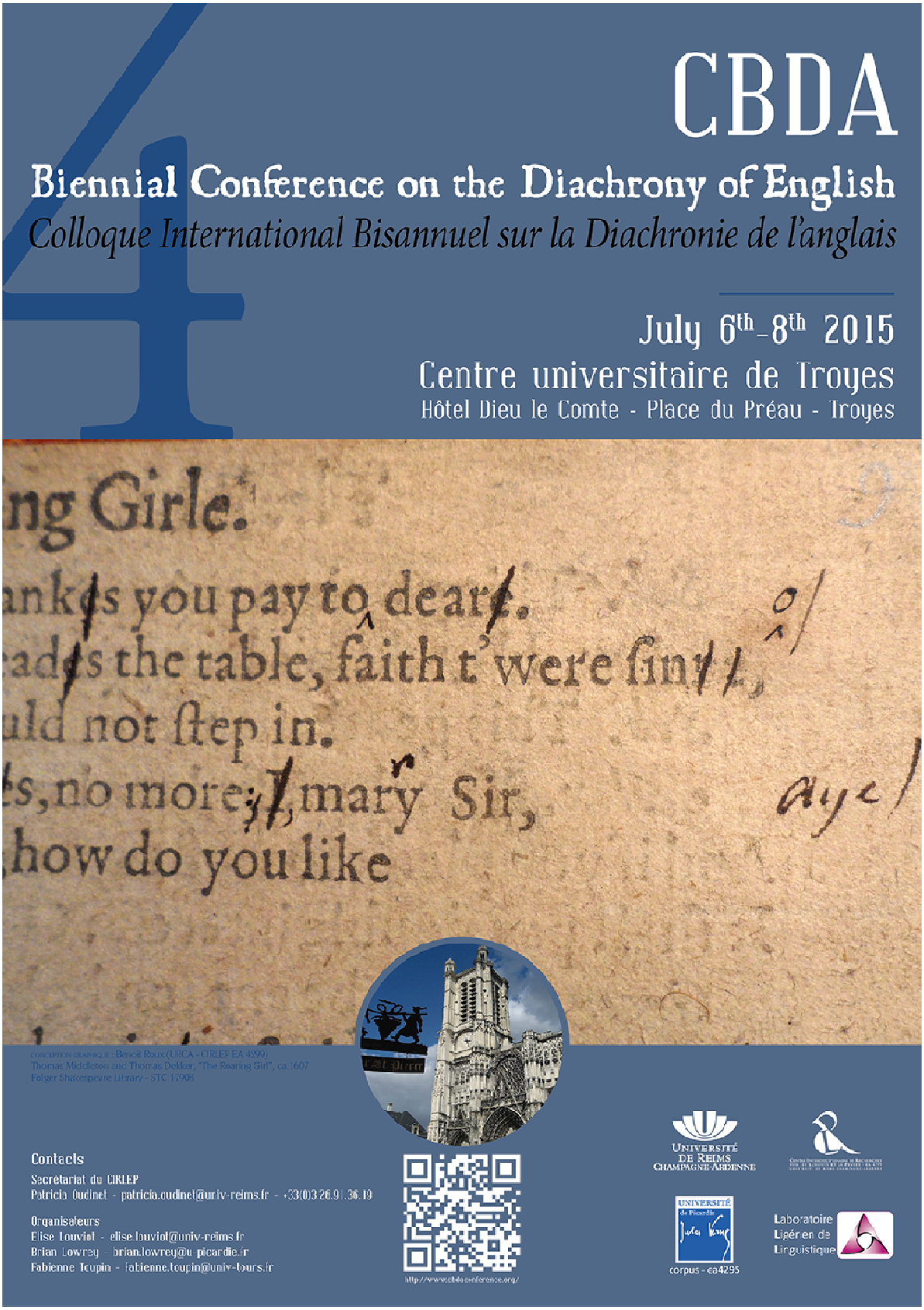

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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PLENARY LECTURE

David Denison
University of Manchester

Pushing the boundaries of word classes

Parts of speech allow speakers and linguists to systematise the messiness of vocabulary into a modest number of morphosyntactic classes. It is frequently assumed that every word in every grammatical sentence must belong to one, identifiable part of speech. This neat and over-schematic claim is problematic, however. It ignores infinitival *to*, which shares very little distributional behaviour with any other word; words like *near* which can behave simultaneously like preposition and adjective ('She stood much nearer the fire'); words like *long* whose classification is not straightforward ('This won't take long'); discourse particles; multi-word expressions ('This is awkward, sort of'). It ignores innovative usages which suggest either an incomplete change of word class or a hybrid usage ('That's absolutely genius'). It traduces normal processes of historical change, in which multi-word expressions gradually cohere but may show some internal structure ('on behalf of'), and it neglects the very real problem that speakers at a given epoch may exhibit different grammars and lexicons. Indeed it is doubtful whether grammaticality judgements can always be a matter of Yes or No, even for an individual speaker, let alone for a population who are supposed to speak the same language; consider all the current variants of *regarding, as regards, in regard to,with regard to*, and almost every permutation of such elements.

On the other hand, word classes are undeniably useful as a descriptive economy, at least for Indo-European languages, and most linguistic theories take their existence and identifiability for granted. If we push too hard at the boundaries, what viable means of describing and explaining language remain? Such are the data and themes I mean to explore, especially in the context of the history of English.

SESSION PAPERS

Michał Adamczyk (University of Łódź)

A corpus linguistic analysis of the spread of the<*th*> digraph in early Middle English texts

The term "variable (th)" was first coined by Stenroos (2004: 257) to cover all Middle English ancestors of the present-day <th> spelling when it corresponds to a dental fricative in the phonic substance, excluding those instances of word-medial /ð/ which developed from earlier /d/. Hence, for early Middle English, the variable (th) covers three major spelling variants: *þ* (merged graphically at times with *y*), *th*, and *ð*, which is still present in texts from the period. However, it has been noted that variation in the use of these three letters is not always purely orthographic, since late Middle English texts from the north of England have a tendency to distinguish between voiced and voiceless dental fricatives by means of two graphemes: <þ/y> and <th> (Benskin, 1977: 506-507, footnote 9). The so-called Northern system of representing dental fricatives, from a diachronic perspective, can be seen as just a stage in the spread of *th* in Northern dialects, which progresses in the following order: (1) *th* is generalised in word-final position, which is always voiceless; (2) then it is extended onto word-initial position when occupied by /θ/; (3) word-medial position, regardless of the presence or absence of voicing; (4) and, finally, word-initially when voiced. The Northern systems using <th> for /θ/ and <þ/y> for /ð/ emerges between the second and the third stage. The presence of this systemic distinction between two ME phonemes was, for the first time, noted by Jordan (1974: 185), and it has since been addressed in a number of studies (Benskin, 1982; Steroos, 2004; Jensen, 2012; Adamczyk, forthcoming). Yet the diachronic process which led to the emergence of the Northern system, to the best knowledge of the present writer, although outlined by Benskin (1977), has never been placed under scrutiny. The present paper is a humble attempt at such an analysis focused on early Middle English – the period which should show the first traces of *th* being used in the word-final position and its extension to word-initial position, since, as early as the end of the 14th century, legal documents from the North begin to show *th* for word-initial /ð/ in grammatical words. The investigation was based on the corpus of annotated, early ME texts included in the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English 1150 to 1350* (Laing, 2013–). The texts were searched for all three variants of the variable (th) present in eME in word-initial, medial and final contexts.

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Dominique Boulonnais (Université Paris III)

Infinitives in *tough* constructions: From adjuncts to complements

The existence in OE of post-adjectival infinitive constructions of the type exemplified in (1-2) has led to the belief that the modern *tough* construction, with a raised object, dates back to the earliest stages of the English language:

1. *þa stanas ... bioð* ***earfoðeto tedaelenne***
   'the stones are difficult to divide' (Bo. 34.92.22)

2. *þas word sind* ***lustbaereto gehyrenne***
   'these words are delightful to hear' (AECHom I, 8 130.15)

This view, however, is challenged by the massive replacement in Middle English of the original forms by passive infinitives.

To identify the origin of the problem, a parallel is drawn between OE and classical Latin, which shows that the OE *tough* construction was most likely inherited from IE deverbal nouns functioning as viewpoint or purpose adjuncts (cf. the Latin supine *res jucunda* ***auditu****/mirabile* ***visu****: thing pleasant* ***to hear****/amazing* ***to see***). With their restricted syntax and distribution, the nominal adjuncts of the *tough* constructions in OE were mere survivors of an earlier stage of the language. In all other contexts (subjects, objects, subject complements, adverbial clauses, etc.), the inflected infinitive had been reanalysed as a verb.

With the loss of inflexional marking in Middle English, the old nominal infinitive also became verbal (cf. Fr. *agréable* ***au toucher****>agréable* ***à toucher***) and a problem ensued concerning the interpretation of the subject of the new infinitive verbs. This gave rise to a form of diathetic repair, which started with the *worthy* type (type A) from 1200 onwards, and later extended to the *difficult/pleasant* one (type B), following Kroch's model of syntactic diffusion, as in (3):

3. *Moist fair, most gudly, most* ***plesandto be sene***. (1500-20 Will. Dunbar, *Poems* (ed. Mackenzie) p. 183)

The newly introduced passive infinitives were in competition from the start with the active forms. The passive took over in type A, but disappeared from type B in EME, yielding the modern *tough* constructions through a process of grammaticalisation. Adjectives (and nominals) in the second type acquired a modal value, which in turn entailed a restriction of the class of adjectives and nominals involved to those with an actualizing or deactualizing interpretation.

Two strategies were therefore instrumental in deriving today's *tough* construction, one of diathetic repair which isolated the *worthy*-type predicates and one of grammaticalisation which gave rise to the modern *tough* construction by conflating the two-predicate structure characteristic of adjectival complementation into a one-predicate construction in which the adjective is to be understood as expressing a form of dynamic modality.

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Yana Chankova (South-West University, Blagoevgrad)

V_{fin}-IO(DAT)-$V_{non-fin}$-DO(ACC) in Old English and Old Icelandic: how constrained can optional movement be?

Within a post-Minimalist syntactic framework, the present paper revisits the core properties of scrambling and some basic assumptions regarding these properties. The analysis has its focus on V_{fin}-IO(Dat)-$V_{non-fin}$-DO(Acc) constructions in O(ld) E(nglish) and O(ld) Ice(landic), whereby the *scrambled* order is derived through optional movement which raises the internal argument that is more loosely related to the verb into a left-phrasally-adjoined target position before apell-out with the T-head serving as barrier to object movement. If scrambling is internal adjunction, it is the syntactic status of this displacement operation that defines its optional character, viz. Scrambling is optional in narrow syntax. Data have been collected from two corpora: *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor, Warner, Pintzuk, Beths 2003) and the corpus of *Íslendinga Sögur* (Kristjánsdóttir, Rögnvaldsson, Ingólfsdóttir, Thorsson 1998).

This study draws on theoretical and conceptual assumptions borrowed from sources in the field ofthe movement approach to scrambling (and object shift*)* phenomena (e.g. Roberts 1997 and Haeberli 2002 for OE; Haugan 2001 and Hróarsdóttir 2001 for OIce; as well as Thráinsson 2001; Jonas 2002; Richards 2004; Wallenberg 2009). At the same time, it stands as an alternative to case-feature-driven analyses, under which movement is triggered by the need for the internal arguments to have their case-features checked in some specifier position. Even though it ponders on the ways the core properties of scrambling interact with semantic/ discourse/ informational and prosodic factors, the proposed account does not side with the weak version of semantic/ discourse/ informational analyses, which assume that Topic and Focus are purely semantic features, accessible at the interface, and it also diverges from the strong version analyses, where Topic and Focus are features active in the computation able to attract movement of constituents to dedicated functional projections.

Based on OE and OIce data, this paper argues that scrambling may evoke a variety of semantic/ pragmatic effects: Scrambling mediates the way discourse roles correlate with constituent order either by invoking discourse-old, specific, topical, defocalized readings (and hence unmarked interpretation, i.e. scrambling one internal argument entails the in-situ argument will receive focus by occurring in the default accent position) or by evoking discourse-new, non-presupposed, contrastive, focused, accentuated readings (hence marked interpretation, i.e. scrambling one internal arguments is a strategy for signalizing that accent by default is unwanted and ultimately for marking the ex-situ argument as focused).

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Xavier Dekeyser (Universities of Antwerp / Leuven)

Why English uses different quantifiers to express uncountable and countable multeity and paucity: *much* vs. *many* and *little* vs. *few*

OE *fela*, a common Germanic quantifier, got lost in the course of Late ME. With *much* developing its full potential as a multeity expression, it is plausible to ascribe this loss to semantic rivalry, and eventually redundancy.

The key idea of this paper is the EXTENT – QUANTITY schema, based on Taylor 1989. Both *much* and *little* are semantically grounded in the logical domain of 'extent': LARGE (OE *micel*) = MUCH and SMALL (OE *litel*)= LITTLE, in the sense of 'not much'. Via the processes of metonymy and, more important, metaphor the concepts of multeity and paucity gradually developed. Given their semantic roots, these quantifiers were mostly associated with uncountability. However, theoretically speaking, both countable and uncountable reference could be involved here. Indeed, *much* and *little* did occur in a countable context for a long time, but then they increasingly fell into disuse in more recent standard English, which explains why English, unlike some other languages, uses specific quantifiers to express countable reference, numerous or not numerous, viz. *many* and *few*. QUOD ERAT DEMONSTRANDUM!

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Frauke D'hoedt & Hubert Cuyckens (University of Leuven)

Internal developments in the secondary predicate construction: the power and limits of competition

This paper discusses the development of two subtypes of the Secondary Predicate Construction (SPC) from Old English to Late Modern English. SPCs consist of a [Verb + Noun Phrase + XP]-sequence and involve a predicative relation between the NP and the XP (1):

(1) We had not [**considered]$_{\textbf{Verb}}$** [**him]**$_{\text{NP}}$ [**fit enough to play for the reserves]$_{\textbf{XP}}$**. (Wordbanks Online, *Sunday Times*, 2002)

In one subtype (the *zero*-SPC), the predicative relation is left unmarked (see (1) above); in the other, the *as*-SPC, it is made explicit by *as* (2).

(2) She knew that many people **regarded her as a very attractive woman**. (Wordbanks Online, 1986)

In Present-day English (PDE), the large majority of *as*-SPCs is claimed to involve licensing verbs relating to cognitive and/or communicative activities (such as *regard* or *describe*), while action verbs or verbs of development (such as *use* or *establish*) are argued to be extended uses within the construction's polysemous network (Gries et al. 2010, Hampe 2014).

In this paper, we argue that from a diachronic perspective, this analysis of action verbs as an "extended use" of the *as*-SPC is not borne out by the facts. Based on corpus data from the YCOE(Old English) and the PENN corpora (Middle English to Late Modern English), we show that in the earlier periods, the *as*-SPC shows a strong preference precisely for the class of action verbs, with the class of cognitive/communicative verbs playing only a minor role. As such, action verbs can be argued to play the key role in the construction's initial uses, rather than its extended uses.

A similar shift from action verbs to cognitive/communicative verbs has been observed in the *zero*-SPC (D'hoedt et al. in prep.), where cognitive verbs represented only a small minority of the construction in Old English, but developed into the core verb class by Late Modern English with respect to frequency and type productivity. We argue that the parallel developments in the two SPC-subtypes have given rise to substantial functional overlap, whereby the *as*-SPC and the *zero*-SPC are in competition over the same verb classes. We show that this competition does not, however, occur at the level of verb classes, but at a lower level of schematicity. In other words it is at the level of the individual verbs that the subtypes have reached a division of labour: most licensing verbs select one or the other SPC-subtype (irrespective of the verb class they belong to) and when they occur in both subtypes, there is generally a preference for one or the other.

The results not only help untangle the internal developments of the Secondary Predicate Construction, but also shed light on competition as a mechanism of language change.

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Hampe, B. 2014. 'More on the as-predicative: Granularity issues in the description ofconstruction networks.' To appear in Susanne, F. & M. Hilpert (eds.), *Yearbook of theGerman Cognitive Linguistics Association*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

The following corpora were consulted (1,054 hits for the *as*-SPC and 14,714 hits for the *zero*-SPC):

- The Penn Corpora of Historical English, including:
  the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, third edition (PPCME3);
  the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English, second edition (PPCEME2);
  the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English (PPCMBE).
  More information on the Penn Corpora of Historical English can be found at (http://www.ling.upenn.edu/histcorpora/)
- The York-Helsinki Corpus of Old English Prose (http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm)

Victoria Dominguez Rodriguez(Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria)

Authorities in 18th-century English grammars: a corpus study of prefatory material

From the 1760s onwards, the publication of English grammars experienced an unprecedented boom throughout the British Empire, which brought about keen competition for quality and new methodological approaches in a gradually oversaturated market (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008). Therefore, Late Modern English grammarians and grammar writers often wrote very elaborate prefaces that included relatively long dissertations on the nature of the English language; descriptions of the book's scope (contents, design, purpose…); or arguments to justify yet another new grammar to choose from (Watts 1995; Rodríguez-Álvarez / Rodríguez-Gil 2013). One of the arguments that 18th-century English grammarians used to convince potential grammar users about the excellence of their works was commenting on the achievements and/or weaknesses of their predecessors. This way, the readers could know whether the book continued a long-established grammar tradition or, by contrast, was devised to offer a new vision of the language or an innovative teaching method.

My paper focuses on two issues of 18th-century English grammars prefatory comments: first, I will provide a list of canonical authors and works cited (or quoted) in the study corpus, either to praise or criticize their contributions to the study of English grammar. In fact, while contemporary English grammar authorities like Robert Lowth (*A Short Introduction to English Grammar*, 1762) are generally presented as models to follow in the English teaching-learning process, some others are seriously criticized for using Latin terminology or failing to acknowledge important structural differences between English and classical languages. Secondly, I will deal with the role those notable authorities played in the field of 18th-century English grammars, taking into account the opinions and ideas expressed in the selected prefaces.

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Elena Even-Simkin (Ben Gourion University of the Negev)

A diachronic analysis of internal vowel alternation in English nominal plural constructions and verbal past tense conjugation system

In Modern English there is a limited number of “irregular” noun plurals (*goose-geese*, *tooth-teeth)* and Past Tense verb forms (*get-got*, *win-won)* that display the process of Internal Vowel Alternation (IVA), i.e., a morphophonemic process found in many Indo-European, Semitic and other language families. However, historically, in Old English as in other Germanic languages, IVA was a prevalent and productive process in both nominal and verbal systems. The diachronic analysis of these IVA forms reveals that the IVA is still fundamentally systematic in Modern English in spite of multiple historical changes of the language. That is, this study describes two opposed iconic phonological systems: *fronting* for noun pluralisation versus *backing* for past tense conjugation. The data indicate that the IVA in Modern English still maintains its systematic nature as in Old English despite the historical phonological changes that have occurred in the language. Moreover, further support for the systematized nature of the IVA processes in Modern English comes from the new IVA verb forms, which originally belonged to the weak "—*ed*" class of verbs in Old English. These etymologically non-IVA verbs follow the same phonological iconic *backing process* that characterizes the IVA verb system in English over time. In addition to the phonological system, both the IVA nominal and verbal systems were found to have common semantic denominators, thus, showing that the IVA is semantically systematic, as well. That is, despite the great differences between the Old and Modern English, we can still uncover hidden systematic similarities which may appear on the surface to have been lost. This study uncovers and describes this former productive inflectional system of Old English that has basically preserved its phonological and semantic systematization. That is, first, we can still phonologically distinguish between nominal and verbal IVA forms and, second, each IVA pattern may still reflect a fundamental common semantic denominator. Thus, this study connects the form-phonology and the meaning-semantics of the phenomenon of the "irregular" forms as a system of linguistic signs in English.

Kseniia Kashleva (Moscow Region State University)

The concept *time* in Old English

Unlike in Modern English, there was no universal word for expressing the concept of *time* in OE. In fact, OE had a number of temporal abstract nouns: *sǣl, mǣl, hwīl, þrāg, fyrst, fæc, tīd, tīma*, and their derivatives.The aim of our analysis is to study their distribution and frequency, their interrelations and to examine the differences in meanings and typical situations of usage, if there are any.According to The Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus, the frequency of basic temporal nouns is (in terms of matches):

Word	**Prose**	**Verse**	**Total**
sǣl	83	33	116
mǣl	29	28	57
hwīl	1360	196	1556
þrāg	12	45	57
fyrst	275	26	301
fæc	201	7	208
tīd	2193	162	2355
tīma	588	6	594

I will show that the most frequent word, *tīd*, was mostly used in translations from Latin or original ecclesiastic writings and had religious connotations:

> *Min Drihten <Hælende> Crist, ane* **tid** *on rode þu þrowodest, and þu cwæde: Fæder, for hwon forlete þu me?*

In ‘Beowulf’ it is used only twice and as a compound noun.We will see that the words *fæc* and *fyrst* wereoften combined with other temporal nouns, as a rule, more concerete ones: *to ðreora geara* ***fyrste***. *and syx monða* ***fæce***. Their general meaning is ‘an indefinite period of time’, so they were used with adverbs *lytel, micel, lang*, etc.*Sǣl, mǣl, hwīl* and *þrāg* can be considered as basic nouns for the concept *time* in OE due to their high frequency in verse. *Sǣl* and *mǣl* meant an appointed time, whereas *hwīl* was a word used to mentionan indefinite space of time. The word *þrāg* referred to time as good or bad, i.e. to subjective characteristics of *time*:

> *Ða se ellengæst earfoðlice* ***þrage*** *geþolode, se þe in þystrum bad, þæt he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde hludne in healle.*

The word *tīma* could also be used for talking about an appointed time:

> *Nu is* ***tima****, þæt we of slepe arisen.*

So, as we can see, all of these words described different aspects of the concept of *time* in OE. I will suggest that the possible reason for this lexical diversity is the Anglo-Saxon worldview. The category of time wasn’t abstract as the human mind itself was concrete and material (Gurevich, p. 37). Later, this archaic point of view interacted with the Christian understanding of time (Le Goff, p. 31).

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Mareike Keller (Universität Mannheim)

‘Nomen Iesus est lux briȝt schynyng’: code-switched adjectives and adverbs in macaronic sermons

The majority of empirical analyses dealing with grammatical aspects of bilingual discourse are based on contemporary sources. However, as has been demonstrated in several studies (Stolt 1964, Wenzel 1994, Schendl & Wright 2011, Jefferson & Putter 2013) historical bilingual sources can also reveal interesting details. This contribution will further explore how a historical perspective can provide additional insights into the study of language mixing. Drawing on so-called macaronic sermons from 14th/15th century England (Horner 2006), I will examine to what extent models based on modern – often oral – code-switching data are applicable to historical written texts. The aim of this is two-fold: First, the analysis will shed light on how we can use the mixing patterns found in historical sources to support or question existing code-switching models. Second, it will help to find out more about the bilingual competence of the writers in Medieval England, who – in contrast to their continental bilingual contemporaries like Luther or Schottelius – we often know hardly anything about.

Language mixing in macaronic sermons has more than once been referred to as unsystematic. Fletcher (2013: 147) for example comments: “[W]hat is recorded in Latin and what in English […] is largely arbitrary anyway.” With this idea in mind I will first provide a selection of clauses containing switched adjectives and adverbs to illustrate the morphosyntactic patterns found in mixed NPs and VPs, like for example

1. *... quem he hurlid not down <u>horribili</u> ginne gule* ... (137)
   ... the one he did not hurl down with the horrible engine of gluttony ...
2. *Ecclesiam adiuit et stetit in angulo <u>sor tremlynge</u>* ... (229)
   He entered the church and stood in a corner trembling sorely ...
3. *Istud venerabile nomen Iesus est lux <u>briȝt schynyng</u>* ... (133)
   This venerable name Jesus is light, brightly shining ...

In a next step I will show how the seemingly unsystematic way of morpho-syntactic integration is linked to morphemes expressing grammatical categories of nominals and does not necessarily contradict the basic tenets of the code-switching model proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002; see also Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000). In conclusion, I will propose an approach that allows us to relate the mixing patterns we find in macaronic sermons to the degree of bilingual competence and the metalinguistic awareness of their authors.

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Thomas Kettig (University of Cambridge)

Now say “Ah”: internal factors of shifting and the English low vowel space

This paper explores the history of the English low vowel space through the framework laid out by William Labov in his 1994 *Principles of Linguistic Change*. In establishing a universal set of unidirectional principles of sound change to account for the diachronic changes observed in the vowel systems of the world’s language, Labov principally observed over the course of chain shifts, peripheral nuclei tend to rise; non-peripheral nuclei tend to fall; low non-peripheral vowels tend to become peripheral; and one of two high peripheral morae in long vowels tends to become non-peripheral. According to Labov (1994: 121), these principles “combine to produce only a small number of repeated patterns”. One key to applying these rules in explaining the cycling of vowels is that “many apparent counterexamples… are accounted for by the fact that a set of short or lax nuclei had shifted to peripheral position,” and vice-versa (Labov 1991: 7).

Starting with the reconstructed low vowels of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Germanic, this paper identifies changes that may have involved low vowels’ switching of relative peripherality. In attested forms of Old English and Middle English, these principles have also cycled various vowel classes through the [æ~a~ɑ~ɒ] space. Within Modern English there exists a large degree of diversity in low vowel pronunciation; synchronic differences in the distribution of these vowels can be explained by the divergent pathways BATH, TRAP, THOUGHT, and LOT have taken since Middle English. In the United States, the Northern Cities Shift demonstrates an apparent contradition which Labov addressed by introducing a third principle governing front-back movements.

Turning to another ongoing North American chain shift in even more detail, the Canadian Shift poses a potential challenge Labov’s principles, exhibiting non-peripheral vowels backing rather than lowering. By comparing six apparent-time studies (two carried out in each of Canada’s three largest cities) across successive generations of speakers, it is suggested that the Canadian Shift does not fully conform to any of these previous models and presents a more nuanced picture of vowel movements. Analyzed together, the movements of /ɛ/ and /æ/ shed light on the complex trajectories of vowels undergoing chain shifting. While Labov’s primary shifting and exit principles seem to account well for historical sound changes, examples of present-day variation and change present direct, observable evidence that can challenge their predictions.

Oxana Kharlamenko (Université Paris III)

Grammatical gender variation in Old English inanimate nouns

The present paper is a usage-based study that explores the notion of nouns of variable gender by distinguishing them from other types of gender-variation in Old English texts. It also explores in detail the factors behind various grammatical gender assignments. It is focused on a native corpus comprising around 80 nouns assigned to different genders in the dictionaries.

In this study, I argue that some important developments in the use of the formerly gender-sensitive markers in the discourse might have influenced the latter to a certain degree. Or, they might be a reflection of variability as an internal feature of the nouns analysed. This study deals with the notion of variation as a cover-term for *disagreement*, which reflects the discontinuity of the link between a controller and its agreement targets, and, on the other hand, for *variability*, maintaining agreement on the cognitive level and allowing the transition from one gender to the other depending on the choice of the speaker.

The corpus shows that only one tenth of the nouns analysed is subjected to variability. However, this is not the impression one might get from their respective dictionary entries with no particular explanation or criterion for the multiple gender assignment provided. The purpose of this study is thus to attempt to provide such an explanation through the notions of disagreement and variability.

Marta Kolos (University of Warsaw)

On the possibility of continuity in the metrical status of heavy syllables: from Old to Middle English

It is commonly believed that syllable weight had a key role in the metrical structure of Old English verse. An accented position required a heavy syllable or its resolved equivalent, this assumption being equally crucial in both early (e.g. Sievers 1893) and recent (e.g. Suzuki 1996) descriptions of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The radical shift in poetic preferences during the transition from Old to Middle English and the abandonment of alliterative verse structure in favor of iambic patterns should have rendered this type of syllabic quantity-sensitivity inconsequential. Yet, certain Middle English poetic irregularities might prove otherwise. Fulk (2002) has explained a number of metrical abnormalities in *Poema Morale* (EME) with the continued application of resolution. The present paper focuses on instances of irregular, non-root accentuation placed on native items in Middle English iambic verse. A proposed explanation for the phenomenon is the continued special metrical status of heavy syllables from Old to Middle English and the retained potential of such syllables for attracting poetic accent. This might be an instance of native output forms continuing to surface despite changes in grammar, a phenomenon known as "pertinacity" (Lahiri 2002).

The proposed analysis takes into account a number of factors. Firstly, the text samples are selected basing on representativeness in terms of the date of their provenance and metrical regularity. The chosen Early Middle English poems include *The Ormulum, The Owl and the Nightingale* and *Poema Morale.* Thelater texts includeextensive fragments of Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* and John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.In order to reduce the possibility of the results being affected by any loose applications of metre, the analysis is confined to the metrically strongest positions within each type of verse. Finally, the results are verified in order to estimate the influence of the external factors on the accentuation patterns as well as a potential impact of a partial grammaticalization of certain suffixes (Marchand 1969: 232).

The expected results include a degree of continuity between the status of heavy syllables in Old and Early Middle English poetry as well as some reduction in the potential of such syllables for attracting poetic stress in later Middle English.

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Younah Kwag & Jong-Bok Kim (Kyung Hee University, Seoul)

On the complementation patterns of the verb*commit*: a diachronic perspective

The verb *commit* employs a variety of complementation patterns (*commit* NP, *commit oneself to* NP, *commit to* NP,and so forth). Of its VP complement types, the typical pattern is *to* V-ing, but the corpus search also yields the *to* V-infpattern, as illustrated from the following data extracted from the COHA (Corpus of Historical American English):

(1) a. *The Democratic Party is committed to making the U.S. Postal Service function properly*...(COHA 1980MAG)

b. *Donna Hall, the executive director of the Women Donors Network, a group of women who each commit togive away at least $25,000 a year*. (COHA 2004 MAG)

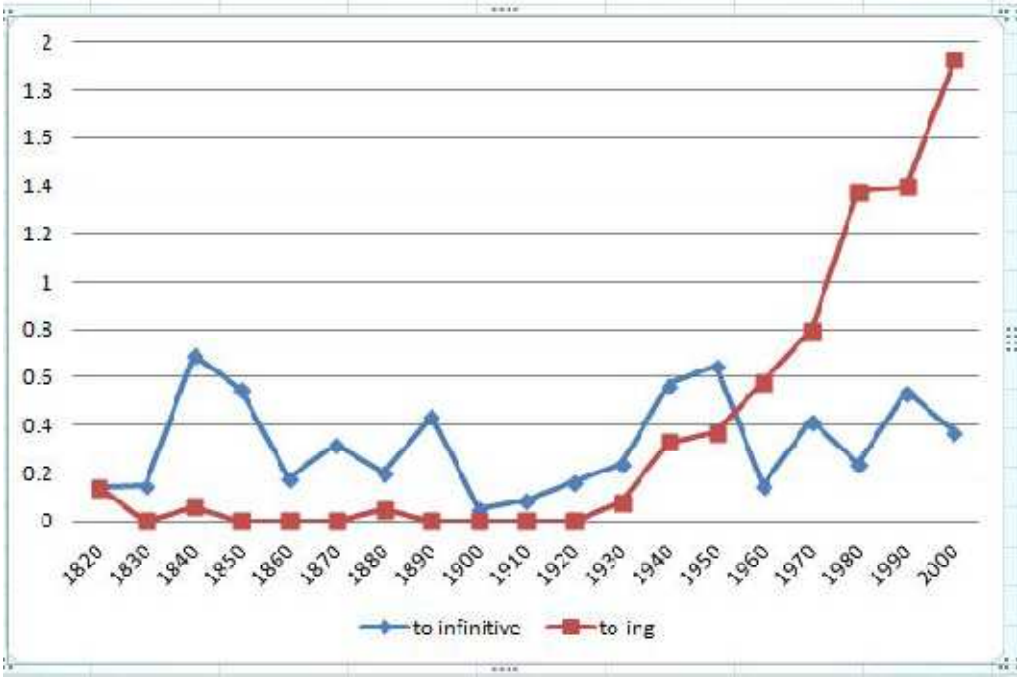
The two complementation patterns behave differently in terms of syntax. For example, only the *to* V-inf allows a VP ellipsis:

(2) a. ?He was committed to jail for trial and John was committed to too.

*b. *The US is committed to helping the Saigon government stay alive and Cambodia is committed to, also.*

The goal of this paper is to investigate how and why these two different patterns of complementation are used. For this,we have investigated the COHA and obtained total 186 tokens of the to V-ing and 140 tokens of the to V-inf patterns. As seenfrom the following graph, the use of *to* V-ing has increased dramatically after 1960 while use of *to* V-infhas been steady, indicating that the *to* V-ing pattern is winning over the *to* V-inf complementation pattern in PDE (presentday English):

Figure 1: Overall frequency of the two complementation patterns from 1820 to 2000



The traditional distinction between the gerundive and infinitival complement is that the former typically describes a‘regular or continuous’ activity while the latter denotes an ‘infrequent and interrupted’ activity. Such a distinction can also beobserved in the uses of the two different complementation patterns of the verb *commit*:

> *(3) a. U.S. Ambassador Johnson is now committed to move on to Point Two of the agenda for Geneva, namely: “settlement of certain other practical matters.” (COHA 1955 MAG)*
>
> *b. Elizabeth, our daughter, is three years old, and we’re committed to spending a lot of time with her.(COHA1978 MAG)*

In addition to this semantic distinction, we could observe that the verb’s dynamic or stative property also plays a key rolein choosing one of the two complementation patterns, as seen from the following contrast:

> *(4) a. In particular the Federal Government is now committed to fighting racial discrimination within the U.S. bylaws, administrative acts and education. (COHA 1976 MAG)*
>
> *b. They were good friends, committed to supporting one an-other’s demands, committed to understanding oneanother’s point of view. (COHA 1962 MAG)*

The frequency table of the two patterns in these two different contexts show a clear contrast:

	Dynamic Context	Stative Context
to infinitive	64	76
to -ing	142	43

As seen from the table, our investigation indicates that the V-ing pattern is predominantly used in dynamic contexts rather thanin stative contexts. We suggest that this difference in frequency has to do with the goal or direction oriented meaning of thepreposition *to*, whose use has increased more in PDE (Rudanko 2011). The change also reflects the shift in thecomplementation pattern from a general one to a more specific marked one.

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Olga Laskowska (University of Warsaw)

From the British Isles to Ceylon,or English in Sri Lanka

Although Sri Lanka was a site of colonization respectively to the Portuguese, Dutch and (under the treaty of Amiens in 1802) British, it was the English language that had the strongest influence on the indigenous population of the island as the earlier colonizers were less interested in disseminating their culture. The British established English as a high status language and a way to enter the lower and middle levels of administration on the island. The first British schools were established by missionaries who believed that Western-style schooling and instruction in English would "civilize" the population of Sri Lanka since they saw English as a language of "enlightenment ideals" and an important means to educate people for administrative purposes (Dharmasada 1992: 28). Taking into consideration the fact that the English language was established in Sri Lanka by missionaries and British officers it can be assumed that the language brought to the island of Ceylon was close to the Standard English of the turn of the 19th century. This is the language which was elevated to become the language of high prestige and importance among the native population, which allowed it to become rooted in the indigenous society as an important mean of communication today.

Exploiting data from *International Corpus of English – Sri Lanka* and articles on Sri Lankan English my presentation will contain a comparison of contemporary Sri Lankan English and the English of the period when the language was brought to the Island (early 19th century). Thus, I shall try to show how the conservative features of the language of the first British settlers have survived in the English spoken in contemporary Sri Lanka.

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Brian Lowrey (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

Some thoughts on subjectless causative constructions in early English

My intention in this paper is to revisit the subjectless infinitival complement structures (Denison's (1993) "V+I,") found frequently with causative *hatan* in Old English. I shall examine some of the features that this construction, shares with similar subjectless complements of direct perception verbs, in an attempt to show, *contra* Mitchell (1985), among others, that, much like V+I with perception verbs (Lowrey 2015), causative V+I was probably not derived from the AcI construction, Visser's (1973) "VOSI." This in turn leads me to consider the nature of the 'missing' subject of the infinitive. If V+I is not simply an elliptical form of VOSI, what kind of construction is it, and what kind of subject is the embedded infinitive understood to have? Finally, I shall examine the *hatan* V+I causative from the perspective of Song's (1996) causative typology, in an attempt to determine to what extent the *hatan* + infinitive construction can be seen as a co-lexicalised, grammaticalised form, building on work by Song and by Timofeeva (2010), both of whom stress the importance of the contiguity of the causative and the embedded infinitive as a sign of a higher degree of grammaticalisation.

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Teresa Marques Aguado (University of Murcia)

The pragmatics of punctuation and other visual devices in late Middle English scientific texts

The study of punctuation in Middle English texts has experienced a revival of interest in the past few years. In the studies that have been carried out, scholarly attention has mainly focused on the grammatical and/or rhetorical functions of punctuation, on many occasions with a supplementary proposal of possible modernized counterparts. Yet, it has been only recently that several studies have delved into the pragmatics of punctuation and other visual elements in medieval manuscripts. In this connection, this paper aims to analyse the pragmatic aspects of the punctuation and other visual elements present in several late Middle English scientific texts that form part of the *Málaga Corpus of Late Middle English Scientific Prose*.

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Stephen Morrison (Université de Poitiers)

Tracing the influence of the Wycliffite Bible throughconsiderations of scribal practice and lexical choice

The text known as the Wycliffite Bible (WB), a late fourteenth-century translation of the Latin Vulgate, is witnessed today in over 250 manuscript copies. Its first editors, Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, stated in the Introduction to their edition (Oxford, 1850), that WB circulated widely 'as well among the clergy as the laity'. Their claim has recently received considerable support from Ralph Hanna, who speaks of it as having enjoyed 'great success', and the very large number of surviving copies argues strongly in favour of this view. And yet, to date, very little hard evidence has been produced to demonstrate its plausibility. Indeed, influence of WB has been denied in the case of some texts where one would naturally expect to encounter it, notably the extensive collection of English Wycliffite Sermons and the *Lanterne of Light*, both produced by the Lollard movement in the fifteenth century.

One reason for this puzzling circumstance appears to rest on a (tacit) modern insistence on a very high degree of textual similarity between WB and later compositions. However, it is in the nature of text produced in manuscript culture that variation, especially in grammar, syntax and lexis, should accompany them in their transmission. This modern insistence on textual fidelity may, therefore, be misplaced.

A more fruitful approach, it may be argued, lies in accepting some degree of variation in these major linguistic areas, then, in order to offset the potentially random nature of that variation, combining it with evidence for the presence in both WB and later compositions of lexical items which are found only rarely outside WB, and which are very unlikely to have come from any other source. It is the specificity of lexical choice here which is crucial, since its effect is to reduce the doubt raised by the 'variable' text. This two-fold approach may be seen as a powerful tool in tackling the problem. It should thus encourage us to reconsider attitudes to copying and textual fidelity, thereby providing evidence for the influence of WB which is so conspicuously lacking today.

Sylwia Pielecha (University of Warsaw)

The semantics of self-constructions in Old English: a corpus study

The main purpose of the contribution is to propose a new semantic classification of *self*-constructions in Old English. The paper will present semantic classes of Old English reflexives and intensifiers as well as show similarities and differences between the two.

As is well known, Old English differed from Modern English in the way it conveyed reflexivity. It had no specialized reflexive pronouns and instead employed subject co-referential personal pronouns to express a reflexive meaning. Moreover, over time, Old English intensifiers developed into reflexives, and thus they could have the same form.

Therefore, some of the Old English co-referential personal pronouns were accompanied by structures with the pronoun *self*. However, not all reflexively-used personal pronouns guaranteed the verb to be truly reflexive. For instance, personal pronouns, often accompanied by *self*, were used with reciprocal verbs.

The next group the paper will present comprises pseudo-reflexives, verbs used only with an inanimate Subject. Another group to be discussed is composed of verbs expressing an action of which the Agent is not the Patient but only its benefactor. Moreover, apart from reflexives projecting two arguments, there were also lexically reflexive verbs.

The intensifiers, in Old English, as in Modern English, could have various meanings. They could refer to a situation in which the Agent performed an action in person. They could mean something like 'by someone's own'. Further, the emphatic *self* could be similar in meaning to *the same*. The last emphatic situation to be found in Old English is expressed by the adverb *sylwilles*, which had nearly the same meaning like the expression *by free choice*.

The data for the present paper come from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus.*

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Lindsay Preseau (University of California, Berkeley)

Ambipositions in Old English and beyond: Chaucer's archaic English syntax

Ambipositions (adpositions that can function either as prepositions or postpositions) havebeen described as "typologically rare" (Hagege 2010). However, recent scholarship claims thatambipositions are common in historical Indo-European, and are found even in Old and MiddleEnglish (Libert 2006). Analyzing texts from throughout the Middle English period, I argue thatambipositions are characteristic of only Early Middle English. This is unsurprising, given thatamipositions may represent a transitional diachronic state between head-final (OV) and head-initial(VO) word order, where postpositions represent head-final prepositional phrases andprepositions represent head-initial prepositional phrases:

Example 1 – Ambipositional *fram* (Old English)
he hine forwaec mancynne ***fram*** (*Beowulf* 109-110, cited in Wilhelm 2001:240)
þæt ***fram*** *ham gefrægn Higelaces þegn* (*Beowulf* 193)

Example 2 – Ambipositional *bitweonen* (Early Middle English)
yef swete luve ant sahtnesse is eaver ow ***bitweonen*** (*Ancrene Wisse* IV:860)
Muche luve is ofte ***bitweone*** *mon ant wummon* (*Ancrene Wisse* VII:27)

Furthermore, I argue that the unexpected frequency of postposition found in the work ofChaucer in later Middle English represents purposeful archaism. This, taken with literaryevidence, suggests that Chaucer may have been familiar with early Middle English works in ABlanguage, which are characterized by ambipositions. The observation that ambipositions occuronly in Chaucer's poetry and not in Chaucer's prose or the poetry of his contemporaries andimitators suggests that ambipositions are specifically characteristic of Chaucerian verse. This, inturn, may help identify Chaucer as the author of unattributed texts dated to his lifetime:

Example 3 – Ambipositional *bitwene* (Chaucerian Middle English)
That ther as first Arcite and Palamon Hadden for love the bataille hem ***bitwene***
(Ellesmere MS f. 31 r)
That nevere was ther no word hem ***bitwene*** *of jalousie or any oother teene*(Ellesmere f. 33 v)

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Rita Ranson (Université du Havre)

John Walker and Shakespeare: an illustration of how an Elizabethan pronunciation was chosen as a reference for 'correct pronunciation' at the end of the Enlightenment

The contribution of Shakespeare's language to the history of Modern English has been acknowledged for many years now in academic circles. The weight of his influence has already been evaluated, and Shakespeare's reputation and works proved even more popular in the eighteenth century than before. Numerous studies have analysed Shakespeare's language, including lexicology and grammar. As far as the spoken word is concerned, it has been possible to assess Shakespearian impact on 'eloquence' and the intonation of English, through the study of 18th century texts on the art of reading and eloquence. Yet, there remains an important aspect worth taking into consideration: how far was it appropriate to adopt Shakespeare's pronunciation as a norm for John Walker's contemporaries?

In this paper, I will examine Walker's use of Shakespearian texts in his *Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language* (1791) j by Walker. I will show that Shakespeare's pronunciation was an obvious model for Walker when he first proposed his 'Pronouncing Dictionary' in his 1774 pamphlet. Indeed, references to Shakespeare are made both in the introduction of the dictionary and also in the so-called critical notes known as "Principles of Pronunciation". My purpose is to show how Walker managed to keep Shakespeare as a linguistic authority following the "best authors' tradition. I will comment upon the reaction of some eighteenth-century speakers as regards this pronunciation model and the impact of actors' speech on eighteenth-century language usage; I will discuss, more specifically, the use of D. Garrick by orthoepists as a model.

Did Walker really acknowledge Shakespeare as a linguistic authority or was Shakespeare a compulsory, necessary reference as far as linguistic authority was concerned?

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Alicia Rodriguez-Alvarez (Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria)

"The old English tongue kept its ground": eighteenth-centurylexicographers' and grammarians' defence of an uninterrupted storyfrom Anglo-Saxon to eighteenth-century English

The eighteenth century witnessed the prolific publication of normative works such as grammars and dictionaries intended to codify the English language by means of rules related to the usage, meaning and spelling of words and constructions. Given the great importance Latin had enjoyed as the language of scholarship and education during the Early Modern English period, eighteenth-century grammarians and lexicographers made every effort to convey the idea that English was a language that deserved to be studied (Rodríguez-Álvarez & Rodríguez-Gil 2013), and could vie with Latin or other prestigious European languages in terms of expressiveness and ancestry. In order to do so, the prefatory matter of some of these works introduced brief histories of English which recorded the different peoples that had reached the English shores in a chronicle-like structure (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009). Every new period was marked by the arrival of a new people whose language had left an imprint on English that is briefly commented. These short accounts of the English language, strongly conditioned by the patriotic feeling prevailing at the time, vindicated the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of English and tried to uphold a linguistic continuity between Anglo-Saxon and eighteenth-century English (Jones 1953; Milroy 1996, 2002). However, the construction of this idyllic unbroken lineage seems to collapse with the irruption of the Normans, as their language affected English to such an extent that Anglo-Saxon texts were no longer intelligible for an ordinary English reader, as manifested in these accounts. Grammarians and lexicographers, though, are reluctant to admit this change and show an ambiguous attitude towards the linguistic effects of the Norman Conquest. This paper aims to explore how grammarians and lexicographers coped with the inconvenient objections to their claim of lineal descent, namely the linguistic influence of the Norman Conquest and the difficulties Anglo-Saxon texts posed to eighteenth-century readers, in their attempt to defend the excellence and superiority of the English language.

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Annie Rutter (Université de Tours)

The hypothetical uses of *and* in Middle English

This research project examines the hypothetical marker *and* from Late Old English to Present-Day English. I will exemplify the phenomenon with occurrences from various dialectal areas of the British Isles, as well as from the different historical periods of English. I will then suggest hypotheses to account for the appearance of hypothetical *and*: I will explore the extent to which contact with one or more Celtic languages might have influenced English in this respect, and will attempt to show that hypothetical *and* is an instance of grammaticalisation. In this particular case, the grammaticalisation process gave rise to competition between *if* and *and* which lasted over six centuries, with hypothetical *and* finally being eliminated.

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Kinga Sadej-Sobolewska & Anna Budna (University of Warsaw)

From *leech* to *physician*: medical terminology in English mediaeval non-medical texts

As evidenced by the *Historical Thesaurus of English*, mediaeval English (up to ca. 1500) possessed approximately ten synonyms referring to the "one who heals", of which *leech*, *physician* and *doctor* proved the most prominent examples. The position of the native item *leech* was challenged for the first time when *physician* was introduced into English in the early thirteenth century. The processes which then began were reinforced by the introduction of yet another rival, *doctor*, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The coexistence of the three items in Middle English triggered the demise of the prototypical meaning 'one who heals' of *leech*, its gradual elimination from the semantic field and the ultimate replacement by loanwords.

The paper concentrates on the chronological and distributional aspects concerning the lexical rivalry between *leech, physician* and *doctor* in Middle English. As shown in numerous studies on lexical competition (cf. Janecka — Wojtyś 2010, Diller 2011, Sądej-Sobolewska 2011, Wełna 2005), the native item lost its position in a relatively short time, replaced totally or pushed to the periphery of the semantic field by the loanword. The cursory analysis of the data in the MED indicates that the competition between *leech, physician* and *doctor*, fierce as it was, had its climax in Late Middle English or even in Early Modern English. Basing solely on the data taken from the *OED*, Sylwanowicz (2003) points out that the shift from *leech* to *physician* took place at the turn of the sixteenth century. The comparison of the frequency counts for the three items in Middle English selected non-scientific texts will help establish their lexico-semantic fates in more detail.

The conclusions concerning the present topic will be drawn on the basis of a corpus study. The data will come from the two electronic corpora: *TheInnsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* and *TheCorpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (part of *The Middle English Compendium*).

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Marion Schulte (Universität Bielefeld)

Semantic change in derivational morphology: adiachronic study of nominal suffixation in English

Derivationalsemanticsissaidtobe“themostneglectedareaofmorphologicaltheoryinthelastthreedecades”(Lieber2012:2108),andstudiesconcernedwithdiachronicderivationalsemanticsare exceptionallyrare.Inspiteofthisrarity,thefewexistingoneshavecometointeresting,ifsomewhatconflictingresultsregardingthenatureandextentofsemanticchange inderivationalmorphology.Uth(2011)findsthattheFrenchsuffixes–*age*and–*ment*havenotundergonesubstantialsemanticchange,whileSchulte(forthcoming)claimsthatthesemanticsofEnglish–*age*haschangedsubstantiallyfromMiddleEnglish(ME)toPresentDayEnglish(PDE).Thesetwostudiesareofcourseconcernedwithaffixesindifferent languages,butsuchfundamentallydifferentresultsstillraisethequestionwhethersemanticchangeinderivationalaffixesisthenormortheexception.

Thisissuewillbeaddressedbypresentingadiachronicstudyofanumberof Englishderivationalaffixes,–*age*,*-ery*,*-ship*,*-hood*,and–*dom*,usingdatafromtheOxfordEnglishDictionaryandtheMiddleEnglishDictionary.Itwillbeshownthatmostofthesesuffixeshaveundergonesemanticchangesinc eME,butthattheextentofthischangediffers.Thesuffix–*age*,forexample,haschangedsignificantly:thereading‘tax/charge’,whichisverycommoninMEderivatives,has disappearedalmostcompletelyinPDEneologisms,butthesederivativesincreasinglyshowan‘amount’reading,whichisrareinME.Thesuffix–*ship*,ontheotherhand,hasnotlostanyof theinterpretationsthatareattestedinMEderivatives,butithasgainedanew‘skill’readingthatisnowexpressedbyaroundaquarterofallnew–*ship*formations.Thissemanticchangehasbeenaccompaniedbyastructuralshiftinthebases:ME–*ship*derivativesareeither deadjectivalordenominal,butPDEderivativesarealmostexclusivelydenominal,andalmostallofthebasenounsdenotepersons.Sowhile-*age*formationsaremorerestrictedintheirsemanticsinPDEthaninME,–*ship*hasextendeditsrangeofreadingsinthesametimeframe.

Thisinvestigationisanadditiontothesparsenumberofstudiesondiachronicderivationalsemantics.Itsuggeststhatsemanticchangeinderivationalaffixationisquitecommon,andalsoshowsthatthischangecantakedifferentshapesindifferentwordformationprocesses.

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Julia Schultz (University of Heidelberg)

Nineteenth-century French cuisine terms andtheir semantic integration into English

French has long served English as the donor language *par excellence* in the field of cookery. A considerable number of culinary terms have been adopted into English down the ages. Chirol rightly points out that:

> La France est une des terres d'élection de la gastronomie; et ceci depuis toujours. Aussi non seulement n'a-t-elle cessé d'exporter ses produits, ses recettes, ses usages, mais encore a-t-elle infiltré le langage de la plupart des autres pays.
> Nulle part cette influence n'a été plus ancienne, plus profonde, plus durable que sur l'anglo-saxon. (Chirol, 1973: 37)

The focus of this paper is on the culinary vocabulary borrowed from French in the nineteenth century. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth *OED*)the term *gastronomy* itself, "[t]he art and science of delicate eating" (*OED*, Second Edition) is a nineteenth-century borrowing which was adapted from the French *gastronomie*. The present study provides an analysis of the sense developments of the various borrowings from their earliest recorded uses in English to the present day in comparison with their equivalents in French. It will be interesting to see whether a particular meaning a word assumes after its adoption is taken over from French or whether it represents an independent semantic change within English. Such a detailed investigation of the semantics of the culinary words of French provenance is missing in existing studies.

The corpus data on which the present paper is based was collected from the *OED Online*. The sample of borrowings contained a considerable proportion of borrowings from Standard French as well as some borrowings from different varieties of French (e.g. from Canadian French) and from French Creole. As the nineteenth century is very rich in cookery terms (in all, more than 300 lexical items have been identified as nineteenth-century French borrowings from gastronomy in the *OED*), I shall confine myself to the semantic analysis of the words denoting dishes, desserts, confectionary and beverages. More than a mere count of the French culinary terms adopted into English in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this paper will provide a detailed investigation and descriptions of the sense developments of the various borrowings. To compare the semantics of a borrowing included in the *OED* with that of its French source, French dictionaries such as the *Trésor de la langue française*, the 48 volumes of *Datations et documents lexicographiques*, a database which encompasses additional documentary evidence supplementing the *TLF*, and the Robert *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique* were consulted.

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Achim Stein (Universität Stuttgart) &Carola Trips (Universität Mannheim)

Can argument structure be borrowed? A case study of*please* and other verbs in the contact situation between Old French and Middle English

This paper investigates the borrowing of verbs and the consequences it has on the argument structure of the verbs that are borrowed from the model language as well as on the already existing verbs of the replica language (for a definition of these terms see Heine and Kuteva 2005). The language contact situation under scrutiny is the one that was triggered by the Norman Conquest of 1066 between Old French (OF) and Middle English (ME) which persisted for more than three hundred years. It resulted in a number of linguistic consequences for English, for example the massive borrowing of loan words from French (e.g. Burnley 1992, Hogg 2000). Although these instances of lexical borrowing have been investigated in some detail (e.g. Rothwell 1980, 1983, Durkin 2014) hitherto no study has comprehensively and systematically dealt with the syntactic and semantic factorsinvolved in determining the integration of French verbs into the valency and transitivity patterns of English.

In her study on the loss of case marking, Allen (1995) found that the verb *please* was borrowed from OF *plaire,plaisir* and gradually replaced the Old English (OE) verb *queman* '*please*'. Although OE *lician*, another nativeverb with the same argument structure, existed it was *queman* that was replaced and not *lician* because thelatter was nearly synonymous to please requiring an animate, volitional THEME. In our corpus study on theseverbs we made two observations: 1. at the beginning of the borrowing process ME plesen occurs with the
EXPERIENCER in form of an PP as in French (see example (1a.)); 2. in some ME texts the native verb *liken*('like') occurs with the EXPERIENCER in the form of a PP (see example (1b.)). Both patterns predominantlyoccur in texts based on a French original. We may assume that the French pattern occurring with *plesen* wastransferred to native verbs with a similar meaning.

(1) a. And þe wordes of my mouþe shul ben, þat hij plesen to þe
Andthewordsofmymouthshallbethattheypleasetoyou
'And the words of my mouth shall be such that they please you.'
(EARLPS,21.842)

b. þet is þe zoþe uayrhede / hueruore þe zaule to god likeþ / and to þe angles
thatisthetruebeautywhereforethesoultogod.EXPlikes
'This is the true spiritual beauty because of which the soul pleases god.'

Based on data extracted from syntactically annotated corpora for OF (Martineau 2009; Prévost and Stein2013), OE (Taylor et al. 2003), and ME (Kroch and Taylor 2000) as well as on a full text study of *TheAyenbite of Inwyt* (Morris 1866), a ME text which is a direct translation of the OF text *Somme le roi* we willtackle the following questions: a) if a verb is borrowed from OF, is the argument structure borrowed as well? ; b)What is borrowed first, the semantic or syntactic structure?; and c) Which effects does this borrowing process haveon similar native verbs, and how can we measure it?

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Elżbieta Sielanko-Byford (University of Warsaw)

From 'Alfred king' to 'the king Alfred': changes in the use of proper names with titles in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

This paper examines the differences between the use of nominal constructions with proper names and titles in the earlier and in the later entries of Manuscripts A and E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* An explanation is offered to account for these differences. The nominal constructions under discussion fall into three categories: the *Ælfred cyning* type of structure, where the title appears without any determiner and follows the proper name, the *Ælfred se cyning* type, where the title appears with a determiner and follows the proper name, and the *se cyning Ælfred* type, where the title with a determiner precedes the proper name. Our data show that the *Ælfred cyning* constructions appear most frequently in the earliest sections of the *Chronicle*. The number of these constructions decreases in the later entries and the structure seems to be very rarely used in the twelfth century. The *Ælfred se cyning* type structures mainly appear in the pre-892 entries. The number of examples of this type of structure in both E and A, however, is so small that we cannot make any proper generalizations as to its use. The *se cyning Ælfred* constructions are very infrequent in Manuscript A and in Chronicle E.They mainly appear in the last two sections of the Manuscript. The majority of the examples in the two earliest sections of Manuscript E are due to post-1121 interpolations. This seems to confirm the claims made in the literature that the *se cyning Ælfred* structure was a 'new' construction in the 9th century and became well-established in the 11th century. However, a different explanation for the distribution of the construction is offered in the paper. It is argued that the frequency of occurrence of the *se cyning Ælfred* structure in the different entries of the Chronicle should be linked to the anaphoric nature of the construction and its role in the information structure of Old English texts.

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Magdalena Tomaszewska (University of Warsaw)

On the status of **sculan*in Old English

The Old English verb **sculan* 'be obliged to, must, have to, ought to' belongs to the so-called preterite-present class. Verbs in this very important but not homogeneous group have developed into the contemporary English modals, as has **sculan* (ModE *shall*) or "dropped out of the language altogether or were assimilated to another more regular class of verbs" (Lightfoot 2009: 30).

The common feature of such verbs was that (a) in Old English they lacked inflectional third person singular markers (like the Present-Day English modals), and (b) their originally strong past tense forms were replaced by new weak forms throughout the paradigm. Possibly, the change was triggered by semantic factors (Hogg ─ Fulk 2011: 299) or was conditioned by pragmatic reasons.

In the 1990s some evidence was presented to support the claim that periphrastic constructions with modal auxiliaries functioned in late Old English (cf. Traugott 1992: 186-200, Warner 1993: 2), and that **sculan* itself functioned "as an auxiliary" (Bosworth-Toller's *ASD*, the entry *sculan*) or "as a mere auxiliary, forming (with present infinitive) the future, and (with perfect infinitive) the future perfect tense" (*OED*, the entry*shall, v.*). There are also less direct indications of the verb's auxiliary status, e.g. Visser (1963-1973: §573) discusses, inter alia, semi-independent SHALL which he refers to as the auxiliary, while Mitchell (1985: §990-992) calls it the "modal" auxiliary. In the face of discrepancies between the lexical and the auxiliary use of the verb, it seems reasonable to seek further evidence for both uses in Old English.

The aim of the paper is to analyze, on the basis of the corpus of *The Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form A-G*, the contrasting lexical and auxiliary characteristics of **sculan*in Old English. The paper will discuss morphosyntactic as well as semantic issues. The expected results are (a) summarizing arguments in favour of the lexical and the auxiliary status of **sculan* in Old English available in various studies devoted to the subject, (b) verifying relevant arguments against the data in the corpus and commenting on the findings, and (c) presenting new evidence as regards the status of the verb.

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Jerzy Wełna (University of Warsaw)

From *wyrcan* to *work* in Middle English prose texts: a route towards regularisation

The Old English Class 1 weak verb *wyrc(e)an* (< PGmc *wurk-j-an), nowadays represented by the infinitive *work*, has always belonged among English words enjoying a high frequency of occurrence. Its original senses (1) 'make' and (2) 'work' became ultimately reduced to the second meaning, although the earlier general sense 'make' survives in phrases like *work miracles / wonders*. This highly irregular verb originally displayed two basic preterite forms: non-metathetic *worht*(*-e*) and metathetic *wroht*(*-e*) (< PGmc *wurk-t-). The authors of historical studies either pay little attention to this important verb (e.g. only one brief reference to *wyrcan* in Stark's 1982 monograph on weak verbs) or write not too extensive comments on its position in Old and Middle English (Campbell 1959: 331, Brunner 1965: 319, Hogg **—** Fulk 2007: 275 a.o.).

The rise of the contemporary regular system is full of unexpected events. From OE (WS) *wyrc*(*e̢*)*an*, (Merc.) *wircan*, there developed a variety of dialectal forms such as ME *wirche(n) wirke(n)*, K *werchen werken*, LWS *wurcan*, N *wirken*, SW/WM *wurchen wŏrchen wurken wŏrken*. Verbs outside Kentish with <-*e*-> in the root are explained as due to the influence of the noun *we(o)rc*. Chaucer's manuscripts offer a wide range of (non)palatalised forms with much vowel variation, e.g. *werken werche*, *wirken - wirche*, *wurkon wŏrken - wŏrche* and the forms of the Past (Participle): *worht(e) > woroht(e)*> LOE *wrohte - ȝewroht*> ME *wrought(e) i-wrought*. (Berndt 1960: 36, 129, 156, 197).

The purpose of the present study is to determine the temporal and regional conditioning of the replacement of the conservative forms of *wyrc(e)an* with palatalisation by the non-palatalised forms with radical <-o-> which became established in the standard language. Also examined will be the replacement of the preterite *wrought* by the regular form *worked*. The data will come from around 100 texts in Marcus's *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose*. The examination of texts from this corpus is expected to throw a new light on the circumstances of selecting the regular forms *work*(*ed*) in Standard English.

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Anna Wrzesinska (University of Warsaw)

The names of watercourses and naturalwater reservoirs in Middle English

Geographical words representing water, such as *river, stream sea* or *lake*, have been used in language since the earliest. As water is considered essential for life in general, the names of water reservoirs and watercourses became popular and frequently used items in all languages.

The present study is focused on English names of natural water reservoirs(*ocean,sea, lake*) and watercourses, (*river, stream*) and their regional spread in the 12th-15th centuries. The Old English names for these words, *brim, sǽ, flod*and *ea*, *burne*, either survived in Middle English in a modified form or were (rarely) replaced by loanwords as the effect of the Norman Conquest of England in the 11th century. The research is concentrated on texts selected from the Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose (Marcin 2008), with some material coming from the *Oxford* and *Middle English* dictionaries. The analysis will show the extent of the loss of the original Anglo-Saxon words and spread of the loanwords, frequently modified semantically. The analysis will also involve the statistics of the occurrence of the terms in question in different mediaeval prose texts representing the chief dialects of the period. As regards the method, the present author makes use of semantic theories (e.g. Lyons 1977) rather than cognitive ones, as for example that of Geeraerts (1993).

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Margarita Yagudaeva (Sussex University)

Semantic stability of English idioms

Idioms, fixed expressions whose overall meaning is not deducible from their constituents, have always been of great interest to linguists. Idiom categorization, fixedness, figurativeness, and other aspects have been studied to varying degree across disciplines and in different languages (cf. Gibbs with colleagues 1991, Glucksberg 2001, Knappe 2004, Kunin 1996, and Moon 1998, to name just a few). The majority of studies so far have examined the structural changes of idioms, that is, their flexibility and/or fixedness, idiom comprehension, and the motivation for idiom meaning, rather than their meaning variation, preserving their canonical form. In particular, the semantic stability of idiomatic expressions has rarely been questioned. The hypothesis of the current research is that English idioms are capable of meaning change over time, as is the case with other lexemes.

The purpose of the presentation is to briefly outline the existing views on idiomatic expressions, identifying the gap in the existing research. In addition, the methodology developed to trace meaning variation in English idioms will be discussed, including, information on the sample selection, the sources used, and finally the questionnaire design. I propose to start examining idioms that have multiple meanings, i.e. polysemous idioms. Polysemy, according to some studies, is regarded as an indicator of meaning change taking place within a word or lexeme; in other words, the multiplicity of meanings is synchronically regarded as polysemy, and diachronically is regarded as a meaning change in process. Therefore, polysemous idioms can act as the most representative case for the meaning variation an idiom may undergo over time.

Within the methodology section of the presentation, I will discuss the difficulties involved in conducting current research, such as, the availability of modern and historical English language corpora with untagged idioms and idioms that vary in structure, online and printed databases, for idiom extraction and comparison, as well as corpus-based analysis for the attestation of meaning differences. The crucial step to identify the change of meaning in idiomatic expressions is to determine when a phrase has become a conventionalized idiom and has started to be used as such. Since the available English language corpora provide only concordances or word strings that occur together, it is likely that in some cases the phrase would be used in its literal meaning, rather then idiomatic. In contrast, I argue that an idiom, after having been established as one, is exposed to certain semantic shifts. Consequently, several methods in combination should be applied for searching the selected sample at different periods, which will be addressed during the presentation.

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Yekaterina Yakovenko (Russian Academy of Sciences)

The Wessex Gospels and their reference to the Vulgate

One has to admit that biblical translations into Old Germanic languages (except, perhaps, for the Gothic Bible) do not frequently appear as the focus of scientific research. As secondary texts, they are of little interest for historians, and as word-for-word translations, they are considered to have little literary merit. However, these translations can be of much use as they reflect not only the early stages of Germanic languages but also the way the biblical text could be perceived by peoples who, having adopted the Christian doctrine, still preserved some elements of paganism.

The given research is devoted to the analysis of the vocabulary of the Wessex Gospels in its semantic, cognitive and translational aspects. The author's aims are to single out lexical peculiarities of the Gospels and to reveal conceptual divergences appearing between the Gospels and the source text – a version of the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* – as well as to determine the nature of the relationship appearing between the lexical units of the Wessex Gospels and the Vulgate.

Taking into consideration full vs partial coincidence of key words and their contexts in the source text and the Wessex Gospels the author works out a system of equivalents that has a universal character and can be applied to units of any compared texts.

Alongside the system of equivalents the author elaborates a new method of analyzing the vocabulary of biblical texts – that of lexico-semantic application and reapplication, consisting in applying contexts of a given lexical unit of a biblical translation to the corresponding fragments of the source texts and vice versa. The method allows us to define more precisely the semantics of lexical units used in the source texts and translations, to outline the ideographic groupings comprising these units, to state the type of equivalence existing between vocabulary units of the source text and those of a translation, and to model concepts on the basis of the biblical text, thus integrating the principles of linguistic analysis and exegesis.

Katarzyna Zdziera (University of Warsaw)

The distribution of the perfect auxiliaries*be/have* in Middle English texts

Like many other Germanic languages, English has developed specific periphrastic constructions which are used to express perfective meaning in the language. Before being fully grammaticalized in the 16th century, they were used occasionally in Old and Middle English as complex verb phrases with either *habban* 'to have', or *beon/wesan* 'to be' acting as an auxiliary verb. However, by the Modern English period, forms created with the verb *be* had been gradually lost from the language, almost completely replaced by forms with *have*, a process which did not occur, for instance, in German, which still retains forms of *sein* 'be' before the past participles of the verbs of motion. As the data on this development are quite scarce, a relatively simple model is assumed with a steady diachronic progress towards the system established in Modern English, disregarding synchronic variation. This paper attempts to investigate the distribution of the perfective constructions with *be* and *have*, especially in the 15th century texts, including letters, and also to identify the main factors accounting for differences in their usage. Instead of taking into account only the diachronic aspect of the development described, the present study also focuses on investigating the synchronic variation in the auxiliaries used with the two most frequent verbs of motion, namely *come* and *go*, with perfective meaning.

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WORKSHOP PAPERS

Middle English and Anglo-Norman in contact

Convenor: Richard Ingham

Maud Becker (University of Aberystwyth)

The use of the *des-* prefix in some words common to Middle English and Anglo-Norman

During the redaction of the letter 'D' of the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND) in the sixties, William Rothwell already paid attention to the erratic use of the *de-* prefix in Anglo-Norman words. From his conclusions, he wrote an article called *A study of the prefix de/des in Anglo-Norman.* The reason for the particularities in the use of the *de-* prefix was probably an influence from Middle English on Anglo-Norman. At the end of his article he reckoned that there was more work to be done concerning prefixes – he also worked on the *a-*, *es-* and *en-* prefixes – and verbal composition. This work could provide an improved understanding of the cohabitation between Anglo-Norman and Middle English on the British Isles.

While being implied in the research of the lexicographical references of the letter 'D' of the AND, we want to readdress Rothwell's conclusions and to re-examine the words with the *des-*/*de-* prefix. We want to identify the postulated influence of Middle English and to underline some mechanisms for the composition of these words. We will analyse words categorised by Rothwell – words attested in AN and in Old Continental French with the same signification; words only found in AN; and words found both on the Continent and on the Isles, but with a different signification – and pay close attention to the lexicography covering AN, Continental Old French, Middle English and Medieval Latin. This approach will allow us to pinpoint Rothwell's conclusions and broaden them, using lexicography that was not at his disposal at the time.

Richard Ingham (Birmingham City University)

Register variation in Anglo-Norman

This study seeks to establish whether Anglo-French, the later phase of insular French used in medieval England (Hunt 2008, Ingham 2012), should be considered as a written variety only (Kristol 2000: 39, Trotter 2013: 139), or as a dialect of Old French with a spoken register. It is based on work by e.g. Marchello-Nizia (2014) that finds ways of identifying traces of orality in written texts of the period, focusing in particular on the presence of discourse markers and constructions belonging to interactive language.

Two series of texts now compiled in electronic corpora exist in Anglo-French which offer the possibility of addressing this question, one consisting of petitions to Parliament (Given-Wilson et al 2005) and the other of courtroom debates between jurists preserved in the 13th and 14th century Year Books (Larrivée &. Ingham, eds. 2010). Sharing a similar content domain, they allow us to observe tendencies for one rather than another linguistic variant to be used in each text type.

In these texts, the two registers can be distinguished in various ways. Lexically, we observe discourse markers such as quant à and là which are not found in the petitions, e.g.:

(1) E kant a Jone vus dium ke ele ne put voucher.
'As for Joan, we tell you that she cannot testify'

YB XXI Edward I, 37 (1293)

(2) 'Vous neytes pas seysi del franc tenement...' La fut dyt qe baylif ne pout autre chose fere fors...
'You do not have free-hold. At that, it was said the bailllif could not do other than...

YB XX Edward I, 253 (1292)

Furthermore, certain connectives (à cause que, puisque) are employed differently in the two text-types.

As regards syntax, a topicalisation strategy is observed in the 14th c. Year Books which is absent from the petitions, that of Left Dislocation with a reprise pronoun, e.g.:

(3) Celuy qad fait le tort, il ne sera pas nome pleintif

YB XX Edw III, 269 (1346)

(4) Car ce dount il meisme duist aver conissaunce en sa court, il le poet graunter a autre

YB XX EdwII, 157 (1346)

In the petitions, however, topicalisation is carried out only by the use of the discourse particle *si*.

Evidently, professional users of Anglo-French were well able to ditinguish the two registers and use linguistic variant forms appropriately. The notion that later Anglo-French was essentially a written variety only is clearly disconfirmed by the analysis of these documentary sources. On this basis, and contrary to the assertions of those such as Thomason & Kaufman (1988) that competence in French was lost in England in the mid-13th century, we uphold the position that the use of Anglo-French continued until a rather late date, thus allowing its continued influence via spoken bilingualism on the development of English that becomes so noticeable in the later Middle English period (Dekeyser 1986).

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Louise Sylvester (University of Westminster) &Imogen Marcus (Birmingham City University)

The penetration of French into four occupationaldomains in medieval England

This paper presents interim findings of the Leverhulme-funded Bilingual Thesaurus of Medieval England project, in which the extent of language contact influence in non-elite occupational domains in medieval England is identified. We investigate how far they were subject to contact-induced linguistic change, and whether acceptance of or resistance to French lexical influence varied significantly by occupational domain. Conclusions can be drawn as to the extent to which items were borrowed from French to fill pre-existing lexical gaps in English, or English words existed but were displaced by French terms.

Methodological questions are raised, including the identification of the lexis for the semantic domains in both languages, and the use of a conceptual categorization devised for a diachronic view of English - the Historical Thesaurus of the OED - that requires slight modification to encompass the practices of the medieval period.

Lexis is analysed along the following dimensions: single-word lexemes versus compound words, so as to control for the proliferation of lexical items formed by compounding; single language versus multiple language origin, to control for the difficulty in many cases of isolating a single language of origin for medieval English borrowings. Results are presented separately to allow the penetration of French to be assessed accordingly.

The semantic domains so far investigated are building, manufacture, shipping, and farming, where we report on and discuss results obtained at this stage. Preliminary results suggest that the levels of French lexis in the first three of these are similar, at around 25%. Farming offers a nuanced picture of the interaction between the two languages: terms for agricultural processes show a level of French origin lexis comparable to other occupational domains, whereas under 10% of those for agricultural instruments are of French origin.

Elite occupations (military, ecclesiastical, governmental etc.) were clearly not the only ones to experience intense contact influence from mediaeval French (Kastovsky 2006). Findings are compared with those of earlier lexical contact influence studies (Dekeyser 1986, Rothwell 1998, 2010); the social and acquisitional frameworks (Trotter 2003, Ingham 2012) within which such developments took place is further discussed.

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Carola Trips (Universität Mannheim)

The occurrence of postposed rhematic adjectives in Middle English: an instance of grammatical replication on the model of Old French?

This paper discusses grammatical replication (Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2008) as a possible explanation for the rise of postposed rhematic adjectives in Middle English (ME) times. The authors define grammatical replication as "a process whereby speakers of a language, called replica language, create a new grammatical structure on the model of some structure of another language, called the model language" (Heine & Kuteva 2008:59). The definition implies that a new grammatical structure may be built on some structure that already existed in the replica language. In the case at hand, the Old English (OE) NP phrases with one adjective might have been the basis for a new grammatical structure where rhematic adjectives in postposition in definite NPs became available on the model of Old French (OF).
Throughout this period adjectives occurring in postnominal position can be found (e.g. in The Ayenbite of Inwyt, 1340):

> (1) wydoute þise þri þinges gostliche / ne moZe þe ympen of uirtue / ne wexe ne bere frutwithout these 3 matters spiritual not may the branches of virtue neither grow nor bear fruit
> 'without these three spiritual matters the branches of virtues may neither grow nor bearfruit.' (AYENBI, 21.313 and 95.1844)

In the literature, internal and external factors have been discussed (see e.g. Fischer, 2004, 2006, Lightfoot, 1979) for assumptions based on grammatical properties, and Mossé, 1991, Mustanoja, 1960, and Moskowich, 2002 for assumptions based on contact-induced change) to account for the occurrence of postnominal adjectives in ME times. I will show that this phenomenon, which is described by Fischer (2006) as a violation of the OE pattern, has the potential to have been borrowed from OF during the time when language contact between the
two languages was most intense.

A small study of some prose works of the MCVF corpus (Modéliser le changement: les voies du français, Martineau, 2009) will confirm that rhematic postposed adjectives were the marked option in OF and occurred in distinctive and highlighting contexts (cf. Trips 2014). This finding will be compared with findings from a corpus-based study of ME (The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2, Release 3, Kroch and Taylor, 2000), and it will be shown that rhematic postposed adjectives suddenly increase between 1250 and 1350. A further interesting observation is that the postposition of adjectives correlates with the so-called French plural (marking) in texts which are based on Latin and/or French:

> (2) The names of these monthes were clepid somme for her propirtees and somme by statutes of lordes Arabiens
> The names of these months were named some for their properties and some by rules of lords Arabiens
> 'Some of these months were named after their properties, some of them after the rules ofArabian lords.' (ASTRO, 665.C1.79)

Other sources like full texts of direct translations of French texts and mixed texts will be integrated into the study to provide as comprehensive a picture as possible about the contact situation. Although the results cannot be conclusive at present, this investigation shows that grammatical replication cannot be excluded as an explanation of the rise of this (and other) grammatical patterns during ME times.

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Working with Meanings: Polysemy, metaphor, and semantic changes in the history of English.

Convenors:Begoña Crespo & Isabel Moskowich

Iria Bello (Universität Heidelberg)

Cognitive implications of nominalizations inscientific discourse

Nominalizations are well-known features of scientific writing. Given their prolific nature, scholars have been intrigued by their form as well as by their functions. In this sense, early studies focused rather on the form and defined nominalizations' functions as cohesive devices (Chomsky 1970 and other studies within the Transformational-Generative theory, like Grimshaw (1990) and Jackendoff (1975), among others). Other studies have turned their attention to thematization strategies and the backgrounding of information (Ventola 1996), which, in a way, is related to coherence in paragraphs. While the form and all textual implications have been widely studied, the cognitive side of nominalizations in scientific texts still needs further attention. Nominalizations contribute to the advancement of discourse and at the same time add abstraction to the processes they convey (Downing, 1997, 2000; Eggins, 1994) and make them become more reified in the eyes of the reader (Banks 2005). They cannot be considered mere transformations of their verbal counterparts as they change completely the cognitive configuration of the process they express in the reader's mind. This paper will explore precisely this track. With the help of examples retrieved from astronomy subcorpus (*CETA*, Moskowich et al. 2012) of the *Coruña Corpus*, the main aim will be to study the role of nominalizations in the interface between cognition and language.

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Begoña Crespo (University of A Coruña)

Cognition, semantic changes andcontext in scientific terminology

Meaning in scientific terms can be achieved in a variety of ways but when it comes to the popularisation of science it can just work in two possible directions: either it is an everyday term commonly used in colloquial speech that narrows down its meaning to become specialised and be used in a particular field, or, a new term is coined to designate specific content and as the field it belongs to become more popular, so does the meaning of this frequently used item.

In this paper I will try to explore the causes behind narrowing and generalisation in scientific terminology paying special attention to the social context around language use as well as to the overlapping of cognitive spaces that may generate the semantic change. I will focus on the evolution of lexical items taken from historical corpora such as *Middle English Medical Texts*, *Early Modern English Medical Texts***,** the *Corpus of English History Texts* (*CHET*), the *Corpus of English Texts on Astronomy* (*CETA*) and fromthe *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing*. The final goal is to assess, on a preliminary basis, whether the lexicon in this specialised register follows the patterns that have been outlined for the English Vocabulary in general, or, on the contrary, the characteristics of this special language might prompt some new tendencies which are to be unveiled.

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A cognitive investigation of the historical semanticconnection between *same* and *some*

There are two basic requirements for postulating possible cognate forms in historical reconstruction: the existence of regular sound correspondences and a plausible semantic relationship between the forms. This latter must be based on an explanation in the form of a conceivable semantic development from an earlier underlying meaning. A cognitive semantic based examination of semantic change will help reveal the likely conceptualization, usually reflected in metaphor and metonymy as the mechanism of conceptualization, underlying the development in question.

In the case of Eng. *some* and *same* the etymological data suggest that they formally descend from the same etymon, however their conceptual connection is not so obvious:

(1) *same* < MidEng *same* ← ONorse *sama*<PGmc. **sama*- ‘the same’ <PIE **som-H-o*-
(2) *some* <OE *sum* <PGmc. **suma*- ‘some(one)’<PIE **sm̥-H-o*-

PIE **som-H-o*- is the *o*-grade stem of the root **sem*- ‘one’, while PIE **sm̥-H-o*- is the zero-grade of the same root **sem*- ‘one’. In this particular case the problem of semantic development is how the opposite meanings (ONE ↔ SOME, SOME ↔ SAME) could have emerged. In the paper we examine the conceptual relationship between these meanings and attempt to provide a cognitive semantic explanation of how these concepts are linked to each other. As they represent related concepts, they must be embedded in and form part of the same structured experience. We assume that the domain in which these concepts are embedded is an image schematic domain since the concepts in question originate directly in embodied, physical-perceptual experience. This image schematic domain appears to be constituted by the general UNITY/MULTIPLICITY schema, which comprises the more specific COLLECTION, SPLITTING and ITERATION schemata.

The general aim of our paper is to show that an account in terms of image schemata may have practical applications in the methodology of historical-comparative linguistics and can be used to facilitate semantic reconstruction by clarifying and identifying conceptual connections between cognates.

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Zoosemy as a type of metaphor: a historical sketch

The term 'zoosemy' has been around in linguistic literature for a relatively short time as it was coined by Rayevska (1979) and later adopted by a number of authors (see, among others, Kleparski (1997), Ben (2013), Kiełtyka (2008, in press)) who analyse the mechanism in hand from different angles. Thus zoosemy is traditionally defined as a mechanism by which animal names come to be employed to designate human characteristics of varied kind. In most general terms, this type of metaphorisation mechanism may be couched in terms of a universal schema <HUMAN BEING IS (PERCEIVED AS) ANIMAL> (e.g. *hog* 'a domestic pig reared for slaughter' (since the 14th century > PDE (*OED:* 1340 Of hare moder þe erþe, þet berþ and norysseþ azewel þe *hogges*, ase hy deþ þe kinges.) > 'a coarse, self-indulgent, gluttonous, or filthy person' (since 15th century > PDE (*OED:* 1436 Thus arn they *hogges*; and drynkyn wele ataunt; ffare wel, Flemynge! > 1890 'I am a *hog*! I am a *hog*!' he said'I made no resistance; I drank because I was thirsty')).

The aim set to the paper will be to disclose and analyse several historical meaning alterations of the type animal/human-specific noun <> animal/human-specific verb which share the feature of being the result of various realizations of metaphor-metonymy interaction. One of the goals set to the analysis will be to cast light on the complexity of various links existing between the mechanisms of semantic change (metaphor and metonymy) and the word-formation process of conversion.

It is essential to bear in mind that such eminent European linguists as Lipka (1994) question the validity of a strict separation between semantic change and word-formation, claiming that a close relationship between conversion and the mechanism of metaphorical and metonymic change is conspicuously evident. In fact, while delving into the macromechanics of productive vocabulary enrichment patterns, Lipka (1994) highlights the fact that conversion, metaphor and metonymy all seem to hang on the shift in Saussurian *signifié*, whereas the *signifiant* remains unaltered. In my research I rely largely on the framework of cognitive linguistics, which emphasizes even greater interdependence between conversion and semantic change. Following the definition postulated by Radden and Kövecses (1999:128) according to which *[…] metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model*, one may construe conversion as a form of a metonymic process in which the contiguity links are perceived between conceptual entities represented by the same cognitive model, or – to put it in simpler terms – the targeted conceptual entities belong to one and the same conceptual domain. In this respect, Dirven (1999) argues that verbal conversion, instead of being viewed as a categorical shift, should rather be interpreted as a word-formation mechanism which relies on the metonymic PART FOR WHOLE relationship. Going a step further, Martsa (2013) proposes that the process of conversion in contemporary English is a semantic process directed by a series of conceptual metonymic and metaphoric mappings. Contrariwise, Szawerna (2007) expresses the view that the word-formation process of deverbal nominalization involves the metonymic mapping based on the WHOLE FOR PART metonymic relationship. In the paper I shall focus on the word-formation vs. semantic change interdependence which emerges from the discussion of the animal-specific body part *tail* in a historical perspective.

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