrase was neither static in formulation nor monolithic in meaning.

References:

Baroda, Johanna, ElenaSmirnov, Lotte Sommere& Spike Gildea (eds.).1984. *Diachronic Construction Grammar*. Constructional Approaches to Language 18. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Drouet, Pascale and Yann Brailowsky (eds.). 2010. *Le bannissement et l'exil en Europe aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, La Licorne 94.

Eros, John F.1972.*Diachronic Linguistics in Seventeenth-century England, with Special Attention to the Theories of Meric Casaubon*. PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin.

Lamiroy, B. 2008. *Les expressions figées : à la recherche d'une définition*. http://www.ling.arts.kuleuven.be/franitalco/papers/Lamiroy2008.pdf.

The "chasing syndrome" in the historical phonology of medievalEnglish: why does English appear to be chasing Brittonic?

David L. White (University of Texas)

Examining the chronology of sound changes presented by Jackson (1953: 690-9) for Brittonic during roughly the first millennium reveals a fact that should not be there: though changes and states belonging to the Roman period or to the later Dark Ages, *i.e.* those dated *before* or *after* the Anglo-Saxon conquest, do not have analogues in medieval English, those belonging to the early Dark Ages, *i.e.* those that happened *during* the Anglo-Saxon conquest, often do, though with a significant delay. Furthermore, analogues of earlier changes and states in Brittonic appear earlier in English, while analogues of later states and changes appear later. The apparent coincidence is clearly too much to be accepted as such. Though a view expressed in recent years is that effects of Brittonic influence in English are largely 1) limited to morpho-syntax, and 2) not attested till Middle English, the historical phonology of Brittonic shows that significant Brittonic substratal influence appears, by way of Thomason & Kaufmann's "interference through shift", both 1) in the *phonology* of medieval English and 2) in *Old* English.

No existing interpretation can accommodate this proposition. The traditional "Germanophilic" interpretation insists that there is no (significant) Brittonic influence in English at all, and, by assuming that it works to think always in terms of "the" OE language of any given time and place (*i.e.* there is no need to posit significantly distinct peasant dialect), in effect denies that it is possible for influences that entered English *before* the period of attested Old English not to be attested till *after* this period. Though the Celtophilic interpretation offers a common-sense explanation (e.g. McWhorter 2009: 179, 182) for the lag effect that must be assumed in many cases, that features of peasant dialect would not appear in writing (which must represent noble dialect), it offers 1) no explicit abstract model for this,

and (as noted above) 2) no explanation for why any Brittonicisms appear in *Old* English, much less why innovations involving phonology appear (on average) much earlier than innovations involving morpho-syntax. Nor does the Celtophilic interpretation, which implicitly assumes *one* "shift" from Brittonic to Germanic, explain how medieval English could show analogues of *two* different stages of Brittonic. It is clear that we are looking at not one but *two* shifts, one from "late Paleo-Brittonic"(c. 450-500) and another from "early Neo-Brittonic" (c. 500-600), both followed by a significant lag before innovations originally limited to peasant dialect percolate into noble dialect (and so into writing). Any such process (or two) would make it appear that during the medieval period high-prestige English was "chasing" low-prestige Brittonic. Though this might seem improbable, a clear analogue may be cited in the way that high-prestige Bulgarian, which in its Old stage was not a particularly Balkan language, appears to be "chasing" low-prestige Romanian and Albanian (during a period when significant language-shift to Bulgarian is not historically plausible).

The presentation will present an explicit abstract model for such cases, making it clear that significant lag effects are to be expected, and survey the most important phonological evidence from *two distinct* periods of language shift from Brittonic to English.

References:

Jackson, Kenneth. 1953. *Language and History in Early Britain.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.
McWhorter, John. 2009. 'What else happened to English? A brief for the Celtic Hypothesis.' *English Language and Linguistics* 13.2, pp. 163-191.
Thomason, S. & T. Kaufmann. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

The nature of Old English adjectival premodification

Maciej Grabski (Lodz)

Old English (OE) prenominal adjectives inflected in accordance with one of two declensional paradigms: they could be either weak or strong, as illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively:

1) se   halga [WK] papa
the holy pope (cobede,BedeHead:1.10.1.26)

2) dumbne [STR] man
dumb   man   (cowsgosp,Mt_[WSCp]:9.32.571)

The primary factor governing the variation is the presence or absence of the declinable demonstrative pronoun (*se* in (1)), on which the categories of case, gender, and number – consistent across the entire noun phrase – are encoded. Fischer (2000: 160) suggests that "apart from being motivated by economy, the distinction between weak and strong adjectives may also be more intimately related to what the presence or absence of an article stands for, i.e. they may have a direct relation to (in)definiteness." Fischer (2001) further argues that weak adjectives, appearing in definite phrases, convey old information and as such are not "discourse-manipulable" (i.e. not "important to the subsequent discourse" [265]), while strong adjectives, appearing in indefinite phrases, convey new information, which is "relevant and salient because the continuation of the clause indicates that further information is built upon this knowledge" (267). The proposed distinction seems to overlap with that between restrictive and non-restrictive adjectival modification, and the issue is picked up by Haumann (2010). Her point of departure, however, is the adjective's position against the head noun: all prenominal adjectives, regardless of their inflection, are said to function as non-restrictive modifiers, while any adjectives serving as restrictive modifiers "are strictly postnominal"

(73). Haumann, however, does not analyze her examples in a wider textual context, and while both authors adduce a number of instances in support of their respective theories, the problem has not been comprehensively corpus-researched.

The aim of the present study is to check whether OE prenominal adjectives consistently function as non-restrictive and non-salient modifiers of their head nouns (cf. Haumann 2010) or whether this only holds true for weak adjectives (cf. Fischer 2000, 2001). The study is based on selected texts from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE, Taylor et al. 2003), with examples of adjectival premodification qualitatively analyzed in a broad textual context. The following research questions have been formulated: a) does OE permit prenominal adjectives which receive a restrictive/non-salient reading? b) does OE permit weak prenominal adjectives which provide salient information and function as restrictive modifiers?

Preliminary results cast some doubt on the findings of both Fischer (2000, 2001) and Haumann (2010), and suggest that a significant number of prenominal adjectives should be interpreted restrictively, and that there is no systematic relation between the adjective's varying inflection and its discourse salience/restrictiveness. In a broader perspective, the study implies that the inflection of prenominal adjectives might have been informed by simple economy and that OE as a rule favored the prenominal adjectival position independently of a number of factors that are often associated with the variation between the preposed and postposed placement of the adjective.

References:

Fischer, Olga. 2001. 'The position of the adjective in (Old) English from an iconic perspective.' In Olga Fischer & Max Nänny (eds.) *The motivated sign.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Fischer, Olga. 2000. 'The Position of the adjective in Old English". In . R. Bermudez-Otero et al. (eds.) *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies. a Dialogue from 10 ICEHL.*R153-182. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haumann, Dagmar. 2010. 'Adnominal adjectives in Old English.'*English Language and*

Linguistics. 14, 53-81.

Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk, and Frank Beths. 2003. The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). Department of Linguistics, University of York. Oxford Text Archive.

(Available online at http://wwwusers.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YcoeHome1. htm)