

# C B D A

Biennial Conference on the Diachrony of English  
Colloque international Bisannuel sur la Diachronie de l'Anglais

Third edition: Amiens, 6<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> June, 2013

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

LLL (Laboratoire Ligérien de Linguistique - UMR 7270) and Corpus (Amiens -EA 4295)



# SESSION PAPERS

Magdalena Bator  
University of Warsaw

## **Sugar and spice and all things nice: a semantic analysis of culinary vocabulary in Middle English**

Spices, imported to Europe mainly from India and the Far East, were very popular already in the Antiquity (cf. Apicus's collection). However, following Flandrin (1999), at no other period in history did they play as great a role as from the 14th to the 16th centuries. In medieval culinary recipes they were omnipresent. Various reasons for their use were suggested, such as prevention from decay (esp. of meat and fish), showing off (spices indicated the social position of the host), healthy reasons, or simply their taste. In the medieval times, not only did the variety of spices used for cooking change (comparing to the Antiquity), but also the popularity of certain spices. For instance, pepper, which was extremely popular in the Apicus's collection, lost favour to ginger and grains of paradise, only to regain its popularity in the 18th c. (Laurioux 1999).

The present study aims at a semantic analysis of the vocabulary for herbs and spices used in the available Middle English culinary collections. The research will be based on almost 1,000 recipes. We will start with the analysis of the general terms *herb*, *spice* and *wort* – all of which were used in the compiled corpus. Next, we will proceed to the analysis of lexemes denoting specific herbs and spices, not only to show their great variety but also to survey their etymology, meaning, and frequency of occurrence. Special attention will be paid to the relation of native to foreign lexemes (esp. those borrowed from French).

### References:

- Flandrin, Jean-Louis 1999: "Seasoning, cooking, and dietetics in the Late Middle Ages", in:  
Flandrin, J.L. (et al.) (eds.), 311-327
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis & Massimo Montanari (eds.) 1999: *A culinary history: Food*. New York:  
Columbia University Press
- Laurioux, Bruno 1999: "Medieval cooking", in Flandrin, J.L. (et al.) (eds.), 295-301

Joan Beal  
University of Sheffield

**Enregistering the North: the dialect of Mendicus in William *Dialogue*  
Bullein's *Against the Fever Pestilence* (1564)**

William Bullein's *Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1564) was reprinted by the Early English Text Society in 1888 and later included in *Early English Books Online* (EEBO). Although much of the scholarly interest in the text has been in the areas of medical history (e.g. Mitchell 1959) and Early Modern English literature (e.g. Griffiths 2007), it has also caught the attention of scholars interested in dialects of Early Modern English (Taavitsainen and Nevanlinna 1999, Ruano Garcia 2010, Wales 2006). In this paper, I discuss Bullein's use of Northumbrian dialect within the framework of indexicality and enregisterment (Agha 2003). I argue that Bullein chose to portray the character of Mendicus by referencing features that already indexed northern stereotypes due to their association with the Border Ballads and with documented historical and contemporary events. In doing this, Bullein both drew on and contributed to the enregisterment of northern, and, more specifically, Northumbrian dialect as 'outlandish.'

References:

- Agha, Asif 2003: "The social life of cultural value," *Language and Communication*, 23, 231-273
- Griffiths, Jane 2007: "Voicing the Commonplace: Emblem, Interpretation, and Civil Society in William Bullein's *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*," *Interfaces* 26, 83-94
- Mitchell, William S. 1959: "William Bullein, Elizabethan Physician and Author," *Medical History* 3, 188-200
- Ruano-Garcia, Javier 2010: *Early Modern Northern English Lexis: A Literary Corpus-Based Study*

- Taavitsainen, Irma and Saara Nevanlinna 1999: “‘Pills to Purge Melancholy’ – nonstandard elements in *A Dialogue Against the Feuer Pestilence*’, in Gunnel Melchers, Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds.). *Writing in Nonstandard English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 151-170
- Wales, Katie 2006: *Northern English: a Social and Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dominique Boulonnais  
Université de Paris III

## **Grammaticalization: Adaptation vs. Exaptation**

In a famous article devoted to junk in language, Lass (1990) distinguishes three possible scenarios for items which for some reason or other have outlived their usefulness: survival as such, disappearance, or recycling as something else. This last process, he calls “exaptation,” a term he borrows from evolutionary biology.

Exaptation thus appears as a form of functional change which shares an important number of features with traditional reanalysis involving items which are still in use, thus raising the question of its theoretical relevance with regard to language change.

The present paper explores possible differences between exaptation and adaptation and attempts to draw a line between the two types of change in grammaticalization. Adaptation is defined as a form of rationalisation triggered by an initial mismatch between the source and its new environment and involving a pre-established path of change from source to target. An example of adaptation is that of the reanalysis of infinitive *to* from adposition to I triggered by the N-V reanalysis of the old IE nominal infinitive. Where adaptation can be viewed as a process of normalization, exaptation on the other hand appears as an experimental form of innovation which is made possible by the original features of the source category. No pre-existing path is involved and no transitional stages as such are observed, a fact which is confirmed by the possible existence of competing forms of redeployment for the same source. The example chosen is that of the rise of auxiliary *do* out of a disused causative verb in obsolete VI constructions, which came to be redeployed as a periphrastic form in inverted structures with the establishment of configurational case. The development of periphrastic pronominal forms in French out of the existing paradigm of personal pronouns with the same effect of maintaining the SVO word order in questions, however, shows that exaptation also applies to material and structures which are still in use, thereby disqualifying the notion of functional uselessness as a necessary condition for exaptive change in linguistics, as repeatedly noted in the literature (Lass, 1997).

Exaptation, if it is to be distinguished from adaptation, can therefore be described as a type of change involving sources which have either lost their original distinctive features and/or whose formal features are directly compatible with those of their new functional category, as in the case of N-V or complement-subject reanalysis in the development of noun clauses. Where adaptative reanalysis is a type of adjustment coerced by a change in the environment of the form, as in biology, exaptation is a free "opportunistic" redeployment of material for some other use. In this new extended definition, exaptation is no longer the marginal phenomenon it is usually claimed to be in linguistics. It becomes the driving force in language change.

#### References:

- Brinton, L. & D. Stein 1995: "Functional renewal," in H. Andersen (ed.), *Historical Linguistics 1993*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 33-47
- Lass, R. 1990: "How to do things with junk: Exaptation in language evolution," *Journal of Linguistics* 26, 79-102
- Lass, R. 1997: *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Norde, M. 2009: *Degrammaticalization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Traugott, E.C. 2004: "Exaptation and grammaticalization," in M. Akimoto (ed.) *Linguistic Studies Based on Corpora*, Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo, 133-156



Yana Chankova  
South-West University, Blagoevgrad

## On Double Object Constructions in Old English and Old Icelandic

The indirect – direct object order with three-place predicates of the *give*-type is base-generated in languages characterized by an underlying SVO order, but when it comes to inverting the order of objects one ends up with two alternative analyses. My suggestion lies with the framework in which the inverted direct – indirect object order is held to have resulted from VP-internal *Scrambling* (cf. Haeberli 1999, Haugen 2001).

Much in tune with Webelhuth 1989 and Wallenberg 2009 *Scrambling* is here assumed to be a type of adjunction, hence characterized by a certain degree of optionality. The modified order in 1) & 2) then can be attributed to leftward movement of the direct object *ure sawla* / *stórgjafir* across the indirect object *urum scyppende* / *öllu stórmenni*:

1) ... *and we sceolon eft agifan ure sawla urum scyppende*. (ÆlfHom 167)

2) *Hann gaf og stórgjafir öllu stórmenni*... (LD 291)

Interestingly *Scrambling* to VP may preserve or else reverse the base-generated order of Arguments. In 3) & 4) the direct object (*ðæs pundes*) *spendunge* / *það ráð* moves out of its complement position and the indirect object *Gode* / *þér* moves out of its specifier position bringing forth the sequence direct – indirect object:

3) *Se sceal ðæs pundes spendunge Gode agifan*... (GiftMen 48)

4) *Vil eg það ráð þér gefa*... (Fljót 723)

This study analyzes VP-internal *Scrambling* in OE and OIce in terms of *Minimalism* and describes direct – indirect object constructions as having object inversion to the right of the main verb. Evidence for this claim is formulated in terms of FSP requirements. Further evidence is sought with respect to the leftward movement of the direct object over the indirect

object in similar constructions. The scrambleability of the internal Arguments in three-place predicates is considered with respect to different referential types of objects.

#### References:

- Haeberli 1999: *Features, categories and the syntax of A-positions. Synchronic and diachronic variation in the Germanic languages*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Geneva
- Haugan 2001: *Old Norse Word Order and Information Structure*. Trondheim: NUSTP, 2001
- Wallenberg 2009: *Antisymmetry and the Conservation of C-command: Scrambling and Phrase Structure in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective*, Publicly accessible Penn Dissertations: <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/77>
- Webelhuth 1989: *Syntactic Saturation Phenomena and the Modern Germanic Languages*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts

Javier Calle-Martin & Jesus Romero-Barranco

University of Malaga

## **A Dialectal Analysis of the Negative Adverb *ne* in Late Middle English**

The early history of English negative constructions from preverbal *ne* to *ne...na(h)t* and eventually to the periphrastic form *do not* has been a recurrent topic of scholarly research (Jack 1978: 58-72; Baghdikian 1979: 673-79; Fischer 1992: 280-85). The present study stems from a previous insight into the topic arguing that the use of the unsupported negative adverb *ne* is found to decrease first in the North and the East Midlands dialects in Middle English (Calle-Martín 2012: 89-102). Therefore, the present paper analyses the decline of the phenomenon from a dialectal perspective in order to validate or refute the traditional account of its Northern impulse. The material used as source of evidence comes from the *Middle English Grammar Corpus (MEGC)*, a corpus of 450,000 words containing the (diplomatic) transcription of the anchor texts localized in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986).

### References:

- Baghdikian, S. 1979: “*Ne* in ME and EMod.E” *English Studies* 60, 673-679
- Calle-Martin, Javier 2012: “Notes on the Decline of the Unsupported Negative Adverb *ne* in Middle English”. In Javier Martín Arista et al. (eds.). *Convergent Approaches to Mediaeval English Language and Literature: Selected Papers from the 22nd Conference of SELIM*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 89-102
- Fischer, O. 1992: “Syntax.” In N. Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Volume II: 1066-1476*, 207-408, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jack, G.B. 1978: “Negation in Later Middle English Prose,” *Archivum Linguisticum: A Review of Comparative Philology and General Linguistics* 9, 58-72
- McIntosh, Angus, Michael L. Samuels and Michael Benskin 1986: *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press

Ewa Ciszek-Kiliszeńska  
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

### **The Middle English preposition *atwēn***

The present paper focuses on the Middle English preposition *atwēn*. The aim of the study is to present the origin of the preposition as well as to investigate its semantics, dialect distribution and token frequency. The analysis is based on the linguistic material included in such extensive electronic databases as the *Middle English Dictionary online*, the *Oxford English Dictionary online* and the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* as well as on a number of complete Middle English texts. The dictionaries are used to critically evaluate the etymology of the preposition and to establish the actual origin of *atwēn* as well as to draw preliminary conclusions concerning the semantics and dialect distribution of the preposition. The *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* and numerous complete Middle English texts, these included and those for some reason not included in the *Middle English Dictionary online*, are employed to validate the latter two aspects of *atwēn* and to evaluate the actual token frequency of the attested instances of the investigated preposition. The study of the corpus demonstrates the presence of *atwēn* also in texts not listed by the *Middle English Dictionary online* and thus helps to provide a full record of texts and authors utilizing *atwēn*.

## **Old English *weorþan* and Related Process Copulas: Demise and Rise**

This paper addresses the diachronic development of the English process copulas. Unlike *be*, these express a (mostly progressive) development from one point or stage to another. In English their history is characterized by lexical loss as well as innovation.

In Old English the common process copula is *weorþan*, a member of an Old Germanic family, which survives in Modern Dutch “*worden*” and German “*werden*”. It is also currently used throughout the Middle English period. However, by ca.1500 this verb gets virtually entirely lost, apart from a few relics. I will argue that this should be seen as a case of semantic rivalry, given the emergence of new copulas in the course of Middle English. I also suggest that excessive morphological complexity may have enhanced this process.

Both *become* and *grow*, which are by and large Late Middle English innovations, seem to derive from verb phrases with the preposition *to* + NP, syntactically different structures, but semantically expressing the same notion as that of the process copulas:

A1225 *Wint. Ben. Rule* (Cld D.3) 39/11: (To) nan þinge ice am bycuman. (The brackets are mine.)

In Modern English *become* has undoubtedly gained the status of prototypical process copula. *Grow* is an equivalent of *become*, but is more constrained as it normally only occurs with adjectives and mostly expresses a gradual process.

The verb *get* is a relatively recent development. It sporadically emerges in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was for a long time confined to colloquial English. However, with present-day English becoming increasingly less formal, unlike Modern French perhaps, it is now universally used by the side of *become*, mainly when adjectival complements are involved.

One question remains. Was the introduction of Middle English *become* influenced by (medieval) French *devenir*?

DeAndre Espree-Conaway  
University of the South, Sewanee

**“What's up with 'Hwæt'?”:  
A Study in Historical Discourse Analysis**

“*What*” is one of the hardest words of any language to define. It is indeed the attempt to capture a sense of the “not yet defined.” Because of this meaning through which “*what*” functions, it has a certain plasticity allowing it throughout history to constantly change linguistic categories—that is, at times functioning as a lexical item, sometimes as a morsel of grammar, and other times as part of the pragmatic world. In this study, I investigate “*what*” in its pragmatic use as the discourse marker (DM) *hwæt* in Old English. Indeed, “What's up with *hwæt*?” Where did it come from? How did it evolve? By exploring its roots in Proto-Indo-European *\*kw-* and through comparison with other discourse markers, especially focusing on the contemporary French DM *quoi* with which it shares this direct PIE lineage, I uncover its history and provide a theory of its development which allowed for its discursive use approximately a thousand years ago.

**The influence of the grammatical system and analogy in processes  
of language change: The case of *HAVE to* once again**

In line with similar developments involving a possessive verb like HAVE, where HAVE in combination with an infinitive (or a past participle) grammaticalized from a full verb into an auxiliary, it has usually been taken for granted that English HAVE-*to* represents a regular case of grammaticalization. Thus, van der Gaaf (1931), Visser (1969: §1396ff.) – who do not yet use the term – Brinton (1991), Krug (2000), and Łęcki (2010) all more or less accept the following three developmental stages for the change from: *I have a book to recommend* to *I have to recommend a book*. At the earliest (Old English) stage the construction has the following features: HAVE is used as a full verb, meaning ‘to possess’, the NP *book* functions as the direct object of HAVE, the *to*-infinitive is not obligatory functioning as an adjunct dependent on the NP, and word order is not relevant, it does not influence meaning. In a subsequent stage of the development, the meaning of HAVE slowly generalizes and acquires obligative colouring in combination with the *to*-infinitive, which itself becomes obligatory, the infinitive now no longer functioning as an adjunct to the NP but as an object complement of the matrix verb HAVE, and the original object of HAVE (*book*) becoming an argument of the infinitive. In the final stage, there is the appearance of inanimate subjects (possessive HAVE + infinitive always had animate subjects), and of intransitive infinitives, i.e. the original ‘possessed’ object can now be dropped altogether. Re-analysis or re-bracketing from *I [have [a book to recommend]]* to *I [[have to recommend] a book]* then follows resulting in a fixed HAVE+*to*-infinitive+NP-word order.

In this sketch of the putative development of HAVE-*to*, the grammaticalization proceeds along a path of pragmatic-semantic change – bleaching of possession first, the development of obligative colouring later –, and the syntactic changes – the word order change and the rebracketing – are seen as subordinate to it, following hard on the heels of the semantic change.

In my own earlier investigation of this case in *Neophilologus* (Fischer 1994), I considered the word order change to be a cause rather than a result. This is much objected to in Łęcki (2010). For this talk I would like to go into some of Lecki’s examples and arguments, and in addition I would also like to look at possible analogical influences, which I did not yet consider

in 1994. Analogy has become much more intensely researched in the last decades, and has proven to be a strong principle in both language learning and language change, as the work of linguists and cognitive scientists such as Gentner, Hofstadter, Holyoak, Itkonen, Tomasello, Wanner and others has shown.



Julien Fulcrand  
Université de Lille III

## **A Reanalysis of The Great English Vowel Shift under Contrast Preservation Theory**

The goal of this paper is to present a reanalysis of the Great English Vowel Shift in terms of Contrast Preservation Theory (Lubowicz 2003, 2012). Chain shifts like the Great English Vowel Shift pose a challenge for constraint-based theories such as Optimality Theory because they are an instance of opacity. In a system with only two levels of representation, it is impossible to both forbid a sound and allow it to surface in the same contexts.

Within Optimality Theory, several proposals have been made to account for synchronic chain shifts, including Local Constraint Conjunction (Kirchner 1996) Sympathy Theory (McCarthy 1998) and Candidate Chain Theory (McCarthy 2007), among others. All of these have proved unsatisfactory for various reasons. Contrast Preservation Theory was developed to account for synchronic chain shifts but has yet to be widely tested in other domains. Contrast Preservation Theory allows for a comparison not of output candidates but of a limited number of scenarios. The optimal scenario is one in which the number of contrasts in the input is preserved in the output.

The current paper proposes to evaluate the adequacy of this proposal by applying it to diachronic data, specifically the Great English Vowel Shift. We will show how a model developed for synchronic data can be applied to diachronic sound change. In addition, we will claim that the application of modern linguistic theory to diachronic development can offer insight into how language change occurs. Finally, our analysis provides further support for Contrast Preservation Theory.

### References:

Kirchner, Robert 1996: "Synchronic Chain Shifts in Optimality Theory." *Linguistic Inquiry* 27 (2): 341–350

- Łubowicz, Anna 2003: “Contrast Preservation in Phonological Mappings,” PhD. Thèse,  
Amherst: University of Massachusetts. <http://roa.rutgers.edu/files/554-1002/554-1002-LUBOWICZ-10-0.PDF>
- 2011: “Chain Shifts,” in M. Oostendorp, C. J. Ewen, E. V. Hume, and K. Rice (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Phonology*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1717–1735
- 2012: *The Phonology of Contrast*, Equinox Publishing
- McCarthy, John J. 1999: “Sympathy and Phonological Opacity.” *Phonology* 16, 331–399

## **Contact with French as a factor in the rise of English elliptical discourse constructions**

Medieval French, commonly used in England until the 15th century (Rothwell 2001), had elliptical questions (EQs) using the verbs *faire*, *estre* and *avoir*, as in:

(1) Et maintenant vous me voiez bien, faictes pas? Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles 113 (c. 1460)

(2) LA FEMME (rentrant seule): Il est tard,/ J'ay beaucoup demouré, n'ai mye?

Farce nouvelle de celui qui se confesse... l. 327-8 (XVème)

Medieval French used *si* and *non* with the same set of function verbs in elliptical answers (EAs), e.g.:

(3) DANDO: N'ay ge pas ouy là-dedans/Pierre? Si ay, par Nostre Dame.

Farce nouvelle des femmes qui font baster... 248 (XVème)

(3) LA FEMME : Par ma foy, nostre damoureau, /Mon beau mary, est amoureux. LA VOYSINE : Non est. LA FEMME : Si est, se m'aïst Deux. Farce de celui qui se confesse... 84 (XVème)

The parallelism with English tag questions and short answers is clear: the grammatical resources available in medieval French in dialogic interaction, featuring particles and a small class of specialised verbs, corresponded rather closely to those that became used in English. Given the intense contact influence of French on English up the early 15<sup>th</sup> century it is highly plausible to see it as the model for the 'replication' (Heine & Kuteva, 2005) of EQs and EAs in English by bilingual English/French speakers. However, EQs such as those in (1)-(2) have not been widely reported in continental French, at the time of French use in England. In this study we first examine earlier continental texts, showing that the EQ construction is attested in 14th century French, e.g.:

(12) Je meismes,....Li pense bien a l'encontre estre/Pour li l'entrée contredire./Je croiz que si ferez vous, sire/Ne ferez pas? Miracle de Sainte Bautheuch 125 (1376)

Evidence is also presented of its existence in Anglo-Norman, e.g.:

(13) - Vraiment, il est alé hors de la ville.

- Est?

- Par ma alme, sire, ouy.

Manière de Langage, 10, 1 (1399)

There is thus diachronic support for attributing the development of the English EQ and EA constructions to French influence. Alternative accounts in terms of language-internal change (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2009) and Celtic substrate influence (Vennemann, 2009) are judged insufficient to explain the form of these elliptical constructions in English.

More generally, the problem is considered of explaining grammar change on the basis of textual attestation, when change is generally recognised to arise in an informal register.

Dianne Jonas  
Goethe Universität, Frankfurt

**Aspects of the Syntax of Shetland Dialect:  
A Diachronic Perspective**

This presentation has the following goals: to present an historical overview of aspects of the morphosyntax of Shetland Dialect (SD) and to provide a theoretically based analysis of a number of constructions that arguably have their source in the origin of SD as an Older Scots/Norn contact variety. Following 1650, there was rather rapid language shift from Norn (Norse/Scandinavian) to Scots in Shetland and this period of language shift was followed by extended contact between SD and Standard Shetland English as spoken in Shetland. Data from both texts and work with consultants will be discussed. The focus of the presentation is on syntactic constructions that set SD apart from other varieties of English or Scots. Varieties of English tend to exhibit little variation in word order patterns (the exceptions being some contact varieties) and the differences between them are generally restricted to phonological and lexical variation. However, SD exhibits morphological differences as well as word order variation in common syntactic constructions that set it apart syntactically in ways that are of great interest from the viewpoint of comparative morphosyntax. What is of particular interest here is the source of the word order variation that SD exhibits including inversion patterns, the lack of *do*-support with a subset of verbs in interrogatives, negatives, and imperatives. In addition, the pronominal system shows distinctions that are not present in Scots and can be argued to be the result of Norn (Scandinavian) influence. In this presentation, an overview of relevant aspects of the morphosyntax of Older Scots and Norn are presented so that we can begin to analyze various morphosyntactic properties of SD that have arisen through language contact between Older Scots and Norn and we will see how such syntactic patterns in particular have been later influenced by contact with Standard Shetland English.

Justyna Karczmarczyk  
University of Warsaw

***Panne is he (...) of þe kende of þe baselycoc, uor no grenhede ne  
may yleste beuore hym: on nouns denoting basilisks in medieval English***

One of the most fearsome medieval monsters was the basilisk, the king of all reptiles, master of life and death, whose breath and look were believed to kill even much bigger creatures. As regards this monster's appearance, it was a subject of speculation because it was not possible to see a basilisk and survive. The aim of the present paper is to explore nouns denoting basilisks in medieval English, i.e. *fahwyrn* and *basilisca* in Old English, and *basilisk*, *cocatrice*, *basilicok* in Middle English. An attempt is made to investigate semantic differences between these lexemes. The temporal and textual distribution and the degree of prototypicality of the five nouns are also examined. The prototype theory of meaning (Geeraerts, 1997; 2006), allowing for absence of clear boundaries and graded category membership, appears to be better suited to the examination of words denoting monstrous, hybrid beasts than the traditional approach to categorization, which requires sets of necessary and sufficient conditions. Information on semantic and lexical issues is obtained from Serjeantson (1935) and Kastovsky (1992), whereas the cultural background comes from Breiner (1988) and Rose (2001). The analysis is based on the textual material of the *Dictionary of Old English corpus*, the *Innsbruck corpus of Middle English prose* and the *Middle English compendium*. Skeat's etymological dictionary, the *Oxford English dictionary* and the *Middle English dictionary*, a part of the *Middle English compendium*, are also referred to.

References:

(a) Sources

DiPaolo Healey, Antoinette, Joan Holland, Ian McDougall & Peter Mielke (eds.) 2000:  
*Dictionary of Old English corpus in electronic form*. Toronto: DOE Project 2000

- Markus, Manfred (ed.) 2008: *Innsbruck corpus of Middle English prose*. (CD-ROM version)  
University of Innsbruck
- McSparran, Frances (ed.) *Middle English compendium*. (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/>).
- Murray, James et al. (eds) 2002: *Oxford English dictionary*. (*OED*) (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) CD-Rom version  
3. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Rose, Carol 2001: *Giants, monsters and dragons. An encyclopedia of folklore, legend, and myth*. New York: W.W. Norton
- Skeat, Walter W. 1879-1882: *An etymological dictionary of the English language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

(b) Special studies

- Breiner, Laurence A. 1988 :“The Basilisk”. In: M. South (ed.), 115-122
- Geeraerts, Dirk 2006: *Words and other wonders. Papers on lexical and semantic topics*,  
Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- 1997: *Diachronic prototype semantics. A contribution to historical lexicology*,  
Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Hogg, Richard M. (ed.) 1992: *The Cambridge history of the English language*. Vol.I. *The beginnings to 1066*, Cambridge University Press
- Kastovsky, Dieter 1992: “Semantics and Vocabulary.” In: R. Hogg (ed.), 290-408
- Serjeantson, Mary Sydney 1935: *A history of foreign words in English*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- South, Malcolm (ed.) 1988: *Mythical and fabulous creatures: A sourcebook and research guide*, New York: Greenwood Press

Malgorzata Klos  
University of Warsaw

### **Euphemistic and non-euphemistic verbs for 'die' in Middle English chronicles**

The semantic field "die", like many other areas of English lexis (cf. Kjellmer 1973, Svensson 1997, Sylwanowicz 2007), underwent significant changes in the Middle English period. In the first place, *dīen*, most likely of Scandinavian origin (cf. Dance 2000), having found its way into English vocabulary, pushed native *swelten* and *sterven* to peripheries. However, it was also the verbs denoting the sense 'die' euphemistically that were affected. For instance, *forþfēren* (< OE *forþfēran*), one of the most frequent euphemisms for 'die' in Old English, like many other compounds of Anglo-Saxon origin (cf. Burnley 1992: 441) gradually disappeared and gave way to verbs such as *passen awai* or *parten hennes*.

The aim of the paper is to scrutinize in what way the notion of dying was expressed in Middle English chronicles. The numerical data concerning particular verbs is presented along with contextual analysis. As one of the aims is to examine to what extent the employment of euphemistic versus non-euphemistic verbs was determined stylistically, the study encompasses both prose and verse. Hence, three texts were selected for the analysis: *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154* (Oxford, Bodley Laud Misc. 636), *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England* (Bodleian Library Oxford Rawlinson B 171), and *The metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester* (London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.11).

#### References:

- Blake, Norman (ed.) 1992: *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. 2, 1066-1476, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Burnley, Robert 1992: "Lexis and semantics," in N. Blake (ed.), 409-499
- Dance, Richard 2000: "Is the verb *die* derived from Old Norse? A review of the evidence". *English Studies* 81: 368-383



Kjellmer, Göran 1973: *Middle English Words for "People"* (Gothenburg Studies in English. Vol. 27), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell

Svensson, Ann-Marie 1997: *Middle English Words for "Town": A Study in Changes in a Semantic Field* (Gothenburg Studies in English. Vol. 70), Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis

Sylwanowicz, Marta 2007: *Old and Middle English Sickness-nouns in Historical Perspective: A Lexico-Semantic Analysis*, (Warsaw Studies in English Historical Linguistics Vol. 1), Warsaw: Warsaw University

Paulina Kolasinska  
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

## **Twelfth-century English morphology**

The 12<sup>th</sup> century is one of the most eventful, and at the same time most mysterious periods in the history of English. It is generally referred to as the transitory stage between Old and Middle English, a period of numerous profound changes of which very little is known, and surprisingly, a period which has been for a long time neglected. One of the reasons for this state of affairs is that the data it offers is not original- the manuscripts dated from the 12<sup>th</sup> century are usually copies of earlier works, and, as pointed out by Treharne (2012), the general approach to manuscripts is that the earlier the version, the better. Consequently, the focus on the lack of original manuscripts led to the neglect of the abundance of copies produced in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, even though these copies of earlier texts and the modifications introduced to them, as well as other texts such as interlinear glosses and translations are all evidence of how English changed throughout the period in question. The usefulness of these data has been proved lately by the project “The Production and Use of English, 1060 to 1220”, and scholars like Lowe, Faulkner, Treharne, Irvine, Swan and many others have shown that unoriginal texts are of scholarly value. They have shown that a comparative study of different versions of the same manuscript is revealing as to the changes in the lexicon, phonology, graphology, as well as the development of regional dialects. However, there is still little known about the morphological changes that took place in the same period.

The aim of this paper is to present, discuss and summarize the current state of studies concerning 12<sup>th</sup> century English, to present theoretical and general historical aspects of this period, as well as to propose future research possibilities, which would aim at eliminating this white spot on the map of the history of the English language. The main focus will be on morphology, and the discussion will be based on and illustrated by 12<sup>th</sup> century texts.

### References:

Blake, Norman (ed.) 1992: *Cambridge History of the English Language. Volume 2: 1066-1476*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Boyd Goldie, Matthew 2003: *Middle English literature: a historical sourcebook*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Conti, Aidan 2010: "The Circulation of the Old English Homily in the Twelfth Century: New Evidence from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343," *Kleist Precedent, Practice and Appropriation*, 365-402
- Da Rold, Orietta 2006: "English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220 and the Making of a Re-source," *Literature Compass* 3
- Faulkner, Mark 2012: "Rewriting English Literary History 1042 – 1215", *Literature Compass* 4, 275-291
- 2011. "Archaism, Belatedness and Modernisation: 'Old' English in the Twelfth Century," *Review of English Studies* 63, 179-203
- Fisiak, Jacek (ed.) 1996: *Middle English Miscellany: from vocabulary to linguistic variation*, Poznań: Motivex
- Hogg, Richard 2002: *An Introduction to Old English*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Laing, Margaret (ed.) *Middle English dialectology: essays on some principles and problems*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press
- Malone, Kemp 1930: "When Did Middle English Begin?" *Language*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Language Monograph No. 7: Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies (Dec., 1930), 110-117
- Swan, Mary 1997: "Old English Made New: One Catholic Homily and its Re-uses," *Leeds Studies in English* 28, 1-18
- Treharne, Elaine 2012: *Living Through Conquest. The Politics of Early English 1020-1220*, Oxford University Press

Marta Kolos  
University of Warsaw

**Middle English poetic prosody and its reliability  
as a source of data for linguistic analysis**

Language reconstruction is one of the most fascinating aspects of historical linguistics, particularly when it allows us to get a glimpse of the transitory phonetic and phonological aspects of a language which has not been heard for hundreds of years. The study and reconstruction of these facets of Old and Middle English is possible through the application of a variety of linguistic techniques, chief among them being the study of poetry. Alliteration and rhyme can be utilized to establish the surface as well as underlying representation (as in the case of alliterating palatalized and unpalatalized segments). The study of poetic metre makes the reconstruction of both segmental and suprasegmental units of a language's phonology possible.

The present paper addresses the problems arising from the usage of versification patterns in the study of phonology and word-formation. Firstly, it needs to be established how well grounded the prosodic systems of Old and Middle English poetry are in the suprasegmental phonology of the language. It should be expected for versification patterns to be "transpositions of linguistic rules" (Kuryłowicz 1976: 66), but their non-linguistic, ornamental value cannot be disregarded. Secondly, the question arises whether metrical anomalies in poetry should be treated as evidence for phonological phenomena or rather as evidence for a "loose" application of the poetic techniques. The two possibilities were stated by ten Brink (1899: 155), who also mentions a third solution: "so (...), dass dem Hörer das Bewusstsein sowohl der natürlichen Betonung wie das strengen Rhythmus gegenwärtig bleibt".

The above issues are addressed on the basis of data from the analysis of Middle English iambic pentameter. In this type of metre, a significant number of Germanic words display an anomalous, iambic shape, with stress seemingly falling on a heavy suffix or the second element of a compound. In all such instances, the normal, root initial trochaic pattern would normally be expected (Campbell 1959: 30). In order to exclude the possibility of these instances being manifestations of the loose application of poetic metre, the data sets from iambic pentameter are compared to the pattern of occurrence of the relevant words in

alliterative Old and Middle English poetry. Thus, it is asserted that the potential of heavy syllables for attracting stress (suggested by some as a feature of Old English, cf. Suzuki 1996) as well as the incomplete grammaticalization of certain suffixes, which were still used as independent words (Marchand 1969: 232), are the most likely explanations of the anomalies.

The data come from texts in the representative editions of Old and Middle English verse, the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, and Chadwyck-Healey's *English Poetry Full-Text Database*.

#### References:

- Brink, Bernhard Aegidius Konrad ten 1899: *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, Leipzig: Tauchnitz
- Campbell, Alistair 1959: *Old English grammar*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Kuryłowicz, Jerzy 1976: "The linguistic foundations of meter," *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 34, 63-73
- Marchand, Hans 1969: *The categories and types of present-day English word-formation. A synchronic-diachronic approach*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. München: C.H. Beck.
- Suzuki, Seiichi 1996: *The metrical organization of Beowulf: prototype and isomorphism*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Sylwester Łodej  
University of Kielce

**Towards a *time-bound* society:  
a diachronic perspective on counting time in American English**

“Don’t waste *one precious second* of a customer’s time or you’ll probably never hear from that customer again”, claim Levinson — Levinson (2011: 47) in a marketing guidebook. These words appear to exemplify meticulous attention paid to the perceived value of time in modern America. A query on *precious seconds* in the *Corpus of Historical American English* yields 32 tokens, all of which are recorded in the 20<sup>th</sup> century material as the 19<sup>th</sup> century yields no such collocation. An increase in frequency is also evident in the nominal phrases consisting of the cardinal numerals + *second*, *minute* and *hour*. The 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the appearance of units smaller than a second. In the OED, *millisecond* is first attested in 1922, *microsecond* in 1906 and *nanosecond* in 1959. Originating in scientific contexts these units of time are now found in general use. Interestingly, a falling trend is observed in the distribution of the largest units of time such as *year* and *century*. A sociological stance on the value of time is suggested in Furnham (2005: 608-609): “Time-bound societies emphasize schedules, deadlines, time waste, timekeeping, a fast pace of life. [...] As societies become more time-bound, they have a more competitive attitude to time; so “fast” is better.” This societal development is seen in the functional activation of lexemes denoting smaller units of time as they seem more appropriate in coping with the accelerating pace of life. The present paper offers a corpus analysis of the evolution of the lexical domain of TIME in American English over the past two hundred years.

References:

*Corpus of Contemporary American English* 2013: (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca>)

*Corpus of Historical American English* 2013: (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coha>)

Furnham, Adrian 2005: *The Psychology of Behaviour at Work: the Individual in the Organisation*. New York: Psychology Press

Levinson, Jay Conrad, & Jeannie Levinson 2011: *Guerrilla Marketing Remix: the Best of Guerilla Marketing*. Irvine: Entrepreneur

*The Oxford English Dictionary* New Edition online, 2013: (<http://dictionary.oed.com>)

## Pragmatic Uses of *nu* in Old English Poetry

Important studies (e.g. Aijmer 2002; Defour 2007) have shown the evolution of *nu* / *now* from a temporal adverb to a polyfunctional pragmatic marker allowing speakers to structure their discourse and to signal their attitude. Part of this evolution can be observed in extant written records, but it is important to keep in mind that it was already well under way when writing was first introduced in England.

In Old English poetry – a corpus remarkable for its archaic features when compared with contemporary prose – strictly temporal uses of *nu* are already very much in the minority. Some pragmatic uses of *nu* in this corpus can be recognized as the equivalents or forerunners of Present Day uses, but others are less easily understandable from a Present Day perspective. In this paper, I intend to present the main pragmatic uses of *nu* in Old English poetry and to try to determine how far advanced they are in the processes of grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification. I will pay particular attention to two (inter)subjective uses apparently more characteristic of Old English poetry than of Present Day oral corpora: *nu* as an intensifier of Face-Threatening Acts and *nu* as a marker of emotion.

This paper raises several questions which may be of interest to linguists beyond the mere issue of the marker *nu* / *now* itself: is there a continuous evolution of pragmatic markers from less subjective to more subjective uses or does each period develop new subjective uses which may or may not be retained by future generations? How significant is the position of the marker and how can that position be determined in written corpora lacking reliable punctuation?

### References:

Aijmer, K. 2002: *English Discourse Particles: Evidence From a Corpus*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins



- Defour, T. 2007: “A Diachronic Study of the Pragmatic Markers *Well* and *Now*: Fundamental Research Into Semantic Development and Grammaticalisation by Means of a Corpus Study,” Unpublished PhD thesis, Universiteit Gent
- Defour, T. 2008: “‘And so now...’ The Grammaticalisation and (Inter)subjectification of *Now*”, in *The Dynamics of Linguistic Variation: corpus evidence on English past and present*, ed. T. Nevalainen *et al.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 17-36
- Hasselgård, H. 2006: “Not *Now* – On Non-Correspondence Between the Cognate Adverbs *Now* and *Nå*”, in *Pragmatic Markers in Contrast 2. Studies in pragmatics*, K. Aijmer & A.-M. Simon-Vandenberg (eds.), Oxford: Elsevier, 93-114
- Kryk-Kastovsky, B. 1997: “From Temporal Adverbs to Discourse Particles”, in *To Explain the Present: Studies in the Changing English Language in Honour of Matti Rissanen*, T. Nevalainen & L. Kahlas-Tarkka (eds.), Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 319-328
- Lenker, U. 2010: *Argument and Rhetoric: Adverbial Connectors in the History of English*, Topics in English linguistics 64. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter

Brian Lowrey  
Université de Picardie Jules Verne

## **Infinitival Perception Reports in Old English**

In this paper, I shall take another look at infinitive complements of verbs of involuntary perception in Old English. Two such structures are to be found, both in Old and in Middle-English: the traditional 'AcI' construction, referred to as VOSI by Visser (1973), and the construction that Denison (1993) calls 'V+I,' in which the complement infinitive has no expressed subject. My intention is to examine some of the syntactic and the semantic properties of each form. What kind of perception is expressed in each case? In most modern languages which have VOSI with perception verbs, it is used to express the direct perception of an event (Felsner, 1999, Miller & Lowrey, 2003). But was this necessarily the case in Old English? I shall also examine the relationship between the two constructions: to what extent can V+I be considered, as Mitchell (1985) suggests, a kind of elliptical VOSI? Finally, I shall also take into consideration past participle perception verb complements, to see how they fit in with the infinite forms, and hopefully to measure some of the shifts which have taken place within the system of perception verb complements between the Old English period and the contemporary language.

### References:

- Denison, D. 1993: *English Historical Syntax: Verbal Constructions*, London & New York: Longman
- Felsner, C. 1999: *Verbal Complement Clauses: a Minimalist Study of Direct Perception Construction*,. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Fischer, O. 1990: *Syntactic Change and Causation: Developments in Infinitival Constructions in English*, Amsterdam : Amsterdam Studies in Generative Grammar
- Kirsner, R. & S. Thomson 1976: "The role of pragmatic inference in sensory verb Complements," *Glossa* 10, 200-40

- Miller, P. & B. Lowrey 2003: “La complémentation des verbes de perception en français et en anglais” in Miller, P. & A. Zribi-Hertz (eds.) *Essais sur la grammaire comparée du français et de l’anglais*, Vincennes: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes
- Mitchell, B. 1985: *Old English Syntax*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (2 vols.)
- Visser, F. 1973: *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, Leiden: E.J. Brill

Ariane Macalinga Borlongan  
De la Salle University, Manila

## **The Morphosyntax of Philippine English: A Diachronic Analysis**

The primary purpose of this paper is to account for the diachronic development of some of the formal properties of Philippine English (PhlE). More specifically, it looks into the English's morphosyntax in terms of the use of irregular verbs, the comparison of adjectives, and the use of the *s*-genitive. These morphosyntactic variables are relatively straightforward and they can easily be searched in (lexical) corpora such as those used for this paper to represent PhlE – the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PHI) and the Philippine parallel to the Brown Corpus (Phil-Brown). The diachronic study of PhlE has recently become possible through the compilation of Phil-Brown.

The variables in question have been the object of previous analyses, most notably Hundt's (1998) investigation of New Zealand English (NZE) morphosyntax and Borlongan (2011) of PhlE. Hundt found that AmE was the most advanced in terms of morphosyntactic changes, as compared to Australian English, BrE, and NZE. This is particularly evidenced by the regularization of irregular verb morphology in AmE. In the use of the *s*-genitive, Hundt's review of the literature showed that the *s*-construction is increasingly favored over the *of*-periphrastic construction in all the Englishes. In the comparison of adjectives; however, she found the variation to be in terms of time and genre, not in terms of country. Meanwhile, Borlongan found that PhlE portrays idiosyncratic behavior not easily falling into previous descriptions of the variety. For one, patterns in the regularization of irregular verbs adhere to the AmE regularization of irregular verb morphology, and even much regularized than AmE. However, patterns in the comparison of adjectives follow the generic pattern across Englishes. Surprisingly, patterns in the revival of the *s*-genitive do not clearly reflect any pattern of following the 'influential' Englishes. Given Hundt's and Borlongan's findings, it would be interesting to see how PhlE patterns have evolved through time, and how PhlE's development compares with other Englishes, particularly the supervarieties American and British Englishes.

## References:

- Borlongan, Ariane Macalinga 2011: Some aspects of the morphosyntax of Philippine English. In *Studies of Philippine English: Exploring the Philippine Component of the International Corpus of English*, edited by Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista. Manila: Anvil Publishing Inc. for De La Salle University, 187-199
- Hundt, Marianne 1998: *New Zealand English – Fact or Fiction?: A Corpus-based Study in Morphosyntactic Variation*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company

### **The linguistic image of ‘sea’ in Old English on the basis of *Orosius***

*Linguistic image* (LI; Pol. *językowy obraz*), a notion inspired by classical cognitive models (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Rosch 1978), but mainly developed by Polish linguists, is “a language-internal interpretation of reality” consisting of “a set of judgements about the world” embedded in language; these judgements may be ‘preserved’ “in grammar, vocabulary, clichés (e.g. proverbs)” as well as ‘presupposed’ in forms of language, common knowledge or beliefs shared and linguistically expressed by a given community. (Bartmiński 2012: 12).

As a semantic tool used for the examination of concepts, LI is novel in as much as it examines all contexts in which a given concept appears, not only those yielding its distinctive, categorial features (as structural semantics did), or those which have become conventionalized e.g. as fixed metaphors (the ‘moderate’ cognitivism proposed by Grzegorzczkova, 2009: 19). By the analysis, categorization into *facets* – units borrowed by cognitive semantics from lexicography (cf. Nikitina, 1992) and juxtaposition of all these contexts, one is capable of mapping the indigenous, subjective mental image of the concept’s designate as present in a given linguistic sample (a text or a corpus of texts representative of an entire language or of its fraction: a register, historical period, idiolect etc.).

The following paper’s aim is to apply the framework of LI to Old English. The concept under analysis is ‘sea’ – a term which seems easily definable, but whose LI may be very language- and text-specific. The chosen sample is the text of the Old English *Orosius* – a 9th century paraphrase of a Latin history, enriched by Anglo-Saxon interpolations. The work is applicable both due to its bulk and to its matter: its historical, military, naval and religious themes provide numerous and varied contexts for the concept of ‘sea’.

The current study is a part of a wider project aimed at the reconstruction of the overall linguistic perception of the natural world in the Old English language.

References:

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*The Old English Orosius*, 1980: Edited by Janet Bately. Oxford: Oxford University Press

## SECONDARY SOURCES

Bartmiński, Jerzy & Stanisława Niebrzegowska (eds) 1996: *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych [A dictionary of folk stereotypes and symbols]*, Volumes I-VII. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS

Bartmiński, Jerzy 2012: *Językowe podstawy obrazu świata* [The linguistic foundations of the image of the world], Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej

Fear, Andrew T. 2010: "Introduction", in *Orosius. Seven books of history against the pagans*, translated by A.T. Fear. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1-25

Grzegorzczkova, Renata 2009: "Punkty dyskusyjne w rozumienia pojęcia językowego obraz świata – widziane z perspektywy badań porównawczych [Points for discussion as for the understanding of the notion of the linguistic image of the world as seen from the perspective of comparative studies]," *Etnolingwistyka [Ethnolinguistics]* 21. Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 15-30

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson 1980: *Metaphors we live by*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press

Nikitina, Serafima J. 1992: "Metajęzyki opisanija folklornoj leksyki i naučnoj terminologii [Metalanguages of the description of folk lexis and scientific terminology]," in: S. Gajda (ed.) *Systematyzacja pojęć w stylistyce [The systematisation of notions in stylistics]*, Opole: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna im. Powstańców Śląskich, 63-68

Rosch, Eleanor 1978: "Principles of categorisation," in: Rosch, Eleanor and Lloyd, Barbara B. (eds.). *Cognition and categorization*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 27-48

Taylor, John R. & Robert E. MacLaury (eds.) 1995: *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter

Underhill, James W. 2011: "Humboldt's challenge to cognitive linguistics: a few brief reflections on the linguistic patterning of truth in Czech, French, English and German," *Etnolingwistyka [Ethnolinguistics]* 23, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 99-120

Dirk Noel  
University of Hong Kong

### **Diachronic construction grammar: A state of the art**

This paper will offer a state-of-the-art survey of work in historical linguistics (mainly, but not exclusively, on English) that can be brought under the heading of “diachronic construction grammar”. As a new development in diachronic linguistics, this discipline name subsumes two big strands of research. One of these I will simply call the “construction grammar” strand. It consists of work by people who have come to *diachronic* construction grammar from *synchronic* construction grammar. The other major strand has its origin in grammaticalization theory and encompasses the research efforts of those working within grammaticalization theory who have relatively recently come to recognize that the most central theoretical concept of construction grammar is a highly relevant and useful one in the description of and theorizing about grammaticalization changes and who have now even started to use the term “constructionalization” in lieu of “grammaticalization”, distinguishing between “grammatical constructionalization” and “lexical constructionalization”. The main difference between both strands is that while the grammaticalization strand is concerned with the question of how languages acquire constructions, first and foremost lexically-specified ones, this is not necessarily the case in the construction grammar strand. Three sub-strands of the latter will be distinguished. A first sub-strand consists of work by Goldbergian construction grammarians who consider particular argument structure constructions from a historical perspective. Another thread of research is work on “constructional attrition”. The third area of investigation appeals to language contact and borrowing to explain the presence of a construction in the construction of a language. Returning to the grammaticalization strand of diachronic construction grammar the paper will also address the question of what the conditions are for work on grammaticalization to be considered part of diachronic construction grammar.



## **The mediating role of English compounds in the development of derivational affixes from Middle English to Present-Day English**

Givón (1971: 413) once claimed “Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax“ meaning that the underlying structures of words reflect the syntactic structures of the past in a given language. By intuition, the statement seemed reasonable and was backed, but also contradicted, by diachronic linguistic data from several languages (e.g. Berg 2009; Comrie 1980; Harris & Campbell 1995). The study at hand is yet another illustration of such an ambiguous case in the history of English.

English moved from a synthetic to a somewhat analytic language, which is above all due to the change in the case system (Siemund 2004). The impoverished inflectional morphology of English coincided with a strict word order paying off the loss of information in morphological structure or vice versa (Allen 2009). In contrast, the case is far from clear for derivational morphology. Is affix position in general influenced by word order as implied in some typological surveys (Dryer 2009; Dryer 1992; Greenberg 1957)? Even though suffixation is the most predominant affixation type in general (Bybee, et al. 1990; Sapir 1921), prefixation is much more common in head-initial languages (e.g. Stump 2001: 708). A clear explanation for this phenomenon is still discussed. Givón (1979), Hawkins and Cutler (1988), Bybee et al (1990), and Hall (1992) favor different explanations.

English is interesting for this kind of question because we can observe a shift in word order patterns. While in Old English and Early Middle English OV was acceptable, it changed to strict VO in the centuries to come (Trips 2001). We may now hypothesize that the change in syntax also would be reflected in the derivational morphology, that is more particularly, the suffix-prefix relation also changes as predicted by the typological universal. Indeed, we will present data from the Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English (PPCEME, PPCME2, PPCMBE,) that fully supports this claim. All types of prefixes and suffixes were counted per word class in ten periods from 1150-1914. The overall trend is highly significant. In addition, the proportional increase of prefixes takes place with a phase shift of about 400 years, which also supports Givón’s claim. However, the data only reveal a correlation and cannot provide

us with a causal explanation in the form of a structural relation between Syntax and Morphology (as discussed e.g. in Anderson 1992; Bauer 1990; Lieber 1992; Williams 1981a; Williams 1981b; Zwicky 1985). Compounds could provide us with a plausible explanation of the cause since they bridge developmental gaps between Morphology and Syntax from Old English to Present Day English. This cannot be captured in synchronic theories. A collection of examples of different compound types, that is particle verbs, exocentric compounds and synthetic compounds will be presented. The examples show that compounds seem to carry over some of the syntactic information right into derivational structures. Put differently, English compounds straddle the borderlines between phrases, on the hand, and derivations, on the other hand.

#### References:

- Allen, Cynthia L. 2009: "Case Syncretism and Word Order Change," In Ans van Kemenade & Bettelou Los (eds.), *The Handbook of the History of English*, 201-223. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1992: *A-Morphous Morphology* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bauer, Laurie 1990: "Be-heading the word," *Journal of Linguistics* 26, 1-31
- Berg, Thomas 2009: *Structure in Language: A Dynamic Perspective* (Routledge Studies in Linguistics). New York: Routledge
- Bybee, Joan L., William Pagliuca & Revere D. Perkins 1990: "On the asymmetries in the affixation of grammatical material," in William Croft, Keith Denning & Suzanne Kemmer (eds.), *Studies in typology and diachrony: Papers presented to Joseph H. Greenberg on his 75th birthday*, 1-42. Amsterdam: Benjamins
- Comrie, Bernhard 1980: "Morphology and word order reconstruction: problems and Prospects," In Jacek Fisiak (ed.) *Historical Morphology 17* (Trends in Linguistics, 83-96. The Hague: Mouton
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2009: "The Branching Direction Theory of Word Order Correlations Revisited," in Sergio Scalise, Elisabetta Magni & Antonietta Bisetto (eds.), *Universals of Language Today* 76 (Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, 185-207. Springer

- Dryer, Matthew S. 1992: "The Greenbergian Word Order Correlations," *Language* 68(1), 81-138
- Givón, Talmy 1979: *On understanding grammar*. New York: Academic Press
- Givón, Talmy 1971: "Historical Syntax and Synchronic Morphology: An Archaeologist's Field Trip," *Chicago Linguistic Society* 7, 394-415
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1957: *Essays in Linguistics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, Christopher J. 1992: *Morphology and mind*, London: Routledge
- Harris, Alice C. & Lyle Campbell 1995: *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hawkins, John A. & Anne Cutler 1988: Psycholinguistic factors in morphological asymmetry. In John A. Hawkins (ed.) *Explaining Language Universals*, 280-317. Oxford: Blackwell
- Lieber, Rochelle 1992: *Deconstructing morphology: word formation in syntactic theory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Sapir, Edward 1921: *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*, New York: Hachette, Brace & Co
- Siemund, Peter 2004: "Analytische und synthetische Tendenzen in der Entwicklung des Englischen," in Uwe Hinrichs (ed.) *Die europäischen Sprachen auf dem Wege zum analytischen Sprachtyp*, 169-196. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Stump, Gregory T. 2001: "Affix position," in Armin Burkhardt, Hugo Steger & Herbert Ernst Wiegand (eds.), *Language Typology and Language Universals Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft HSK 20.1*, 708-714. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter
- Trips, Carola 2001: *From OV to VO in Early Middle English*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Williams, Edwin 1981a: "On the Notions 'lexically related' and 'head of a word'," *Linguistic Inquiry* 12(2), 245-274
- Williams, Edwin 1981b: "Argument Structure and Morphology," *The Linguistic Review* 1(1), 81-114
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985: "Heads," *Journal of Linguistics* 21, 1-29

Sylwia Pielecha  
University of Warsaw

### **Reflexivity in Old English: a corpus study**

The aim of this paper is to discuss changes that took place in the ways of expressing reflexivity in Old English. The paper contains an account of various approaches to reflexive relations in the period. The study will also examine and evaluate the two most common forms conveying reflexivity: (a) the use of Old English personal pronouns and (b) structures with the reflexive pronoun *self*. The Early Old English personal pronouns were able to convey a reflexive relation, but, probably in order to avoid ambiguity, in sentences rendering a reflexive meaning, the personal pronoun began to be accompanied by the pronoun *self*. The last and the less common way to render a reflexive meaning presented in the paper will be the use of *self* without a personal pronoun (cf. Mitchell 1985: 116: "Self alone in an oblique case is sometimes (not always) reflexive"). Like constructions in which a personal pronoun is followed by *self*, also *self* used on its own can be employed in a structure with both emphatic and reflexive meanings. The study will show how Old English personal and reflexive pronouns expressing reflexivity were used within a sentence in the chronologically ordered manuscripts. The data will come from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*.

#### References:

- Farr, James 1905: *Intensives and reflexives in Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English*,  
Baltimore: J.H. Furst
- Gelderen, Elly van 2000: *A history of English reflexive pronouns; person, self and  
Interpretability*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins
- Healey, Antonette diPaolo 1975: *The dictionary of Old English. Electronic Corpus*, Toronto:  
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
- Kennedy, Charles W. 1916: *The Cædmon poems*, London: Routledge
- Lange, Claudia 2006: *Reflexivity and intensification in English: a study of texts and contexts*
- Mitchell, Bruce 1985: *Old English syntax*, Vols.1-2. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Penning, Gerhard Eberhard 1875: *A history of the reflexive pronouns in the English Language*, [Place unknown:] General Books

Quirk, Randolph & C. Wrenn 1960: *An Old English grammar*, London: Methuen & Co.

Paula Prescod  
Université de Picardie Jules Verne

## **The diachrony of sentential negation in English and English-based creoles**

We investigate the paths sentential negation has followed in English, as accounted for in Jespersen's cycle of negation (Jespersen 1917); moving from a mere preverbal particle that gave negative scope over an entire proposition, to *do*-support, which has become a necessary last resort device for producing grammaticality (Haegeman & Guéron 1999: 3). Closely related to scope of negative particles is the manifestation of negative concord in the history of English. Interestingly, negative concord was attested until Early Modern English (Barber 1976: 282). As Barber (1976: 199) notes, while multiple or cumulative negation became rare after Shakespeare's time, it still appeared in some contexts (with initial *nor*) and, it was still well-known enough to be targeted by 18<sup>th</sup> century prescriptivists, who condemned its use based on the mathematical-logical grounds that two negatives cancel out each other.

Although creoles like those spoken in Guyana and Jamaica can be said to have a portion of Africanisms both in their lexica and syntax, English-based creoles owe a significant number of features to varieties of English brought to the landing territories by British settlers from all walks of life. One of the stark differences, however, is the behaviour of sentential negation, the lack of *do*-support that developed in English *ca.* 1600, a period when new world creoles were in their formative stages, and the workings of multiple negation and negative concord became less pervasive. We examine this contrastive development with reference to the scope of negative particles, and negative indeterminates. We claim that the syntactic changes that affected English throughout its contact with English-based creoles from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had little restructuring influence on them. Following Baker (1991), we will explore syntactic explanations for this state of affairs.

## References:

- Baker, Carl Lee 1991: "The syntax of English *not*: the limits of core grammar," *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 387-429
- Barber, C. 1976: *Early Modern English*, London: Deutsch
- Haegeman, Liliane & Jacqueline Guéron 1999: *English Grammar: a generative approach*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Han, Chung-Hye & Anthony Kroch 2000: "The rise of *do*-support in English: implications for clause structure," *Proceedings of the 30th Meeting of the North East Linguistics Society*. 16pp
- Jespersen, Otto 1917: *Negation in English and other languages*, Copenhagen: A. F. Høst

Justyna Robinson  
University of Sussex

## **On using shallow time-depth evidence in historical semantics**

Studies in historical semantics have mainly been concerned with the investigation of completed changes that took place centuries ago. Researchers have had to deal with data incompleteness and scarcity which has made the study of meaning quite a challenging task. One of potential solutions to this problem would be to look into semantic changes that are happening as we speak. In this way, one could have access not only to various spoken corpora that could be tagged for numerous linguistic dimensions but also to detailed information on social contexts and speakers' metalinguistic interpretation of variation. As a consequence, such an approach could provide a number of new insights into processes of meaning development. Unfortunately, investigating semantic change in progress is not entirely a straightforward task either. How may one decide whether observed variation indicates a genuine change in progress or is merely a temporary ephemeral fluctuation in language use?

I suggest here employing socio-cognitive experimental methods that help elicit meaning changes in progress. Apparent time construct - one of the most successful variationist tools for investigating linguistic variation - is used in the study of English evaluative adjectives. The talk is based around conclusions drawn from interviews with speakers in South Yorkshire, UK. The most significant results of the sociolinguistic analysis of meaning variation explored with multivariate statistic techniques demonstrate that:

1. Semantic change in progress can be successfully detected.
2. We can locate where (socio-demographically) in a community particular polysemous variants are innovated and where semantic innovation is resisted.
3. We can trace innovation and diffusion of semantic change.
4. Present-day models of semantic change can be projected to investigate semantic problems of deeper time depths.



## References:

- Allan, Kathryn & Justyna A. Robinson (eds.) 2012: *Current Methods in Historical Semantics*, Topics in English Linguistics 73, Berlin / Boston: de Gruyter Mouton
- Beal, Joan & Karen Corrigan 2000: "New Ways of Capturing the Kodak moment: Real-time vs. Apparent Time Analyses of Syntactic Variation in Tyneside English," 1969-1994. Paper presented at VIEW, University of Essex
- Geeraerts, Dirk 1997: *Diachronic Prototype Semantics*, Oxford: OUP
- Labov, William 1963: "The social motivations of a sound change," *Word* 19, 273-309

Justyna Rogos  
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

**Practice makes perfect: scribal spellings as a means of manifesting  
membership in a professional community**

Medieval English artisans affiliated to the book trade were individually and collectively responsible for establishing and maintaining close professional links among members of their guilds. Irrespective of the stabilizing effect of operating under a City license (e.g. in late 14<sup>th</sup> c. London), the community of book craftsmen was in a constant state of flux, as every new commission necessitated a reorganization of existing professional networks. Mutually engaged in common endeavours, Middle English scribes, illuminators, parchment makers, book binders and stationers formed a close-knit group, linked by professional as well as private ties (Christianson, 1989: 207-208). Each of these trades constituted a community of practice (cf. Wenger, 1998) by virtue of the mutual engagement of its members, participation in a joint negotiated enterprise, and a shared repertoire of resources accumulated over time. However, only one of these groups – the scribes – would assert their professional relationships through linguistic means. The focus of the proposed talk is on multivalent spelling systems in a group of genetically related manuscripts of Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* as one of the tools with which Middle English copyists construe themselves as members of a community of practice. A comparative analysis of those systems will serve the purpose of demonstrating how, by means of manipulating the linguistic (and paleographic) material, Chaucerian scribes craft their own “text languages” (cf. Fleischman, 2000) and renegotiate their membership of a professional community.

References:

Christianson, C. Paul 1989: “A community of book artisans in Chaucer's London,” *Viator* 20, 207-218

- Fleischman, Suzanne 2000: "Methodologies and ideologies in historical linguistics: On working with older languages," in: Susan Herring, Pieter van Reenen and Lene Schøsler (eds.), *Textual parameters in older languages*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 33-58
- Wenger, Etienne 1998: *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kinga Sadej-Sobolewszka

University of Warsaw

### **Middle English words for 'envy': an example of lexical rivalry**

A lexical and semantic competition between native and foreign items is one of the important consequences of the process of borrowing in Middle English. A number of studies which discuss different aspects of this rivalry, such as Rynell (1948), Wełna (2005), Sadej (2007), Janecka — Wojtyś (2010), Diller (2011), Sadej-Sobolewska (2011) emphasise that the co-occurrence of lexemes expressing similar or identical meanings could result in semantic change or, more likely, in the loss of the native item. Exploring this issue, the present paper investigates the circumstances of the Middle English rivalry between the native items *onde*, *evest* and the French loanword *envy*. Revealing the reasons for the ultimate substitution of the native lexemes by the French loanword is one of the aims of the study.

OE *anda*, a cognate of ODu. *ando* 'zeal, anger, annoyance', OS *ando* 'hurt, insult, anger, frustration', derives from an Indo-European root also surviving in L *animus* 'mind'. The principal meaning of the word suggested in *DOE* was 'a strong negative emotion', interpreted as 'envy, spite, malice or ill-will' in literary contexts. Characteristically, *anda* had the native lexical rival *æfest* 'malice, envy, jealousy', also 'zeal'. The alliterative pair *æfest* and *anda*, attested in Old English literature, shows the semantic overlapping of the two items, its effect being redundancy and vagueness.

The last occurrence of *evest* was recorded around 1400. The lexeme *anda*, surviving as ME *onde*, retained its central meanings 'malice, ill will, spite, hatred, enmity, envy' until the sixteenth century. According to *MED*, the last record of *onde* dates back to c. 1525. In some examples ME *onde* is coupled with *envy*, either a mere stylistic measure or an effort at explaining the sense of that semantically and phonologically obscure Old English word. The item *envy*, designating the feeling of annoyance and ill-will toward another person caused by that person's superiority, was first attested in English around 1300, thus initiating its rivalry with the native counterpart.

The conclusions concerning the present topic will be drawn on the basis of a corpus study. The data will be selected from such electronic corpora as *The Innsbruck Corpus of*

*Middle English Prose, The Oxford English Dictionary, Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form, and Middle English Dictionary.*

#### References:

- Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandell Amos & Antonette diPaolo Healey 2003: *Dictionary of Old English on CD-ROM (A-G)*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
- Diller, Hans-Jürgen 2011: "Why *anger* and *joy*? Were *tēne* and *bliss* not good enough?" in: Jacek Fisiak & Magdalena Bator (eds.), 213-229
- Fisiak, Jacek (ed.) 2010: *Studies in Old and Middle English*. (Warsaw Studies in English Language and Literature 1), Łódź – Warszawa: SWSPiZ
- Fisiak, Jacek & Magdalena Bator (eds.) 2011: *Foreign influences on Medieval English*. (Studies in English Medieval language and literature 28), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang
- Janecka, Joanna & Anna Wojtyś 2010: "In the secounde moneth, that other yeer of the goyng of hem out of Egipte – on the replacement of *other* by *second* in English," in: Jacek Fisiak (ed.), 125-153
- Markus, Manfred (ed.) 2008: *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose*, Full version 2.3. Innsbruck: Department of English
- McSparran, Frances (ed.) 1999: *The Middle English Compendium: Middle English Dictionary. A Hyper Bibliography of Middle English Prose and Verse*, Ann Arbor: Humanities Text Initiative – University of Michigan  
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/index.html>.
- Rynell, Alarik 1948: *The rivalry of Scandinavian and native synonyms in Middle English, especially taken and niman, with an excursus on nema and taka in Old Scandinavian*, (Lund Studies in English 13), Lund: Gleerup
- Sądej, Kinga 2007: "The rivalry of native words and their French synonyms in Middle English: OE *beorg* and F *mountaine*," in: Piotr Stalmaszczyk — Iwona Witczak-Plisiecka (eds.), 263-275
- Sądej-Sobolewska, Kinga. 2011: "On the incorporation of *river* into English," in Jacek Fisiak & Magdalena Bator (eds.), 315-326
- Simpson, J. et al. (eds.) *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com> (date of access 6 November 2012)
- Stalmaszczyk Piotr & Iwona Witczak-Plisiecka (eds.) 2007: *PASE studies in linguistics*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego
- Węlna Jerzy 2005: "*Nim* or *take*? A competition between two high frequency verbs in Middle English," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 41, 53-69

### **‘Inkhorn’ terms: the ones that got away**

*"... I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixed and unmangled with borrowing of other tungen wherin we take not heed by tijn, ever borrowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt."*<sup>1</sup>

Thus wrote Sir John Cheke in a letter addressed to Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561, describing the state of a language that he felt was being abused by borrowings from other languages: however much he tried to convince the recipient, he nonetheless gives two counter arguments in the form of *unmixed* and *unmangled*, two words that had not been recorded in the language prior to that date.

The need to enrich a language that, if not clearly perceived as such, is at least felt to be poor, had existed well before the time of our purist scholar, as many of our fellow editors know, and many a text has been edited, unveiling such terms and others of a more curious nature. In this paper I will address those rare, but quite inventive words that have entered the language only to disappear soon after: inkhorn terms.

As they are quite abundant and from various types of sources, I have endeavoured to make a selection from the Middle English Dictionary (the online edition), in order to provide a corpus for study, study that will focus on the need or fashionableness of those words, the processes that led to their creation and the potential for further analysis and research.

---

<sup>1</sup> A.C Baugh & T. Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 3<sup>rd</sup> revised edition, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978

Julia Schultz  
Universities of Heidelberg / Mannheim

## **The Highs and Lows of French Influence on English in the Twentieth Century**

French has long been the donor language par excellence in the history of English. French has contributed to the English vocabulary in the form of new words since before the Norman Conquest. The French influence on the English lexicon represents the focus of linguistic concern in a considerable number of investigations of the language and its development. Yet French borrowings which have recently been adopted into English have as yet figured little if at all in such studies.

The present study sets out to shed light on the French impact on English in the recent past. The results presented in this paper are based on a corpus of 1677 twentieth-century French borrowings collected from the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

On the basis of their meanings, the words under consideration were assigned to different subject fields in order to give a *tour d'horizon* of the manifold areas and spheres of life enriched by French in recent times. The focus of this paper will be on the chronological distribution of the various French borrowings. To outline the intensity of French influence, the present investigation will raise the question of how many lexical items occur in each subject area and whether the proportion of French borrowings is constant or changing, increasing or decreasing over time.

The present paper intends to provide a socio-cultural interpretation of the highs and lows of the French influence on English in the twentieth century. It will be interesting to see to what extent cultural, social or political developments and events have left their mark upon the language.

Alexandra Scridon  
Babeş-Boyai University, Cluj-Napoca

## **Factors and Mechanisms of Word Order Change in Middle English: A Generative Perspective**

Syntactic change has attracted increasing interest within the field of historical linguistics during the past few decades. Much recent work on diachronic syntax has followed a Chomskian approach, adopting the Minimalist framework (Chomsky, 1995). In a parametric model, this means trying to observe, describe and identify the factors and mechanisms that lead to cases of parametric change in a natural language. Following recent theories of formal syntax, we will first discuss the way in which the diachronic approach can be explained in terms of the principles and parameters model and the more recent minimalist program. Furthermore, this paper will present some technical background regarding parameter resetting by referring to the change from subject-object-verb to subject-verb-object word order in the Middle English period. We will focus on word order variation and change in Middle English texts and we will discuss the internal and external factors and mechanisms that contributed to language change in the Middle English period. Whereas E(xternalized)-language change may be tracked geographically, giving rise to a gradual spread of the new pattern through the population, I(nternalized)-language change is abstract, being attributed to the period of language acquisition when the child is still constructing the patterns of his/her grammar. Furthermore, language change may occur due to war, invasion, migrations or contact with other civilizations (i.e., language contact), while syntactic change, in the Chomskian sense, occurs through the mechanism of reanalysis, which will be the main topic of our paper. Thus, we will analyze the abrupt change in the head-complement parameter (i.e., the change of OV to VO in Middle English) and the loss of verb movement phenomena in English by looking in detail at the functional elements I(nflectional)P(hrase) and C(omplementizer)P(hrase), and by discussing the role of the relevant parameters in the Government and Binding and the Minimalist frameworks.



### **Auxiliary *do*: toward a theory of a factitive origin**

Auxiliary *do* is usually considered to have originated in the causative use of the verb (see Abbot 1895, Callaway 1913, Royster 1914-15, 1918, 1922, Ellegård 1953). This semantic shift from causative to periphrastic *do* is thought to have been motivated by metric or prosodic needs in the South-Western verse texts. Given that causative *do* existed as early as the Old English period, one would then expect later instances of periphrastic *do*. The OED (562, B) points out that the first instances of periphrastic *do* (which was to become an auxiliary) also date back to the Old English period. Until the late Middle English period, the periphrasis coexisted with causative *do*, which then gradually disappeared: General scheme of arrangement – I. Transitive senses (\*To put. \*\*To bestow, render. \*\*\*To perform, effect). II. Intransitive: To put forth action, to act. III. Causal and Auxiliary uses (\*Causal. \*\*Substitute. \*\*\*Periphrastic) (my underlining).

One may then wonder how one linguistic phenomenon may have given rise to another which existed in the same period of time. A close analysis of the theories outlined in Ellegård (1953), Denison (1985, 1993, 2000), Preusler (1956), Visser (1963-1973) or Tieken-Boon (1988) uncovers the specific characteristics of the various hypotheses (causative, proverbal, lexical, Celtic...) concerning the origin of auxiliary *do*. Such a systematic review of the existing theories will enable us to shed light on a “factitive” meaning (achieve, carry out) shared by the various forms of the verb *do* provided it takes some complementation (verbal in the case of auxiliary *do*, nominal or adverbial in the case of lexical *do*). We will show that, in its infancy, periphrastic *do* was used to express the accomplishment of the event denoted by the infinitive. By analogy with the modals, the verb has gradually become a full-fledged auxiliary, marking that the propositional content of a sentence matches extralinguistic reality.

#### References:

Abbott, E. A. 1875: *A Shakespearian Grammar*, London, s.n.

- Callaway, M. Jr. 1913: *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution
- Denison, D. 1985: "The origins of periphrastic DO: Ellegård and Visser reconsidered," in R. Eaton, O. Fischer, W. Koopman et F. van der Leek (éds), *Papers from the 4th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics: Amsterdam, 10-13 April 1985*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 45-60
- 1993: *English Historical Syntax*, Harlow: Longman
- 2000: "Combining English auxiliaries," in O. Fischer, A. Rosenbach et D. Stein (éds), *Pathways of Change : Grammaticalization in English*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 111-147. (Studies in Language Companion Series, 53)
- Ellegård, A. 1953: *The Auxiliary 'do': the Establishment and Regulation of its Growth In English*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell (Gothenburg Studies in English, 11)
- Preusler, W. 1956: "Keltischer Einfluss im Englischen," *Revue des Langues Vivantes*, 22, 322-350
- Royster, J. F. 1914-15: "The *Do* Auxiliary – 1400-1450," *Modern Philology*, 12(7), 449-456
- Royster, J. F. 1918: "The causative use of *hatan*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philosophy*, 17, 82-93
- Royster, J. F. 1922: "Old English causative verbs," *Studies in Philology*, 19, 328-56
- Tieken-Boon Van Ostade, I. 1988: "The origin and development of periphrastic auxiliary *do*: a case of destigmatisation," *Dutch Working Papers in English Language and Linguistics* 3. Reappeared in 1990 in *North-Western European Language Evolution* 16, 3-52
- Visser, F. T. 1963-73: *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, 3 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill

Marta Sylwanowicz  
University of Warsaw

**"Here begynnyth and tellyth howe a man schal make hys *salves*, *oynementes*  
and *vnguentys*".**

### **Towards standard medical terminology in Middle English**

Medicine, along with astrology, was the scholarly branch leading in the process of vernacularisation of medieval writing. Most Middle English scientific texts are translated from or derived from Latin or French treatises. As a result it is not unexpected to find a large number of foreign terms in vernacular writings (Taavitsainen – Pahta 1998, 2004). The study of the medieval medical translations illustrates how compilers struggled with many problems to find adequate English words for the names of medical terms that represent various lexical fields, e.g.: body parts, sicknesses or medicines, ointments, powders and their ingredients. The techniques employed in vernacularising learned medicine varied. Pahta (2004: 81-82) notes that there were two basic methods to deal with medical terminology: (1) to use the resources of the vernacular language, i.e. a technical source language term could be replaced by a more colloquial native word or a new equivalent could be coined; the (2) solution was to turn to the source language by (a) using the source language term or (b) turning the original term into an anglicised form.

The aim of the paper is to show how the medieval translators varied in their choice of words. For instance, a comparison of two 15th century translations of Guy de Chauliac's *Anatomy* reveals that one version (MS N.Y.) is a close translation, making use of French and Latin items, whereas the other (MS A.) is a free rendering of a Latin original, characterised by an inconsistent use of medical terminology (Sylwanowicz 2009). The analysis will be based on the examination of the use of three terms (*salve*, *ointment*, *unguent*) in Middle English medical compilations.

The data for the paper come from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Middle English Dictionary* available online and the *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT), a computerised collection of medical treatises from c. 1375 to c. 1500. The MEMT is a comprehensive tool which provides a solid basis for studies focusing on one register of writing.

## References:

- Pahta, P. 2004: "Code-switching in medieval medical writing," in Taavitsainen, I.-P. Pahta (eds.), *Medical and scientific writing in Late Medieval English*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 73 – 99
- Sylwanowicz, M. 2009: "It is to be heled with medicines...: names of medicines in Late Middle English medical texts," *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* LVI, 3/2009, Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, Wydział Nauk Społecznych, 349 - 362
- Taavitsainen, I. & P. Pahta 1998: "Vernacularization of medical writing in English. A corpusbased study of scholasticism," *Early Science and Medicine. A Journal for the Study of Science, Technology and Medicine in the Pre-modern Period*, 157-185
- Taavitsainen, I. & P. Pahta 2004: *Medical and scientific writing in Late Medieval English*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Taavitsainen, I., P. Pahta & M. Mäkinen 2005: *Middle English medical texts on CD-ROM*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- The Oxford English Dictionary* online: [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)
- The Middle English Dictionary* online: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>

Magdalena Tomaszewska  
University of Warsaw

### **On the status of *cunnan* in Middle English**

OE *cunnan* ‘know’ belongs to a group of the so-called preterite-present verbs which developed weak past tense forms, replacing the originally strong forms throughout the paradigm. It seems that the preterites of such verbs began to appear in the present tense contexts for semantic reasons and thus Bryant (1944) argues that in Present-Day English the occurrence of a preterite-present verb or even the use of the past tense form of any verb is frequently a sign of modern subjunctive. Consequently, these preterites were ultimately reinterpreted as the present tense forms. When the past tense forms acquired the present tense meaning, inventing new past tense forms was a must.

Most of the preterite-presents, including *cunnan*, are the ancestors of the contemporary modals, while a number of other verbs that belonged to this category “either dropped out of the language altogether or were assimilated to another more regular class of verbs” (Lightfoot 2009: 30).

The aim of the present paper is to analyze the development of *cunnan* in Middle English. The study primarily covers Middle English data, but also considers Old English evidence. The databases examined are *the Innsbruck Computer Archive of Machine-Readable English Texts* and the corpus of *The Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form A-G* and *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

#### References

- Bryant, Margaret 1944: “The preterite-present verbs of Present-Day English,” *College English* 5, 259-264
- Cameron, Angus et al. 2003: *The Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form A-G* (CD-ROM), Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, University of Toronto
- Lightfoot, David W. 2009: “Cuing a New Grammar,” in: Ans van Kemenade & Bettelou Los (eds), *The Handbook of the History of English*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 24-44

Markus, Manfred (ed.) 1999: *Innsbruck Computer Archive of Machine-Readable English  
Texts* (CD- ROM version), Innsbruck: University of Innsbruck  
*The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Fabienne Toupin  
Université de Tours

**The semantic development of *up*  
from the viewpoint of Historical Pragmatics**

This paper sketches an analysis of the semantic development of *up* in its adverbial uses from Old English to Modern English. My framework of analysis is the theory of semantic change developed by Elisabeth C. Traugott, which she sometimes refers to as historical pragmatics (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 99), a production-oriented view of language change which claims that the major type of semantic change is subjectification.

The semantic development of *up*, like that of all lexemes, shows a high degree of context-sensitivity. I try to demonstrate that the new meanings successively taken on by the adverb – including the telic and the resultative meanings – were all originally acquired by a mechanism of metonymic inferencing, and to what extent the evolution described corresponds indeed to a process of 'subjectification'.

Sources of data

- MED      The Middle English Dictionary. 1956-2001: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press  
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec>
- OED      Oxford English Dictionary. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (in progress)  
<http://www.oed.com/>
- DOEWB   Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus. 2009: Toronto: University of Toronto  
<http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/>

## References:

Prefixed and phrasal verbs in OE and/or in a diachronic perspective:

- Brinton, Laurel J. 1985: "Iconicity and semantic change: Old English verbal prefixes," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 23, 55-70
- 1988: *The Development of English Aspectual Systems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Denison, David 1985: "The origins of completive *up* in English," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 86, 37-61
- Fischer, Olga *et al.*, 2000: "Verb-particles in Old and Middle English," *The Syntax of Early English*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 180-210
- Gettliffe, Patrick 1999: *Verbes prépositionnels et verbes à particule*, Paris: Ellipses
- Hiltunen, R.A. 1983: "Syntactic variation in the early history of the English phrasal verb," S. Jacobson (ed.), *Papers from the Second Scandinavian Symposium on Syntactic Variation*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 95-108
- 1984: "On the semantic and lexical development of the 'Phrasal Verb' in Old and Early Middle English," *Linguistic and Stylistic Studies in Medieval English*, 47-61 (Publications de l'AMAES, 10)
- Mitchell, Bruce 1978: "Prepositions, adverbs, prepositional adverbs, postpositions, separable prefixes, or inseparable prefixes, in Old English?" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 79, 1978, 240-57

## Other references:

- Fischer, Olga 1992: "Syntax," Norman Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English language*, Vol. II (1066-1476), 207-408
- Traugott, Elisabeth & Richard B. Dasher 2002: *Regularity in Semantic Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press



Lauren Van Alsenoy  
University of Antwerp

### **Old English *any***

English *any* as well as its West Germanic etymological counterparts have been the subject of many recent synchronic as well as diachronic studies (Kadmon & Landman 1993, Lee & Horn 1994, Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1997, Iyeiri 2002, 2003, Hoeksema 2005, 2007, Giannakidou 2010, Willis 2012). Old English *any*, however, has been largely neglected in the literature. This seems partly due to its low frequency in Middle English texts and partly because of the commonly held belief that negative concord or multiple negation was the standard. On the basis of the *Helsinki Corpus of Old English texts* and the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, this paper shows, however, that an interesting rise and fall in frequency of *any*, in negative as well as non-negative contexts, can be observed in the Old English period already. Factors influencing its curious development seem to be of dialectal nature. In line with Ingham (2006), who shows that negative concord varied across different Old English dialects, the results of this paper suggest three different dialectal patterns of *any*'s functions and distribution: a West Saxon pattern where *any* is used in non-negative negative polarity contexts and only rarely in negation, a Northumbrian pattern, where no negative concord is found and *any* is almost exclusively found in negation and may have been on its way to become a negative indefinite, and lastly a Mercian pattern which takes in a middle position where *any* is found variably in all contexts.

**In search of the missing link, or how  
OE *macode* became MoE *made***

One of the curious modifications in English verbal morphology was the simplification of the preterite/past participle *macod(e)* (OE *macian* 'make') to *made* instead of the expected form *\*maked*. This peculiar development attracted the attention of the classic writers on English historical phonology such as Luick (1922ab, 1940: 374, 1005), Flasdieck (1923), Jordan (1925/1974: 165) or Berndt (1960), who attempted at explaining the course of the change. The most popular hypothesis assumed the sequence of rules involving *k*-voicing, *g*-affrication, vocalisation of the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] > [w] > [u] and its loss, i.e. [makode > makede > makde > magde > mayde > mawde > maude > made/māde] (see Berndt 1960: 175). An alternative development makde > makte > maxte (Flasdieck 1923; cf. also Wright 1928: 113 and Jespersen 1949: 25-26) seems less likely as it would result in a form like *\*maught* rather than *made*. Yet another form found in the Middle English texts was the reduced preterite *ma* of *made*.

Phonologically attractive, the above hypothetical sequence is only partly confirmed by the scribal evidence from the medieval manuscripts, which fail to exhibit spellings like <makde, magde, mayde, mawde>, although the existence of the form *maude*, (*i-*)*maud* (e.g. in South-English Legendary, Ms. Laud, 108) makes the above chain of developments plausible. Considering the paucity of forms and texts confirming such a development, alternative solutions of the rise of the past/past participle *made* are proposed in the paper.

With reference to texts from the *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* and a few other selected sources, the present paper discusses the dialectal evidence from more than one hundred texts in search of "the missing link", i.e. forms intermediate between *makede* and *maude*.

## References:

- Berndt, Rolf 1960: *Einführung in das Studium des Mittelenglischen unter Zugrundelegung des Prologs der "Canterbury Tales,"* Halle (Saale): VEB Max Niemeyer Verlag
- Flasdieck, Hermann M. 1923: "Zu me. Made," *Englische Studien* 57: 139-141
- Jespersen, Otto 1949: *A Modern English grammar on historical principles*, Part 1, *Sounds and Spellings*, London: Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Jordan, Richard 1974: *Handbook of Middle English grammar: phonology*, translated and revised by Eugene J. Crook. The Hague/Paris: Mouton
- Kuhn, S.M. 1986: "Old English *macian*, its origin and dissemination," *Journal of English Linguistics* 19. 49-93
- Luick, Karl 1922a: "Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion," *Englische Studien* 56. 185-203
- 1922b: "Zur me. Maude," *Englische Studien* 56: 462
- 1940: *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Vols. 1-2, Leipzig: Tauchnitz.
- Markus, Manfred (ed.) 2008: *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose*, Innsbruck: ICAMET
- Wright, Joseph & Elizabeth Mary Wright 1928: *An elementary Middle English grammar*, London: Oxford University Press

Anna Wojtys  
University of Warsaw

***Unnan, becweþan, gifan, sellan:***  
**verbs of granting in Old English documents**

The main reason for the creation of Old English wills, bequests and charters was to grant material possessions, mainly land, to various people or institutions, such as the church. Before the verb *to grant* entered English, legal granting had been expressed with a range of native verbs. The crucial item employed in Old English documents was the preterite-present verb *unnan* ‘to grant,’ which was lost in Early Middle English. However, the texts under investigation also contain other verbs with similar meaning, such as *becweþan* ‘to bequeath,’ *gifan* or *sellan*, both with the sense of ‘giving’. Occasionally, granting is also expressed with other items, including *gan* ‘to go’ or *fon* ‘to seize, inherit’ in structures such as “the estate should go to” or “someone shall inherit.”

The present study is a part of the major research project exploring the reasons for the loss of *unnan* and several other preterite-presents. Since one of the factors which determined the elimination of *unnan* from English might have been the existence of synonyms, the study focuses on words with similar meaning which could have competed with *unnan* in its basic sense and usage, i.e. that of granting something in a legal context. The analysis involves a comparison of the frequencies of the attested verbs of granting as well as contexts in which they were employed. Thus, the study is expected to reveal whether any Old English verb could have threatened the position of *unnan* and thus contribute to its subsequent elimination.

The data for the analysis come from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, which contains a complete set of the surviving Old English texts.

Databases:

Bosworth, J. & T. N. Toller 1898: *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Digital edition available at [www.bosworthtoller.com](http://www.bosworthtoller.com)

diPaolo Healey, A., J. Holland, D. McDougall, I. McDougall, X. Xiang 2009: *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form*, TEI-P5 conformant version, 2009 Release.  
Toronto: DOE Project 2009, on CD-ROM  
*Historical Thesaurus of English*. Oxford University Press: online edition

#### References:

Harmer, F.E. 1914: *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*,  
Cambridge: CUP  
Prokosch, E. 1938: *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, Baltimore: Linguistic Society of  
America  
Robertson, A.J. 1956: *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge: CUP  
Sievers, E. 1903: *An Old English Grammar*. (3rd edition), translation Albert S. Cook. Boston:  
Ginn & Company  
Whitelock, D. 1930: *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge: CUP  
Wright, J. & M. E. Wright 1908: *Old English Grammar*, London: OUP

# WORKSHOPS

Stephen Morrison  
Université de Poitiers

## **Middle English Palaeography Workshop**

One of the aims of this workshop is to encourage researchers of all levels of competence and experience to recognize the importance of working from primary sources in all spheres of literary activity, where 'literary' is employed in its widest possible sense, its medieval sense. The most important reason for this encouragement lies in the observation that very many English texts from the end of the Middle Ages, either in manuscript form or in printed books, have yet to attract the attention of an editor. Editing the late Middle English corpus (essentially prose texts) should be at the heart of any research programme in this discipline.

In order to edit effectively, a thorough grounding in the philology of English of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries is an absolute necessity. At the same time, familiarity with scribal practice, scribal habit and writing systems (in the case of manuscripts), and with the scripts that were used is just as indispensable. Late Middle English texts were written in hands which palaeographers refer to as 'Anglicana' and 'Secretary', together with the various grades of accomplishment within these large categories, grades which are subsumed under the rubric 'bastard'. It is the aim of this palaeography workshop to identify the characteristic features of letter shapes in these categories in order to distinguish them. A certain attention will also be paid to the degrees of 'overlap', the mixing of writing styles, apparent in the work of many scribes of the period. The facsimiles to be used to illustrate these points will be accompanied by a transcription. There will be a brief, but (hopefully) useful bibliography.

Elena Sasu  
Université de Poitiers

**Middle English Palaeography:  
Practical Workshop**

This year's workshop will have a slightly different approach, following on from the one given by Professor Morrison (during which more practical and theoretical aspects will be developed. This palaeography session will entail a bit of time travelling and walking a mile or or two in a scribe's shoes, venturing as far as the city of Canterbury and its tales...

The "travellers" will be invited to transcribe on parchment with goose quills a folio of the Canterbury Tales, following their intuition and the rules and aspects presented in the previous palaeography workshop. Afterwards they will be invited to comment upon the process and provide their personal input regarding this little experiment.