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English Historical Linguistics

Historical English in contact

EDITED BY
Bettelou Los
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Bettelou Los, Chris Cummins, Lisa Gotthard, Alpo Honkapohja
and Benjamin Molineaux (eds.)

English Historical Linguistics. Historical English in contact
Papers from the XXth ICEHL

ENGLISH HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

HISTORICAL ENGLISH IN CONTACT

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Chris Cummins
University of Edinburgh

1. Introduction

This volume presents papers based on presentations delivered at the 20th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL-20), which took place at the University of Edinburgh on 27–31 August 2018. The ICEHL conference series was founded by Charles Jones in 1979, complementing the existing International Conference on Historical Linguistics (founded 1973), and has run approximately biennially ever since. The collegial environment of ICEHL continues to attract participants from all over the world. The productivity of the event is evident not only in the collaborations it has brought about, but directly in the publications arising as conference proceedings from its general sessions (often published by John Benjamins, a constant supporter and sponsor of ICEHL) and as special issues and published volumes from its workshops.

While the first volume of proceedings from ICEHL-20 reflects the diversity of themes being explored within the scope of English historical linguistics, this companion volume focuses specifically on the role of language contact. Its diversity stems rather from the broad swathe of innovative methodologies with which researchers are approaching this much-studied topic. The work presented in this volume draws variously upon 'big data' methods for large corpora, the study of translated texts, and dialectological methods. It also reflects the authors' willingness to apply insights from disciplines farther from the familiar ground of historical linguistics, among them postcolonial linguistics and anthropology. As a consequence of this open-minded and pluralistic approach, new and under-studied issues come within the scope of explanation for the first time, and long-held assumptions about processes of historical change in English are brought under new scrutiny. This volume showcases some of today's most promising work in this line.

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2. The papers in this volume

In Chapter 2, Michael Percillier explores the applicability of Edgar Schneider's Dynamic Model of contact to the case of Middle English. Although the Dynamic Model was formulated with reference to contemporary (post-)colonial varieties of English, Percillier argues that this extension is really a very natural one, as the period in question crucially involves the contact between a settler language (Anglo-Norman French) and an indigenous language (Middle English). Percillier focuses on the development of insular Anglo-French, explaining the timeline of its development in terms of the five stages of Schneider's model, and then examining the nature of the French influence through three case studies (verbal prefixes, Prepositional Secondary Predicate Constructions, and genitive objects). The chapter sheds new light on the development of Middle English by systematically examining its parallels with other colonial contact situations, while also further validating and expanding the explanatory scope of the Dynamic Model.

In Chapter 3, Avelino Corral Esteban discusses focal constructions in Cornish English as evidence for Celtic influence. These represent a particularly interesting locus of contact, as Celtic languages are argued to use only structural means of achieving focus whereas British English also relies upon prosody. Based on close reading of a corpus of Cornish English short stories, Corral Esteban argues that fronting is especially important and less syntactically constrained than in the standard variety, and may be governed by different discourse-pragmatic considerations that reflect Cornish influence. Clefting, while less preferred, is also widely attested and also appears to diverge functionally from the standard variety. The chapter concludes by discussing the implications of these findings for our understanding of the influence of Celtic languages on English, and how this plays out in the domains of syntax and discourse pragmatics.

In Chapter 4, Anastasia Eseleva examines the use of causal connectors in the *Old English Boethius*, a ninth-/tenth-century translation of Boethius's sixth-century work *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. The text makes extensive use of the connectors *forþæm*/*forþon*/*forþy* ("because, therefore") to render a wide range of distinct causal, conditional and concessive relations in the original Latin text. Through close analysis of the texts, Eseleva demonstrates how the OE translation differs considerably from its source in how it characteristically achieves discourse coherence. By bringing together analytic concepts from discourse pragmatics and translation studies, the chapter sheds new light on the Old English Boethius and on the coherence devices available to and preferred by translators of the time.

In Chapter 5, Carole Hough reports on a place-name survey of the historic county of Berwickshire, now part of southern Scotland but historically the heartland of the Old Northumbrian dialect. The ongoing project *Recovering the*

Earliest English Language in Scotland (REELS) aims to shed light on the lexis, semantics, morphology and phonology of this dialect, which played an important role in linguistic history, from its emergence in the seventh century to its later development into Older Scots and the northern dialects of Middle English. The study of place-names may address significant gaps in our understanding of Old Northumbrian, occasioned by the lack of substantial written or epigraphic evidence, and the project has succeeded in identifying 107 Old Northumbrian elements in the place-names of Berwickshire. Hough discusses how these findings can be interpreted as evidence for linguistic features of the language itself, at various levels of analysis, and considers the potential and limitations of onomastic data as a source of new insights.

In Chapter 6, Rafał Molencki focuses on a unique corner of the changing lexicon of early English, examining the patterns by which Old and Middle English adjectives of fortune were replaced with Germanic borrowings such as *happy* and *lucky*. Molencki treats this as an example of layering, in the sense introduced by Paul Hopper but more usually applied to syntactic phenomena such as grammaticalization. Through extensive and careful exemplification from key sources, this chapter gives a fascinating illustration of how adjectival meanings in this rich domain contrast and overlap under the influence of contact.

In Chapter 7, Daniela Pettersson-Traba conducts a lexicological study of near-synonyms in American English, focusing on words for 'sweet-smelling' in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). Synonymy and near-synonymy are perplexing notions from a functional perspective. In well-studied cases such as the contact of Norman French and Old English, near-synonymy is argued to arise as a consequence of contact followed by competition which leads to subtle differentiation of meanings. However, Pettersson-Traba convincingly argues that this is not the only process in play. This chapter provides an important methodological contribution by demonstrating the use of 'big data' for lexicological enquiry: in this case, a 400-million-word corpus covering the years 1810–2000, examined via an innovative quantitative approach that makes use of conditional inference trees and collocation networks. The chapter thus advances the study of near-synonymy and draws specific conclusions about the gradual differentiation of terms such as *fragrant* and *perfumed* – but also represents a methodological advance in illustrating how to exploit new and larger datasets in the quantitative validation of early qualitative hypotheses.

In Chapter 8, Ryuichi Hotta and Yoko Iyeiri turn their attention to the changing spelling conventions of the Early Modern period, focusing on the rise of etymological spellings in the sixteenth century. This work too represents a showcase for the value of large corpora in providing quantitative evidence in support of qualitatively-motivated theories. Hotta and Iyeiri use the 755-million-word Early

English Books Online corpus (EEBO) to conduct a first analysis of a subset of etymological spellings, documenting their emergence in the mid-sixteenth century and expansion later that century. Strikingly, this developmental trajectory is akin to that widely observed for lexical diffusion within the literature on sound change, and speaks to the potential for deeper explanations of why these patterns emerge.

Finally, in Chapter 9, Thomas Kohnen presents an analysis of the development of speech acts in the history of English. In particular, Kohnen focuses on the act of apologizing, which appears not to be performed by any specific speech act verbs in Old English. This intriguing lexical gap invites the inference that the act of apologizing itself may not have existed in Old English, an idea first presented independently by Kohnen and Graham Williams in the Essen ICEHL in 2016. In this chapter, Kohnen discusses the absence of apology in Old English from a comparative perspective, drawing on contemporary anthropological work on communities that also appear not to make use of such an act. He then closely examines the development of apology in English through various resources, with a view to evaluating two possible accounts of how apology may have come into use: via its emergence as a social practice, or via contact leading to the acquisition of a loanword. The work not only illuminates the history of English speech acts, but also demonstrates one of the ways in which linguistic contact might exert deeper cultural effects.

Taken as a whole, this volume comprises work that considers all the major contact languages in the history of English – Viking Age Norse, Old French, Latin, and Celtic – across temporal contexts from Old English to Late Modern English. It explores a range of different domains – primarily the lexicon, but also syntax, orthography and pragmatics. But its contribution also resides in how different perspectives and methodologies are applied, with well-tried traditional approaches such as lexicography and onomastics being supplemented by the new tools provided by advances in 'big data' and data visualisation. The volume gives a snapshot of a field that is evolving and thriving in the present while continuing to be fascinated by the past.

CHAPTER 2

Adapting the Dynamic Model to historical linguistics

Case studies on the Middle English and Anglo-Norman contact situation

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This chapter describes a new application of the *Dynamic Model* of contact by Edgar W. Schneider to the medieval contact situation between Anglo-Norman and Middle English, which lasted from 1066 until ca. 1500. Specifically, the emergence of an insular variety of Old French called Anglo-French, as well as the transfer of linguistic features from French into Middle English, are discussed within this framework. By way of three pilot studies, the productivity of copied features as well as instances of 'failed change' are explained by the model's dynamic and granular nature. The chapter demonstrates how the model can be applied to further contexts than its original scope, and may provide a framework to explain contact-induced developments in both settler and indigenous languages.

Keywords: language contact, dynamic model, Middle English, Anglo-Norman

1. Introduction

The present chapter discusses a new implementation of the *Dynamic Model* of language contact by Schneider (2003, 2007) by applying it to the medieval contact situation between Anglo-Norman (henceforth AN) and Middle English (henceforth ME). While the model was originally formulated for (post-)colonial varieties of English, its dynamic and granular nature can be highly beneficial for the study of other contact scenarios if its adaptation proves feasible. The chapter investigates structural changes, both contact-induced and innovative, that occurred during the AN/ME contact period, resulting in an insular variety of French called Anglo-French (henceforth AF). Specifically, the emergence of features differentiating AF from AN and continental French, as well as changes in ME, are discussed within this framework.

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The chapter is organised as follows: Section 2 provides an outline of the Dynamic Model, including its motivations and recent adaptations. Following this, section 3 describes the contact situation between AN and ME. Section 4 then applies the Dynamic Model to the contact situation at hand. The potential of applying the principles of the model to ME is probed via three case studies in section 5, before concluding the chapter in section 6.

2. The Dynamic Model

2.1 Origins and motivations of the model

The Dynamic Model, first proposed in Schneider (2003), then worked out in a more elaborate form in Schneider (2007), incorporates a diachronic dimension to the classification of varieties of English around the world. This sets the model apart from static categorisations that preceded it.

One such earlier model is the *ENL-ESL-EFL* model. The abbreviations used in the name of this model refer to the categories *English as a Native Language, English as a Second Language*, and *English as Foreign Language* respectively. These labels were coined by Quirk et al. (1972: 3–4) and describe three types of English based on the function of the language in a given country or territory. The idea of this categorisation goes back to Strang (1970: 17–18), who uses the labels *A-speakers, B-speakers*, and *C-speakers*. In this context, Strang also argues that A- and B-speakers develop their own local norms, whereas C-speakers rely on the standard of one of the major English-speaking communities (1970: 18–19). In their relabelling of Strang's suggestion, Quirk et al. (1972) do not mention this latter point, which has led to a general interpretation of the ENL-ESL-EFL model as implying ENL norms.

A further model, the *Three Circles* model (Kachru 1985), also referred to as the *Kachruvian Circles*, draws a similar distinction into *Inner, Outer*, and *Expanding Circles* of English (henceforth, InnerC, OuterC, and ExpandingC), the difference being that the distribution of varieties of English around the world is described without implying that non-native forms are in any way deficient in comparison to native forms. Further, Kachru (1985: 16–17) describes the InnerC as *norm-providing*, the OuterC as *norm-developing*, and the ExpandingC as *norm-dependent*, the latter meaning that without norms of its own, the ExpandingC follows norms from the InnerC. In excluding the OuterC from the norm-dependent category, Kachru picks up on the point made by Strang (1970: 18–19) which was excluded by Quirk et al. (1972). This represents a break from the approach implicit in the ENL-ESL-EFL model, in which only the InnerC could be seen as a "norm maker", and the OuterC/ExpandingC as "norm breakers" (Kachru 1985: 17).

The static models mostly rely on historical criteria, i.e., how English came to be spoken in a given country or territory. ENL/InnerC varieties correspond to the British Isles and former settlement colonies, whereas ESL/OuterC varieties are typically found in former exploitation colonies. In contrast, the categories EFL/ExpandingC refer to contexts without any British or American colonial background, in which English mainly functions as an international lingua franca.

A problem with the static models is that neither accounts for developments occurring after the introduction or establishment of English. For example, the present-day countries of Singapore and Malaysia were part of a common British colony (Malaya), and became distinct political entities in 1965. The forms of English used in these countries are thus both categorised as ESL/OuterC, and have at times been studied as a single entity rather than distinct varieties (e.g., Tongue 1979; Platt et al. 1983). However, the two countries adopted different language policies following their political independence: Singapore has promoted English as one of its four official languages alongside Chinese, Malay, and Tamil (Deterding 2007: 1–4), whereas Malaysia has declared Malay as its sole official language at the expense of English and minority languages such as Chinese and Tamil (Asmah 1979: 14; Davey, 1990: 35–96). Differences between Singaporean English and Malaysian English, as reported by Tan & Low (2010) and Percillier (2016b), are therefore unexplained by these models.

A further drawback of the static models is that they do not reflect complex settings with heterogeneous speech communities. For example, the population of South Africa is comprised of 8.1% native speakers of English, whereas the remainder are native speakers of Bantu languages (77.6%), Afrikaans (13.3%), or other languages (0.4%), according to a 2001 poll (Mesthrie 2006: 539–540). Categorising South African English as ESL/OuterC therefore reflects the status of English for over 90% of the population, but ignores a sizeable minority of native speakers. Further, any recent developments, such as cases of language shift to English among previously Bantu-speaking families (see De Klerk 2000), are without consequences for these models unless native speakers become a majority. Kachru (1985: 14) addresses the difficulty of placing complex settings such as South Africa or Jamaica into his model and therefore excludes them. In a similar vein, Strang (1970) also admits that "even among A-speakers it is intuitively evident that not all members of the community have equal mastery" (1970: 18).

2.2 A brief description of the model

The Dynamic Model by Schneider (2003, 2007) addresses the aforementioned drawbacks of the static models by offering a dynamic account of postcolonial varieties of English, i.e., ENL/InnerC and ESL/OuterC varieties. The model is based on two central concepts.

First, a postcolonial variety develops from a contact situation involving two strands: a coloniser/settler strand (henceforth STL), and a colonised indigenous strand (henceforth IDG). These strands are related to the notions of ENL/InnerC and ESL/OuterC to the extent that the ENL/InnerC status refers to a STL in the majority and the ESL/OuterC status refers to an IDG in the majority. The concepts differ in that the ENL/InnerC and ESL/OuterC labels have been applied to entire countries, whereas STL and IDG apply to speech communities within a country (Schneider 2003: 242, 2007: 31–32).

Second, a postcolonial variety may undergo up to five stages of development:

1. *Foundation*: English is introduced to a new territory by colonial expansion through migrant functionaries and settlers. Koinéization occurs within the STL, and some members of the IDG acquire a limited amount of English. Toponymic borrowing is common (Schneider 2003: 244–245, 2007: 33–36).
2. *Exonormative stabilization*: The colony is politically stabilized, and contact between the STL and IDG increases. The STL speakers see themselves as 'outposts of Britain' and their linguistic norm orientation follows the external (mostly British) norm although lexical loans from local languages, mostly from the domains of flora, fauna, and local culture, make their way into the STL language. Concurrently, the use of English expands among IDG speakers leading to an increase in bilingualism (Schneider 2003: 245–247, 2007: 36–40).
3. *Nativization*: The central and most important stage of both cultural and linguistic transformation. Developing towards political independence, STL and IDG interact more, leading to the emergence of linguistic structures distinctive of the evolving variety, formed via (imperfect) language learning, L1 transfer, and innovation. Features originally unique to the IDG speakers begin to be adopted by descendants of the original settlers. Such features are no longer limited to lexical items, but can also include phonological and grammatical features. (Schneider 2003: 247–249, 2007: 40–48).
4. *Endonormative stabilization*: After achieving political independence, STL and IDG increasingly identify with the new nation, downplaying any links to the former colonial power. Homogeneity (including linguistic homogeneity) is emphasised. A local variety of the erstwhile colonial language, which is recognisably distinct from the language that was originally introduced by the STL, has not only developed but also stabilised. The transition to this stage can be caused or sped up by a catastrophic 'Event X' (Schneider 2003: 249–253, 2007: 48–52).

5. *Differentiation*: New dialects and sociolects gradually emerge from the new variety (Schneider 2003: 253–254, 2007: 52–55).

The definition of such stages allows the categorisation of postcolonial varieties beyond the characteristics of their colonial history. Accordingly, Malaysian English is described as having reached stage 3 (Schneider 2003: 260, 2007: 148), while Singaporean English developed further to stage 4 (Schneider 2003: 263, 2007: 153). A description of South African English as having "made deep inroads into phase 4" (Schneider 2007: 188) with the transition towards democracy in 1994 as the 'Event X' has been questioned by Bekker (2009: 86–88), who instead proposes to distinguish sub-varieties of South African English, whereby IDG sub-varieties are only just reaching stage 3, and STL sub-varieties have proceeded to stage 4 and possibly stage 5. A future development towards homogeneity between STL and IDG sub-varieties would indicate that South African English as a whole has reached stage 4. Spencer (2011a) identifies major international sporting events held in South Africa, such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the 2010 Football World Cup, as (non-catastrophic) cases of 'Event X' that contribute to a sense of national unity, and documents signs of increasing linguistic homogeneity indicative of phase 4 as a consequence (Spencer 2011b: 147).

2.3 Adaptations of the model

The nativization stage is further modelled by Van Rooy (2011), whereby linguistic features from STL and IDG are said to enter a common feature pool, as defined by Mufwene (2001: 4–6), from which they can be selected by the speech community. The feature pool, by analogy to a biological gene pool, is an 'arena' in which features sharing the same or at least similar functions compete with each other (Mufwene 2001: 4). All languages and/or dialects involved in a given contact situation contribute to this feature pool, so that functionally equivalent variants compete therein. The outcome variety may select features that originate from either the STL or the IDG languages and/or dialects. The fact that STL and IDG features are not mutually exclusive in the outcome variety is referred to as the "Cafeteria Principle" by Mufwene (2001: 198). In Van Rooy's (2011) account of the nativization process, the learner errors produced by IDG speakers of English contribute to such a feature pool. In the course of nativization, the speech community selects features from the pool while discarding others, thus paving the way for former errors to become features with conventional status, meaning that their usage is considered to be appropriate by speakers of the emerging variety (2011: 204).

Percillier (2016b: 179–183) provides examples illustrating how the selection process can be more fine-grained than originally proposed by Van Rooy (2011). For instance, phonological features from a learner (and therefore non-nativized)

variety of English, in this case Indonesian learner English, are maintained in nativized varieties sharing a common substrate language, in this case Singaporean English and Malaysian English (see the retention of non-standard /θ/ in Figure 1). In contrast, other features are discarded (see the rejection of non-standard /ʃ/ in Figure 1). So far, this matches the selection process described by Van Rooy (2011). In other cases, however, only specific realisations of a given feature can be selected (see the selection of [t] as the sole realisation of non-standard /θ/ in Figure 1).

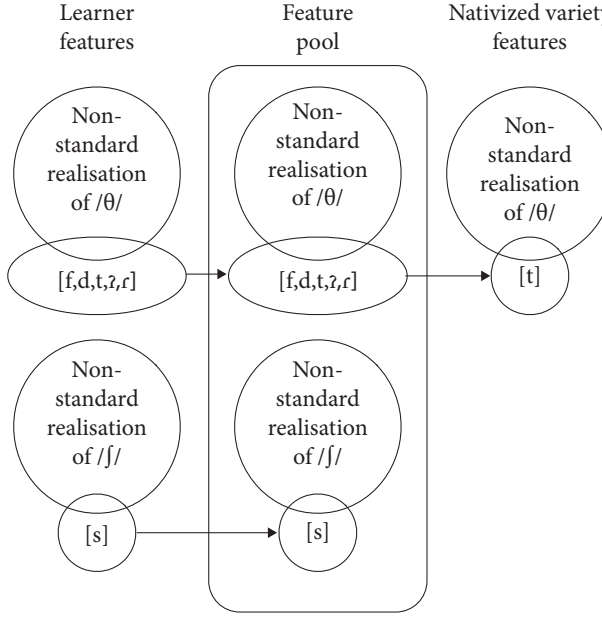

Figure 1. Illustration of feature and feature range selection in the nativization process of Southeast Asian Englishes, adapted from Percillier (2016b: 180–182)

The Dynamic Model has been widely adopted in the field of World Englishes (see Schneider 2014: 12–17 for a synopsis of reactions and applications). It does not address (nor was it originally meant to address) the following aspects of language contact, some of which prompting researchers to develop further adaptations:

1. The development of English in EFL/ExpandingC contexts. Studies such as Buschfeld (2013), Edwards (2016), and Percillier (2016b), among others, have argued that the distinction between ESL/OuterC and EFL/ExpandingC should be viewed as a continuum rather than a rigid border. The increasing intranational use of English in EFL/ExpandingC contexts in the 21st century has motivated Buschfeld & Kautzsch (2017) and Buschfeld et al. (2018) to devise the *Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces* Model (henceforth EIF Model), which builds

on the Dynamic Model in that the five phases of development can in principle occur in any territory in which English is used. The main difference between EFL/ExpandingC and other contexts lies mainly in the nature of the foundation stage, which is typically caused by globalisation rather than a migratory STL as is the case for postcolonial varieties. A further addition that the EIF Model offers is that it matches the five developmental stages to the major variety types, whereby the foundation phase corresponds to EFL/ExpandingC, the internal functions characteristic of the central stages are consistent with the ESL/OuterC status, and the final stage is equivalent to the ENL/InnerC status. However, the categories are not strictly delineated, as an ESL/OuterC variety can develop towards ENL/InnerC as it reaches the final phase and English becomes a local native language, which may be a possible outcome for Singaporean English. Further, the developments are not necessarily unidirectional, as the case of English in Cyprus shows, which developed from ESL/OuterC to EFL/ExpandingC. The concept of bidirectionality in the model is an addition which will prove relevant later on.

2. The changes that the local language(s) spoken by the IDG underwent.
3. The application to comparable language contact settings in which the STL language was not English. Schneider (2003: 241, 2007: 68–70) remarks that the processes described in the Dynamic Model may apply to any contact situation in which a language is transplanted, and mentions the development of vulgar Latin into Romance languages in late antiquity, the colonial expansion of Romance languages from the 15th century, and the emergence of Slavic languages in post-1990 Eastern Europe as suitable test cases for the generalisation of the model.

The application of the Dynamic Model to the medieval contact situation between AN and ME may offer insights into points 2 and 3 above. In the following sections, I first provide an outline of the contact situation before describing the extent to which the model can be adapted to this contact setting.

3. The Anglo-Norman contact situation

The AN/ME contact situation follows the Norman Invasion of England in 1066 and lasts approximately until 1500. The initial phase of diglossia, in which the newly installed Norman elite spoke French and the native population spoke English, lasted only for two or three generations, after which French speakers were fluent bilinguals who were also native speakers of English (Short 1996: 155). In the course of the 12th century, the self-definition of the invaders' descendants changes: whereas the

invaders consider themselves *French*, by the early 12th century, their descendants call themselves *Normans*; from the 1140s to the 1170s, an increasing distinction between insular and continental Normans develops, and the former begin to be subsumed under the designation *English* (Short 1996: 173–174). In the early 12th century, there was still an official distinction between 'French' and 'English' (Ingham 2012a: 3–4), a distinction that could no longer be made by the end of the century, as assimilation had proceeded to the extent that the two groups were no longer distinguishable, as commented by a contemporary between 1174 and 1183 (Short 1980: 478).

The first half of the 13th century sees the decline of AN as a native speaker vernacular (Ingham 2012b: ix; Trotter 2003: 430). The loss of Normandy to the French crown in 1204 meant that the Norman aristocracy no longer divided their time between England and Normandy, with the consequence that the presence of continental native speakers of French in England became rarer (Ingham 2012b: 160–161). Perhaps surprisingly, this change did not result in the disappearance of Anglo-Norman, but rather in a vast expansion in the range of its uses in the 13th and 14th centuries (Ingham 2012b: 27). The reasons for this seeming "paradox" (Hunt 2008: 141) lie in the use of AN as a language for record-keeping during the "information explosion" of the 13th century (Hunt 2008: 151). The task of keeping records was not performed by aristocratic French speakers, but rather by a scribal class of clerks and administrators, who were not native speakers but still competent speakers due to their acquisition of the language in the immersion setting of "song schools" run by the Church, comparable to elementary schools (Ingham 2012b: 33–34). This made it possible for pupils to follow the curriculum in grammar schools, in which subjects such as Latin, rhetoric, and logic, were not taught in their mother tongue, but via French as the medium of instruction (Ingham 2012b: 31).

The 13th century marks the period in which AN becomes distinct from continental French, a development which has earned the variety some unflattering descriptions such as "eccentric" or "degenerate" (Hunt 2008: 141). Prior to this, AN was not strikingly different from Western varieties of continental French (Hunt 2008: 148). Features that distinguished AN from continental French were mainly phonological, which fall into two categories: (1) phonological changes that spread on the continent failed to take hold in AN due to its isolation from the medieval Francophone continuum, rendering the insular variety more conservative than continental ones in this respect, and (2) innovations caused by the levelling of contrasts which were absent from English, which suggests that acquisition of AN occurred after early childhood (Ingham 2012b: 68–70). In terms of morphology, syntax, and pragmatics, AN barely deviated from continental French (Ingham 2012b: 84–86, 97–98, 116–117, 135–136, 155–156). In spite of this relative homogeneity between

AN and continental French, distinctive syntactic features develop, such as the occurrence of satellite-framed goal of motion constructions (*chevaucher à Paris* "ride to Paris"), whereas continental Old French exhibits verb-framed constructions (*aller à Paris (en) chevauchant* "to go to Paris (by) riding") (Schauwecker & Trips 2018: 182–184).[1]

By the late 14th century, AN experienced a change in status from a language acquired in a quasi-natural setting to a language that had to be explicitly taught like a foreign language (Ingham 2012b: 35). This development is evidenced by the appearance of syllabi that overtly teach French using English, as well as the decline of the "quality" of French (Ingham 2012b: 31). This decline can for instance be observed in the presence of gender marking errors, which hitherto had been rare (Ingham 2012b: 97–98).

The reasons for this change have variously been ascribed to different events in the late 14th century, such as the Statute of Pleading (1362), the Hundred Years' War between England and France (1337–1453), or the Black Death, i.e., the plague, whose first outbreak occurred in 1349, with a serious recurrence from 1361–1362. The Statute of Pleading is an unlikely reason, given that it only prescribed that pleadings and judgments in courts of law should be handed down in English rather than in French, so that plaintiffs and defendants could understand. The Statute was therefore not a blanket ban on French, as it applied to spoken language in courts of law only (not the government or the legal system in general), and court records would still be kept in French, which was understood by professionals (Rothwell 2001: 540–541). The Hundred Years' War is also unlikely to have caused this change, given that "texts initiated by English aristocrats and gentry in Anglo-Norman are still plentiful in the late 14th century" (Ingham 2012b: 32).

The Black Death is the most likely event to have caused the change in the status of AN. The disease took a heavy toll on members of the clergy, who had to attend to the sick and dying and were thereby at greater risk of exposure. These same clergymen were the ones who taught AN in a quasi-natural setting in song schools, and other subjects via the medium of AN in grammar schools. Given the high number of casualties, they had to be replaced by aspirants whose proficiency in Latin and AN was not a match for the previous standard, whereby the transmission of AN developed towards a system akin to the teaching of a foreign language (Ingham 2012b: 35).

Contemporary comments made around 1385 explicitly remark that French was no longer used as a medium of instruction (Ingham 2012b: 31). The last domain in

1. While *chevaucher à Paris* is grammatical in continental Old French, it does not constitute a goal of motion construction as its meaning ("to ride (around) in Paris") differs from that of the AN construction.

which French remained in use was law. However, this type of French, called *Law French*, was strikingly different from AN or any other variety of French. Its morphosyntax bore hallmarks of a learner variety and was characterised by levelling of grammatical and gender contrasts. It was generally acquired by adult lawyers and remained in use as a professional jargon from the 15th to 17th centuries.

The outline of the contact setting described above is summarised in Figure 2. The following section applies the Dynamic Model to the AN/ME contact situation.

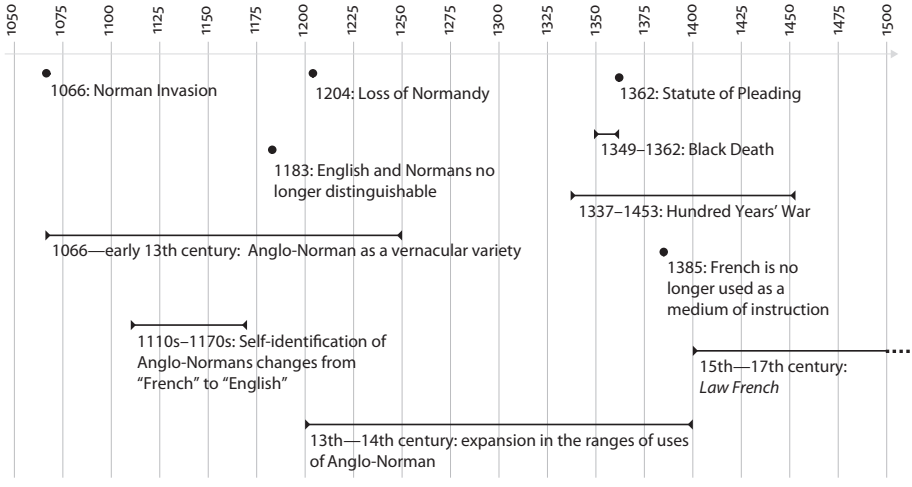

Figure 2. Summary of the Anglo-Norman and Middle English contact situation

4. Adapting the Dynamic Model

The medieval contact situation between AN and ME differs from the contexts for which the Dynamic Model was originally formulated with regard to two main points:

1. English represents the IDG language, and AN fulfils the role of the STL language for which the model describes possible developmental stages.
2. The contact setting at hand does not exactly match the contact situations initiated by European colonialism from the late 15th century onwards, be they settlement or exploitation colonies. However, the model covers a wide range of contact scenarios where the common denominator includes a transplanted STL language and the presence of STL and IDG. These features also hold true for the AN/ME contact situation.

4.1 Anglo-Norman in the Dynamic Model

When applied to the AN/ME contact situation, the Dynamic Model may describe the following stages for the development of AN:

1. *Foundation* (1066–early 12th century): The Norman Conquest, followed by the installation of the Norman nobility as the new ruling class. The fact that the invading (and ultimately settling) army was comprised not only of Normans but also of contingents from Brittany, Flanders, and lands close to Normandy's eastern frontier (Bates 2001: 79–89, 2013: 80) raises the question of possible koinéization in the STL, resulting in AN potentially developing distinctive features compared to continental Old French varieties.
2. *Exonormative stabilization* (early 12th century): Norman rule is secured, and members of the STL see themselves as Normans of England. The French spoken by the STL is not noticeably different from continental Old French.
3. *Nativization* (late 12th century): Members of the STL increasingly identify as English as the ethnic distinction between Norman and English becomes blurred. Members of the STL begin to use features typical of French as spoken by IDG members, predominantly phonological features, as well as morphosyntactic features to a lesser extent.
4. *Endonormative stabilization* (13th century–late 14th century): 'Event X' applies to the loss of Normandy (1204), after which the French spoken in England is no longer tied to varieties on the continent, beginning "a period of free and independent evolution which gradually intensified its distinctiveness and originality (or what amateur detractors might call 'eccentricity and degeneracy')" (Hunt 2008: 141). From now on, we will use the term *Anglo-French* (henceforth AF) to designate this independent insular variety of French.[2] As AN ceases to function as a native speaker variety, AF comes to serve official functions as a language of record-keeping, law, and government by professionals who come from the formerly distinct STL and IDG strands alike.
5. *Decline* (late 14th century): The Black Death serves as a different type of 'Event X': not one that facilitates endonormative stabilization, but rather disrupts the

2. There have been debates on the appropriate nomenclature "Anglo-Norman" or "Anglo-French" (Ingham 2012b: 3–4), with "Anglo-Norman" implying a dialect of "exported Norman" (Zink 1990: 27), and the "Anglo-French" suggesting a comparatively independent variety of French (Wogan-Browne 2009: 1). Using the Dynamic Model to describe the contact situation at hand allows the use of both terms without contradiction, as AN can apply to the variety in its pre-nativization stages, whereas AF reflects the status of the variety in subsequent stages.

transmission of the variety from one generation to the next.[3] This results in a significant change in the features of French, which by now has become a learner variety rather than a second language. The use of French is reduced to the jargon of *Law French*.

The application of the Dynamic Model to the AN/ME contact situation reveals multiple parallels between the medieval and (post-)colonial settings. First, the use of AF in official and intranational domains mirrors the use of English in ESL/OuterC postcolonial societies such as present-day India, where its share of native speakers is negligible, yet it serves important official functions such as the language used in the proceedings in the Supreme Court, in the Higher Courts, and in the Parliament (Sedlatschek 2009: 18–19). Furthermore, the Indian Constitution adopted in 1949 was written in English and defined English as the associate official language (Lange 2012: 64, 69).

Second, the fact that AF is distinct from AN and continental Old French mostly in terms of phonology, but less so in terms of morphosyntax, is reminiscent of the "long-established truism" in variation studies that "accent divides, and syntax unites" (Mair 2007: 84, 97). Third, and in contrast to the preceding point, the reverse holds true once the natural transmission is disrupted. AF, which is then learned like a foreign language, displays morphosyntactic features that set it apart from both its previous stage and continental Old French varieties. This pattern has also been observed between modern ESL/OuterC and EFL/ExpandingC varieties of English sharing a common substrate language, where the EFL/ExpandingC varieties show a higher degree of non-standard morphosyntactic features whereas the ESL/OuterC varieties stay comparatively close to the profile of ENL/InnerC varieties, thus upending the aforementioned truism to yield "accent unites, and syntax divides" (Percillier 2016b: 121–122). Fourth, this development towards a foreign language status, while not part of the original Dynamic Model, has been integrated into the EIF Model based on similar cases in postcolonial varieties of English, for instance English in Cyprus as described by Buschfeld (2013).

Fifth, descriptions of AF as a corrupt or degenerate form of French[4] reflects views of non-native language varieties inevitably being "norm breakers" (Kachru 1985: 17). Such unflattering descriptions of AF bear parallels to similarly unfavourable depictions of non-standard varieties of English as deficient.[5] When viewed

3. In a similar vein, Buschfeld (2013) describes the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 as an "Event X" whose "consequences diverge from Schneider's initial line of reasoning" (2013: 30).

4. See Hunt (2008: 141–142) for a collection of such comments.

5. Such views are ironically and self-deprecatingly referenced in the title of the anthology of literature written in non-standard varieties of English, *Rotten English: A Literary Anthology* (Ahmad

through the lens of frameworks such as the Three Circles, the Dynamic Model, or the EIF Model, such 'awful' or 'corrupt' features may instead be viewed as symptomatic of a norm-developing OuterC variety or a variety undergoing endonormative stabilization. In other words, viewing AF as 'bad French' stems from an unwarranted comparison with continental Old French/AN, an external standard which AF no longer used as a point of reference, given that it was developing its own insular norms. It should be noted that AF never achieved standardisation, but then neither did continental Old French until later (Hunt 2003: 385). *Francien*, the dialect of the *Île-de-France* region, had not yet acquired its role as a standard variety, so that the notion of an external (i.e., continental) standard should be understood in terms of prestigious continental Old French varieties such as Norman, later supplanted by Picard and ultimately Francien (Ingham 2010: 2).

4.2 Middle English in the Dynamic Model

In this case, English is the IDG language, which places it outside the scope of the Dynamic Model, including the EIF Model. An important question for the inclusion of the IDG language into the model relates to whether similar stages of development as described for the STL language also apply to the IDG language. Obviously, the phases of the original model cannot be directly applied, as describing English undergoing nativization in England would be inappropriate, if not absurd.

However, it is conceivable that linguistic features emerging from the contact situation, such as instances of copying[6] and innovations, may become nativized, meaning that they function productively in the IDG language without being perceived as foreign. Given the intense language contact situation, the impact of AN on ME goes beyond the copying of lexical material, but also includes grammatical features (Trips & Stein 2018, 2019). In the following section, three case studies of potential influence of AN on ME grammar provide insights into this possibility.

2007), no doubt inspired by the subtitle of Ken Saro-Wiwa's novel *Sozaboy: A Novel in Rotten English* (Saro-Wiwa 1985).

6. The term *copying* is preferred over the more traditional term *borrowing* due to conceptual problems with the latter: the donor language is not deprived of any linguistic material it supposedly 'lends', nor is this material necessarily identical in the donor and recipient languages, whereas the concept of 'copying' allows for non-identicality of original and copied material (Johanson 2002: 287–288).

5. Case studies

The three studies were chosen to cover various constellations of bound morpheme/periphrastic marking in the donor language and the recipient language:

- marking via bound morpheme in both languages: verbal prefixes {a-, en-, es-}
- periphrastic marking in both languages: prepositional secondary predicate constructions
- periphrastic marking in the donor language, marking via bound morpheme in the recipient language: genitive/*of*-objects

Queries were performed in the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (Kroch & Taylor 2000, henceforth PPCME2), which contains approximately 1.2 million words, is syntactically annotated and distinguishes four sub-periods: M1 (1150–1250), M2 (1250–1350), M3 (1350–1420), and M4 (1420–1500). An additional annotation layer which provides lemma information for lexical verbs and marks their origin as French or non-French (Percillier 2016a, 2018) was applied to the corpus.

5.1 Anglo-Norman verbal prefixes in Middle English

In continental Old French, the verbal prefixes {a-, en-, es-} confer an aspectual character (Buridant 1995: 299), as well as a transitivising function (Mazziotta & Martin 2016). These prefixes enter ME alongside verbs copied from French, as shown in Examples (1) to (3). The nativization of these AN prefixes[7] into ME can be probed by analysing whether they are merely treated as initial syllables of copied verbs that had already undergone prefixation in French, or whether they are incorporated into ME as productive prefixes that can derive new word formations, including with native verbs. To do so, morpheme productivity was measured using the *potential productivity* measure *P*, defined as the number of hapax legomena involving the morpheme in question divided by the total number of tokens involving the same morpheme (cf. Baayen 1992, 1993, 2009: 902), with results shown in Table 1.

(1) *&* *sworen þat þai would be* ***avenged*** *of her kins death*,
and swore that they would be avenged of their kin's death
"and (they) swore that they would avenge their kin's death"
(PPCME2, CMBRUT3,49.1476)

7. Cases involving the native prefix {a-} originating in Old English were excluded. The {en-} prefix includes the allomorphs *am-*, *an-*, *em-*.

(2) *Take Maye buttre & hony & þe white of an egge & menge*
take May butter and honey and the white of an egg and mix
to-gedir and ***anoynte*** *thyn eghne with all.*
together and anoint your eyes with all
"Take unsalted butter, honey, and an egg white, mix them together and anoint your eyes with it all [= apply it to your eyes]"
(PPCME2, CMTHORN,9.151–CMTHORN,9.153)

(3) *for it is the develes fourneys, that is* ***eschawfed*** *with the fir of helle.*
for it is the devil's furnace that is heated with the fire of hell
"for it is the devil's furnace, that is heated with hellfire"
(PPCME2, CMCTPARS,305.C2.713)

Table 1. Productivity of prefixes expressed as Baayen's P (hapax/tokens)

Base verb origin	***a-***	***en-***	***es-***
French	0.056 (15/267)	0.015 (7/455)	0 (0/5)
Non-French	— (0/0)	0.571 (4/7)	— (0/0)

Table 1 suggests that the prefixes {a-, en-} are the most frequent ones. In contrast, the usage of {es-} remains extremely rare, with only five tokens attested, and appears to be unproductive. The use of prefixes with native verbs[8] is rare and is restricted to {en-}, as in (4). However, the very existence of such formations is noteworthy, as is their comparatively high *P* measure. This indicates that {en-} is used productively with native verbs and may therefore have been nativised into ME.

(4) *and nou he haþ* ***en-heȝed*** *myn heued vp alle myn enemis*
and now he has raised my head up all my enemies
"and now he has raised/honoured my head [=made me eminent/powerful] above all my enemies" (PPCME2, CMEARLPS,29.1225)

The productivity measure for {en-} occurring with native verbs comes with the caveat that the *P* measure may not necessarily be interpretable with a token number as low as 7. However, besides the formations found in the PPCME2, further derivations of non-French words are attested in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth OED, Proffitt (2019)), such as *enanger, encleanse, encurse, endry, engold, enhang,*

8. The term *native verbs* is used to refer to any verbs not copied from continental Old French/AN, and therefore also includes verbs that were previously copied from other languages such as Old Norse. However, this admittedly superficial classification of native verbs should be sufficient for the purpose of the present case studies, as the derivation of verbs that are ultimately instances of copying from languages such as Old Norse with continental Old French/AN prefixes would still suggest the nativization of these prefixes.

enlusty, ensilver, enripe, enscore, enwed, enwrong (2019, § "en –, prefix1"). The fact that most of these examples appear to be nonce formations supports the idea of a productive {en-} prefix, as does the derivation of word classes other than verbs.

In ME, only {en-} appears to have been selected as a productive morpheme from the feature pool (Figure 3), whereas {a-, es-} occur as part of pre-existing formations rather than as functioning prefixes, as attested by their lack of formations with native verbs. The reasons for the non-selection of {a-} may be due to a general tendency to reduce redundancies in the selection process (cp. Figure 1), or perhaps due to the presence of a different {a-} prefix from Old English, shown in grey in Figure 3, which blocked the selection of the continental Old French/AN {a-} prefix. It remains unclear whether {es-} entered the feature pool as a prefix in the first place, as its productivity was waning in continental French (Martin 2004: 40).

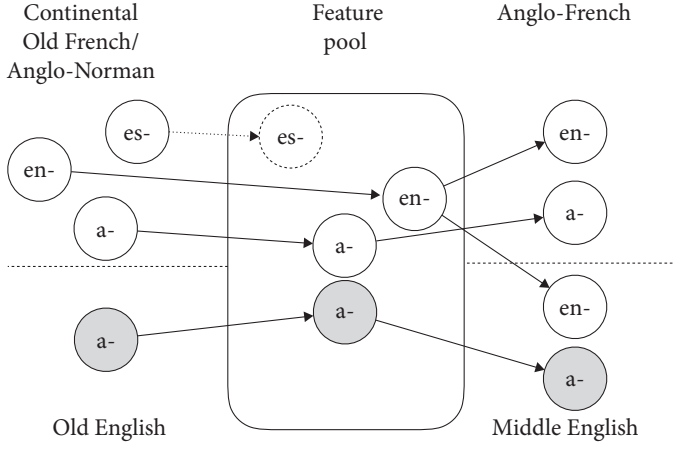

Figure 3. Illustration of the possible nativization process of verbal prefixes in Anglo-French and Middle English

5.2 Prepositional secondary predicate constructions

Prepositional Secondary Predicate Constructions (henceforth PREP-SPCs) occur in four variants in English, namely with the markers *as, for, into*, and *to*. In the history of the English language, the constellation of PREP-SPCs has changed drastically, with the *to*-SPC being the dominant variant in Old English (Mitchell 1985: 451; Visser 2002: 586–595), whereas the *as*-SPC is dominant in Present-Day English. This raises the question as to how these changes occurred in the ME and Early Modern English periods, and what role the contact situation with AN may have played. AN and AF featured a set of PREP-SPCs that exhibits parallels to

English PREP-SPCs, with the markers *comme, p(o)ur, en*, and *a*, as attestations from the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (henceforth AND, Trotter 2006) show in (5) to (8).

(5) *le queu bref fust* ***chalengé*** ***come*** *faus*
the which writ was challenged as false
"The said writ was challenged to be false." (AND, "chalenger", Becket 1864)

(6) *Unkes* ***pur*** *chivaler failli …* *Ne fui* ***pruvé***
never for knight disloyal … NEG was proven
"Never was I proven/shown to be a disloyal knight."
(AND, "prover[1]", S Edm Pass ANTS 503)

(7) *alienacioun … ne* ***chaunge*** *my ceo qe fuit fraunc almoigne* ***en*** *lay fee*
alienation … NEG change NEG DET REL was free tenure into secular fief
"Alienation [=transfer of property] does not change what used to be free [=clerical] tenure into a secular fief." (AND, "changer", YBB Ed II xvi 159)

(8) *Mielz vaut feiblement rimoier Q' estre* ***prové*** ***a*** *mençongier*
better be.worth weakly rhyme than be proven to liar
"It is better to rhyme badly than to be proven a liar."
(AND, "prover[1]", Dial Greg SATF 3530)

In the course of the contact situation, French verbs such as those featured in (5) to (8) were copied into English, and subsequently occur within structures that match the French PREP-SPCs in terms of (replicated) PREP-SPC markers, as shown in (9) to (12). The occurrence of the same verb with multiple PREP-SPCs, for instance *prover* in (6) and (8) and *prove* in (10) and (12), suggests that the match between the verb and its complementation pattern cannot be entirely ascribed to entrenchment, or rather pre-emption (see Ambridge et al. 2014: 220), i.e., a lexically determined combination of verb and associated marker, but that the choice of PREP-SPC marker is also affected by other factors such as the semantic compatibility between the verb and the various PREP-SPCs, sociolinguistic tendencies, and processing constraints (cp. De Smet 2013: 19–43).[9]

9. It should be noted that this is not limited to French(-based) verbs, but concerns native verbs as well. For example, the verb *hold* occurs with various PREP-SPCs, at times within the same text in consecutive sentences, as in *… thys damesell loved anothir knyght that* ***hylde*** *her* ***as*** *paramoure. And thys good knyght, her brothir, mette with the knyght that* ***helde*** *hir* ***to*** *paramoure* (PPCME2, CMMALORY,50.1664–CMMALORY,50.1665).

(9) *and* ***chalenged*** *him* ***as*** *a membir of þe Cherch*
and challenged him as a member of the Church
"[All the bishops rose up] and challenged him as a member of the Church."
(PPCME2, CMCAPCHR,149.3489)

(10) *þe witnesse ne* ***pruuie*** *ham* ***for*** *ualse*
the witness NEG prove them for false
"The witness does not prove them to be false."
(PPCME2, CMANCRIW-1,II.56.544)

(11) *Oure Lord God schulde* ***chaunge*** *euerlestyng peyne* ***into*** *the peyne of purgatorye*
our lord God should change everlasting pain into the pain of purgatory
"Our Lord God should change everlasting pain into the pain of purgatory."
(PPCME2, CMREYNES,268.514)

(12) *ha weren ifonded & þurch þe fondinge* ***ipruuet to*** *treowe champiuns*
they were tried and through the trial proven to true champions
"They were tried and through the trial proven to be true champions."
(PPCME2, CMANCRIW-1,II.174.2425)

Given the parallels between PREP-SPCs in ME and AN/AF, the question arises whether cases such as those featured in (9) to (12) are instances of French-based verbs used in English PREP-SPCs, or whether entire PREP-SPCs were copied from French, in which case the copied PREP-SPCs are 'homonymous' with native English PREP-SPCs in the sense that the replicated PREP-SPC markers coincide with those of the native counterparts, but their meanings may differ. In order to investigate either possibility, a distributional semantic model was used to investigate whether there were semantic differences between PREP-SPCs involving native versus French-based verbs, and if so, how long these distinctions were maintained.

To build a distributional semantic model of PREP-SPCs in ME, the method outlined by Perek & Hilpert (2017: 496–502) was used, performing a collocate search within a two-word window of the lexical verbs occurring in 1,071 identified PREP-SPCs. This resulted in a co-occurrence matrix of 334 verb lemmas and 1,082 collocate lemmas.

The co-occurrence frequencies of verbs and their collocates were then turned into Positive Pointwise Mutual Information scores using the *DISSECT* toolkit (Dinu et al. 2013), which turn the frequencies into association measures. A further transformation aimed at reducing the number of dimensions in the matrix by using Singular Value Decomposition, also via the *DISSECT* toolkit. This reduced the matrix from 1,082 columns to 30 columns by removing redundant information

and concentrating on the most informative aspects. The semantic characteristics of a construction in a given period are then estimated via a so-called period vector, which represents a semantic average of the construction at hand within a given period (Perek & Hilpert 2017: 500–502).

The semantic information contained in period vectors is then used to investigate semantic differences between PREP-SPCs within a given period. This is achieved by comparing the period vectors of the various PREP-SPCs within a given period via a hierarchical agglomerative clustering algorithm. Changes in the clusters from one period to another would suggest changes in the semantic distinctions among the PREP-SPCs.

In order to probe the semantic differences between various PREP-SPCs, period vectors were generated for every combination of the following variables within every period, provided that each combination produced more than a single token:

- PREP-SPC marker: *as, for, into, to*;
- controller, i.e., the constituent whose state is described by the secondary predicate relation (Verkerk 2009: 116): "subject-oriented", as in *he left the casino as a rich man*, or "object-oriented", as in *they elected him as president*;
- predication, i.e., to which copula the meaning of the secondary predicative relation corresponds, or worded differently, whether the state of the controller is simultaneous with the main event or caused by it (Verkerk 2009: 116): should the secondary predicate relation correspond to the copula *be*, the predication is "depictive", as in *he views the report as false* – if on the other hand it corresponds to the copula *become*, the predication is "resultative", as in *he burned the wood to ashes*;
- verb etymology: native or French-based.

These period vectors were then clustered via hierarchical agglomerative clustering,[10] with proximity within the resulting dendrograms being indicative of semantic proximity. The basic assumption of this approach is that the clustering of PREP-SPCs with French-based verbs as separate from those with native verbs otherwise sharing the same characteristics (marker, controller, predication) supports the idea of replicated PREP-SPCs. The dendrograms displaying hierarchical clusters for M3 and M4, the sub-periods in which all markers are attested with French-based verbs, are shown in Figure 4.

10. Using the *varclus* function from the *Hmisc* package (Harrell Jr & Dupont 2018) in *R* (R Core Team 2018).

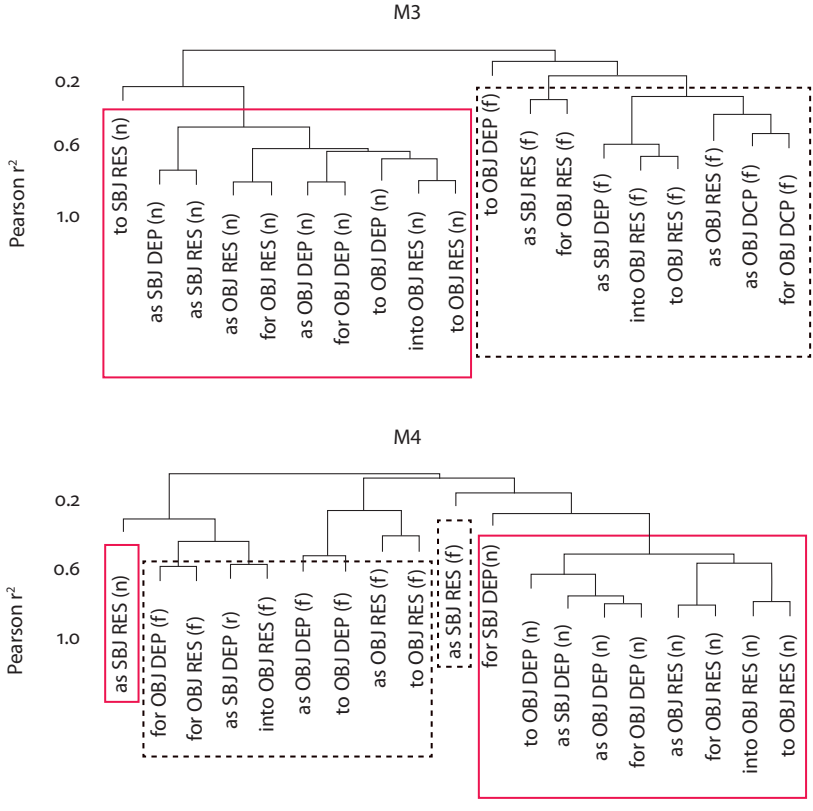

Figure 4. Hierarchical clustering of prepositional secondary predicate constructions in M3 and M4; constructions involving native verbs are highlighted with a solid red line, those involving French-based verbs with a dashed black line; SBJ = subject-oriented, OBJ = object-oriented, DEP = depictive, RES = resultative, (n) = native verbs, (f) = French-based verbs

The dendrograms in Figure 4 suggest a clear semantic divide between PREP-SPCS involving French-based verbs and native verbs in M3. This speaks in favour of an entire set of PREP-SPCs copied from French existing alongside a native set. However, this distinction appears to be less clear-cut in M4. It is interesting to note that the 'rogue' structures in each etymological cluster coincide in terms of their marker (*as*), controller (subject-oriented), and predication (resultative). This development may point towards a loosening of the split between native and copied PREP-SPCs, which could correspond to incipient nativization of the French-based structures. However, this observation does not lend itself to a more detailed interpretation given the presence of only a single deviating structure. This case study deserves to be followed up with data from the Early Modern English period to

determine how the nativization of French-based PREP-SPCs proceeds, whether they merge with their native counterparts, or whether they compete with another and a French-based variant is selected from the feature pool at the expense of its native rival or vice versa. The main takeaway from the case study as it stands is that these changes are initiated as late as M4, which suggests that the nativization of linguistic structures copied from AN/AF may stretch into the Early Modern English period.

5.3 *Of*-Objects

Causative and partitive objects were marked with genitive in Old English, then increasingly by *of*-phrases in ME (Visser 2002: 355–366). The possibility of French verbs taking *de* influencing this development has been raised (Mustanoja 1960: 397–399; Visser 2002: 360–361), but not investigated further.

Based on the frequencies shown in Figure 5, the influx of French verbs taking *de* seems an unlikely origin for *of*-objects in English, given that the construction already occurs at the onset of the ME period. However, *of*-objects that are neither causative nor partitive, i.e., those categorised as "other", mostly occur with French-based verbs from M3 onwards.

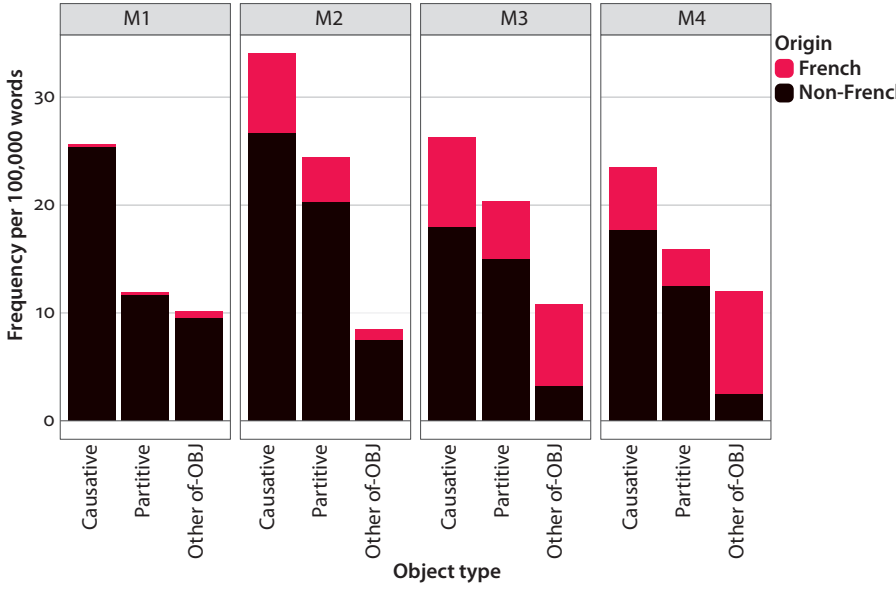

Figure 5. Types of *of*-objects per Middle English sub-period

Within this group of "other" *of*-objects, groups of synonymous constructions involving French-based verbs and native verbs can be observed, namely those with the meaning of 'ask', as shown in Examples (13) and (14), and those with the meaning of 'stop', as shown in Examples (15) and (16).

(13) *and* ***preyde*** *hym* ***of*** *paciense*
and prayed him of patience
"And asked him for patience" (PPCME2, CMWYCSER,309.1472)

(14) *and* ***besought*** ***of*** *mercy and grace*
and besought of mercy and grace
"And asked for mercy and grace" (PPCME2, CMEDMUND,169.197)

(15) *And, yyf þu wylt Lord, þat I* ***sese*** ***of*** *wepyng, I prey þe take me*
and if you want lord that I cease of weeping I pray you take me
owt of þis world
out of this world
"And Lord, if you want me to stop weeping, I ask you to take me out of this world" (PPCME2, CMKEMPE,142.3284)

(16) *Prudence, his wyf, as ferforth as she dorste, bisoghte hym* ***of*** *his wepyng*
Prudence his wife as well as she could besought him of his weeping
for to ***stynte***
for to stop
"Prudence, his wife, asked him to stop his weeping as well as she could"
(PPCME2, CMCTMELI,217.C1b.10)

Many of these *of*-constructions competed with other markers, i.e., *for* in the case of 'ask' verbs, and *from* in the case of 'stop' verbs. Figure 6 shows the attestation range of these constructions based on citations from the OED, the *Middle English Dictionary* (Schaffner et al. 2018), and the PPCME2.[11] Two main observations can be made: (1) patterns involving *of* were supplanted by their competing patterns (and those without competition appear to have been short-lived); (2) the competition follows different paths for native verbs and French-based verbs: whereas native verbs display a period in which the competing forms coexist, French-based verbs appear to initially occur exclusively with the *of*-pattern, replicated from French *de*, until they 'switch' in favour of the rival marker which supplanted *of* with native verbs.

In terms of nativization of these French-based verbs and their argument structure into English, this can be interpreted as the *of*-patterns entering a feature pool in which they compete with native patterns. In this case, the native patterns were

11. The only citation for *stint from* is given in the OED and dated "13..", so that the exact date range for this pattern is unclear.

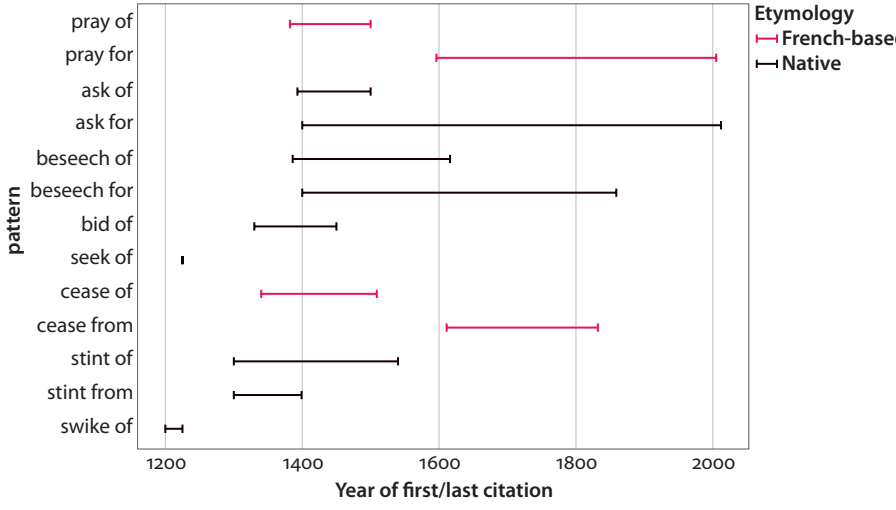

Figure 6. Citation dates for *of*-objects and competing patterns with synonymous French-based verbs and native verbs

selected while the *of*-patterns were discarded. For this reason, the French-based verbs no longer occurred with their original argument structure but instead adopted the one used by their synonymous native verbs.

6. Conclusion

The present chapter applied the Dynamic Model to the contact situation between AN and ME, which lies outside the original scope of the model with respect to two properties: (1) the language contact situation does not result from British/American colonialism, but follows the Norman Invasion, with the consequence that the STL language is not English but AN; (2) the focus lies not only on the development of AF as a nativizing variety of French, but also includes developments of ME as the IDG language, which is not covered in the model. The suitability of the Dynamic Model for the contact situation at hand was probed on the basis of three case studies, which investigated the integration of the verbal prefixes {a-, en-, es-}, PREP-SPCs, and *of*-objects respectively.

The application of the Dynamic Model to the medieval context situation between AN and ME can account for the emergence of a local and independent variety of French (AF), and by extending the scope of the original model to include the IDG language, also has the potential to explain structural changes in ME. Further, the model accounts for the nativization and productivity of certain features, e.g.,

{en-}, as well as the rejection of others, e.g., {a-, es-}, or their ephemeral occurrence, e.g., certain *of*-object constructions replicated from French *de*.

In terms of timing, the nativization of features copied from French into English appears to begin relatively late, as evidenced by the loosening of semantic contrasts between native and French-based PREP-SPCs in M4, and French-based verbs switching to native patterns at the expense of their original *of*-objects in the 16th century. While it may at first seem surprising that the nativization of copied features into the IDG language extends beyond the time frame of the contact situation, it seems sensible that the nativization of copied features into the IDG language occurs after the nativization of the STL language has occurred: only once the STL language is used by a portion of the IDG population on a regular basis for professional and official purposes do features from the STL language, both lexical and structural, enter the common feature pool on a larger scale, after which a selection process can be initiated.

The extension of the nativization into the Early Modern English period requires further investigation using relevant corpus data, and evidently, the present case studies need to be complemented by studies on further features to obtain a more accurate basis for modelling developments in the IDG language. For example, the pattern *please to*, possibly replicated from AN *plesir a*, spread to native verbs of psychological state, leading to *queem to* and *like to*, but the verb *please* also occurred in the native pattern with a bare noun phrase argument (Trips & Stein 2019: 246–256). None of the patterns involving a prepositional object remained in use, which may be explained by a non-selection from the feature pool. In addition to further case studies, other loci of language contact besides the copying of French verbs need to be investigated, such as the transfer of features into the feature pool via mixed-language texts (see Wright 2011) and translated texts (see Haeberli 2018).

The Dynamic Model appears to be applicable to the AN/ME contact situation. However, a desirable goal remains to probe the applicability of the model further to determine which of its aspects are peculiar to the context of British/American colonialism, and which are valid for language contact situations in general and can therefore be treated as a core of the model with wider relevance. A confirmation of the applicability of this model core to other settings than those it was originally formulated for would open up a vast array of possibilities: (1) the model could be applied to STL languages other than English, such as the potential test cases mentioned by Schneider (2003: 241, 2007: 68–70); (2) the coverage of developments in the IDG languages would extend the descriptive power of the model in the contact settings it was originally designed for, such as developments of Malay in contact with English in Malaysia and Singapore.

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CHAPTER 3

An account of the use of fronting and clefting in Cornish English

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Unlike Standard English, Celtic English varieties generally use word order shifts or special syntactic devices to give emphasis to a specific clausal constituent. This study analyses the frequency of use of focusing devices in a number of Cornish English stories and compares the results with those obtained in other studies for other Celtic English varieties. Likewise, this chapter attempts to provide an explanation for why Cornish English shows a preference for fronting over clefting by referring to the structure of focal constructions in Cornish. Finally, I offer an account of the discourse-pragmatic functions of fronting and clefting in Cornish English and compares them with those found in Standard English to provide evidence in support of its Celtic substratum.

Keywords: Cornish English, fronting, clefting, Celtic substratum influence

1. Introduction

In recent decades, the hypothesis that Celtic languages influenced some varieties of English has been gaining ground. The present study approaches this topic from the perspective of the grammatical mechanisms employed by Cornish English to give prominence to a syntactic constituent within the sentence. This study is, firstly, diachronic, since it sets out to describe some of the most distinctive features of Cornish English grammar and explain them on the basis of their historical and contact-linguistic background. Secondly, it is also comparative in the sense that it aims to capture patterns of differentiation between Cornish English and other Celtic English varieties, on the one hand, and between different Cornish English dialects, on the other.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: Section 1 gives a brief overview of the introduction and spread of English in Cornwall. Section 2 describes the main grammatical features of Cornish English that make it different from

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Standard English. Section 3 gives an account of the main focusing devices used to assign prominence or salience to a specific element in a clause in Cornish English. Section 4 describes the corpus and methodology used, which consists of a number of traditional short stories written in the Cornish dialect by the most representative authors over a period of almost a century and a half. Section 5 presents and discusses the results obtained from the analysis of the frequency with which fronting and clefting are used in the Cornish English stories. Section 6 attempts to shed some light on the source of the frequent use of fronting and *it*-clefting in Cornish English, by comparing their structure with that of the focusing devices displayed in the Celtic languages, examining their discourse-pragmatic properties in Standard English and Cornish English, and exploring the connection between the use of focusing devices and the place of birth or length of residence of the writers and the time when their stories were written. Finally, the concluding section contains the study's main findings and offers a brief summary of their relevance for the Celtic substratum hypothesis. The main aim of this chapter is therefore to explore a possible correlation between the use of fronting and clefting, and the influence from the Cornish language, taking into account the fact that this language was spoken in the region for a long time and could have left its mark in terms of substrate effects.

2. The introduction and spread of English in Cornwall

Before the slow but gradual introduction of the English language in the north eastern part of Cornwall around the 10th century, Cornish – a Brythonic Celtic language – was the predominant language in Cornwall for most of its history. From the time of the Norman Conquest onwards, English and Norman French gradually displaced Cornish from its position of hegemony in the region, although Cornish continued to be spoken thanks in part to the continued communication between Cornwall and Brittany, where Breton – a closely related Celtic language – was spoken (George 1993). This led to a triglossic situation: while Norman French was the mother tongue of the aristocracy, Cornish served as the lingua franca among the middle and lower classes, and English was initially only the mother tongue of the English people living in north eastern Cornwall, but, later, it started to expand progressively throughout the rest of Cornwall (Tanner 2006).

Later, in the 15th century, thanks to the Anglicanism brought by the Reformation, there was an increased use of English in Cornwall and, gradually, the Cornish people adopted English as their common language of communication (George 1993). The situation worsened in the 17th century thanks to the important support shown by Cornwall for the Royalist cause in the English Civil War (Price 2000), which brought about a process of English acculturation in the region (Hechter

1999). With the passage of time, a variety of English commonly referred to as Cornish English developed in Cornwall. Towards the end of the 19th century, a difference was observed between the form of Cornish English spoken in west Cornwall and that found in areas further east. According to Wakelin (1975), while the eastern part of Cornwall borrowed the form of English spoken in South West England through continued communication and commerce, in the western area of Cornwall the clergy and rich landowners introduced a more 'educated' form of English.

By the mid-17th century Cornish had retreated to the south west (Price 2000), finally becoming extinct by the end of the 18th century (Jago 1882; Jenner 1904; George 1993; Spriggs 2003; Kent 2005).[1] Since then, the Cornish language revival movement, begun by Jenner in late 19th century, has attempted to kindle interest in the language and foster its revitalization, as revivalists thought that the ancient Cornish language reflected Celtic Cornwall linguistically and was, therefore, the symbol of Cornish identity (Payton 1997; Ferdinand 2013). This interest in the Celtic language coincided with a marginalization of the Cornish English variety, which was perceived to be a corrupted form of English. It is only during the last decades that Cornish English has regained prominence and come to be considered by some scholars (Gendall 1991; Phillips 1993) as a repository of words and expressions for the revitalization of the Cornish language, as it is assumed to show traces of its influence.

3. Cornish English

Owing to the difficulty involved in trying to define the concept *Cornish English* as a variety, especially due to the myriad of dialectal forms spoken throughout the region and the problem of knowing the source of its distinctiveness, it would seem necessary to describe its main grammatical features (Wakelin 1975; Jago 1882; Phillips 1993; Merton 2003; Kent 2005). Firstly, Cornish English makes anomalous use of personal pronouns, so it is possible to observe the presence of subject personal pronouns in situations where the pronoun functions syntactically as an object and the other way around:

1. There is considerable controversy concerning the exact date when Cornish became extinct. While Dolly Pentreath (1692–1777) has been traditionally considered the last person to speak Cornish, according to Alan M. Kent (p.c.) many scholars are beginning to think that there could also have been Cornish speakers in the 19th (Ann Wallis, John Davey, etc.) and even in the 20th century (Elizabeth Vingoe and John Mann) in both the south western and south eastern parts of Cornwall.

(1) *And then **us** had soome heavy caake and scaal cream and fogans.*
(Sandys 1846 39)

(2) *Billum was behind **I*** (J. T. Tregellas 1865: 10)

Secondly, Cornish English has a fair number of archaisms: for example, a distinction is still made between the second person singular forms *thou* / *thee* and the plural counterparts *you* / *ye*. Also, it normally refers to an inanimate third person singular participant by means of the third person masculine pronoun *un* or *en* (a possible descendant of OE *hine*):

(3) *I love **thee**, Mal, and thee shust be ma wife.* (Lean 1951: 7)

(4) *Stand by me and I´ll be with **ye** soon.* (Bottrell 1873: 57)

(5) *I do want tha teckut, so hand **un** over tha counter to-waance no!*
(Bennett 1903: 4)

We can also observe an irregular use of prepositions because they are used very differently from the way they are used in Standard English:

(6) *All **to** once we heered a hoss an´carriage cummin´ up th´lane.*
(Bartlett 1970: 13)

Furthermore, examples of sentences with double negation are fairly common in Cornish English, although double negation is so widespread in English dialects generally that it cannot be taken as a distinguishing feature of Cornish:

(7) *I **caan´t** do **nawthin** for ee.* (Bennett 1903: 69)

Additionally, the adverb *up* may be far more commonly used in Cornish English than in Standard English and, curiously, it loses its original meaning and simply accompanies or reinforces the meaning conveyed by the main verb:

(8) *To tell **up** all they things, we thoft wud be carr'd by.* (Sandys 1846 14)

It is also very frequent to see examples of a lack of concord between subject and verb:

(9) *Then, you´**m** a ruined man.* (Collier 1903: 87)

(10) *We **be** like one big vam´ly.* (Bartlett 1970: 40)

How the Cornish dialect regularizes irregular verbal forms such as *heered, comed, seed, gived, runned, feeled, knowed*, etc. is also interesting:

(11) *An' she **heerd** them theere hawful sounds an' **seed** them there hawful sights.*
(Pearse 1884: 86)

(12) *She **runned** fore* (Clemo 1939: 9)

This dialect also makes a wide use of anomalous negative contracted forms such as *dunno, ded(d)en, wad(d)en*, or *cuden*:

(13) *She **wadden** no ordineery nurse.* (Bartlett 1970: 11)

(14) *Doctor Price **cuden** do nawthen fer the saailor.* (James 1979: 11)

The use of the third person plural pronoun *they*, accompanied by the adverb *theere*, functioning as a demonstrative, is particularly interesting:

(15) *And **they theere** places es all I´ve ben to.* (J. T. Tregellas 1865: 125)

Finally, the fact that Cornish English makes a wider use of a non-emphatic auxiliary verb *do* in declarative affirmative sentences than in Standard English is striking:

(16) *She **do** seem bad this time, sure 'nough.* (Lee 1911: 122)

In summary, Cornish English contains a number of distinctive grammatical properties that reveal important differences between this dialect and Standard English, but many also occur in other varieties of English and, consequently, it is hard to trace their origin.[2] For example, the unemphatic auxiliary 'do' forms remind us of the Celtic periphrastic construction involving 'do' + lexical verb, but the question remains as to whether this feature may be attributed to Cornish influence (Tristram 1997; McWhorter 2009; Hickey 2012; among others).

4. Focusing devices

Another grammatical property that could reflect Celtic influence is the use of focusing devices, that is to say mechanisms that serve to assign thematic prominence or salience to some element(s) of an utterance or a clause (Filppula 1999: 242). Such prominence can be obtained either by structural means (i.e., through special syntactic constructions such as fronting or clefting) or prosodic means (i.e., by varying the position of the sentence stress), or even, as is often the case in Standard English for instance, through a combination of both. Thus, while Standard English has an unmarked surface SVO word order (Denison 1993: 30), it also displays other word orders to highlight some constituent of the sentence:

(17) *An interesting book* she read last week.

2. See Brancaleoni (2018) for a detailed account of the possible origins of these grammatical features.

(18) It is *this young man* that broke the window.

(19) The *lion* is the king of the jungle.

Example (17) shows an instance of fronting: the object of the verb – *an interesting book* – appears in clause-initial position rather than in post-verbal position, as would be expected. Example (18) illustrates an instance of clefting: the syntax of the sentence adapts itself to the pragmatics of the utterance by fronting the element with focal properties – *this young man* –, but in post-verbal position, thanks to the presence of the cleft pronoun and the copula, helping thereby to preserve the canonical SVO word order. Finally, in Example (19), the sentence exhibits the unmarked word order, but the element functioning as the subject – *the lion* – is highlighted, as it receives a special intonation in the form of a special focal pitch accent.

Unlike Standard English, Celtic languages are believed to use only structural means – but not prosodic ones – as a focusing device (Filppula 1999: 243). The following examples show that the Cornish language uses both word order arrangements, that is to say, fronting (20) and the so-called copula construction (21) for the purpose of assigning pragmatic prominence:

(20) ***Ihesu***, *arlud nef han bys, 3ys y raf ov peyadow*
Jesus Lord heaven and.the world to.the AFF do.1SG.PRES my prayer
"Jesus, Lord of Heaven and the world, I make my prayer to you."
(Stokes 1872: 10)

(21) *Yth yw* ***my*** *a dheber bara*
AFF be.PRES.3SG I PART eat.PRES.3SG bread
"It is I who eat bread." (Brown 1993: 196)

As we can see, the only difference between the fronting constructions used in English and Cornish lies in the presence of a particle in the Celtic construction. On the other hand, the copula construction could be considered an equivalent of the English *it*-cleft construction if it were not for the fact that it begins with a particle expressing Illocutionary Force – in this example, declarative affirmative – rather than with a dummy pronoun equivalent to *it*.

In view of the important presence of fronting and clefting in Cornish, the next section analyses the frequency with which these two focusing devices are used in Cornish English.

5. Corpus and methodology

This section describes the corpus used for the research, which encompasses 134,209 words included in 47 Cornish stories written by the most representative Cornish English[3] authors covering the period from 1846 to 1979. Table 1 in the Appendix lists the 16 authors whose works make up the corpus for my analysis of focusing devices in this variety of English. The list is arranged chronologically according to the year in which their works were published, and information about their birthplace and the region where they spent most of their lives is also provided. The authors of the stories included in the analysis lived throughout the region of Cornwall and, consequently, belong to the three main dialect areas, namely West Cornwall, Mid Cornwall and East Cornwall.

The method for attesting instances of fronting and clefting consisted in a close reading of the texts, which were chosen as published prose works belonging to the same text type,[4] namely traditional Cornish short stories. In view of the predominantly oral character of Cornish English, the analysis focused on a number of stories with examples of direct speech – natural and spontaneous – which could consequently reflect real and spontaneous language usage.

As this chapter concerns possible Celtic influence, the analysis focuses on cases of strong fronting (i.e., the clause-initial placement of objects, complements or even whole VPs) (22), which are rare and considered as marked word order in present-day Standard English, and *it*-clefts (23), since, although examples of all types of cleft constructions can be found in the Cornish stories, the Cornish system of clefting has no equivalent to the English *wh*-cleft or *all*-cleft constructions, hence only instances of the *it*-clefts merit consideration:

(22) *Hardly a lemb to move I haven´t.* (J. T. Tregellas 1865: 99)

(23) *´Twas* ***thee*** *axed me!* (Bartlett 1970: 44)

3. All the authors under examination exhibit – some more than others and to a greater or lesser extent – the distinctive grammatical properties mentioned in § 2, which, along with other lexical, phonological, and spelling characteristics, form the criterion by which the stories constituting my corpus can be considered to be written in Cornish English.

4. *Tales and sayings of Hicks of Bodmin*, written by Hicks in the 1860s and collected together by Collier in 1903, is not separated into sections or chapters, so I randomly chose pages 30–75 for analysis. Forfar's *Kynance Cove* (1865) and Quiller-Couch's *Dead Man's Road* (1887) are two novels, so I chose to analyse pages 39–70 in the first part and pages 1–35 in the second. Lee's *Little Town* (1911) is a very long story too, so I chose pages 1–38 and pages 101–135 for analysis.

6. Analysis

The results show that strong fronting plays a relevant role in Cornish English and is, strikingly, free from the type of syntactic constraint that appears to characterize Standard English, where fronting is practically reduced to scene-setting adjuncts (Biber et al. 1999 772; Birner & Ward 1998: 31). Thus, in Cornish English any element can be fronted:

(24) ***Your dutyous prayers*** *God hass heard.* (W. H. Tregellas 1884: 120)

(25) ***Good-lookin´ maid*** *she allus wuz.* (Bartlett 1970: 31)

(26) ***Got a new car*** *´ave ´ee, Charlie?* (James 1979: 12)

Apart from the frequent positioning of subjects in preverbal position in Cornish English, the most common constituents that undergo fronting are adjuncts, but there are also a fair number of examples involving objects (24), complements (25), or whole VPs (26) in clause-initial position.

While clefting is not as frequent as fronting in Cornish English, it does display the same syntactic flexibility as fronting, as different constituents (e.g., subjects (27), objects (28), complements (29), or adjuncts (30)) can become the fronted element in an *it*-cleft construction:

(27) *'Twas* ***the coast-guard*** *that found me.* (Pearse 1884: 101)

(28) *´Twas* ***nawtheng*** *thai cud do about et.* (James 1979: 34)

(29) *'Twas* ***books*** *´e was so mazed ´bout.* (Bartlett 1970: 60)

(30) *It is not* ***until dark*** *that the place becomes crowded.* (Lee 1911: 17)

Subjects and adjuncts are the most commonly clefted constituents in Cornish English, perhaps due to the fact that these constituents do not generally carry intonational prominence in initial position in ordinary declaratives – unless they receive a special sentence stress –, so they can only receive thematic and additional discourse salience through the clefting strategy.

Our analysis of focusing devices in Cornish English shows a total of 145 examples of strong fronting and 49 examples of *it*-clefts in a corpus of 134,209 words, a proportion of 1.08 and 0.36 instances of strong fronting and *it*-clefts per 1,000 words respectively. These values are not very high when compared with other Celtic English varieties such as Welsh English (Williams 1998) and Irish English (Filppula 1999). However, fronting in Cornish English shows a considerably higher frequency when compared with Welsh English (Roller 2016), British English (Filppula 1986) or Hebridean English (Filppula 1999):

Table 2. Frequency of use of fronting

Variety	Frequency of fronting/1,000
Welsh English	16.74 (Williams 1998)
Irish English	1.25 (Filppula 1999)
Cornish English	1.08
Welsh English	0.45 (Roller 2016)
Standard British English	0.40 (Filppula 1986)
Hebridean English	0.10 (Filppula 1999)

The number of *it*-clefts does not appear to be important, given the existence of higher figures in similar studies for other Celtic Englishes:

Table 3. Frequency of use of clefting

Variety	Frequency of clefting/1,000
Irish English	2.13 (Filppula 1999)
Standard British English	0.70 (Filppula 1986)
Welsh English	0.58 (Roller 2016)
Standard British English	0.57 (Collins 1991)
Standard British English	0.43 (Collins 1991)
Cornish English	0.36
Standard British English	0.30 (Patten 2012)
Standard British English	0.24 (Hasselgård 2014)

While these frequencies may not be strictly comparable, as these studies may not have examined the same type of text or included the same range of constructions in their analysis,[5] the figures obtained in Cornish English, especially in terms of fronting, appear to be enough to assume a greater similarity to other Celtic Englishes than to Standard English.

7. A possible source for Cornish English fronting and the Celtic hypothesis

A possible influence of Celtic languages on the development of certain morphosyntactic properties in early English, known as the Celtic hypothesis, has been considered during the last decades (Filppula et al. 2008; Ahlqvist 2010; Hickey 2012; among others). More specifically, authors such as Filppula (1986 & 1999) and Ahlqvist (2002) attribute the more substantial presence of fronting and clefting in Celtic Englishes than in other varieties of English to the influence of the Celtic languages.

5. For example, Roller (2016) analyses *it*-clefts and pseudo-clefts together and uses the Radio Welsh Corpus.

Like these studies, this chapter also seems to suggest a possible influence of the Cornish language on Cornish English, considering the very high proportion of fronting (Table 2) in comparison with Standard English.[6] This influence, however, does not appear to be supported by the use that the Cornish English dialect makes of clefting (Table 3). This difference could indeed relate to the use of focusing devices in Celtic languages. Cornish and the other Celtic languages use fronting or a cleft-like construction to front a topicalized or focalized nominal constituent (31a′, b′, c′, and d′):

(31) a. *Irish*
Tháinig an bhean
come.PAST.3SG the woman
"The woman came."

a′. *Is é an bhean a thainig*
be.PRES.3SG it the woman PART come.PAST.3SG
"It is the woman who came."

b. *Scottish Gaelic*
Thàinig a' bhean
come.PAST.3SG the.woman
"The woman came."

b′. *´S e a´ bhean a thàinig*
be.PRES.3SG it the.woman PART come.PAST.3SG
"The woman came." / "It is the woman who came."

c. *Welsh*
Daeth y fenyw
come.PAST.3SG the woman
"The woman came."

c′. *Y fenyw a ddaedh*
the woman PART come.PAST.3SG
"It is the woman who came."

d. *Cornish*
Y teuth an venyn
AFF come.PAST.3SG the woman
"The woman came."[7]

6. The opposite direction of transfer could also be considered, given that fronting was common in Old English and not infrequent in Middle English until the loss of the V2 property (Denison 1993).

7. The main verb in Middle Cornish generally occurs after a particle *y* preceding all other obligatory nominal constituents when there is a highlighted clause-initial element (e.g., *De y teuth an venyn Cornish* "Yesterday the woman came.").

d′. *An venyn a dheuth*
the woman PART come.PAST.3SG
'It is the woman who came.'

As these examples show, while in Irish and Scottish Gaelic the copula heads a cleft-like construction, in Welsh and Cornish there is no copula, and the sentence always starts directly with the fronted item. The copula that originally preceded the highlighted element disappeared very early in Welsh (Watkins 1993) and, similarly, it gradually dropped out of use in Cornish, hence the cleft-like construction in these two languages resembles fronting,[8] as only the presence of the relative particle in these constructions reveals their cleft-like structure.

This difference in the formation of cleft-like constructions in Celtic languages could therefore be linked to the predilection of the corresponding Celtic Englishes for the use of either fronting or clefting. Thus, while Welsh English has the highest frequency of fronting (Williams 1998), Irish English shows the highest incidence of clefting (Filppula 1999), which might be related to the absence or presence of copula in Welsh and Irish cleft-like constructions respectively. Likewise, both Shuken (1984) and Filppula et al. (2008) claim that clefting abounds in Highland and Island English and consider this grammatical feature to be a reflection of Gaelic influence.[9] Finally, Cornish English has a strong preference for fronting, which parallels the situation found in Cornish. The similarity between the Celtic languages and the corresponding varieties of Celtic English is interesting, since, depending on whether the Celtic language in question employed a copula or not, the corresponding variety of Celtic English makes a wider use of either clefting or fronting.

Further evidence for the influence of Cornish on Cornish English comes from a comparison between Standard English, on the one hand, and Cornish English and Cornish, on the other, in terms of the discourse-pragmatic properties of strong fronting and *it*-clefts. Fronting core elements such as objects or complements is relatively rare in Standard English and typically involves demonstrative pronouns or complement clauses (Biber et al. 1999: 900–9), which serve a discourse-connective function, or to emphasize or contrast a clausal element (Prince 1981; Birner & Ward 1998; Gregory & Michaelis 2001). Unlike Standard English, object fronting in Cornish English can also involve noun phrases and expresses both a contrastive focus (32) and a presentational focus (33):

8. As evidenced by (21), it seems that, actually, the copula never disappeared in Cornish.

9. Broderick (1997) states that Manx English commonly uses clefting for expressing emphasis and attributes this preference to the influence of Manx Gaelic.

(32) *Me an´ Joe´unted ´igh an´ low th´ nex´ day for Uncle ´Lias´s will, or ´is money* […], but ***not a skerrick*** *did us find.* (Bartlett 1970: 57)

(33) *"I 'erd my missus say Mrs James gawt new curtains," remarked Fether. Uncle Enny shook 'is 'ead.* ***The old skeat*** *she 'ad wadden much good.* (Lean 1951: 4)

In Example (32), the fronted object – *not a skerrick* – expresses a contrast with what is expected to be found – *Uncle ´Lias´s will or ´is money* – and, in Example (33), the fronted element – *the old skeat* – is not inferable from the context and has focal, not topical, properties, as it does not make reference to any participant in the discourse and carries a tonic stress.

Albeit rarely, Cornish English also shows examples of object fronting where the unstressed fronted element is very strongly implicit in the context, conveying the idea of reassertion, clarification or reformulation:

(34) *"I lost me haid, an´ vorgot to put th´ brakes on". "****Good job*** *you did, Liza".* (Bartlett 1970: 46)

(35) *"´Ee nivver tawld me nawthen´", sed Feerther clunken ´ard. "****Brebham close*** *you wuz", sed Feerther to a sweatin´ leadin´ Oncle Paiter!* (James 1979: 25)

(36) *Squire´s lady got a passell o´ we wimmin-fo´kes to go up to village hall every Friday aivmen for to have ´leckshers on nursin´ th´ sick. "´****Ome nursin****´ they caaled it".* (Bartlett 1970: 11)

In Standard English the fronting of complements generally occurs with an inversion between subject and verb and responds to a communicative need to establish a cohesive link with the preceding context, ending the sentence with the introduction of new information (Biber et al. 1999: 902–903). By contrast, in Cornish English the fronted complement does not involve inversion and tends to express either a contrast or new information:

(37) *Old as th´ ´ills they must be, but still* ***as true as ever*** *they was.* (Bartlett 1970: 11)

(38) *I could zee right away she was a diff´rent kiddle o´ vish to ´t´other one!* ***Tall wumman****, she was.* (Bartlett 1970: 71)

In (37) the comparative constituent *as true as ever* establishes a contrast with the previous *old as th´ ´ills* and in (38) the NP *tall wumman* provides new information.[10]

10. Fronting in Standard English can occasionally involve the placement of new information. This occurs when the focusing device has an intensifying effect, which is illustrated by the presence of some emphatic words and the use of exclamation marks (Biber et al. 1999: 904).

Finally, unlike Standard English, Cornish English also tends to front a verb phrase or a whole clause. These elements generally express a contrast with the preceding discourse or provide information that is pragmatically salient:

(39) *Only lived two days ´e did.* (Bartlett 1970: 52)

(40) How senever *she give me six pence* she did. (Lean 1951: 4)

The fact that, in Cornish English, the element representing the new information tends to occupy the first position in the clause appears to be reminiscent of Cornish information structure. Although Celtic languages have been traditionally considered to be, at least at some point in their evolution, typologically verb-subject-object (VSO) languages (Tallerman 1998; Borsley & Roberts 2005; Russell 2013), some of them, namely Cornish and Breton, rarely exhibit that pattern, especially in main clauses – embedded clauses are more conservative –, mainly due to changes in word order brought about by focalization and topicalization, which are particularly prevalent in these languages.[11]

Cornish, for example, even appears to have developed a general constraint against sentence-initial finite main verbs in main clauses, reserving the preverbal position for any clausal constituent expressing contrast or conveying new information (see fnt 8). Given that the information provided by a contrastive focus and a completive focus is important to the hearer, it would perhaps be more accurate to use the term 'newsworthy' (Mithun 1992) to characterize the preverbal element in Cornish. This rule can be observed in copular identificational sentences, in which the copula serves to link two constituents, each referring to the same entity:

(41) a. ***Pyth*** *yw* *Jori?* (Cornish)
what be.PRES.3SG George
"What is George?"

b. ***Dyskador*** *yw* *Jori*
teacher be.PRES.3SG George
"George is a teacher." [*lit*. "Teacher is George."] (Ken George, p.c.)

The Cornish speaker seems to have no choice regarding the use of a different word order, as, in a response to a content question like (41a), this language tends to place the element referring to new information – *dyskador* "teacher" –, which is generally considered newsworthy, in clause-initial position, and any other word order would not just be pragmatically awkward but syntactically incorrect.

11. Ken George (p.c.) states that very possibly by the time of later Middle Cornish the SVO pattern was dominant, especially in main clauses, probably influenced by English.

Nowadays, it would be very unlikely to find a word order pattern like that illustrated by the response to the question in (41) in Cornish English:

(42) a. *Wass George then?*
b. *George es a teacher*

However, in the past, Cornish English also appears to have had a tendency to place the element corresponding to new information in response to a content question initially. Thus, an answer such as *A teacher George es* would be reminiscent of the way that Cornish English was formerly spoken.

In summary, both Standard English and Cornish English make use of fronting, but the pragmatic triggers in each language are different. Thus, unlike Standard English, in Cornish and Cornish English, the element conveying newsworthy information tends to occupy the more prominent clause-initial position.[12] This might imply that, while fronting in Standard English is strictly used to topicalize or emphasize a specific constituent, or to express contrast, in Cornish and Cornish English, fronting – a frequently employed device – is an epiphenomenon brought about by a rule whereby what is presented as new, or being of special interest by the speaker, must be readily put in clause-initial position. This similarity between Cornish and Cornish English appears also to support the influence of the Celtic substratum.

Standard English and Cornish English also differ in terms of the discourse-pragmatic properties of *it*-clefts. Thus, while in Standard English *it*-clefts are typically contrastive (Biber et al. 1999: 959–962), this focusing device serves to express emphasis, exhaustive identification, or contrast in Cornish English:

(43) *´Twas* ***on such an occaishun as thes*** *that my oonly brawther, Mathey, maide the biggest misttaike o´ es life.* (James 1997: 18)

(44) *I reckon ´twas* ***Faather*** *who got things movin´ in th´ end.* (Bartlett 1970: 41)

(45) *But ´twas* ***that theer Maggie Will-Naw*** *´oo venshully tawld Oncle Paiter wat to do!* (James 1997: 39)

Owing to the fact that strong fronting can also serve to express contrast, in Cornish English the two focusing devices appear to be functionally equivalent, perhaps owing to the common origin of the two constructions.

An interesting finding from an individual analysis of the frequencies of fronting and clefting for each author is also noteworthy, showing that their use does not manifest itself in the same way in all Cornish English writers. The authors who

12. In English this word order would also be possible, but it would not represent the unmarked situation (Biber et al. 1999: 896–899).

make wider use of strong fronting, and even *it*-clefts, in their prose were born in West Cornwall, like Lean for example, or spent a large part of their lives there, such as Bartlett. It is therefore conceivable that the frequent use of focusing devices could be due to a Celtic heritage that is felt very strongly in an area that was historically the closest to Cornish-speaking Cornwall.[13] We should also highlight the fact that neither fronting nor clefting appears to be frequent in the earliest texts, as only the stories written by more recent authors, such as Lean (1951), Bartlett (1970) and James (1979), show a particularly high frequency in the use of both focusing devices. This appears to coincide with the heyday of the Cornish language revival movement, which was especially noticeable in the middle of the 20th century.

Unfortunately, the scarce information we have on the sociolinguistic history of Cornish English speakers (e.g., number of speakers, the degree of bilingualism, etc.), which would help us determine the direction and amount of language transfer (Thomason & Kaufman 1988), hinders the examination of the principles of contact-induced change and the processes behind the language shift in Cornish English. On the one hand, the term substratum influence appears to be fully applicable to this context – as it also seems to be with regard to Welsh English (Paulasto 2006) and Hiberno English (Filppula 1990) –, as it concerns the influence of the ancient Celtic language on the variety of English that was gradually acquired in the region. The high frequency of focusing devices, and the *do*-periphrasis or the presence of a fair number of Cornish words in the dialect (Wakelin 1975; Phillips 1993; Stalmaszczyk 1997), could well illustrate this influence. On the other hand, Cornish English shows some features originating from Southwest England, such as the rhotic accent, the archaic pronominal forms, the anomalous use of cases, or the use of masculine pronouns with inanimate referents that can also be considered typical examples of superstratum influence. The question of which type of transfer is more significant in the development of Cornish English is of considerable interest, but deciphering the precise source of influence is not a straightforward matter; the language shift in this region was far from a uniform process, since the western part of Cornwall had become historically less strongly anglicised, giving more motivation for a Cornish substratum and less for an English superstratum to arise, the opposite situation taking place in the eastern part of the region.

Likewise, it is also difficult to gauge the prevalent type of language transfer in Van Coetsem's (2000) more linguistic view, namely borrowing under RL agentivity

13. The challenge, however, is how to account for the fact that other authors from West Cornwall such as James, Forfar or Bottrell do not usually make use of fronting. Given the lack of information on the knowledge that the different writers had of the Cornish language, the most logical explanation would be to assume that they had a high social status and had received a formal education, so their writing style is more anglicized.

or imposition under SL agentivity, owing to the long coexistence of the two languages in the region, which enabled them to intermingle to such an extent that they may have influenced each other. The language shift whereby Cornish speakers gradually lost the ability to speak their ancestral language and became linguistically dominant in a language they acquired later means that the same agents employed both kinds of agentivity and, hence, different change mechanisms, in the same contact situation. Despite this, while our analysis has shown a wider use of fronting in Cornish English in recent times, possibly coinciding with the Cornish-Celtic revival, we should probably not assume that this interference is an instance of borrowing, taking into account the fact that the agents of change have a greater knowledge of the RL, English, than of the SL, Cornish. Rather, although it is true that the Cornish language is again being revived, and this revival has brought with it a strengthening of the Cornish identity,[14] it seems more plausible that the historical situation, which reflects a shift from Cornish to English, could have led to syntactic substrate effects. Thus, an assumption that a frequent use of fronting has been present in Cornish English for a much longer period would reverse the correspondence between agentivity and linguistic dominance and, consequently, the direction of change, leading to an instance of imposition, which underlies the substrate hypothesis.

8. Conclusion

The evidence for the influence of Cornish substratum appears to be persuasive and is paralleled by similar transfer effects in several other Celtic-influenced varieties. Firstly, Cornish English, like Celtic languages and other Celtic Englishes, and unlike Standard English, appears to make a wider use of word order shifts or special syntactic devices than of prosodic means to highlight a particular clausal constituent. Furthermore, the use of fronting in the Cornish English dialect is so active and versatile that it emulates the corresponding usage in Cornish, where any clausal constituent could occur in preverbal position, and its use is triggered by a different pragmatic motivation, that is to say, placing newsworthy information in a clause-initial position, which is, indeed, a common practice in Cornish.

Substratal influence on Celtic Englishes is further enhanced by the presumed relationship between the presence or absence of copula in the focusing devices used by the different Celtic languages and a more predominant use of clefting or fronting

14. Around a third of the population of Cornwall identifies with being Cornish rather than English or British (Husk & Williams 2012: 257).

in their corresponding Celtic English. Thus, while the reason why fronting, rather than clefting, is the principal means of expressing prominence in Cornish English is not clear, a plausible explanation could be found in the structure of the Cornish cleft constructions, which gradually lost the copula.

Finally, the presence of fronting – and even clefting – appears to be common in writers related to West Cornwall, a region with a historically stronger attachment to the Celtic heritage that still displays relatively high levels of Cornish identity and could be influenced by the Cornish language revival that took place from the mid-20th century onwards. Fronting, then, seems to index the social identity of being Cornish, as a linguistic variant acting as an identity marker (see e.g. Labov 1963, 1972; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Despite all this evidence, the question of the origin of fronting is particularly intriguing because the distinction between a substratal versus superstratal origin is far from clear. While the existence of parallel findings in other Celtic-influenced English varieties appears to support the substrate hypothesis, tracing the source of fronting is particularly complex and perhaps necessarily rather speculative, and its frequent presence may be explained by multiple causes, as the placement of constituents in clause-initial position is widely used among other world languages. Consequently, it is obvious that more evidence is needed for us to ascertain the exact source, and even the direction and degree, of this influence of each variety of Celtic English. The major significance of this study comes from the fact that, to my knowledge, no other study of this kind has ever been carried out on the Cornish English dialect, and its findings could therefore be relevant to the issue of the Celtic influence on some varieties of English, in particular to the use of fronting.

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Appendix

Table 1. Corpus and frequencies of fronting and clefting

Author	Birthplace – life	Year	Stories	Words	Fronting	Clefting
W. Sandys	London – Outside Cornwall / West Cornwall	1846	"Some account of Jan Trenoodle´s family" "The portmantle" "Account of a Chrestmas Play"	3,248	0.61	0.00
W. R. Hicks	Bodmin (EC) – East Cornwall	1860s	"Tales and sayings of Hicks of Bodmin"	7,455	0.13	0.00
J. T. Tregellas	St. Agnes (WC) – East Cornwall	1865	"Tremuan" "Squire´s Tame Conger" "The Wounded Miner" "The tale of the swemming grendingstone"	6,700	0.59	0.00
W. B. Forfar	Breage (WC) – West Cornwall	1865	"Kynance cove"	9,920	0.20	0.20
W. Bottrell	St. Levan (WC) – West Cornwall	1873	"Tom of Chyannor: the tin-streamer" "The fairy dwelling of Selena Moor" "The I´an´s house of Treen"	11,364	0.17	0.08
M. G. Pearse	Camborne (WC) – Outside Cornwall	1884	"Cornish ghost story" "Christmas Eve in The Vivid"	11,310	0.44	0.61
W. H. Tregellas	Truro (MC) – Mid-Cornwall	1884	"The Bassets of Tehidy" "Rev. Dr. William Borlase, the antiquary	8,850	0.33	0.22
A. T. Quiller-Couch	Polperro (EC) – East Cornwall	1887	"Dead Man´s Road"	10,150	0.59	0.19
Ch. Bennett	St. Austell (MC) – West Cornwall	1903	"The history of Billy Whacktins" "A tale of witchcraft" "Tom Taylder´s trip" "The Cornish Bussa or hoaxing the parson"	13,114	0.61	0.87
Ch. Lee	London – Outside Cornwall	1911	"Our Little town"	14,200	0.84	0.35
R. J. Noall	St. Ives (WC) – West Cornwall	1925	"My feer-a-moo shiner" "The squire´s ghost"	3,422	0.57	0.28

Author	Birthplace – life	Year	Stories	Words	Fronting	Clefting
J. Clemo	St. Austell (MC) – Mid-Cornwall	1939	"Barney´s tricks"	3,799	0.78	0.26
H. Lean	Camborne (WC) – West Cornwall	1951	"The washin´ machine" "The cooker" "Mother and Boy Willie go shopping" "Father put an ad in the paper"	3,010	4.65	0.32
M. Bartlett	Launceston (EC) – West Cornwall	1970	"Sweet Will´um" "Green for luck!" "A little l´arnin´" "Uncle ´Lias lanyon´s fortune"	11,161	6.45	0.98
D. Rawe	Padstow (EC) – East Cornwall	1971	"The pisky-led boy" "The giants of the mount" "Princess Elowen" "St. Piran" "Trystan and Yselt" "The wrestlers of Kenidjack" "The little horsemen of Padstow" "The mermaid of Zennor" "The pisky thresher" "Tregeagle"	8,298	0.12	0.00
B. James	St. Ives (WC) – West Cornwall	1979	"Thai tha ceant schemey must lawster" "The Summons" "Much ado about nawtheng" "The Geeze Daincers"	8,208	0.24	1.46

CHAPTER 4

How does causal connection originate?

Evidence from translation correspondences between the *Old English Boethius* and the *Consolatio*

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This chapter focuses on Old English causal connector *forþæm / forþon / forþy* "because, therefore" in the Alfredian translation of Boethius's treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. This polyfunctional causal connector plays a crucial role in the OE adaptation of the treatise, which is relatively distant from its Latin source. Clauses with *forþæm / forþon / forþy* correspond to various Latin structures (e.g., causal, conditional, concessive, temporal, relative, and purpose clauses, or ablative absolute) and support discourse coherence in the OE text. The study explores the mechanisms behind the emergence of structures with explicit causality in a translated text, from a translation studies perspective, and addresses the problem of correlation of CCC-relations in the two texts.

Keywords: Old English, Alfredian translations, Boethius, causal connector, discourse coherence

1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on structures with explicit causal connectors in Old English (OE). To express causal relations, OE chiefly used a combination of the preposition *for* and the demonstrative *se* in a variety of its dative and instrumental forms.[1] The most typical forms are *forþæm, forþon* and *forþy* (cf. entry in DOE 2018, s.v. *forþæm / forþon / forþy*) but many spelling variants are also possible. The particle *þe* can be added to all of them, without any noticeable change in the semantics (Mitchell 1985: § 3018). The frequency of *forþæm / forþon / forþy* in the whole OE corpus is 5.1 per 1,000 words (DOEC 2009). In one OE text, however, this frequency

1. With the exception of *nu* "now that", OE had no grammaticalized causal meanings for temporal connectors. See Mitchell (1985: §§ 3090–3164) for a number of marginal causal subordinators.

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rises to 8.9 per 1,000 words. This text is the *Old English Boethius* (hereafter OEB), the Alfredian translation of Boethius's treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (hereafter CP) into Old English. The fact that the frequency of *forþæm / forþon / forþy* is so high can be explained by genre-specific properties. OEB is a unique text in OE literature, and the first attempt ever to render a Latin philosophic treatise into the vernacular. With no written conventions for composing such highly argumentative prose in the target language, the translator aims to achieve maximum clarity for his audience and tends to explain important statements of the original from various angles. The following example, (1), illustrates the abundant use of *forþæm/ forþon/ forþy*, which is characteristic of OEB.

(1) OEB, Chapter 30, line 38[2]
Hwæt ealle men hæfdon gelicne fruman forþam hi ealle coman of
well all men had similar origin because they all came from
anum fæder and of anre meder, and ealle hi beoð git gelice
one father and from one mother and all they are still alike
acennede. Nis þæt nan wundor forþam þe an God is fæder eallra
born not.is that no wonder because one God is father of.all
gesceafta forþam he hi ealle gesceop and ealra welt.
creatures because he them all created and of.all rules
"Truly, all people had the same origin for they all came from one father and from one mother, and they are all born alike. That is no wonder, for one God is father of all creatures, for he created them all and rules them all'."

On the whole, there are 435 instances of *forþæm / forþon / forþy* in various spellings in OEB. Establishing the range of Latin structures in CP that are translated with OE causal clauses involving *forþæm / forþon / forþy* makes it possible to answer the first research question: what mechanisms stand behind the emergence of the structures with explicit causality in a translated text? These mechanisms are analyzed from the translation studies point of view.

The search for translation correspondences reveals that only a small group can be labelled as direct correspondences, i.e., an explicitly causal Latin structure corresponding to an explicitly causal OE structure. In most cases, the situation is more complex. Among various Latin structures rendered with causal clauses into the OE there are concessive and conditional clauses. Causal, conditional, and concessive relations, known as CCC-relations, form the core of the domain of circumstantial

2. References are given by chapter and line for the OE text (following Godden & Irvine 2009) and by book, chapter, and line for the Latin text (following Moreschini 2005). Present-Day English translations for the OE examples are by Godden & Irvine (2009) and for the Latin examples by Beck (1996).

relations (Kortmann 1997). The second research question addresses the problem of correlation or balance of CCC-relations in the two texts. The two research questions are discussed in the corresponding subsections of § 4. These two together seek to account for how the author of the OE adaptation dealt with the coherence relation of causation, both implicit and explicit, while translating the Latin text.

2. Background

2.1 *The Old English Boethius* as a translated text

The two texts studied here are *De Consolatione Philosophiae* composed by the Roman philosopher and politician Anicius Boethius around 524 AD, and its first vernacular translation, known as *The Old English Boethius*, created by the West-Saxon king Alfred around 894–899. The authorship of Alfred is debated and if the king, who died in 899, was not the translator, it is possible that OEB was composed slightly later – within the first half of the tenth century (Godden & Irvine 2009). There are two surviving manuscripts of OEB: MS C (London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A.vi) dated to the mid-tenth century, and MS B (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 180) written in the eleventh or early twelfth century (Gneuss & Lapidge 2014, items 347 and 555.5). The manuscripts represent two different versions of the adaptation. Text C is prosimetrical in imitation of CP, but its verse fragments are based on an earlier OE prose translation. Text B is entirely in prose, possibly close to the original OE adaptation. Material for this study comes from MS B. The text of MS B contains forty-two chapters corresponding to five books of CP.

Since most of the OE texts are either close or free renditions of various Latin sources, the problem of interrelation between an original and a translation has always been among the central questions of the OE scholarship. Translators' practices differed from text to text, depending on their aims. Thijs (2007) analyzes Latin both as a target and a source language and draws a comparison between OE authors translating from Latin into the vernacular and Latin authors, such as Horace, Cicero, and also Boethius, translating from Greek into Latin. OE translators being Latinists were certainly aware of the tradition, but made their own decisions on the degree of faithfulness to the original in their work. Timofeeva (2008) links these choices to the level of development of the language itself. While very early OE translations, such as *Gregory's Dialogues* by Wærferth, tend to copy certain grammatical patterns, later writings successfully avoid them. In general, there is always an opposition between a literal translation and a free rendition. The latter, driven by the principle *sensum ex sensu* ("sense by sense" translation), has a clear aim: the resulting text should be acceptable to the new audience of the text (both

readers and listeners). Chesterman (1997) treats translations of this type as manifestations of 'the meme of target-language enrichment': "source texts are there to be exploited for the benefit of the receiving culture" (Chesterman 1997: 24–25). This is exactly what one observes in the OEB. Kilpiö (1989) discusses the radically different translation solutions adopted in the Alfredian *Pastoral Care* and the Mercian-coloured *OE Bede* when translating Latin passive constructions. The former replaces the passive voice of the source by the active in more than half of the instances, while the latter retains the passive voice with considerable fidelity (Kilpiö 1989: 233–234). This approach is characteristic of late OE works by Ælfric but also of some early OE Alfredian translations, including OEB. The lexical resources of OE, as Fischer (1979) puts it, were more than adequate to render Latin. Fischer (1979) compares correspondences for Latin philosophical terms in the Old and Middle English translations of CP and comes to the conclusion that the OE rendition is more careful. For instance, while the OE translation distinguishes between the two senses of the Latin *fortuna*: (a) fate, chance, goddess of fate – OE *wyrd* "fate", (b) prosperity, possessions, goods – OE *gesælða*, or *woruldsælða* "prosperity" and *wela* "wealth", the Middle English translation created by Geoffrey Chaucer carelessly adopts French loanword *fortune* as a correspondence for Lat. *fortuna* in all cases (Fischer 1979: 633–634, 637).

It is a well-known fact that OEB contains numerous additions and extensions not found in Boethius's text of CP. Much scholarly effort has been spent on establishing actual sources of the additions of OEB. For instance, a comparison of a certain part of CP, which was substantially changed in the process of translation into the OE, in forty-five MSS glossed in the Remigian tradition was undertaken by Wittig (1983). He claims, however, that there is no MS that would have the very combination of glosses that we find in the OE text. Discenza (2005) comes to the conclusion that Alfred used commentary material, but very selectively.[3] It is impossible to establish an exact, single Latin source text for the Alfredian translation.

2.2 Translation-studies framework

Anthony Pym, a translation-studies theoretician, criticizes the widespread term 'translation strategies', for it has more to do with inner concepts of the translator. Instead of 'strategies', 'procedures', or 'techniques' of translation he suggests such terms as 'translation solutions' and 'solution types' referring to ways which help a translator *solve* a certain translation problem. Translation solutions come into the scene only when there is a certain problem, which the translator needs to solve. Pym (2016: 220 ff.) suggests the following seven solutions:

3. See also Love (2014) for a modern revision of the influence of commentary traditions on OEB.

- Copying words
- Copying structure
- Perspective change
- Density change
- Compensation
- Cultural correspondence
- Text tailoring

Altogether they represent three possible ways of dealing with a translation problem: the translator can either copy something that is there in the text (*Copying words, Copying structure*), or change the way it is expressed (*Perspective change, Density change, Compensation, Cultural Correspondence*), or change what is in the text (*Text tailoring*). Pym claims that his classification is universal and applicable to any translation. The solutions that can be determined in translation correspondences between CP and structures with *forþæm / forþon / forþy* in OEB are discussed in § 4.1 below.

2.3 Causal connectors in Latin and OE

In Latin, causal connectors are numerous. Baños (2011) excludes connectors such as *nam* and *enim* ("for") from his analysis focusing on causal subordinators only, of which most central ones are *quia* and *quod* ("because"). He admits, however, that there is a continuum between coordination and subordination. Since the Latin text studied here belongs to the Late period, when clear distinctions characteristic of Archaic and Classical Latin merged, both subordinators and adverbials with 'stronger' causal sense are taken into consideration for the Latin.

In OE, a 'highly polysemous and polyfunctional connector', in terms of Lenker (2007, 2010), *forþæm / forþon / forþy* covers almost the whole spectrum of explicit causal relations. Traditionally, *forþæm / forþon / forþy* is classified as an adverb or a conjunction, depending on its function (Mitchell 1985; DOE 2018, s.v. *forþæm / forþon / forþy*). Establishing the latter with certainty might be problematic. In OE, *forþæm / forþon / forþy* expressed both Cause and Result, and could form correlative structures, cf.:

(2) OEB, Chapter 30, line 18
Forþam is þæs folces hlisa ælcum men for nauht to habbenne
therefore is the people's fame to.each man as nothing to have
forþam he to ælcum men ne cymð be his gewyrhtum ne
because it to each man not.comes according to his merits nor
huru nanum ealne weg ne wunað.
indeed to.nobody always not remains
"And so popular fame is worthless for any man to have, for it does not come to any man because of his merits, nor indeed does it remain with anyone forever."

According to Lenker (2007: 203), "Old English did not draw a distinction between coordinate and subordinate causal clauses … *forþæm* and its variants thus belong to those Old English items which are traditionally called 'ambiguous adverbs/ conjunctions'".[4]

3. Methodology

First, the target language, OE, and its polyfunctional causal connector were considered, examining all causal structures with *forþæm* / *forþon* / *forþy* in OEB. The data comprised 435 examples of structures with *forþæm* / *forþon* / *forþy* found in text B, following the edition by Godden & Irvine (2009). The next step was to establish corresponding source-language structures which had been translated into OE as causal. This was done with the help of the recent edition of CP (Moreschini 2005).

After Latin correspondences for the OE causal structures were (where possible) established, the following steps were taken: the medieval material was evaluated from the perspective of modern translation studies in order to investigate what mechanisms led to the emergence of causal structures in the translated text. For an analysis within a translation-studies framework, it is important to have an exact copy of the original text, as well as the translation at hand. Unfortunately, these requirements can hardly be met with medieval MSS. The OE MS B is approximately two centuries younger than the original MS containing the translation, which has not come down to us. There are about twenty surviving copies of the CP that date back to the ninth century and are thus at least three centuries younger than the original. Moreover, it is not known what particular Latin MS(S) the OE translator made use of. Since the aim is to trace tendencies, an attempt to assess translation solutions has, nevertheless, been made.

The analysis ends up with observations on the source and target languages in the domain of CCC-relations. For this part, all causal, conditional and concessive connectors in two randomly chosen fragments of CP (about 1.3 thousand words) and corresponding passages of OEB (around 3.5 thousand words) were considered and compared by their frequencies. These observations grounded in typological studies provide a possible explanation for some trends in translation correspondences between CP and OEB and translation solutions behind them.

4. There is also a discussion on whether *forþæm/ forþon/ forþy* and its Middle English descendant *for* should be viewed as coordinating or subordinating conjunction (Mitchell 1985; Kortmann 1997; Rissanen 1998).

4. Findings and discussion

4.1 Translation correspondences

Three main types of correspondence between the Old English and the Latin texts can be distinguished: (a) no correspondence, (b) close correspondence, and (c) partial correspondence. 'No correspondence' and 'close correspondence' are two opposites that are seldom found. In between, there is a 'partial correspondence' continuum where some examples partially share syntactic features, while others can only be linked semantically.

When no correspondence is observed, this means that a new causal link appeared in the process of composing the OE text. The following example illustrates a clear addition, not present in the text of CP. Here the OE translator takes a stance about the reasons for Boethius's dramatic fall. It is known that Boethius was accused of high treason, but it is doubtful that he ever committed it (Marenbon 2003). The Latin text states quite clearly that he is not guilty.[5] But several centuries later OEB depicted Boethius as an opponent of the Arian heresy at the court of Theoderic, who hatched a conspiracy, trying to stop the unjust rule of the king. This is what the OE text tells its audience about Boethius:

(3) OEB, Chapter 1, line 19
Sende þa digellice arendgewritu to þam kasere to
(he) sent then secretly letters to the emperor to
Constentinopolim, … forþam se kasere wæs heora ealdhlafordcynnes.
Constantinople because the emperor was of.their of.old.lords'.kin
"He then secretly sent letters to the emperor in Constantinople … because the emperor was kin of their old lords."

Close correspondence, on the contrary, implies that behind an OE explicit causal structure there does exist a Latin explicit causal structure with corresponding semantics. Despite minor changes, the overall syntactic and semantic features of the structure remain intact, e.g.:

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5. *Nam de compositis falso litteris, quibus libertatem arguor sperasse Romanam, quid attinet dicere? … Respondissem Canii uerbo, qui cum a Gaio Caesare Germanici filio conscius contra se factae coniurationis fuisse diceretur: 'si ego', inquit, 'scissem, tu nescisses'* (CP, Book 1, prose 4) – "Now why would it pertain to tell about the forged letters by which I am blamed for having hoped for Roman liberty? … I would have answered in the words of Canius, who when he was accused by Gaius Caesar, the son of Germanicus, of being aware of a plot against himself replied: If I had known, you would not have known."

(4) OEB, Chapter 11, line 26
Forþam ne mæg nan man on þys andweardan life eallunga gerad beon
therefore not.can no.one in this present life altogether settled be
wið his wyrd.
with his fate
"So no-one in this present life can be wholly settled with his fate."
CP, Book 2, prose 4, line 48
Idcirco nemo facile cum fortunae suae condicione concordat.
therefore nobody easily with fortune his condition agrees
"For that reason no one easily agrees with the condition of one's fortune."

In its adverbial function, *forþæm / forþon / forþy* links the conclusion to the preceding line of argument. Whenever close correspondences can be established, it is often between the Latin and OE adverbs. A further example of a close correspondence involves a change of Cause-Result linear order:

(5) OEB, Chapter 22, line 27
Ac þær ðu ongeate hwider ic þe nu teohhie to lædenne, ic wat
but if you understood where I you now intend to lead I knew
þæt ðu woldest swiðe georne þider fundian and swiðe swiðlice beon
that you would very eagerly there set off and very greatly be
onæled mid þære gitsunge, forþam ic geherde þæt ðu ær sædest
inflamed with the desire because I heard that you before said
þæt ðu swiðe geornfull wære hit to gehyranne.
that you very eager were it to hear
"But if you understood where I now intend to take you, I know that you would very eagerly set off there and be very greatly inflamed with the desire, for I heard that you said before that you were very eager to hear that."
CP, Book 3, prose 1, line 14
Sed quod tu te audiendi cupidum dicis, quanto ardore
but because you yourself of.hearing desirous say with.how.big ardour
flagrares, si quonam te ducere aggrediamur
you.would.burn if where you to.lead we.would.undertake
agnosceres.
you.recognized
"But because you mention your desire of hearing, in how much ardour would you be blazing if you recognized where I am undertaking to lead you!"

Clauses expressing cause are introduced with a causal connector in both languages (*quod* in Latin and *forþam* in OE), in CP this clause precedes the main clause, and in OEB follows it. Except for this change of linear order of the clauses the OE rendering in Example (5) is surprisingly close to the Latin sentence both semantically and syntactically.

Close correspondence can be established between *forþæm / forþon/ forþy* and Latin causal adverbials (4), or central causal subordinators (5), but also with subordinator *quando* in its causal function (6).

(6) OEB, Chapter 10, line 50
Nis þe nu git nan unaberendlic broc getenge, forþam þe
not.is for.you now yet no intolerable affliction oppressing because
ðin ancor is git on eorðan fæst.
your ancor is still on earth fixed
"There is no intolerable affliction affecting you, for your anchor is still fixed in the ground."
CP, Book 2, prose 4, line 27
nondum est ad unum omnes exosa fortuna nec tibi nimium
not yet is exceptionlessly to.all hateful fortune nor upon.you excessively
valida tempestas incubuit, quando tenaces haerent ancorae.
strong storm fell while tenacious stick fast anchors
"Not yet is every single fortune detested, nor has too strong a storm fallen upon you since your firm anchors hang on."

Causal and temporal relations are tightly bound together. Kortmann (1997) mentions temporal subordinators among the sources for the development of CCC-subordinators in the languages of the world. In (6), *quando* should be interpreted as causal, cf. sense 3 "in view of the fact that, seeing that, since, as" (OLD 1968, s.v. *quando*). Thus, the use of *forþam þe* as its translation equivalent is a natural choice.

More often the correspondences can be classified as 'partial'. They appear as a result of complex changes made in the process of translation, cf.:

(7) OEB, Chapter 11, line 21
Manige habbað genog gesælilice gewifod ac for bearnleste
many had enough happily married but because.of childlessness
eallne þone welan þe hi gegaderigað hi lætað fræmdum to
all that wealth which they gathered they leave to.strangers to
brucanne, and hi beoþ for þam unrote.
enjoy and they are therefore unhappy
"Many have married felicitously but because of lack of children leave all the wealth that they gather to strangers to enjoy, and they are miserable for that reason."
CP, Book 2, prose 4, line 45
Ille nuptiis felix orbus liberis alieno censum
he in.marriage happy without children for.another property
nutrit heredi.
preserves for.heir
"That one happy in marriage who is childless nourishes property to be inherited by strange children."

According to Pym (2016), what we observe here can be classified as *text tailoring* – a solution most typically found in the OE adaptation of Boethius's treatise that involves textual additions. In Example (7), the OE translator adds some information with the help of causal connector.

The next solution frequently observed in OEB is *density change*, viz. *explicitation* as one of its subtypes. In Latin, it is often the case that "the relationship of causality is not expressed explicitly but arises contextually from the logical relationship between the subordinated and the main event" (Baños 2011: 196). Therefore, the structure of a Latin sentence can be 'syntactically dense'. In order to cope with this density, the translator explicates or reveals the causal link which is only implied in the Latin text, cf.:

(8) OEB, Chapter 10, line 2
Þa cweð Boetius. Eala wisdom þu þe æart modur eallra mægena,
then said Boethius oh wisdom you who are mother of.all virtues
ne mæg ic na wiðcweðan ne andsacigan þæt þe þu me ær
not.can I neither contradict nor deny that what you to.me before
sædest, forþon þe hit is eall soð.
said because it is all true
"Then Boethius said: 'O Wisdom, you who are mother of all virtues, I cannot deny or oppose what you have said to me, because it is all true."
CP, Book 2, prose 4, line 1
Tum ego: Vera, inquam, commemoras, o virtutum omnium nutrix, nec
Then I truth I.say you.mention oh of.virtues all nurse nor
infitiari possum prosperitatis meae velocissimum cursum.
deny I.can of.success my fastest progress
"Then I said, 'You are recalling truths, nurse of all virtues, nor can I deny my fastest progress of success'."

In (8), there is no causal connector in the Latin text, rather the causal meaning is implicit. The OE translator makes it explicit by introducing a causal clause with *forþon þe*. For the sake of clarity, this causal clause follows the main clause, though in Latin the corresponding semantics is conferred in the beginning of the sentence. A similar solution of *density change* is observed in Example (9):

(9) OEB, Chapter 16, line 113
þæt gecynd nyle næfre nanwuht wiðerweardes lætan gemengan, forðæm
the nature not.will never nothing of.opposite allow to mix because
heora ægðer onscunað oðer, and ægðer wile bion þæt ðæt hit bið.
of.them each shuns the.other and each wants to.be that which it is
"Nature will never allow opposites to mingle, because each of them shuns the other and each wishes to be that which it is."

CP, Book 2, prose 6, line 41
Neque enim sibi solent adversa sociari: natura
Nor therefore to.themselves are.accustomed opposites to.be.joined nature
respuit ut contraria quaeque iugantur.
rejects that contraries any be.joined
"For opposites are not accustomed to uniting with each other; nature rejects that contraries should be joined together."

The translator 'changes the density' of the asyndetic Latin sentence by adding causal connector *forðæm*.

In (10) in Latin, there is a certain syntactic structure – *ablative absolute* – that often confers causal meaning (Timofeeva 2010; Baños 2011; Pinkster 2015). Consequently, the OE translator's choice is to add a *forþam*-clause to explicate this meaning.

(10) OEB, Chapter 22, line 33
Ac þu ne mihtest gyt ful rihtne weg aredian to þam soðum
but you not could yet completely right way find to the true
gesælðum, forþam þin mod wæs abisgod mid þære ansine
felicities because your mind was occupied with the appearance
ðissa leasena gesælða.
of.these false felicities
"But you could not yet find the right way to the true felicities because your mind was occupied with the appearance of these false felicities."
CP, Book 3, prose 1, line 18
Sed occupato ad imagines visu ipsam illam non potest intueri.
But occupied with images sight at.itself not can look
"but in being busy with the images, the sight cannot look at itself."

Density change is, thus, a solution commonly applied to the following two types of Latin structures: structures with asyndetic coordination as in (8) and (9), and non-finite constructions as illustrated in (10) where the Latin ablative absolute is translated into OE with a causal clause.

There seems to be a scale of 'complexity' of translation solutions observed in the data on *forþæm / forþon / forþy* in OEB:

text tailoring → density change → perspective change.

An example of the first solution, text tailoring (including text addition as one of its subtypes) is (7), which represents a relatively simple way a translator might choose to make his text understandable. While the first clause in the OE part of Example (7) transfers the semantics of the Latin structure, the second clause contains additional explanatory information. In Examples (8), (9), and (10) the situation is more complex: the syntactic structure of the original sentence is changed, while the use of causal connectors in the translation is justified through perceived implicit causality

of the original. In the text of OEB, causal clauses appear in the sentences corresponding to the original structures with implicit causality.

The most complex solution attested in the data is *perspective change*. This solution implies a shift in the sentence focus. Though changes in the structure of a phrase might not be striking, they are essential, because the relationship between Cause and Result is conceptualized in a different way. Examples (11)–(14) below illustrate various instances of *perspective change*.

In (11) a Latin relative clause is rendered with a causal clause. Here OE *forþam* corresponds to Latin *quae*.

(11) OEB, Chapter 16, line 101
Þæs ilcan is to wenanne to eallum þam gesælþum þe seo
of.this same is to expect concerning all the felicities which the
wyrd brengð þisses andweardan lifes … forþam hie hwilum becumað
fate brings of.this earthly life because they sometimes come
to þam forcuðestum.
to the most.wicked
"This same point is to be held about all the felicities of this present life that fate brings … for they sometimes come to the most wicked men."
CP, Book 2, prose 6, line 45
Quod quidem de cunctis fortunae muneribus dignius existimari
that indeed about all fortune's gifts more.worthy be.judged
potest, quae ad improbissimum quemque uberiora perveniunt.
can which to most.unworthy whomsoever more.plentiful come
"That in fact can be judged more worthy from all the rewards of fortune, which come more fully to the most dishonest."

In Example (12) we observe a Latin purpose clause translated into the OE with a correlative causal structure:

(12) OEB, Chapter 17, line 20
Forþy ic wilnode andweorces þone anweald mid to reccenne, þæt
Therefore I desired material the authority with to wield that
mine cræftas and anweald ne wurde forgiten and forholen, forþam ælc
my skills and authority not were forgotten and hidden because each
cræft and ælc anweald bið sona forealdod and forswugod, gif he bið
skill and each authority is soon grown.old and suppressed if it is
buton wisdome.
without wisdom
"I desired material in order to exercise rule, so that my skills and authority should not be forgotten and hidden, for every skill and every power will be immediately overtaken by age and silenced if it is without wisdom."

CP, Book 2, prose 7, line 2
Sed materiam gerendis rebus optavimus, quo ne virtus
but means for.performing things we.have.chosen so.that not virtue
tacita consenesceret.
unmentioned would.grow.old
"But we have chosen the opportunity of managing things, so that virtue will not grow old unmentioned."

The syntactic structure of the OE sentences in (11) and (12) resembles that of corresponding Latin clauses, though the use of causal connector adds explanatory force to the arguments in translation. Correspondences of these types are not regular. Examples (13) and (14) introduce *concessive* and *conditional clauses* as sources for causal clauses in translation:

(13) OEB, Chapter 5, line 69
Hu mæg þæt beon nu ðu þæt angin wast þæt ðu eac
How can that be now.that you the beginning know that you also
þone ende nyte? Forþam seo gedrefednes mæg þæt mod onstyrian
the end not.know for the affliction can the mind disturb
ac heo hit ne mæg his gewittes bereafien.
but it it not can of.it intelligence deprive
"How can it be that, now that you know the beginning, you do not also know the end? For affliction can disturb the mind but it cannot deprive it of its intelligence."
CP, Book 1, prose 6, line 27
Et qui fieri potest ut principio cognito quis sit
and how happen can that origin having.been.known what would.be
rerum finis ignores? verum hi perturbationum mores,
of.things end you.would.not.know but these of.disturbances habits
ea valentia est, ut movere quidem loco hominem
such power there.is that remove admittedly out.of.place person
possint, convellere autem sibique totum exstirpare
they.could shatter however and.for.oneself whole destroy
non possint.
they.not.could
"And how could it happen that in having understood the origin you should be ignorant of what the end of things should be? Yet it is true the behavior of these disturbances is strong, so that [*lit.* though] it can in fact change a person's position, but it cannot destroy and uproot the whole for oneself."

(14) OEB, Chapter 33, line 30
Uton þæs, forþam hit is soð.
let.us.do that because it is true
"Let us do that, for it is true."
CP, Book 3, prose 9, line 22
Addamus, si quidem vera volumus confiteri.
let.us.add if indeed truth we.wish to.admit
"Let us add it, if in fact we wish to acknowledge the truth."

These instances of *perspective change* can be explained with the distinct properties of causal, conditional, and concessive relations that make them so "important for establishing discourse coherence in written language, especially in argumentative writing" (Kortmann, through Marcoe 2009: 385). A functional overlap is characteristic of certain subordinators of cause, condition and concession (Couper-Kuhlen & Kortmann 2000). The next section compares the frequencies of CCC-relations in corresponding passages of the Latin and OE texts.

4.2 CCC-relations in the two texts

For this section two passages from CP were randomly chosen: prose 7 from Book 2 (traditionally attributed as 2p7) and prose 9 from Book 3 (hence 3p9). The corresponding passages from OEB are Chapters 17–18, and the first part of Chapter 33, respectively. In these passages, all subordinators and adverbs conveying CCC-relations were counted and compared by their frequencies per 1,000 words.[6] The results are given in Table 1.

Among Latin causal connectors found in 2p7 and 3p9 there are *cum, quare* and *etenim*;[7] Latin conditional subordinators are represented with *si, si quidem, nisi, quod si, velut* and *sin*; concessive adverbs found in the two Latin passages are *atqui* and *licet*.

In the corresponding OE passages, causal connectors are represented with various forms of *forþæm / forþon / forþy* (also with particle *þe*, e.g., *forþam þe/ðe*) and three instances of *þy / þæs*. In OE Chapters 17–18 and 33 conditional clauses are introduced by *gif* and *buton / butan*, while concession is expressed with *þeah*.

It should be noted that direct translation correspondences are rare. The total of eighteen OE conditional subordinators (see Table 1) are not translations for all of

6. All connectors were counted as one-word units.

7. Numerous instances of *igitur* were excluded from the analysis. This is a discourse particle that "marks transition to a new central step in the argument or narrative" (Kroon 2011: 184). Also, *ita* was excluded as its causal sense is far from central (OLD 1968, s.v. *ita* 7).

the nineteen Latin conditional subordinators but one. Out of these nineteen Latin subordinators, only six correspond to OE structures with *gif*, six are translated with other syntactic means, such as concessive subordinator *þeah*, temporal subordinator *nu, to*-infinitive, and imperative forms. Seven Latin structures with conditional subordinators get no translation at all. Those Latin conditional clauses that are not translated with OE *gif*-clauses can be functionally characterized as restrictors. Latin causal clauses from the sample passages are translated in two instances out of the total of five; both Latin concession clauses are translated into OE with *þeah*.

The data in Table 1 demonstrate that discourse coherence is based primarily on conditional relations in Latin. The frequency of conditional relations is extremely high, 14.6 per 1,000 words, if compared to the frequency of 3.8 for causality and 1.5 for concession. In the OE translation, a shift to prevalence of causal relations is observed: with the frequency of 10.7 per 1,000 words causal relations are clearly predominant over concessive relations (freq. 9.2), and even more over the conditional relations (freq. 5.1). The frequency of concessive relations in OE, though lower than that of causal relations, is much higher than what is observed in the Latin passages. It can therefore be concluded that discourse coherence in an OE argumentative text is mainly achieved by means of causal relations, supported by concessive relations, instead of conditional relations in the original text.

Table 1. Frequencies of CCC-relations in the *Consolatio* and the *Old English Boethius*

Fragment & word count / CCC-relations	**I**		**II**		**Totals**		**Frequencies (per 1,000 wds)**	
	Latin: Book 2, prose 7 592 wds	**Corresponding OE passage: Chapters 17 & 18 1,790 wds**	**Latin: Book 3, prose 9 710 wds**	**Corresponding OE passage: Chapter 33* 1,677 wds**	**Latin 1,302 wds**	**OE 3,467 wds**	**Latin**	**OE**
Causal relations	3	20	2	17	5	37	3.8	<u>10.7</u>
Conditional relations	12	7	7	11	19	18	<u>14.6</u>	5.1
Concessive relations	2	17	0	15	2	32	1.5	9.2

* Chapter 33 of OEB (text B) has been analyzed up to *'And ongan þa singan and cwæð'*, which indicates the end of the fragment corresponding to prose 9 of the Book 3 of CP.

5. Conclusion

The OE translator treats his source text very carefully and is keen to explain philosophical issues both when there is a corresponding explanation in the Latin text, and when there is none. He also tends to explain the same idea twice from different perspectives. In some cases, syntactic differences between the original and the translation are so dramatic that, at sentence level, it looks as if the translation deviates too far from the source text. When paragraphs are compared, however, it turns out that the idea of the original is carefully conveyed by different syntactic means.

Out of 435 instances of *forþæm / forþon / forþy* attested in the text B of the OEB less than 20 per cent correspond to explicit causal clauses in CP. The role of causal clauses is quantitatively more prominent in OEB than in CP. Causality is more commonly expressed implicitly Latin. It is often the case that, e.g., implicit causal meaning of the Latin ablative absolute is explicitly translated into OE with a causal clause.

Translation solutions that can be distinguished by comparing clauses with explicit causal connectors in OEB against their correspondences in CP include *text tailoring, density change*, and *perspective change*. These three solutions also represent three different stages of reorganization the syntactic structure undergoes in the process of translation. *Perspective change* is the most complex solution. An example is rendering a Latin conditional clause with an OE causal clause. Correspondences of this type illustrate how semantic causality (understood in the broad sense) manifests itself at the syntactic level in translation.

Comparison of frequencies of CCC-relations in the corresponding passages from the Latin and the OE texts strongly suggests that causal connectors support the main line of argumentation and are thus the core rhetoric device of the OE translation. In this respect OE causal connectors take the place of conditional subordinators in the Latin text.

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CHAPTER 5

Old Northumbrian in the Scottish Borders

Evidence from place-names

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Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names (REELS) is a research project funded for three years by The Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow: http://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/. The project team is using a place-name survey of the historical county of Berwickshire in the Scottish Borders, the heartland of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Scotland from the seventh to eleventh centuries, to investigate the Northumbrian dialect of Old English and its development into Older Scots. The place-name data are being analysed for evidence of the lexis, semantics, morphology and phonology of Old Northumbrian, a language variety poorly attested in other (written and epigraphic) sources. This chapter presents some discoveries from the ongoing project, alongside a discussion of the strengths and limitations of place-name evidence in this context.

Keywords: Berwickshire, Old English, Old Northumbrian, Older Scots, place-names, Scottish Borders

1. Introduction

Old Northumbrian was spoken historically in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, which spanned both sides of the present-day border between England and Scotland from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. Despite being one of the least well attested varieties of Old English, Northumbrian is key to the understanding of linguistic history, as it developed both into the northern dialects of Middle English, and into Older Scots. In the absence of substantial written or epigraphic evidence, particular importance attaches to the toponymic record, comprising place-names created by contemporary speakers in order to orientate themselves within the landscape. Place-names have long been recognised as a rich source of lexicographic data, but the evidence is often difficult to access because of changes and developments introduced in the course of everyday use by different

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speech communities over more than a millennium. In England, this evidence is gradually being uncovered through a county-by-county survey of place-names that has been in progress since the 1920s but has not yet reached the northernmost county of Northumberland. In Scotland, a place-name survey has begun comparatively recently, but is already revealing new and important data. With the historical counties of Clackmannanshire, Fife, Kinross-shire and part of Buteshire surveyed to date, attention has now turned to Berwickshire in the Borders, the heartland of the Old Northumbrian speaking area in what is now southern Scotland. A three-year research project funded by The Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow, *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names* (REELS), has made it possible to undertake full survey of six border parishes, alongside broader coverage of major place-names (defined as those on the Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Landranger map) throughout this large historical county. The background to the project, together with its aims and methodology, are set out in Hough (2015), and the place-name data are currently being analysed in order to recover as much as possible of the lexis, semantics, morphology and phonology of Old Northumbrian. The present chapter presents some of the discoveries, and uses them to discuss the strengths and limitations of this type of evidence.

2. Dictionary evidence and place-name evidence

In September 2018 the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*) reached letter *I*, providing a total of 15,981 headword entries across ten letters of the alphabet.[1] Many entries relate to lexical items common to all varieties of Old English, with headwords based on the West Saxon forms most frequently represented in the manuscript witnesses. Where appropriate, individual words, spellings or usages are identified either generally as "Non-West Saxon", or more specifically as "K[en]t[ish]", "Mercian", "North[umbrian]" or "Anglian", with Anglian encompassing both Mercian and Northumbrian. This means that Old Northumbrian terms may potentially be included among those treated as common Old English, or among those described as either "Non-West Saxon" or "Anglian", but can only be identified with certainty through the label "North[umbrian]". This last group comprises 289 headword entries, of which 127 identify words or meanings that are exclusively or mainly Northumbrian, and 165 identify distinctively Northumbrian spellings, with three entries in both sets. In total they comprise 130 verbs, 46 concrete nouns, 39 abstract nouns, 17 adjectives, and 57 others (adverbs, prepositions, pronouns etc.).

1. The largest letters are *F* and *H*, with 3,010 and 2,962 headwords respectively; the smallest are *Æ* and *I*, with 630 and 435 headwords respectively.

The earliest source texts are the short religious poems known as *Caedmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song*, while the most substantial are tenth-century glosses to biblical and ecclesiastical texts in manuscripts known as the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the *Macregol Gospels* and the *Durham Ritual*. The nature of these sources creates a weighting towards religious vocabulary, alongside mental rather than physical qualities.

Place-names offer a substantially different profile of evidence. The main dataset for the REELS project comprises 1,607 place-names, including 107 Old Northumbrian elements.[2] Some appear in multiple place-names, while a few have subsequently been replaced by other elements over the course of time. Of the total 107 elements, 76 are concrete nouns, with 14 adjectives, 12 personal names, three suffixes, one abstract noun (*morþ* "death, murder") and one adverb/preposition (*upp* "up, higher, upon"). Some idea of the main semantic categories represented is provided by a breakdown of the largest group, concrete nouns, shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Semantic categories of Old English concrete nouns in Berwickshire place-names

Semantic category	Types	Tokens	Tokens per type
Buildings	10	33	3.3
Landscape	32	66	2.1
Living creatures	13	17	1.3
People	8	8	1.0
Plants	6	7	1.2
Others	7	9	1.3
Total	**76**	**140**	**1.8**

Most place-names describe buildings or landscape features, so it is unsurprising that these are the two largest categories. Most striking, however, are the different proportions of types to tokens within these two groups. Whereas Table 1 shows that there are twice as many references to landscape as to buildings, these references utilise three times as many terms. In other words, the terms for buildings are significantly more repetitive. Recent work on English topographical place-names has demonstrated that the Anglo-Saxons had a highly nuanced vocabulary for the natural landscape. For instance, Gelling & Cole (2000) identify 39 terms for different types of hills, alongside 19 for different types of valleys, while Cole (2013) highlights the functional value of a naming system widely understood by travellers. The REELS data suggest that this nuanced vocabulary is not mirrored by terms for the built landscape, where a more limited set of terms appears to suffice.

2. Analysis of the data is ongoing. All figures were correct in May 2019, but are subject to change.

In addition to the term identifying the built or natural landscape feature (the 'generic' element), many place-names contain a further term (the 'specific' element) describing the referent in more detail, as for instance through a descriptive adjective or a reference to flora, fauna, ownership or use. Specific elements are more wide-ranging, and although often represented by a single occurrence, significantly enhance our knowledge of language history. Many of the Old Northumbrian terms in the REELS dataset offer new evidence to supplement the information in existing dictionaries, whether by attesting otherwise unknown words or meanings, extending the chronological or geographical range of known words, providing new phonological or morphological data, or in a range of other ways outlined in Grant's (2016) magisterial overview of the contribution of onomastic evidence to lexicography. In order to facilitate comparison with *DOE*, the examples discussed in the following sections are taken from the first ten letters of the alphabet.

3. Morphological evidence

The value of place-name material to the understanding of morphology has been highlighted in an English context by scholars such as Sandred (2001: 51–52), and in a Scottish context by scholars such as Scott (2003: 27). The examples to be discussed in this section will focus on evidence for Old Northumbrian morphology within the REELS dataset.

The well-established methodology of place-name survey involves the compilation and analysis of historical spellings in order to trace the origin of each place-name.[3] These collections of spellings preserve unique evidence for diachronic language change. Table 2 shows the earliest spellings for Auchencrow in Coldingham parish, one of two occurrences of OE *ald* "old" in Berwickshire place-names.[4] As well as illustrating the project methodology, it also highlights one of the limitations of this type of evidence for historical linguistics, in that place-names do not always develop along the same lines as other areas of language. They are particularly prone to folk etymology or re-interpretation, and here an Old Northumbrian name meaning "old grove or copse" has later become associated with

3. For a recent discussion of methodology, see Taylor (2016).

4. The other is the first element of Old Cambus in Cockburnspath parish. Here there is no trace of the morphological inflection discussed under Auchencrow. The pre-thirteenth century spellings are *(mansio of) aldcambus* 1095, *Aldcambus* c.1100, *per Aldechambuspethe* 1165 × 1171, and *apud Aldekambus* c.1190.

the many place-names elsewhere in Scotland from Gaelic *achadh* "field",[5] and with the equally unrelated bird name *crow*. The generic element is one of four closely related words for a ditch, grove, or thicket, which, as *DOE* explains (s.vv. *græf*[1], *grāf, grāfa, grǣfe*), are difficult to tell apart.

Table 2. Pre-fourteenth century spellings of Auchencrow

Ada de *Aldenegraue* 1207 × 1211
Ade filij Ylif de *Aldeng[ra]we* 1210 × 1248
in territorio de *Aldeng[ra]we* 1210 × 1248
Carta Roberti lauerde de *Aldingraue* 1232
Robertus lauird de *Aldeng[r]aw* 1232
Carta Ricardi de *Aldeng[r]aue* 1250 × c.1280
Ricardus filius Roberti filii Mathei de *Aldang[r]awe* 1250 × c.1280
Rogero dicto del Bernes de *Aldang[r]awe* 1250 × c.1280
Roberto dicto lañ de *Aldang[r]awe* 1250 × c.1280
in territorio de *Aldang[r]awe* 1250 × c.1280
Ada filio Gregorij de *Aldang[r]awe* 1250 × c.1280

Of particular interest in terms of morphology is the inflectional ending <ene> in the earliest recorded spelling <Ald**ene**graue>. Out of c.3,000 occurrences of the adjective according to *DOE* (s.v. *eald*), with more than 50 variant spellings listed in the headword entry, this inflection is vanishingly rare, and apparently restricted to fourteenth and fifteenth century copies of Old English texts. The online *Old English Corpus* (*OEC*) again reveals only three occurrences, all in charter bounds surviving in copies from the fourteenth century onwards. They are from southern England, so this is not a distinctively Northumbrian form, but Auchencrow appears to preserve much the earliest attestation. Moreover, the inflection only seems to appear with *ald*. It is impossible to prove a negative, but wildcard OEC searches based on other common adjectives in Old English charter bounds do not return any results with a corresponding inflection.[6]

Medial <en> would not be surprising, as a reflex of the Old English weak <an> adjectival inflection, but the following <e> is difficult to account for. This following <e> seems to be what protects the nasal consonant from disappearing from the

5. Numerous examples appear in Nicolaisen (2001: 161–63), including Auchenbegg (Lanarkshire), Auchenbrack (Dumfriesshire), Auchenreoch (Kirkcudbrightshire), Auchenroy (Ayrshire), Auchentiber (Renfrewshire), Auchinhard (West Lothian), and so on.

6. The boundary clauses that are often attached to property transactions in Anglo-Saxon charters provide key evidence for minor place-names and Old English topographical vocabulary. Their value to the study of adjectives and other common types of place-name specifics is superbly illustrated by Kitson (1993).

modern pronunciation, as almost invariably happens elsewhere. A rare exception is Aldenham in Hertfordshire, as also noted in the *Vocabulary of English Place Names* (VEPN – s.v. *ald*), but here the earliest spellings are *(æt) Ældenham* 785(11th), *Aldenham* 969 (11th) and *Ealdenham* c.1060, with no record of a medial <ene> (Gover, Mawer & Stenton 1938: 59–60). Under the standard processes of phonetic development, the unstressed <en> would be expected to weaken to schwa and then disappear. This is illustrated by Oldbury on the Hill in Gloucestershire, first recorded as *on Ealdanbyri* 972(10th), then as *Aldeberie* 1086, until the medial syllable begins to be eroded altogether from the late thirteenth century onwards (Smith 1964–1965: iii, 28). In the case of Auchencrow, that seems to have been prevented by the following <e>.

It may be possible that this has a bearing on the etymology of PDE *olden*, Scots *aulden* "old", which is currently regarded as uncertain. *OED* gives two possibilities, taking the word to derive either from an earlier inflected form of the adjective *old*, or from the adjective with the addition of a suffix. *OED*2 (s.v. *olden, a.*) preferred the latter explanation, whereas the revised entry for *OED*3 (s.v. *olden, adj.*) prefers the former, suggesting an origin in the Old English dative plural <um> inflection or alternatively the adjectival inflection <e>, subsequently replaced by <en>. Of the Scots dictionaries, the term has no entry in *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, and the *Scottish National Dictionary* (DSL, s.v. *aulden, adj.*) describes it as a "Sc[ots] form of *olden*", taking it to be a borrowing from English. As the Scots form is not recorded until 1866, that is undoubtedly correct, but it may none the less be possible that the ancestor of the term is recorded in Scotland. The Berwickshire place-name Auchencrow may provide the crucial piece of the puzzle through preserving the morphological evidence to support a derivation of *olden* from an inflected form of OE *ald*.

Another unusual morphological inflection is represented in early spellings of the parish name Channelkirk. Again this has been affected by folk etymology, as the historical forms testify to a derivation from OE *cild* "child" and OE *cirice* "church". Both are common elements in English place-names, where the first has a range of interpretations (Hough 2004). Here the context points clearly to sense 1.c.i. of the *DOE* entry for *cild*, 'referring to boys in the care of religious communities'.

Table 3 shows the pre-fourteenth-century spellings of Channelkirk. Consistently up to the mid-thirteenth century, medial <n> is preceded by <e>, <i> or <y>. This reflects the weak genitive plural inflection <ena> of the first element of the place-name. The significance of this is that OE *cild* usually takes the strong inflection, which would be <a>. Out of c.950 occurrences identified by the *DOE* editors (s.v. *cild*), the weak genitive plural <cildena> is attested only by a single occurrence in the *Durham Ritual Gloss*, one of the main sources for Old Northumbrian mentioned in the previous section. *Cild* is already known to behave differently in Old

Table 3. Pre-fourteenth century spellings of Channelkirk

ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti de *Childinchirch* 1162
ecclesiam de *Childench'* 1162 × 1165
ecclesiam de *Childinchirch* c.1165 × c.1171
ecclesiam de *Childenchirch* 1165 × 1189
ecclesiam de *Childinchirch* 1209 × 1212
matrici ecclesie de *Childinchirch* c.1210 × c.1220
ecclesie de *Childinchirch* c.1210 × c.1220
(mother church of) *Childinchirch* c.1211 × 1233
matrici ecclesie de *Cheldynkirk* 1220
matrici ecclesie de *Childinchirch* 1220
in parochia de *Childinchirch* 1220
in parochia de *Childynkirk* 1220
ecclesi[a] sancti Cutberti de *Childinchirch* c.1225
matrici mee ecclesie de *Childenchirch* c.1225 × 1229
Eccl. de *Childenechirch* 1242
(ecclesia) De *Childinchurche* c.1250
Ecclesia de *Childenkyrche* c.1250
Ecclesia de *chyldinchirche* c.1250
capellam matricis ecclesie de *Childenchirch* 1268
capellam matricis ecclesie de *Chyldenchirch* 1268
Vicarius de *Childenchirc* 1274 × 1275
Vicarius de *Childechirche* 1275 × 1276
Vicarius de *Childewyrth* 1275 × 1276

Northumbrian from other varieties of Old English, since the *DOE* entry notes that masculine plural forms inflect according to the pattern for Class 1 nouns rather than for Class 8 nouns in Northumbrian only. The occurrence of the same weak inflection in both the Northumbrian place-name and the Northumbrian gloss might therefore suggest a distinctively Northumbrian form. As against this, however, a full search of the online *OEC* reveals a single occurrence of the compound *steopcild* "orphan" with the same inflection. This appears in a mid-twelfth century manuscript of a homily by the late West Saxon prose writer Ælfric:

> He sceal beon bewerigend wydewena & **steopcildena** … [He shall be the protector of widows and orphans …]
>
> (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian D. xiv)[7]

7. Even when *DOE* reaches letter *S*, this inflection may not be included, as the preferred manuscript for the homily is the early eleventh century Corpus Christi College 178, which has the more standard inflection: *He sceal beon bewergend wydewena & **steopcilda** …*

The manuscript itself is generally considered to have been written in southern England, although the exact provenance is uncertain.[8] In light of this, it is not possible to regard <cildena> as an exclusively Northumbrian form. Two out of three occurrences from the same dialect area may be suggestive, but might also be coincidental. Thus whereas the early spellings of Channelkirk are important in reflecting a third occurrence of such a rare inflection, they cannot be claimed as evidence of Northumbrian morphology.

4. Phonological evidence

Also problematic is the phonological evidence represented by the spellings of the generic element of Channelkirk. It is curious that OE *cirice* "church" develops into *kirk* even in areas of Scotland like Berwickshire, where the lack of evidence for early Scandinavian settlement means that it is unlikely to reflect the influence of ON *kirkja*. In this instance, there is no apparent reason for the palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ to develop into the velar plosive /k/, which first appears unambiguously in two of the four spellings from 1220 shown in Table 3 above. The main issue, though, lies in the phonological interpretation of the other spellings. In late Old English and Early Scots orthography, <ch> can represent a range of sounds, including /k/. Among the earliest spellings of Kimmerghame in the Berwickshire parish of Edrom, for example, is <Chynbrygham> 1095.[9] Here the specific element is OE *cū* "cow" or a personal name OE *Cynebriht*, either of which would have been pronounced with initial /k/.[10] Similarly, spellings of OE *cyning* "king" on record from the twelfth century include <ching> and <chinge> (*DOE*, s.v. *cyning, cyng*). This raises the possibility that the pronunciation of the generic element of Channelkirk may have remained stable, despite the variation in orthography. Indeed, the spelling <Childenkyrche> c.1250 uses both <k> and <ch> for what was surely the same sound at the beginning and end of the generic.

Although Old English belongs to the West Germanic branch of the Indo-European language families, while Old Norse belongs to the North Germanic branch, there is some overlap between the two, evidenced most prominently by similarities between North Germanic and the Anglian dialects of Old English. As Smith (2009: 122) observes, "These similarities between Anglian and North Germanic varieties are interesting for the typological relationship between OE and

8. Canterbury, Christ Church and Rochester have all been suggested.

9. The spelling is preserved in a fifteenth-century copy.

10. Kimmerghame is discussed in detail in Hough (2020b: 235–237).

Old Norse on the one hand and OE and the other West Germanic dialects on the other". The place-name evidence may contribute towards a more nuanced understanding of this relationship. It will always be difficult to ascertain whether North Germanic linguistic features within the Berwickshire study area are attributable to direct or indirect influence from Scandinavian speakers in the Viking Age or to older influences dating from an earlier period. However, it is at least possible that the Northumbrian pronunciation of OE *cirice* "church" aligned with Old Norse rather than with the southern dialects of Old English. Such a hypothesis may provide a more plausible explanation for the prevalence of *kirk* throughout the Scottish Borders and beyond than one that depends on the unrecorded presence of Scandinavian speakers.

5. Lexical evidence

In contrast to c.3,000 known occurrences of the OE adjective *ald*, c.950 of the noun *cild*, and c.2,000 of the noun *cirice* (*DOE*, s.v. *cyrice*), the compound noun *bæc-stān* "a baking stone, a flat stone or plate of iron on which cakes are baked in the oven" is independently attested in written sources by a single twelfth-century gloss (*DOE*, s.v. *bæc-stān*). This is a term for which place-name evidence already makes a major contribution. *VEPN* (s.v. *bæc-stān*) records 16 occurrences of the term and its later reflexes in northern English place-names from the twelfth to early fifteenth centuries. These are taken to represent places where flat stones suitable for baking on could be found, and the *VEPN* entry draws attention to "a markedly northern distribution". More than half of the known occurrences are in the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, with one each in the historical counties of Cheshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, Northumberland, Nottingham and Westmorland. Earliest on record is a lost field-name *bacestaingrave* c.1170 in the North Riding of Yorkshire, with the same ambiguous second element as Auchencrow discussed above. Another lost field-name *Bakestanes* in the West Riding of Yorkshire is recorded from the late twelfth century. The majority of the others are also lost or minor names, but settlement names include Baxton Holme in Westmorland (ON *holmr* "water-meadow"), first recorded between 1186 and 1200, and Baxenden in Lancashire (OE *denu* "valley") recorded from a.1194.

An additional example of *bæc-stān* in our study area is the specific element of the former parish name Bassendean, now in the parish of Westruther. This is a doublet of Baxenden in Lancashire, with the same generic element. OE *denu* "valley" is the most common landscape term in the REELS dataset, with nine occurrences. Described by Gelling & Cole (2000: 113) as "the standard OE term for a main valley", it appears in about 185 major settlement names in England, as well as in many

minor names (Gelling & Cole 2000). This ubiquity is not matched by occurrences in the written record, which total only c.125 (*DOE*, s.v. *denu, dene*), but in both types of sources, the distribution appears to be widespread across all dialect areas.

Table 4. Pre-sixteenth century spellings of Bassendean

Willelmus de Mahle de *Bastyndane* c.1190 × c.1211
ecclesie Sante Marie de *Bastynden* c.1190 × c.1211
in campo de *Bakestanesden* c.1190 × c.1211
ecclesie de *Bakestaneden* c.1190 × c.1211
in campo de *Bastynden* c.1190 × c.1211
in villa de *Bastynden* c.1190 × c.1211
(land of) *Bastynden* 1218 × 1221
(vill of) *Bastynden* 1232 × 1248
(vill of) *Backestenden*' 1232 × 1248
(lands of) *Bassindene* 1489
terras de *Bassindene* 1493

The pre-sixteenth century spellings of Bassendean shown in Table 4 show the evolution of the name, and also highlight the importance of compiling a comprehensive collection of historical forms. The six earliest – and contemporary – spellings (c.1190 × c.1211) are all from the *Coldstream Cartulary*, but whereas in four of them, the specific element already appears in the opaque form <Bastyn>, the other two preserve an etymologically correct <Bakestane>. This is among the earliest occurrences of *bæc-stān*, and the only one known in Scotland. The term has no entry in DSL, and the *English Dialect Dictionary* (Wright 1898–1905, s.v. *backstone, sb.*[1]) has only English locations. Bassendean thus comprises key evidence that the term was once in use north of the present-day Anglo-Scottish border. Alongside the distribution of the English place-names, this allows us to add *bæc-stān* to the known corpus of Old Northumbrian lexis.

The possibility that the term may in fact have survived into Scots is raised by the place-name Bastleridge in Ayton parish, a name recorded only from 1600 onwards. Here the derivation is more problematic, and the full list of spellings is shown in Table 5. The generic element is Scots *rig* "ridge, long narrow hill or strip of land", but the specific is less certain due to the lateness and inconsistency of the extant spellings. The two eighteenth and nineteenth century forms appear to suggest a derivation from Scots *bastle* "fortified house or tower". However, there is no evidence for such a structure in the locality, and the two seventeenth century spellings are more consistent with a derivation from OE *bæc-stān* or an unattested Scots reflex of the same term. That the original <a> of the second syllable could be weakened to <e> and <i> has already been seen in the spellings of Bassendean shown in Table 4,

while the same process of folk etymology that has affected the development of both Auchencrow and Channelkirk would account for the replacement of the obsolete term *bæc-stān* with the more familiar but unrelated *bastle*.

Table 5. Historical spellings of Bastleridge

Bastanerig 1600
Bastenrigg 1654
Bastilrigg 1771
Bastleridge 1860

Place-names in general are repetitive, so comparative evidence is routinely considered. An interpretation that fits an established pattern is more convincing than one that does not. It is therefore relevant to note that the same combination of elements appears in a lost *Backstonerigg* 1322 in the northern English county of Northumberland (*VEPN*, s.v. *bæc-stān*). Also relevant is that the earliest spelling of Baxenden in Lancashire is <Bastanedenecloch> a.1194 (Ekwall 1922: 90), corresponding closely to the 1600 form of Bastleridge. Since place-names usually originate and are transmitted in speech, they may go unrecorded for centuries, so it is possible that Bastleridge is another early name from Old Northumbrian *bæc-stān*. More likely, however, is that it represents a later formation from an Older Scots reflex of the term that has hitherto remained undetected.

It should be noted that the early letters of the alphabet in both dictionaries included within DSL (*A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary*) were based on a much thinner body of excerption than the later letters, so the absence of an item is less significant. It may also be relevant that the first syllable of *bakestane* appears to have had a short vowel. It would therefore have been homophonous with *backstane* "a stone set on edge at the back of a fireplace", which might be a factor contributing to its absence in Scots.[11]

As well as raising the possibility of Northumbrian survivals into Older Scots, the place-name evidence may point to Northumbrian etymologies for attested Scots words. Scots *fog* "grass left in the field during winter" first appears on record a.1500 (DSL, s.v. *fog, n.*), while *OED* (s.v. *fog, n.*[1]) records the same word in English from c.1400. Whereas *OED*2 described it as "of unknown origin", the revised entry for *OED*3 suggests "Probably a borrowing from early Scandinavian", and adds "Probably < early Scandinavian (compare Norwegian *fogg* long-stalked, weak, scattered grass or heather, typically growing on wet ground); further etymology unknown." Its absence from recorded Old English means that the term has no

11. I owe the material in this paragraph to an anonymous reviewer.

entry in *DOE*, but Smith's dictionary of English place-name elements constructs a hypothetical OE *fogga to account for its occurrence in a number of English place-names (*EPNE*, s.v. *fogga). As acknowledged within the entry, some of these names may alternatively contain an unattested personal name, and those for which such an interpretation is preferred in the corresponding place-name survey volume have been discounted here. Of the remainder, the earliest recorded are Fog Lane (*Fogges* 1258, *Mikelfogflat* 1258) in the East Riding of Yorkshire (Smith 1937: 238) and Foggythwaite (*Fogithweyt* 1285) in Cumberland "*þveit* covered by rough grass" (Armstrong et al. 1950–1952: ii, 328). In both instances, the combination with a Scandinavian-derived term (*flat* "level ground" and *þveit* "clearing") supports the Scandinavian origin proposed by *OED*3. However, these are very significantly predated by the earliest spellings of the parish name Fogo in Berwickshire, shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Pre-fourteenth century spellings of Fogo

Ecclesiam de *foghou* 1139 × 1152
G[amel] decano de *fogghou* c.1150
Gamel' de *foghou* c.1152
Johanne persona de *ffogghou* 1153 × 1160
ecclesiam de *ffoghoh* 1153 × 1165
ecclesiam de *Fogho* 1160 × 1162
Adam de *foghou* 1166 × 1179
Iohanne decano de *foghov* 1194
Ecclesiam de *foghou* c.1203 × 1232
Aldefoghou c.1203 × 1232
Capellam domini W. filii comitis apud *Foggho* 1242
Ecclesiam de *Foggho* 1243
(ecclesia) De *Foghou* c.1250
territorio de *fogo* c.1270
Vicarius de *Foggou* 1274 × 1275
Vicarius de *Fongu* 1275 × 1276
capellam de *foghou* 1280 × 1297
capella sancti Nichol' de *foghou* 1280 × 1297
infra limites parochie ecclesie parochialis de *foghou* 1280 × 1297

The generic element is OE *hōh*, a term disproportionately common in place-names. Whereas *DOE* (s.v. *hōh*) identifies c.35 occurrences, attributing the majority to sense 1 "heel", with sense 2 "projecting ridge of land, promontory" found "mainly in charter bounds", Gelling & Cole (2000: 186–90) identify over 150 occurrences in English place-names, all representing the transferred topographical sense of the anatomical term. Fogo is one of five occurrences of OE *hōh* in Berwickshire alone, and

refers to a ridge covered with rough grass. Its significance is that it provides the only known occurrence of *fog "grass" in Old English, establishing it as a Northumbrian term and providing an etymon for the Scots reflex. It is less clear whether it also problematises the hypothesis of a Scandinavian borrowing. On the one hand, there were of course many such borrowings into Old English, comprehensively surveyed by Pons-Sanz (2013). As noted above, however, the Berwickshire study area has little evidence of early Scandinavian settlement, making this type of linguistic influence less likely. The possibility of a native Old English origin for the term may therefore remain open.

Also of interest in terms of dialectal distribution is the parish name Gordon, from OE *gor* "dung, ordure; filth" with OE *dūn* "hill". Whereas the latter term is widely attested, with c.725 occurrences across the extant record of Old English (*DOE*, s.v. *dūn* noun), the former is represented by only 23 occurrences (*DOE*, s.v. *gor*). Most are in the West Saxon or Mercian dialects, and a high proportion are in glosses, which are not always a reliable guide to actual use. Of the five place-name occurrences included in *EPNE* (s.v. *gor*), the only one recorded before the thirteenth century is Gorwell in the southern English county of Devon (*Gorwilla* 1086) "dirty spring" (Gover et al. 1931–1932: ii, 616).[12] Gordon 'dung hill' extends the early evidence to Northumbrian, with pre-thirteenth century spellings as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Pre-thirteenth century spellings of Gordon

dimidium *Gordune* 1127 × 1139
unius *Gordun* 1160 × 1162
Ecclesiam de *Gordun* 1171 × 1178
altera *Gordun* 1171 × 1178
Richer de *Gordun* 1171 × 1199
ecclesi[a] sancti Michael' de villa mea de *Gordun* 1171 × 1199
Ecclesiam de *Gordovn* 1178 × 1188
vnius *Gordun* 1178 × 1188
ecclesiam de *Gordun* 1198 × 1199
vnius *gordun* 1198 × 1199
Ecclesiam de *Gordun* 1198 × 1202
vnius *Gordoun* 1198 × 1202

Here the spellings are strikingly consistent, and unambiguous, although the term does not appear on record in Scotland until c.1420 (DSL, s.v. *gor(e, n.*). As with *bæc-stān* "baking stone" and *fog "grass" discussed above, the place-name evidence allows us to add *gor* "dung" to the known corpus of Old Northumbrian lexis.

12. *EPNE* mistakenly attributes Gorwell to Dorset.

6. Semantic evidence

Whereas the examples discussed in the previous section extend the dialectal or chronological range of the terms in question by providing earlier or more northerly occurrences, others extend the semantic range, by testifying to otherwise unattested meanings. As noted above, some words and meanings are more common in place-names than in lexis. Others, however, are solely represented in place-names, either through the chance survival of witnesses, or because they were only ever current in the onomasticon. Cavill (2017) draws attention to the different registers of language in Old English, such that some terms may have been used in place-names only, and others with a more specialised meaning than was usual in non-onomastic language. It is important to remember that meanings identified in place-names cannot automatically be extrapolated to other areas of language, and this may apply to one or more of the examples to be discussed in this section.

As OE *hōh* "heel; projecting spur of land" has already illustrated, it is common for anatomical terms to develop metaphorical uses in relation to landscape, both in place-names and in non-onomastic language. Recent work on the role of metaphor in historical as well as present-day English has established that the most common conceptualisation of landscape is through the LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor, and that the second most common is LANDSCAPE IS A CONTAINER (Hough 2016). Both are highly productive throughout the recorded history of the language and are widely prevalent in place-names from all periods. In addition to Fogo, Hume, Hutton, Kelloe (in Edrom) and Pittlesheugh (in Eccles) from OE *hōh*, Berwickshire includes Hassington (in Eccles) from OE *hals* "neck (of land)", Nisbet (in Edrom) from OE *nesu "nose; projecting piece of land", and Blackpotts (in Coldingham) from OE *pott* "a deep vessel; a deep hole or pool".[13] Later names include Burnfoot in Channelkirk parish, referring to land at the mouth of a stream, Caldron Pool in Eccles parish, referring to a salmon cast, and Deil's Elbow in Coldstream parish, referring to a sharp bend. Others reflect prehistoric language developments that led to the ancestor of OE *mūða* "mouth" already developing polysemous uses for the mouth of a river as well as the mouth of a person or animal, and the ancestor of OE *sīde* "side" already developing polysemous uses in connection with the side of a hill or stream as well as the side of a body – both potentially as early as Proto-Germanic. Examples from Berwickshire place-names include Eyemouth "mouth of the River Eye" (itself from OE *ēa* 'river'), and Bemersyde in Mertoun "hill-side frequented by the bittern". Also of interest in this context are the various topographical uses of OE *hēafod* "head", a highly metaphorical term discussed in detail by Healey (2016),

13. Blackpotts and related names are discussed in Hough (2020a).

and which is represented by its later English and Scots reflexes in Berwickshire place-names such as Brae Heads in Hutton parish, Cleughead in Fogo parish, Dykegatehead in Whitsome parish, and Greenhead in Coldingham parish.

The three examples discussed below present new evidence for metaphorical uses of Old Northumbrian terms in place-names. The first and second are motivated by the LANDSCAPE IS A CONTAINER metaphor, while the third is motivated by the LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor.

Table 8. Pre-seventeenth century spellings of Boon

infirmis nostris de *Bune* 1185 × 1189
(barony of) *Bowne* 1410
terras baronie de *Bowne* 1537
terras de *Bown* 1546
baronia de *Boune* 1573

Table 8 shows the spellings of Boon in the parish of Legerwood up to the end of the sixteenth century. The etymology is ambiguous between two *DOE* headword entries: OE *bune*[1] "a drinking vessel of some kind", and OE *bune*[2] "reed". It is possible that the place-name may be based on a river name identical to the River Bune in southern England, for which Ekwall (1928: 56–57) discusses the same two alternatives. *VEPN* (s.v. *bune*) also discusses a number of English place-names from the same word or words, including Bunwell in Norfolk and Bumpstead in Essex. In general, the editors prefer the 'reed' interpretation, but they also consider a literal interpretation as 'drinking vessel' to be plausible in some instances, commenting: "Thus Bunwell Nf might possibly refer to a well with a pitcher rather than a stream where reeds grow". Historical and archaeological evidence supporting the practice of providing wells with drinking vessels was adduced by Rumble (1988–1989) in connection with English place-names from OE *byden* "vessel", which is now generally interpreted literally when used as a specific element in combination with a generic such as OE *wella* "spring, well", but metaphorically with reference to a deep valley or the like when used as a generic.

In contrast to Boon, all place-names cited in the *VEPN* entry are compounds, combining *bune* with a generic element denoting a building or landscape feature. This means that *bune* could indeed refer literally to a drinking vessel, an option not available for the simplex (i.e., single-element) Berwickshire place-name. Here the alternatives are either *bune*[1], used metaphorically of a deep pool or other hollow feature, or *bune*[2], used metonymically of a place where reeds grow. Neither can be ruled out, but the latter type of formation would be unusual, whereas the former fits the widespread pattern of container terms used of landscape features discussed above. Moreover, whereas *bune*[1] is attested by eight occurrences, mostly

in poetry – a register of language with close similarities to the toponymicon – *bune*[2] is attested by only one doubtful gloss occurrence. As the *DOE* editors observe, an alternative is to take it "as glossing *canna* in the sense 'pitcher, jug' and hence belonging to *bune*[1]". The balance of probability is therefore strongly in favour of an interpretation of Boon as 'deep pool'. The place-name certainly provides evidence that the term *bune* was current in Old Northumbrian – a dialect not represented in either of the two *DOE* entries – and in addition points towards an unattested metaphorical sense development from 'drinking vessel' to 'deep pool'.

We now move on to OE *cyrn* "churn", a term attested only three times in written sources (*DOE*, s.v. *cyrn*). These are the eighth-century Corpus Glossary, one of the earliest sources for the Mercian variety of Old English, the tenth-century Cleopatra Glossary, at least some of which was originally in the Anglian variety that encompassed both Mercian and Northumbrian, and a quasi-legal text in late West Saxon known as *Be gesceadwisan gerefa* "Concerning the wise reeve". It is not found in English place-names, but comprises the specific element of the parish name Chirnside in Berwickshire, with OE *sīde* "hill-side", one of the prehistoric body metaphors mentioned above. Among the earliest spellings shown in Table 9 are two eleventh-century forms testifying to an origin in the Old Northumbrian period.

Table 9. Pre-fourteenth century spellings of Chirnside

(mansio of) *Chirnesid* 1095
(mansio of) *cirneside* 1095
Et *chirneside* 1212 × 1222
Et *chirneside* 1212 × 1222
Eccl. de *Cherneside* 1242
(rector of) *Chirnsyde* 1248 × 1289
(rector of) *chirnissid'* 1248 × 1289
(ecclesia) De *Chirneside* c.1250
(church of) *Chirnissede* 1274 × 1275
Ecclesia de *Chirnesid* 1275 × 1276
Willelmus de Blida persona ecclesie de *Chirenside* 1296

Formally, Chirnside could refer to a hillside where churns were made or used. Another word for 'churn', OE *corþer*, is used literally in the Northamptonshire place-name Cotterstock to refer to a dairy farm (Hough 1996). However, whereas the generic element of Cotterstock, OE *stoc* "place", has a specialised meaning in connection with dairy farming, the generic of Chirnside does not. Such an interpretation is therefore less convincing, and an alternative should be considered.

Visually, the most striking aspect of Chirnside is the rounded shape of the hillside. This was emphasised in the entry for Chirnside-hill in the 1806 *Historical*

Gazetteer of Scotland (*HGS*, p. 88), which stated: "It is distinguished for its regular and semi-circular aspect on the S[outh] and for its gradual declination to the Whittadder water". Indeed, despite the housing development that now largely covers the area, a site visit by the REELS project team in March 2019 confirmed that the shape is still highly distinctive, and is visible from some distance away.

Many place-names refer to shape, either literally or metaphorically. The 14 adjectives among the Old Northumbrian elements outlined towards the beginning of this chapter include OE *lang* "long" in the parish name Langton, while examples from later names include Langrig in Eccles parish, Longbank in Swinton parish, Longcroft in Lauder parish, and Round Knowe in Eccles parish. It seems fully possible that OE *cyrn* "churn" may be used topographically, to refer to a churn-shaped hill. Comparable usages are not found in English place-names, nor in later English, although a compound adjective *churn-shaped* listed (without quotation evidence) under the entry for the noun in *OED* indicates the potential for such a meaning to evolve (*OED*, s.v. *churn, n.*).

At the very least, Chirnside adds a fourth occurrence of OE *cyrn* to the three known instances, and provides unique evidence that the term was current in Old Northumbrian. If the shape interpretation is correct, it also reflects a metaphorical meaning unattested elsewhere, adding to the many examples of the LANDSCAPE IS A CONTAINER metaphor.

We turn finally to the place-name Lennel in Coldstream parish, recorded from the late eleventh century. Spellings up to the end of the twelfth century are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Pre-thirteenth century spellings of Lennel

(mansio of) *leinhale* 1095
(mansio of) *leinhale* 1095
Henrico presbitero de *leinhale* 1127
dimidiam de terra de *Laynall* 1138 × 1166
dimidiam carucatam terre de terra de *Laynall* 1138 × 1166
unam carucatam et dimidiam de terra de *Laynall* 1138 × 1166
dimidiam carucatam de terra de *Laynall* 1138 × 1166
Alano de *Leinhale* 1164 × 1196
in *Laynall* 1166 × 1182
in *Leinhalle* 1166 × 1182
Toma de *Leinhal* 1182 × 1232
Toma d[e] *Leinhal'* 1182 × 1232
Ricardo de *Laynall* c.1190 × c.1211

The generic element of Lennel is OE *halh* "nook", a term with c.35 occurrences in lexis (*DOE*, s.v. *healh*), and many more in place-names, where its nuances of meaning have been much discussed (Gelling & Cole 2000: 123–33; Stiles 1997). The specific element is OE *hlǣne*, the ancestor of PDE *lean*, an adjective unrepresented in English place-names and for which only eight occurrences are recorded in *DOE* (s.v. *hlǣne*). Of these, six are attributed to sense 1 "of the body: lean, thin, emaciated", one to sense 1.a "specifically, of a person's face: withered, emaciated", and one to sense 2 "figurative, of the inner person: weak, consumed, corroded". Clearly none of these would make sense in a place-name context. Some other explanation is needed for Lennel, and can be provided from later evidence testifying to the influence of the LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor.

Sense 4a of the *OED* entry for *lean* (s.v. *lean, adj.* and *n.*[2]), is "Wanting in rich elements or qualities. Said, e.g. of soils, limestone, †water, etc.". Attested from c.1420, the earliest quotations are as follows:

> c1420 Pallad. on Husb. v. 6 Hit dongeth londes lene, & beestes lorn ffor lene hit fedeth vp.
> c1480 (▸a1400) St. Machor 987 in W. M. Metcalfe Legends Saints Sc. Dial. (1896) II. 29 He..gert teile a mekill feild of land..It was leyne & dry.
> ?1523 J. Fitzherbert Bk. Husbandry f. xiii Hawdod..groweth commenly in rye vpon lene grounde.
> a1592 R. Greene Sc. Hist. Iames IV (1598) v. sig. H4 Lands are leane, where riuers do not runne.

However, these are pre-dated by the entry for *lēne* adj.(1) in the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), where sense 2(b) includes the definition "of soil, land, pasture: barren, sparse, not fertile", attested from as early as c1300:[14]

> c1300 SLegKenelm (Hrl) 236: He nere noȝt to bymene Þeȝ his larder were neȝ ido & his somer lese lene.
> (1340) Ayenb. 189/36: Þe zeuende þing … is a zed þet betere makeþ frut ine lhene land þanne hit do ine uette.
> (a1398) *Trev Barth. 254b/a: In grauely lond and to lene þe vyne ouerdruyeþ and fayleþ.

The same sense development is found in Scots from the late fourteenth century. Sense 2 of the entry for *lene* adj.in *A Dictionary of the Scottish Tongue* (DSL) is "*transf.* Of land or soil: Poor, unproductive, exhausted", evidenced by two quotations, of which the first (John Barbour's *Legends of the Saints*) is dated 1380 in the bibliography:

14. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for drawing the *MED* entry to my attention.

> Leg. S. xxvii. 987. He … gert teile a mekill feild of land, & thocht it was leyne & dry, He socht to saw thare bere & ry;
> 1637 Rutherford Lett. (1671) 138. For desertions, I think them like lying lay of lean and weak land for some yeers while it gather sap for a better crope;

The only occurrence I have been able to trace in English place-names is Lean Acres Farm in Cheshire, explained as 'poor ploughland' (Dodgson: 1970–1997: iii, 120), but with no spellings earlier than *Leaneacre* 1560.[15]

A transferred metaphorical sense in connection with poor quality land is similarly plausible as the explanation of Lennel, which can be understood to mean 'unproductive nook of land'. The Berwickshire place-name therefore provides unique evidence for this meaning of *hlǣne* in Old English, predating later uses in either English or Scots by about 200 years. As with other examples discussed in this chapter, it contributes to our knowledge of the lexis and semantics of Old Northumbrian, and demonstrates the rich potential of the place-name material.

7. Further information

More information on most of the place-names discussed here, together with full lists of historical spellings, can be found online in The Berwickshire Place-Name Resource, launched in November 2018 as one of the main outputs of the REELS project, and available at https://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/. The research is based both on the names within this resource and on others from the six parishes studied in depth for the place-name survey volume mentioned in § 1 above: these are Coldstream, Eccles, Foulden, Hutton, Ladykirk and Mordington. It remains only to thank the other members of the project team, my colleagues Brian Aitken, Simon Taylor and Eila Williamson, and to express our gratitude to The Leverhulme Trust for making the research possible.

Sources

DOE = Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandell Amos & Antoinette DiPaolo Healey. 2018. *Dictionary of Old English: A to I online*. Toronto: Dictionary of Old English.

DSL = *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (combining *A dictionary of the Older Scottish tongue* and *Scottish national dictionary*): http://www.dsl.ac.uk/

15. The word *lean* in English field-names is generally from Cornish *leyn "strip of land, a stich" (Cavill 2018: 249), and is not relevant here.

EPNE = Smith, A. H. 1956. *English place-name elements*, 2 volumes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
HGS = *Historical Gazetteer of Scotland*: http://digital.nls.uk/gazetteers-of-scotland-1803-1901/archive/97414570
MED = Kurath, Hans & Sherman M. Kuhn. 1952–2001. *Middle English dictionary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
OEC = Old English Corpus: https://www.doe.utoronto.ca/
OED = *Oxford English dictionary*: http://www.oed.com. Where comparison is made between the second edition and the ongoing third edition, these are identified respectively as *OED*2 and *OED*3. Otherwise, all references are to the latest revision available in May 2019.
REELS = Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names: https://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/
VEPN = Parsons, David N. et al. 1997–. *The vocabulary of English place-names*. 3 volumes so far published. Nottingham: Centre for English Name Studies.

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CHAPTER 6

From *eadig* to *happy*

The lexical replacement in the field of Medieval English adjectives of fortune

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This chapter discusses the demise of Old English adjectives of fortune which came to be replaced with some new items of Germanic origin, in particular Norse-derived *happy* and Low German or Flemish *lucky*. Interestingly, in this semantic field referring to abstract ideas, English did not take Romance borrowings, except for *fortunate*. The adjective *happy* was not a direct Scandinavian loanword, but an independent regular late-14th century native derivation from the originally Norse noun *hap* borrowed into English at least two centuries before. In Middle and Early Modern English some Old English items fell into disuse (e.g., *ēadig*) while others underwent major semantic shifts ((*ge*)*sǣlig* and *blīðe*). Using the data from several historical dictionaries of English and the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, I trace the mechanisms of replacement in the context of lexical layering, subjectification and contact-induced linguistic changes.

Keywords: lexical borrowing, contact-induced change, layering, subjectification, Old Norse, Medieval English

1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the lexical replacement of the original Old English adjectives of fortune such as *ēadig, blīþe* and (*ge*)*sǣlig* with the new words *happy* and *lucky* in Middle English. At the time when English borrowed numerous Romance words denoting abstract concepts, in this semantic field the language chose to take in items of Germanic origin. As usually happens in such situations, the process of lexical replacement was gradual in line with the idea of layering (cf. Hopper 1991; Vanhowe 2008; Allan 2016), but finally the obsolescence of the older words led to their complete replacement by the expanding newer synonyms. I only discuss

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the adjectives that underwent major semantic shifts and the new Middle English items which were the result of contact-induced lexical changes, leaving aside those adjectives of fortune that have basically kept their original senses, such as, for example, *glad* and *merry*.

After presenting etymological information about each item, I discuss their occurrences in Medieval English and attempt to find out whether there were any general patterns of lexical and semantic change with reference to the theoretical concepts of layering and subjectification. The illustrative language material for this study comes from lexical databases (*The Dictionary of Old English, A Thesaurus of Old English, The Middle English Dictionary, Anglo-Norman Dictionary, The Oxford English Dictionary* and *The Historical Thesaurus of English*) and the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*. The abbreviated titles of the original historical text sources follow the conventions of notation used in these dictionaries.

The concept of layering was introduced into linguistics and defined by Hopper (1991: 22) in the following way: "within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers" (cf. also Traugott 2008: 234, Brems 2012). In the literature on grammaticalization the term usually refers to syntactic phenomena, in particular to lexical items that become function words. I believe that the idea can be easily extended to the lexical component (cf. Martín Arista's 2011, 2014 articles on noun and adjective derivation), as languages often develop synonymous older and newer expressions for the same sense, which coexist for centuries. Synonyms then can undergo divergent semantic developments, where some senses of particular items may be lost (and replaced with new words) while others may be retained, leading to the narrowing or specialization of the original meaning.

In the semantic development of some English adjectives of fortune one can observe the process of subjectification, e.g., Old English *ēadig*, in addition to the concrete sense 'wealthy', 'rich', measured in terms of tangible material possessions and money, acquired the abstract sense of 'happy'. In Early Modern English the adjective *happy* itself came to collocate less readily with inanimate nouns in favour of human subjects and their (subjective) state of mind. The idea of subjectification has been discussed both within synchronic (Langacker 1990) and diachronic studies of language (Traugott 1989, 1995, 2010; Molencki 2018). Traugott (1989: 35) defined it as "a shift of senses from the external objective situation to the subjective meaning present in the speaker's mind".

2. Old English adjectives of happiness and their further development in Middle English

The major Old English adjectives of happiness were (cf. *TOE* under the heading HAPPINESS, BLESSEDNESS, though *(ge)bletsod* is listed among the items connected with the semantic field of FAITH):

OE *ēadig* > ME *eadi/edi* and became obsolete by the 15th century
OE *(ge)sǣlig* > ME *seli – silly*, which underwent semantic shift and pejoration
OE *(ge)bletsod* > ME *(y-)blessed* – its use was limited to religious writing
OE *blīþe* > ME *blithe*, which later became obsolescent, but re-appeared in the 20th century with new meaning

A cursory glance at the etymology of words denoting happiness in some European languages points to an interaction with terms referring to deity, wealth, richness, prosperity, chance, fate and destiny. For example, the Polish adjective *bogaty* "rich" and its Slavonic cognates originated from the root found in the noun *Bóg* "God" coming from Proto-Slavonic *богъ, which was borrowed from Old Persian *baga*, i.e., "Lord, the one who grants riches, happiness", similar to Sanskrit *bhága-* "lord, patron, wealth". Latin *fors* "chance, luck, destiny" gave *fortuna* meaning 'fortune', both as 'fate, luck' and 'prosperity, riches', and *Fortuna*, the name of the goddess of (favourable) chance. Likewise Greek *εὐτυχία* "happiness" comes from εὐ "good" *τύχη* "luck, fortune, destiny".

2.1 OE *ēadig* > ME *edi*

The adjective *ēadig* was derived from the noun *ēad* "well-being, wealth, happiness", which, however, was a rare word, with a mere 20 occurrences in the whole *DOE* corpus, all of them from Old English poetry. Cognate Germanic words all denoted 'riches, wealth' and 'estate', e.g., Old Saxon *ód*, Old High German *ót* (glossing Latin *praedium*), Old Norse *auðr*, all from Proto-Germanic *audaz, also present in the first part of Gothic *audahafts* "fortunate". On the other hand, the adjective *ēadig* was a common Old English word with c1650 occurrences. Its longer derived variant *ēadiglic* has only 8 occurrences in the corpus. Like the noun, the adjective had two senses 'wealthy, rich', e.g., in (1), and 'happy', e.g., in (2) and (3). In the first sense it was often used in contrastive alliterative pairs with *earm: earm and eadig* "poor and rich". It also developed a third meaning in religious contexts as a synonym of *(ge)bletsod* "blessed" (e.g., in (4) and (23)):

(1) *ac ðæm lareowe is micel ðearf ðæt he ongiete hwa earm sie, hwa* ***eadig****.*
but to.the teacher is much need that he know who poor is who rich
"But it is very necessary for the teacher to know who is poor and who is **rich**."
(CP 26.183.7)

(2) faustus *is on oðrum ledene* beatus, *ðæt is* ***eadig****.*
faustus is in another Latin beatus that is happy
"*faustus* has another Latin synonym *beatus*, which means **happy**."
(*ÆGram* 293.15)

(3) ***eadige*** *sind þine ðegnas.* (II Par 9:7 *beati servi tui*)
happy are your servants
'**happy** are your servants." (*ÆCHom* II, 45 340.164)

(4) *Maria seo* ***eadiga*** *mid mædenlicum werodum.*
Mary the blessed among virgin companies
'Mary, the **blessed** one among virgins." (ÆLS (Martin) 1436)

In Middle English the adjective *eadi/edi*, is still attested in all the three senses, as exemplified by (5)–(9), though the majority of examples are found in the religious context as synonyms of 'blessed'. The word was relatively rare and became obsolete at the turn of the 15th century: a search in the *CMEPV* yielded only c170 matches, all from before c1400 though some manuscripts were copied later, as in (9):

(5) *Vnderstondeð nu to me* ***edi*** *men and earme.*
Understand now to me rich men and poor
"Pay attention to me now, **rich** men and poor."
(a1225(?c1175) *PMor*.(Lamb 487) 227)

(6) ***Edi*** *seo þu Aldolf, eorlene aðelest.*
happy be you Aldolf of.earls noblest
"Be happy, Aldolf, the **noblest** of the earls."
(c1275(?a1200) Lay. *Brut* (Clg A.9) 16559)

(7) *Þet* ***eadie*** *meiden, Margarete binome.*
the blessed virgin Margaret by.name
"The **blessed** virgin, Margaret by name."
(c1225(?c1200) *St.Marg*.(1) (Bod 34) 4/2)

(8) *Cryst hym self was þere.. Þe* ***eadi*** *leuedy for to lede.*
Christ him self was there the blessed Lady for to lead
"Christ himself was there in order to lead the **blessed** Lady."
(c1350(a1333) Shoreham Poems (Add 17376) 125/323)

(9) *Ercules, þat honerable,* ***edist*** *of my knightes.*
Hercules the honourable most.fortunate of my knights
"That honourable Hercules, the **most fortunate** of my knights."
(c1540(?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388) 5324)

2.2 OE (*ge*)*sælig* > ME *seli*

Old English (*ge*)*sælig*, ultimately from Proto-Germanic *sæligas (cf. German *selig*, Dutch *zalig*, Old Norse *sæl* discussed in § 4.2, "happy, blessed"), originated from the noun *sæl* "good fortune, happiness", whose Indo-European root *sel- can be seen in, e.g., Greek *ἱλαρός* (*hilarós*), "cheerful, merry" and Latin *solari* "console". Old English (*ge*)*sælig* meant 'happy, blessed, holy', as in (10) and (11) and this sense was continued in Middle English. It also had a rarer longer derived variant (*ge*)*sæliglic*. As can be deduced from the example from *Boethius* in (10) below, the feeling of bliss or blessedness led to happiness expressed here by *ēadig*:

(10) *se þe þonne good bið se bið* ***gesælig****, 7 se ðe* ***gesælig*** *bið, se bið* ***eadig****.*
he that then good is he is blessed and he that blessed is he is happy
"He who is good is **blessed** and the one who is **blessed** is **happy**."
(Bo 36.109.20)

(11) *Þa cwæð Sebastianus, se* ***gesæliga*** *martyr…*
then said Sebastian the blessed martyr
"Then said Sebastian, the **blessed** martyr." (ÆLS (Sebastian) 265)

Both variants usually occurred with the prefix *ge-* in Old English, still preserved in the reduced form in Early Middle English, as in (12), but before 1300 the prefix was lost as can be seen in the examples listed in the *MED*. In Late Middle English the adjective underwent semantic pejoration (cf. Finkbeiner et al. 2016) from 'happy, blessed' (Examples (13)–(16)) through 'happy, innocent', as in (17) to 'pitiable' and 'naïve, feeble-minded' and finally to 'silly, foolish',[1] as in (18), the only sense of the word that survives in Modern English though it was not until the time of Shakespeare (Example (19)) when it became really common with the earlier senses receding quickly. I find c240 occurrences of the word in the *CMEPV* in both old and new senses:

(12) *Ðanne bie ȝit iwiss* ***isali****.*
then be you.two certainly happy
"Then both of you will certainly be **happy**."
(a1225(c1200) Vices & V.(1) (Stw 34) 97/31)

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1. The *MED* (s.v. *sellī*) points to the confusion between two adjectives *sēlī* and *sellī* (the other meaning 'remarkable, surprising', from Old English *seldlic* from Proto-Germanic *selda- "strange, rare"; hence *seldom*), especially in the manuscripts of *Cursor Mundi*, e.g.:

(i) Speke we of sir zacari, Hou..He suld haue ion, þat **selly** [Vespasian: ***seli***, Fairfax and Trinity: ***sely***] barn. "We speak of Sir Zachary, how he should have John, that remarkable (or happy) child." (a1400 *Cursor* (Göt Theol 107) 10934)

(13) **Sely**, or happy: Felix, fortunatus. ((1440) *PParv*.(Hrl 221) 452)

(14) *As he wende his wei, seh þis* ***seli*** *meiden Margarete.*
as he went his way saw this blessed virgin Margaret
"As he was going his way, he saw the **blessed** virgin Margaret."
(c1225(?c1200) *St.Marg*.(1) (Bod 34) 6/9)

(15) *Þis is a* ***seli*** *deað þet makeð cwic mon þus oðer cwic wummon ut of þe worlde.*
this is a blessed death that makes living man thus or living woman out of the world
"It is a **blessed** death that takes the living man and the living woman out of the world." (c1230(?a1200) *Ancr*.(Corp-C 402) 179/20)

(16) *For* ***sely*** *is that deth … That... cometh and endeth peyne.*
for blessed is that death that comes and ends pain
"For **blessed** is the death that comes and ends pain."
(a1425(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 4.503)

(17) *Þe knif.. was lewe Of þe* ***seli*** *children blod.*
the knife was warm of the innocent children's blood
"The knife was warm of the **innocent** children's blood."
((c1300) *Havelok* (LdMisc 108) 499)

(18) *Thise* ***sely*** *clerkes han fulfaste y-ronne Toward þe fen.*
these foolish clerks have very.fast run toward the fen
"These **foolish** clerks ran very fast toward the fen."
((c1390) Chaucer CT.Rv.(Manly-Rickert) A.4090)

(19) This is the **silliest** stuffe, that euer I heard. (Shakespeare *Mids.N*. V.i.212)

In the modern period some of the older senses can still be found in Scots (cf. *DSL*, s.v. *silly*), where we find definitions such as "[d]eserving pity or compassion, freq. as an epithet expressing kindness or sympathy", e.g.:

(20) Goodwife, for your courtesie, Will you lodge a **silly** poor man?
(Sc. 1724 Ramsay T.-T. Misc. (1876) I. 80)

2.3 OE *(ge)bletsod* > ME *blessed*

The adjective *(ge)bletsod* "blessed", originally the past participle of *bletsian* "bless" (from Proto-Germanic *blōdsian "to sanctify with blood"), had c500 occurrences in the *DOE* corpus, which is due to a large number of religion-related texts:

(21) *hal wes þu Maria from drihtne* ***gebletsod***.
hail be you Mary by lord blessed
"Hail Mary, **blessed** by the Lord" (LS 21 (AssumptTristr) 20)

(22) ***gebletsæd*** *drihten forðon þe he gehierde stemne mines gebedes.*
blessed lord for that he heard voice of.my prayers
benedictus *dominus quoniam exaudivit vocem deprecationis mee*
"**Blessed** be the Lord for he has heard my prayer." (PsGlE 27.6)

In Old English *bletsod* was mostly used with the perfective prefix *ge-*, whose Middle English reflex *y-/i-* was rare in this word even in early texts. However, when the word was a part of a complex verbal construction, the prefix *y-* was used also in Late Middle English texts, as in the passive voice Example (24) from *Piers Plowman* below. *Blessed* was often found with its synonyms *edi, holi* and *seli* in binomial pairs, cf., e.g., Kopaczyk & Sauer (2017), e.g., (23), (25) and (26) below:

(23) ***Aedie*** *and* ***blessede*** [Latin: *beati*] *beon alle þeo þe ihéreð*
happy and blessed be all those who hear
godes weordes.
God's words
"**Happy** and **blessed** are all those who listen to God's words."
(a1225(?OE) *Lamb.Hom.*(Lamb 487) 47)

(24) *Here is bred* ***yblessed*** *and goddes body þer-vnder.*
here is bread blessed and God's body there-under
"Here the bread is **blessed** and God's body under the guise of it."
(c1400(c1378) PPl.B (LdMisc 581)19.383)

(25) ***Sely*** *or* ***blessid*** [L *felix*] *that hadde not sorewi slouthe of*
blessed or blessed that had not sorrowful vexation from
his inwit.
his conscience
KJB: "Blessed is he whose conscience hath not condemned him."
((a1382) *WBible(1)* (Dc 369(1)) Eccles.14.2)

(26) The holy and **blessed** Trinite.
((1426) *Reg.Chichele* in *Cant.Yk.S.42* (Lamb 69) 340)

2.4 OE *blīþe* > ME *blithe*

The adjective *blīþe* is of Germanic origin (from Proto-Germanic *blīþis), found in most early Germanic dialects without cognates in other Indo-European languages, though some etymologists derive it from the Indo-European root *b^{h}el- "to shine" (cf. Kroonen 2013). It has had an interesting semantic history. The original sense recorded for Gothic *bleiþs*, Old Norse *blíðr*, Frisian *blid* and Dutch *blijde* "mild, gentle, kind, glad" is also found in Old English, e.g., in (27), but according to the *OED* "the word had come more usually to be applied to the external manifestation of one's own pleased or happy frame of mind", i.e., "joyful, happy", as in (28). This

semantic change from objective to subjective supports Traugott's (1989) idea of subjectification. The *DOE* corpus has 325 occurrences of the word and both senses of the adjective are still found in Middle and Early Modern English, e.g., (29)–(31), often in the binomial alliterative pairs *blessed and blithe, blithe and bonny*, as in (32) and (33).

In Modern English *blithe* becomes a rare, poetic item (cf. *OED* s.v. *blithe*, where the word is described as "[r]are in mod.Eng. prose or speech"), found, for example, in an alliterative phrase *blithe as a bird*. The word continues to be used in various spellings in the original sense in Scots, especially in poetry, as in (34) (cf. *DSL*, s.v. *blithe*). In the 20th century, in a way, it reappears in Standard English with the new pejorized meaning 'heedless, careless, unconcerned', thus 'negatively happy', "used to intensify following n[oun] describing a negative quality", as in (35). *OED*, s.v. *blithe*, quotes the first such uses from 1922 onward; cf. also *HTE*:

(27) *Him biþ engla weard milde and* ***bliðe***.
him was of.angels host mild and kind
"The host of angels became mild and **kind** to him." (Elene 1317)

(28) *ða wæs Gethro* ***bliðe*** *for eallum ðam godum ðe Drihten dyde*
then was Jethro happy for all the goodness that Lord did
Israhela folce
to.of.Israel people
(*laetatusque est Iethro super omnibus bonis*).
"And Jethro was **happy** for all the goodness which the Lord had done to Israel."
(Exod 18.9)

(29) *Mani mann Wass off hiss come* ***bliþe***.
many man was of his coming happy
"Many a man were **happy** about his coming." (?c1200 *Orm.*(Jun 1) 796)

(30) *Your biddyng to obey, as my* ***blithe*** *fader*.
your bidding to obey as my kind father
"To obey your orders as my **kind** father" (c1400 Destr. Troy 2342)

(31) *Sir Ioachim was fain and* ***blith***. [Gött. MS: glad and **blith**]
Sir Joachim was joyful and happy
"Sir Joachim was joyful and **happy**." (a1400(a1325) *Cursor* (Vsp A.3) 10377)

(32) *God is spedeful in speche boþ* ***blessed & bliþe***.
God is excellent in speech both blessed and happy
"God is excellent in speech, both blessed and happy"
(c1450(c1350) Alex.& D.(Bod 264) 624)

(33) Shakespeare *MA* II.iii.65: be you **blithe and bonny**.

(34) The folk o Wassetter … wur **blide** tae help the ither side i' the time o' sair need.
(Ork.(D) 1880 Dennison Orcad. Sk. Bk. 8–9)

(35) The era of cheap fuels led to a **blithe** disregard of second-law fundamentals.
(1977 Time May 194/1)

3. Romance loanwords

As is well known, the majority of words of Romance origin in English are abstract and/or formal (cf. e.g., Baugh & Cable 1993: Chapter 7; Durkin 2014: Chapter 11), but in the semantic field of happiness French and Latin words are less common. This can be explained by the fact that such words refer to emotions where most of the wordstock appears to be Germanic: native English and borrowed Norse items. The *Historical Thesaurus of English* shows that native Germanic items in this semantic field have resisted being replaced by borrowings. Late Middle English French-derived *eurous* became obsolete quickly while Latinate *fortunate* must have sounded somewhat formal on account of its three syllables. The stylistic difference between Germanic and Romance words in English is discussed, among many others, by Busse & Busse (2012: 814, cf. also Romaine 1982), who say that

> the Germanic word is the ordinary word, often being more personal, more lively and more affectionate. By contrast, the Romance loanword is more unpersonal, sought-after, or more dignified. This distinction, both then and now, presupposes from the language users a kind of implicit etymological knowledge, language awareness, or at least a feel for the language.

Their pertinent remarks refer to Shakespeare's English, but they are definitely also valid for (Late) Middle English when the distinction was initiated after the absorption of several thousand French and Latin words into English, first by bilingual French and English speakers (cf. Trotter 2000 on the multilingual situation in England in the Late Middle Ages).

3.1 *Eurous*

Eurous (Continental French *heureux*, from the obsolete Old French noun *eür* "chance, fortune" ultimately derived from Latin *augurium* "divination"), is well attested in Anglo-Norman (36) and (37), but in Late Middle English it was a rare word, mostly found in Lydgate's writings, also in binomial pairs with *happy*, as in (38):

(36) *Dieu lour avoit doné* ***errouse*** *esploite de lour enemis.*
God them has given happy victory over their enemies
"God gave them a **happy** victory over their enemies." (TRIV 217.25)

(37) *mon amy, nous sommes les plus* ***eureux*** *du monde, car j'ay veu*
my love we are the most happy of.the world for I have seen
mon mary qui va a la taverne.
my husband who goes to the tavern
"My love, we are the **happiest** in the world, for I have seen my husband going to the tavern." [A woman speaking to her lover] (*C.N.N.*, c.1456–1467, 528).

(38) *To be biloued,* ***happi and Ewrous****.*
to be beloved happy and fortunate
"To be beloved, happy and fortunate." (a1450(?1420) Lydg. TG (Tan 346) 562)

The strictly French phonetic shape of *eurous* may have contributed to it being perceived as a strange word for an English ear, which might explain why it was not adopted into English in the end. Similarly, some Anglo-Norman prepositions, which had distinctive French phonetic features, were used in Middle English only for a relatively short period, e.g., *sans* "without" (with a nasal vowel) and *maugre* "despite", which are both attested only in (Late) Middle English and were later replaced with other words; cf. Molencki 2011. Another guess could be that there might have been confusion with another French-derived word *errour* "error", which sounded similar. According to *HTE* and *MED* the adjective *eurous* is attested in English only between 1430 and 1510.

3.2 Fortunate

Middle English *fortunate* "favoured by fortune, lucky, beneficial" derived from Latin *fortunatus*, the past participle of the verb *fortunare* "make prosperous", is first attested in the poetry of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower. The adjective narrowed its sense in English as compared to Latin, where it meant not only 'beneficial' and 'lucky' as in the English Examples (39) and (40), but also 'happy' and 'wealthy'. Since the word is not attested in either Continental Old French or Anglo-Norman, both of which only used the past participle *fortuné*, it must have been adopted into English either as a direct Latin loanword or through the intermediary of Italian, a language which both these English poets knew well. *HTE* also lists other Late Middle English variants *fortuned, fortunable* and *fortunous*, none of which survived the 16th century. There appears to have been competition between the prefixes *in-* and *un-* in the negative counterpart of *fortunate*, as in (41) and (42) below:

(39) *Thus Walter lowely, nay but roially, Wedded with* ***fortunat*** *honestetee.*
thus Walter lowly no but royally wedded with fortunate honesty
"Thus Walter lowly, nay but royally, wedded with **beneficial** virtue."
((c1395) Chaucer *CT.Cl.*(Manly-Rickert) E.422)

(40) *He were ryght* ***fortunate*** *that myght haue hir.*
he was right fortunate that might have her
"He was very **lucky** that he could have her." (c1450 *Ponthus* (Dgb 185) 61/28)

(41) *Curse may I ther-fore The day* ***in-fortunate*** [vrr. **vnfortunat**, **infortunatte**]
curse may I therefore the day unfortunate
that I was bore.
that I was born
"Let me therefore curse the **unfortunate** day on which I was born."
(a1450 Parton.(1) (UC C.188) 6063)

(42) *Howbehit ye ar called a good knyght, but ye ar called* ***unfortunate.***
how.be.it you are called a good knight but you are called unfortunate
"Although you are called a good knight, you are called **unfortunate**."
((a1470) Malory Wks.(Win-C) 488/20)

4. The origin and development of *happy*

4.1 Etymology

The English adjective *happy* was a regular formation based on the nominal root *hap* borrowed into Middle English from the Old Norse noun *happ* (nominative plural *höpp*) "(good) luck", as in (43), derived from Proto-Germanic *hampą "convenience, happiness", ultimately from the Proto-Indo-European root *kob- "good fortune, prophecy; to bend, bow, fit in, work, succeed"; cf. Old Church Slavonic *кобь* "fate", Old Irish *cob* "victory". From this root in the Scandinavian languages we have the Old Danish adjective *hap* "fortunate" and the Swedish verb *hampa* "to turn out". Old Norse and Old Icelandic also used the adjective *heppinn/heppit* (with umlaut due to the presence of the high vowel in the inflectional ending), as in (44), but it was the equivalent of Present-day English *lucky, fortunate* rather than of *happy*. Similarly, the negative *óheppinn*, as in (45), is usually translated as *unlucky*.

(43) *Veit eg eigi hvar sú kona situr er mér sé mikið* ***happ*** *í að geta.*
know I not where that woman lives who me be much luck in to get
"I do not know where that woman lives whom to marry would mean any great **good luck** to me". (Old Icel., 13th c. *Laxdœla saga* 22)

(44) ***heppinn*** *drótt af hlunni sléttum hélug bǫrð.*
fortunate dragged off launcher smooth rimy prows
"you dragged, **fortunate**, rime-spread prows from the smooth launcher."
(Old Norse, 11th c. Arnor *Hryn Magnússdrápa* 11)

(45) *Ég hafði verið* ***óheppinn*** *með samferðamenn.*
I had been unlucky with fellow.travellers
"I had been **unlucky** with fellow travellers." (Modern Icel., *Reynslusögur* 4)

According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, Norse *heppinn* was the source of the ephemeral Middle English adjective *happen* attested only in the poems of the Gawain group, i.e., in North West Midland dialect. The *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (s.v. *happin*) quotes two examples from the 14th century, i.e., Middle English *Legends of the Saints* after *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*. The different unumlauted vowel /a/ might have been the result of the influence of the noun *hap*. In (46), which is a paraphrase of the sermon on the mount (Matthew 5), *happen* is a synonym of "blessed" found in the contemporaneous translation of the benedictions in the Bible by John Wycliffe ("blessed be they that…"):

(46) *Thay arn* ***happen*** *þat han in hert pouerte… Þay ar* ***happen*** *also þat*
they are blessed that have in heart poverty they are blessed also that
haunte mekenesse.
practice meekness
"**Blessed** are those who have poverty in their heart, **blessed** are also they who practice meekness." (c1400(?c1380) Patience (Nero A.10) 13, 15)

4.2 *Hap-* in English

The Norse root *happ-* developed new derivatives and senses in English, which did not have cognate equivalents in the source language. Although the noun *hap* itself became obsolescent in Early Modern English (perhaps except for the still-surviving *hapless*), its new Middle English derivatives, i.e., the adjective *happy*, the verb *happen* and the modal adverb *perhaps*, whose diffusion was rapid in all Late Middle English dialects and registers, are now high frequency words.

The adjective *happy* appears to be an English formation – it is not attested in Old Norse, which used *sæll* (sometimes also the compound *happsæll*, e.g., 49 below) cognate with English (*ge*)*sǣlig*>*seli* discussed above in § 2.2. Old Norse, as noted above, did have the adjective *heppinn*/*heppit* "blessed, lucky, fortunate", which may have contributed to the rise of the adjective *happy* in English, but the vocalism of the root clearly shows that it developed independently of the Norse source. Reliable etymological sources such as the *OED* and Onions (1966, s.v. *happy*) derive the English adjective *happy* directly from the noun *hap*. Besides, the first instances of the adjective *happy* in English date from the 1380s, i.e. almost two centuries after the first occurrences of the noun *hap* are recorded (see §§ 4.3–4.4 below). According to Old Norse dictionaries, e.g., Zoega 1910, the Norse word for 'happy' was *sæll*, as in (47) and (48). (*Ver) heil ok sæll* "(be) healthy and happy" was a typical

Viking-Age greeting (also used nowadays by Scandinavian nationalists) and *heppinn* was not used in this context despite its identical initial consonant, which would have brought about alliteration, so characteristic of early Germanic:

(47) ***heill*** ***og*** ***sæll***, *minn Skíði*.
heathy and fortunate my Skiði
"(be) healthy and **fortunate**, my Skíði." (*Skíðaríma* 92)

(48) ***sæll*** *er, sá er unir sínu*.
happy is who is content with.himself
"he is **happy**, who is content with his own." (*Hugsvinnsmál* 44)

(49) *hann var* ***happsæll***.
he was lucky
"he was **lucky**." (*Ectors saga* 574)

4.3 The noun *hap* in Middle English

The noun *hap* was used in Middle and Early Modern English in the sense of 'a person's lot (good or bad), luck, fortune, fate', as in (50) and (51), which was the original sense of the word in the source language. From the beginning of its presence in Early Middle English the word had a regular prefixed negative counterpart *unhap*, as in (52), which was a native English development, as in Norse the negative prefix had the original form *ó-*, as in *óhapp* "misfortune".

(50) *Þer he of-toc Morgan.. & sloh he him of þat hæued;*
there he caught.up.with Morgan and cut he him off the head
his ***hap*** *wes þa wurse!*
"There he caught up with Morgan and cut off his head; his **fate** was worse."
(c1275(?a1200) Lay.*Brut* (Clg A.9) 3857)

(51) *Ysaac.. Þat freli child, þat ful of* ***hap***.
Isaac that lovely child that full of luck
"Isaac, that lovely child full of **good luck**."
(a1400(a1325) *Cursor* (Vsp A.3) 3017)

(52) *Þe hali mon… biweop his* ***unhap***.
the holy man bewept his misfortune
"The holy man bewept his **misfortune**."
(c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.*(Corp-C 402) 143/10)

The last occurrences of the noun *hap* quoted in the *OED* from the 19th century, are all Walter Scott's deliberate archaisms, e.g. (53) below:

(53) Remember then thy **hap** erewhile A stranger in the lonely isle.
(1810 Scott *Lady of L.* ii. iii)

4.4 The adjective *happy*

Thus, as observed above, the adjective *happy* is not a direct Scandinavian loanword, but a new word coined in accordance with regular Middle English word-formation processes. This shows that once borrowed, foreign elements can be quickly adapted into the target language and are no longer perceived as foreign. In such cases Durkin (2014: 214) prefers to talk about "Scandinavian-influenced words". Similar examples are *dirty* (from Old Norse *drit*) or *skin* used as a verb (cf. also Fischer 2003 and Gévaudan 2007 for typologies of lexical borrowing).

There are c140 occurrences of *happy* (and c50 of *unhappy*) in the *CMEPV*, the earliest ones from the 1380s, as in (54–58) below. The new word is found in northern, central and southern dialects in both poetry and prose, including private correspondence as in (55). Earlier dates for the first attestations, e.g., 1340 recorded both in the *OED* and *HTL*, are most likely derived from some older sources, whose editors wrongly believed that the Cotton Vespasian MS of *Cursor Mundi* was copied c1340. Another early instance quoted in the *OED* from *The Prick of Conscience* is misdated for 1340. For a long time the poem was attributed to Richard Rolle of Hampole (1305–1349), but now most scholars believe that it was written later by an anonymous Yorkshire poet (cf. Morey 2012). The *MED* title stencils and sources have a more probable dating: in this case it is a1425(a1400) PConsc. (Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196). Some senses of Middle English *happy* are lost now, e.g., 'apt, skillful, dexterous' (most likely the continuation of Old English *gehæp*) and 'lucky, turning out well' (replaced with *lucky* discussed in § 5 below), e.g., (60), (61) and the examples in footnote 3.

(54) *Wel* ***happy*** *and* ***blessed*** *ben þay þat louen and purchacen pees ffor*
very happy and blessed are they that love and purchase peace for
þey ben cleped children of god.
they are called children of God
"Very **happy** and **blessed** are those who love and obstain reconciliation, for they are called children of God." ((c1390) Chaucer *CT.Mel.* B.2870)

(55) ***Happi*** *is he that maketh yn heuene his feste.*
happy is he that makes in heaven his feast
"**Happy** is he who makes his feast in heaven."
(a1450(?c1430) Lydg. *DM(1)* (Hnt EL 26.A.13) 648)

(56) *I hold you* ***happy*** *that ye ar oute of the prese, for with huse*
I consider you happy that you are out of the trouble for about house
is myche trobull.
is much trouble
"I believe that you are **happy** to be no longer involved, as a house always means trouble." (Simon Stallworth's letter to William Stonor: 21 June 1483)

(57) ***Vnhappi*** *wreche has he ben ai.*
Unhappy wretch has he been always
"He has always been an **unhappy** wretch."
(a1400(a1325) *Cursor* (Vsp A.3) 3637)

(58) ***vnhappy*** *man anon I wol me hi3e To telle þin vnwitte and þy folye.*
unhappy man soon I will me hasten to tell your stupidity and your folly
"**Unhappy** man, soon I will hasten myself To tell thy lack of prudence and thy folly." ((c1395) Chaucer *CT.CY*. G.1084)

The Old English cognate adjective *gehæp* "fit, convenient, apt, skillful, dexterous", as in (59), (with some derivatives like *gehæplic, gehæplicness, ungehæplic*) had rather limited occurrence with very few attestations in the *DOE* corpus. Its sense contributed to the polysemy of Middle and Early Modern English *happy*, which also retained the original Old English meaning of the word, as can be seen in (60) and (61):

(59) ÆColl 57 *Plecto mihi retia et pono ea in loco* ***apto***.
Ic brede me max & sette hig on stowe ***gehæppre***.
I make me a.net and set it on place handy
"I prepare a net and put it in a **handy** place."

(60) *This was sir Gawayne the gude.. hardyeste of hande*, ***happyeste*** *in armes.*
this was sir Gawayne the good hardiest of hand most.skilful in arms
"It was Sir Gawain, the good, strongest in hand, the **most skillful** in arms."[2]
(c1440(?a1400) *Morte Arth.(1)* (Thrn) 3878)

(61) Shakespeare, *JC* II.ii.60 You are come in very **happy** [appropriate] time To bear my greeting to the senators.

Thus two Middle English senses of *happy* have been lost: first the continuation of Old English *gehæp* and the other *happy* meaning 'turning out well, favourable, propitious', which was replaced with *lucky*, e.g., in (62) below:

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2. Interesting variation can be found in the manuscripts of *Cursor Mundi*, which may shed some light on the origin of *happy* in English. Only Fairfax 14 MS, copied in Lancashire in the late 14th century, has some instances of *happy* in the older sense of 'skillful, apt', for which the other manuscripts (both northern Cotton Vespasian and southern Göttingen and Trinity MSs) have either different words or rephrasing:

(i) a1400 *Cursor* (Frf 14) 4677: Depe selers..þorou his awen **happy** [Vespasian: *scel-wis*; Göttingen: *witti*, Trinity: *witty*] rede, he filled wiþ wine. "He [Joseph] filled deep cellars with wine thanks to his own apt advice."
a1400 *Cursor* (Frf 14) 3505: He was **happy** [Vespasian: *He cuth well*, Göttingen: *He delt alsua*] to gammys sere, of beste of wode, of fowels of riuer. "He was skillful with hunting sports for beast of wood and riverfowl."

(62) *To reioishe.. ȝif* ***happi*** *were his chaunce.*
to rejoice if lucky were his chance
"To rejoice if his chance were **lucky**."
(c1425(a1420) Lydg. *TB*(Aug A.4) 5.1179)

It appears that in Modern English *happy* tends to co-occur mostly with animate, especially human nouns and those referring to time and place, which restriction did not yet hold in Middle and Early Modern English.

4.5 The adverb *happily*

The regularly derived adverb *happily/happiliche* was an ambiguous Middle English word, as in addition to the sense 'fortunately, luckily', as in (63), which is continued in Modern English, it also preserved the original sense of the root *hap* "chance", as in (64), also found in Middle and Early Modern English in the prepositional phrases functioning as modal epistemic sentential adverbials such as *in hap, up hap* and (hybrid French and English) *per hap(s)*. In Early Modern English the last of them was univerbated to *perhaps* by analogy with earlier synonymous French-derived expressions *par/per-chance, par/per-case, par/per-adventure*, all of which it supplanted later (cf. Molencki 2021):

(63) *No gom mizt hem finde, so* ***happiliche*** *þei hem hidde.*
No man might them find so succesfully they themselves hid
"No one could find them, they hid themselves so **successfully**."
(a1375 WPal.(KC 13)2495)

(64) *Þe dore closid. to kepe þe þeroute* ***Happily*** *an hundrit wynter er*
the door closed to keep you there-out perhaps a hundred winters before
þou eft entre.
you again enter
"The door closed to keep you outside, **perhaps** for a hundred years before you come in again." (c1400(a1376) PPl.A(1) (Trin-C R.3.14)6.101)

5. The adjective *lucky*

The noun *luck* and the adjective *lucky* appeared in Late Middle English as a Low German or Flemish loanword of uncertain further etymology. Etymological dictionaries, including the successive editions of the *OED*, hesitate between Low German and Flemish or (Low) Dutch as the direct source of the word in Middle English. The confusion may be the result of terminological inconsistencies found in the literature, e.g., Serjeantson (1961: 170) used the label Low German as a wider

cover term for (Low) Dutch or Low Franconian, Flemish and Plattdeutsch while for other authors Low German is the English translation of Plattdeutsch only.

High German dialects also borrowed the noun from their northern neighbours: *gelücke*, which gave Modern German *Glück* "happiness, luck", is well attested in Middle High German. There are parallel adoptions of the word in Scandinavian languages. According to the *OED* the word came into English as a gambling term; the Low Dutch dialects were a frequent source of such terms in the 15th and 16th centuries when many Flemish weavers and textile workers settled in England. Numerous Flemish loanwords at the time "reflect close trading connections and seafaring contacts" (Durkin 2014: 356). Its other Germanic cognates are Dutch and Old Frisian *luk*, a shortened form of *geluk* (from Middle Dutch *gelucke*), Icelandic *lukka* (first attested in the 14th century), Middle Swedish *lukka, lykka* (Present-day Swedish *lycka*) and Danish *lykke*. According to the *OED* (Second edition, s.v. *lucky*):

> The ultimate etymology of MHG. *gelücke* (OHG. *gilucchi*: – OTeut. type *galukkjo-m) is obscure. So far as meaning is concerned nothing could be more plausible than Paul's view (Beitr. VII. 133 note) that the word is connected with G. *gelingen* (OHG. *gilingan*) 'to succeed, turn out well or ill' as G. *druck* 'pressure' with *dringen* 'to press', *schluck* 'gulp' with *schlingen* 'to swallow', etc. But morphologically this assumption seems quite inadmissible, and most scholars deny the existence of etymological affinity in any of these instances. Formally, the word might be cognate with *louk* v.1 or v.2, or with G. *locken* 'to entice' (OHG. *lockôn*) … but no probable hypothesis seems to have been formed to connect the meaning of the n. with that of any of these vbs.

The adjective *lucky* is first attested in Late Middle English (c1440; Examples (67)–(69)), but its frequency in the *CMEPV* is very low. Its occurrence increases in Early Modern English when it replaces one of the senses of *happy*, i.e., 'turning out well, favourable'; cf. 4.4 above. Interestingly, the adjective is attested earlier than the noun (Examples (65) and (66)), but it is likely that the earlier uses of the noun were not recorded in the surviving Late Middle English texts. Particularly interesting is Example (68), where we find three synonymous adjectives of fortune of different origin – *lucky, happy* and *fortunate*:

(65) Clamydes, ah, by fortune, she, what froward **luck** and fate Most cruelly assigned
is unto thy noble state (c1489 Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* 14)

(66) *Iuellis pricious cane y none fynde.. to sende you.. þis newe yeres*
Jewels precious can I none find to send you this new year's
*morowe; wher-for, **lucke** and good hanssell, my hert, y sende you.. that*
morning wherefore luck and good token my heart I send you that
an C yeres withouton aduerssit & Sorowe ye mowe live.
a hundred years without adversities and sorrows you may live

"I can find no precious jewels to send you this New Year's morning and for this reason, my heart, I send you good luck and a good token of fortune so that you may live 100 years without adversities and sorrows."

(a1500 *Iuellis pricious* (Lamb 306) 3)

(67) *In as moche as marchaundis is nat* ***lucky*** *with me, I shall go dwell*
In as much as trade is not lucky with me I shall go dwell
in Vplande (*rus concedam*).
in Upland
"Inasmuch as trading is not lucky for me, I shall go to live in the upland."

((1440) Galfridus *Promptorium parvulorum* (Hrl 221) 512)

(68) *The vj day off the mone ys* ***lukky*** *for hem that wul go an-huntyng and*
the six day of the moon is lucky for them that will go on.hunting and
haukyng, yff the wedyr be temperat; he that ys born that day schuld
hawking if the weather be temperate he that is born that day should
be ***happy****, to, goode, bolde, hardy, and wyse; yff a woman were born*
be happy too good bold resolute and wise if a woman were born
that day, sche schuld be ***fortunat*** *to haue goode husbondys.*
that day she should be fortunate to have good husbands
"The sixth day of the month is lucky for them to go hunting and hawking if the weather is temperate; he who is born on that day should be happy, too, good, bold, resolute and wise; if a woman were born on that day, she should be fortunate to have a good husband."

(c1450 Metham *Days Moon* (Gar 141) 150/3)

(69) *God Almyghty yeue you parte of his saluacion and make you* ***lukky****.*
God Almighty give you part of his salvation and make you lucky
"May God Almighty give you part of his salvation and make you fortunate."

(1502 Arnolde *Chron.* (1811) 159)

In Early Modern English *lucky* (and negative *unlucky*) becomes more and more common, as Examples (70)–(72) below and some more in the *OED* from the 16th and 17th centuries show, and it gradually replaces one of the senses of *happy* completely, which was still present in (62) above:

(70) And the Lorde was with Ioseph, and he was a **luckie** felowe.
(1530 Tindale *Gen.* 39.2; cf. King James: And the LORD was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man)

(71) We are **luckie** (boy) and to bee so still requires nothing but secrecie.

(Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* 3.iii.1564)

(72) Accomptyng to hym their euil chaunce & **vnluckey** fortune.

(1548 Hall *Chron., Hen. VI*, 138 b)

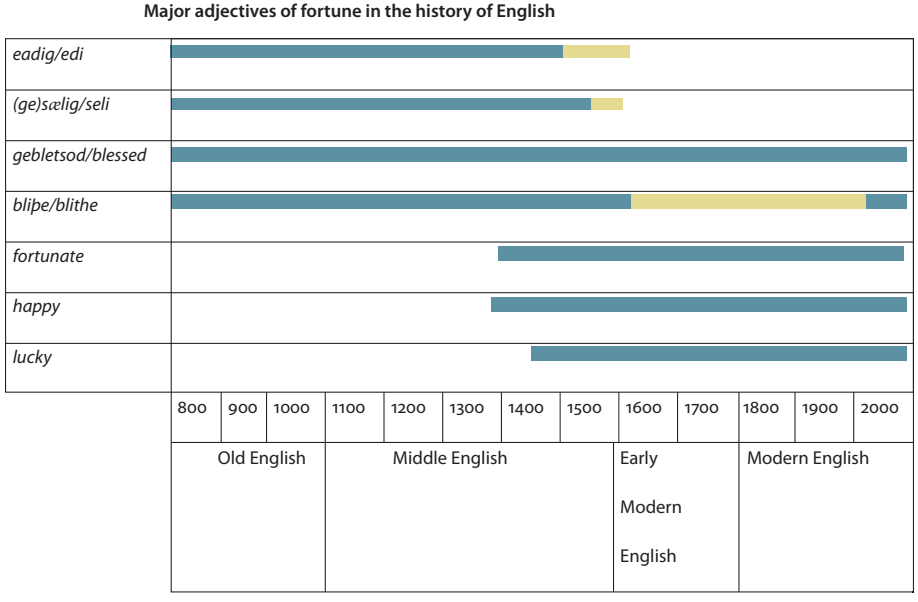
6. Concluding remarks

New adjectives of happiness *happy* and *lucky* were acquired in Middle English through (oral) language contact with Norse and Low Dutch or Flemish respectively and relatively quickly replaced the original English words. Numerous words denoting abstract terms borrowed into late Middle English were of Romance origin (cf. Ingham 2018), but in this semantic field we have mostly loanwords from other Germanic languages. *Happy* attested from the late 1380s onward (the earlier datings recorded in the *OED* and the *HTE* are questionable) was a regular formation from the noun *hap* borrowed into English at least two centuries before by bilingual Norse and English speakers as a result of contact-induced lexical changes. The semantic development of *happy* in English was independent of foreign influences. Also once adopted into English, Low German or Flemish *luck* and *lucky* (a synonym of Latin *fortunate* borrowed less than a century before) followed their own semantic paths. The rapid diffusion of *happy* to all dialects and genres in the 15th century can be seen in the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*. It remains a mystery why in this case bilingual French and English speakers preferred to use a word of Scandinavian origin instead of, for instance, Norman *eurous* in their English. One of the factors may have been the 'un-English' phonetics of the word.

Except for *blessed*, which from the start was limited mostly to ecclesiastical contexts, earlier (Old) English adjectives of fortune either became obsolete or underwent semantic shifts in (Late) Middle English. *Edi* fell out of use completely after 1400 while *seli>silly* and *blithe* both changed their meanings, the latter in the 20th century, having been a rare and obsolescent word in earlier Modern English except for Scots.

The subjectification of the adjectives of fortune both in Old and Middle English was a natural process reflecting the general tendency of semantic development from concrete to abstract sense. It looks like, despite strong influence from the Christian religion in medieval society, happiness was associated with possession of concrete material goods, which explains why Old English *ēadig* meant both 'rich' and 'happy', the other, presumably newer sense being definitely more subjective. The adjective *happy* was also 'subjectivised' when in Early Modern English it came to be used mostly with human subjects to express their personal and intuitive feeling of happiness.

The lexical layering, i.e., multiple synonymy of happiness adjectives was evident, especially in Late Middle English, when several items competed with one another. Nevertheless, after 1500 *happy* prevailed while some of its hitherto common synonyms fell into disuse or acquired new senses. The diagram below summarizes the development of major English adjectives of fortune chronologically, with the blue colour indicating common use and yellow showing rather limited occurrence of the relevant items:



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Sources

AND = Anglo-Norman Dictionary: http://www.anglo-norman.net/gate/
CMEPV = Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/
DOE = The Dictionary of Old English: https://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html
DSL = Dictionary of the Scots Language: https://dsl.ac.uk/
HTE = The Historical Thesaurus of English: https://ht.ac.uk/
MED = The Middle English Dictionary: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary
OED = The Oxford English Dictionary: https://www.oed.com/
TOE = A Thesaurus of Old English: https://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/

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CHAPTER 7

Distributional changes in synonym sets

The case of *fragrant, scented*, and *perfumed* in 19th- and 20th-century American English

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This chapter analyzes the diachronic development in 19th- and 20th-century American English of the synonyms *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented*, which denote the concept SWEET-SMELLING. Their distributional patterns are examined by means of conditional inference trees and collocational networks in order to (1) uncover distinctions in meaning between the synonyms and (2) determine the changes that the concept SWEET-SMELLING has experienced and their effect on the relationship between the synonyms. Results indicate a significant split between entities denoting natural and artificial smells, associated with *fragrant* and *perfumed*, respectively. In turn, *scented* is common in both senses. Moreover, a significant increase of *scented* at the expense of *fragrant* and *perfumed* emerges over time, a fact which can be accounted for in terms of processes of attraction, differentiation, and ongoing replacement.

Keywords: near-synonymy, semantic change, diachrony, distributional semantics, attraction, differentiation, conditional inference trees, collocational networks, American English, SWEET-SMELLING

1. Introduction

Despite its ubiquitous presence in language, synonymy is a perplexing semantic relation. This is so because most synonyms are near-synonyms, that is, words or constructions which share core denotational semantic traits, notwithstanding the subtle distinctions that they exhibit in both meaning and usage (Taylor 2003: 266; Divjak & Gries 2006: 24; Liu & Espino 2012: 198–199). It is a common belief that languages work against absolute synonymy and that this leads to competition between semantically related words to ensure that what has been labelled a "no synonymy" rule (Bolinger 1977: ix–x, 9; Wierzbicka 1988: 13–14; Croft 2000: 176; Nuyts & Byloo

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2015: 62–63) or "isomorphic" state is maintained. As Samuels (1972: 65) argues, "if … two exact synonyms exist for a time in the spoken chain, either one of them will be less and less selected and eventually discarded, or a difference of meaning, connotation, nuance or register will arise to distinguish them." In other words, synonyms are expected to become functionally more dissimilar over time, undergoing processes of differentiation or substitution. In the former case, one of the synonyms will experience some change in meaning, such as specialization or generalization. In the latter case, one of the alternatives progressively takes over more of the original shared semantic ground and, consequently, the other variant becomes less selected until it falls into disuse. This view of competition between semantically related concepts is recurrent in research on language change and it is believed to be an inherent trait of languages to aim at an isomorphic state. In fact, the specialized literature is full of examples of synonymous expressions – either words or constructions – that have ultimately become more differentiated. For instance, during the period following the Norman Conquest of 1066, many Anglo-Saxon terms were duplicated by French loan-words with the same meaning. A well-known case is that of the pairs *pig-pork, cow-beef, deer-venison*, and *sheep-mutton*. Though originally synonyms, over time the first word (i.e., Anglo-Saxon) in each pair became specialized to denote only the living animal, while the second one (i.e., French) came to be used solely to refer to the flesh of those animals when conceptualized as food (e.g., Jackson 1988: 66; Murphy 2003: 161). In this case, the motivations behind the semantic shift are well understood. Throughout Middle English and (part of) Early Modern English, French, the language of the ruling class, was associated with the more sophisticated spheres of life, such as that of 'fine dining' (Murphy 2003: 161). Consequently, extra-linguistic (i.e., social) factors steered the course of semantic change.

However widespread, some scholars postulate that the competition theory is an oversimplification and that it fails to account for situations in which synonyms become more similar over time, a process that has been labelled "attraction" (cf. De Smet et al. 2018: 203). De Smet et al. (2018) provide evidence of pairs of synonymous constructions that have come to share more semantic space over time. For instance, they show that the verb *begin* has come to be frequently complemented by *-ing*-clauses at the expense of *to*-infinitive clauses. In the 1840s *begin* was usually followed by *to*-infinitive clauses, with both agentive and non-agentive subjects, although particularly with the latter. Progressively, *-ing*-clauses became more frequent, at first only with agentive subjects, and later on also with non-agentive ones. *To*-infinitive complements simultaneously experienced a significant downward tendency in frequency but did not retract from contexts with agentive subjects, as would be expected in a process of differentiation. Instead, the decrease in frequency of *to*-infinitives took place in non-agentive contexts, which led to the

semantic profiles of the two constructions becoming more similar. This is why the development described here as an instance of ongoing replacement of *to*-infinitive clauses by *-ing*-clauses is also a clear case of attraction. This example suggests that a certain level of attraction is possibly a prerequisite for substitution, since synonymous expressions might need to share at least some functional features for replacement to take place.

De Smet et al. (2018: 204, 217) explain the process of attraction by means of analogical change, understood in an extended sense to include also expressions which are functionally rather than formally or structurally similar (see also Nuyts & Byloo 2015: 36). De Smet et al. argue that expressions exhibiting functional similarity parallel each other's behavior through an interchange of characteristics. This theory of semantic parallelism is evidenced also by the fact that various synonymous expressions can occur in the same metaphorical mappings (e.g., Stefanowitsch 2008; Turkkila 2014). For instance, as argued by Stefanowitsch (2008: 96–99), the emotion words *joy* and *happiness* have developed similar metaphorical mappings in which the emotion is described as a liquid (e.g., *river of joy/happiness*) or as a source of heat (e.g., *sparks of joy/happiness* and *burn with joy/happiness*). These findings suggest that with time synonyms can come to develop the same figurative senses, becoming more similar in meaning.

De Smet et al. (2018: 205) claim that the processes of differentiation and attraction are mutually exclusive. While this seems to be the case when pairs of synonyms are considered, the argument does not necessarily hold if larger groups are taken into account. This is so since different members of a synonym set may hold diverse and sometimes opposite relations to one another. Consider a hypothetical set of synonyms with three members, A, B, and C. If we focus only on the diachronic development of A and B, over time they can become either more similar (i.e., by attraction) or more dissimilar (i.e., by differentiation), but not both at the same time.[1] However, if we take all the members of the set into account, A and B may become attracted, while simultaneously B and C may become differentiated. Therefore, by adopting a broader perspective, it is possible to find both types of changes in one and the same synonym set. Although research on pairs of synonyms has been prolific, especially within cognitive linguistics, it is only recently that studies devoted to the analysis of larger groups of synonyms have seen the light (e.g., Divjak & Gries 2006, 2008; Divjak 2010; Liu 2010, 2013; Liu & Espino 2012). While these studies have all successfully identified fine-drawn distinctions in the meanings of synonyms by analyzing their distributional behavior, including semantic, syntactic, and/or stylistic patterns, among others, the perspective adopted has primarily been

1. A third possibility is that of stability, that is, when no changes in the functional profiles of the synonyms occur.

synchronic, whereas the historical evolution of the internal semantic structure of synonyms has largely been ignored (but cf. Primahadi-Wijaya-R & Rajeg 2014 and Pettersson-Traba 2021). The expansion in focus from pairs to groups of synonyms is a crucial development if a diachronic perspective on synonymy is adopted. This is so for two reasons: (1) it is a well-known fact that most synonyms existing in languages come in larger groups (Divjak & Gries 2006: 26), so considering only pairs of synonyms is reductive; and (2) the interplay of the diachronic processes of attraction and differentiation can only be revealed if larger groups of synonyms are considered.

Against this backdrop, the present chapter aims at partially amending the lack of diachronic research on the distributional behavior of synonyms by analyzing the development in 19th- and 20th-century American English of three near-synonymous adjectives which denote the concept SWEET-SMELLING, namely *fragrant, scented*, and *perfumed*, exemplified in (1)–(3):

(1) In England there is the luxuriant foliage, the **fragrant blossom**, the gay flower. (*COHA*, 1870)

(2) The young clerk pulled out a **scented handkerchief**, and applied it to his nose, looking at Tom meanwhile. (*COHA*, 1880)

(3) McClintock poured tonic on Vridar's hair and then saturated the hair with **perfumed oil**. (*COHA*, 1934)

The main reason for selecting this particular synonym set is that the three adjectives seem interchangeable, as they are defined in existing reference material (e.g., *Lexico* and *LDOCE*) in virtually the same way, namely as 'having a pleasant smell'.[2] Additionally, in the examples of usage provided in these sources it is not clear which sort of nouns are typically modified by the synonymous adjectives and a broad range of nouns, for instance, *flower, soap*, and *smell*, are modified by more than one of them without any discernible change in meaning. Of the dictionaries consulted, only three (*Lexico, CD*, and *OED*) provide information about the specific nuances of meaning of *perfumed* and *scented*. According to these dictionaries, there is a difference in nuance depending on whether the source of the smell is natural,

2. The selection of the three synonymous adjectives is based on detailed examination of the reference material. Further adjectives share the same definition as the ones under analysis here (e.g., *fragranced*) or are listed as their synonyms (e.g., *aromatic*) and could consequently have also been included. However, these lexical items have not been considered for the present study either because they are low-frequency items or because their definition differs somewhat from that of the adjectives examined, as they do not imply the trait sweetness. Yet, a selection of a wider range of synonyms might prove a valuable avenue for future research.

in which case modified nouns designate entities which can release a smell on their own, such as *blossom* in (1), or artificial, where the synonyms collocate with nouns referring to entities which can acquire a pleasant smell only by being impregnated by a sweet-smelling substance, as in the case of *handkerchief* and *oil* in (2) and (3). Although the latter sense is only provided for *perfumed* and *scented*, there are examples of usage in which *fragrant* modifies nouns similar to *handkerchief* and *oil*, as shown in (4) in which *fragrant* collocates with the noun *body lotion*. Consequently, the information provided in the dictionaries is limited, and it is difficult to recognize the contexts in which the synonyms are interchangeable.

(4) Choose from one of Chanel's new range of **fragrant body lotions**.
(*LDOCE*, s.v. *fragrant*)

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 explains the data retrieval and methodological approaches adopted, namely conditional inference trees and collocational networks. Section 3 presents the most significant findings obtained and a thorough discussion of their implications. Lastly, section 4 provides some concluding remarks and ideas for future lines of inquiry.

2. Data and methodology

The data used in the present study was drawn from the *Corpus of Historical American English* (*COHA*) (Davies 2010–), which at the time covered the period 1810–2009. In a first step, all adjectival uses of *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented* were retrieved from *COHA*. Secondly, two independent databases were created from this unfiltered set of data in order to carry out two different analyses. In the first, only the attributive uses of the synonyms were taken into consideration, totaling 2,097 instances, which were annotated for a series of independent variables and subsequently submitted to multivariate analysis (cf. § 2.1). On the other hand, the second database comprised all adjectival uses of the synonyms in *COHA*, that is, not only cases in attributive function but also predicative and postpositive uses. In line with the distributional approaches to lexis and semantics, reflected in Firth's (1957: 11) well-known quote "you shall know the word by the company that it keeps," the emphasis in this second analysis is on the collocational patterns of the synonyms. To this purpose, this database includes the most important noun collocates of each adjective, which were identified as explained below and subsequently visualized by means of collocational networks (cf. § 2.2).

2.1 Attributive uses

Given that attributive adjectives function as modifiers of nouns, special attention was paid in this first analysis to the adjectives' head nouns. As demonstrated by previous research on attributive adjectives (e.g., Geeraerts 1986; Gries 2003), the fine-grained aspects of their meaning can be discovered by examining the types of nouns they modify. Therefore, the nouns modified by *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented* were grouped into nine semantic categories, on the basis of the semantic classification provided by the *Historical Thesaurus* of the *OED*, which sorts different senses of words into categories (for further details, cf. Pettersson-Traba 2021). The categories and some illustrative examples of nouns belonging to each of them are provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Semantic categories of the adjectives' head nouns (lemmas)*

Category	Nouns
1. FOOD/DRINK (F&D)	*apple, beverage, chicken, coffee*
2. PLANTS/FLOWERS (P&F)	*bloom, flower, leaf, pine*
3. EARTH (EA)	*breeze, brook, flood, grove, hill*
4. BODY (BO)	*arm, breath**, *cheek, hair, lock*
5. MATTER (MA)	*air, atmosphere, candle, cloud**, *oil**, *smoke*
6. SENSATION (SEN)	*aroma, breath**, *scent, smell, odor*
7. AESTHETICS (AES)	*cologne, cosmetics, cream, oil**
8. CLEANING (CL)	*deodorant, soap, disinfectant*
9. TEXTILE/CLOTHING (T&C)	*blanket, cambric, cloth, dress*

* Nouns followed by an asterisk belong to more than one category since sometimes the adjectives in question served as modifiers to more than one sense of a given noun.

Of these nine categories, three, namely FOOD/DRINK, PLANTS/FLOWERS, and EARTH, only comprise nouns which refer to entities which can release a smell on their own, as in (1) above, whereas another three categories solely include nouns which exhibit artificial smells, as in (2) and (3): AESTHETICS, CLEANING, and TEXTILE/CLOTHING. The three remaining categories, to wit BODY, MATTER, and SENSATION, contain nouns which can denote either an artificial or a natural smell depending on the context in which they are used. Consider the following examples featuring the MATTER noun *smoke*:

(5) The trees were being vigorously pruned, and burning heaps of branches, a few leaves still adhering, left trailing scarves of **fragrant smoke** through the tattered orchards. (*COHA*, 1930)

(6) Strange white boys looked at him from a battered car, laughing and smoking cigarettes. "Man," one of them said enviously, blowing acrid, **scented smoke**. (*COHA*, 1995)

In (5), *fragrant* is clearly used to refer to a natural smell, namely that of the smoke from burning branches. Contrarily, in (6), *scented* modifies the noun *smoke* referring to an artificial odor, as it denotes the smoke of a cigarette. In addition to these two senses, a further figurative one is mentioned in the *OED*, shown in (7). Here, *perfumed* is followed by the head noun *memory*, whose referent cannot literally emit a smell. Consequently, in examples like this, the adjectives are employed in a metaphorical manner, meaning simply 'pleasant' or 'sweet'. In this preliminary analysis, however, such instances have been discarded.

(7) Muriel..left a **perfumed Memory** to all the Neighbourhood.
(*OED*, s.v. *perfumed* adj., 2)

Finally, as one of the main aims of this chapter is to analyze the diachronic development of the distributional patterns of the synonyms, the time span covered by *COHA* was divided into four 50-year periods: 1810–1859 (P1), 1860–1909 (P2), 1910–1959 (P3), and 1960–2009 (P4). Instances of the adjectives were subsequently coded for the period in which they occurred.[3]

Following the annotation process, the data was analyzed by means of conditional inference trees (cf. Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012; Levshina 2015: 291–300). This multivariate non-parametric statistical test predicts the probability of the values of a dependent variable by means of a series of binary splits in the data. The test takes the predictor that is more strongly correlated with the dependent variable and considers whether dividing the data in two creates two new subsets of cases in which one of the values of the dependent variable is more probable than the rest. This process is then repeated for each new partition until no further significant splits are found. Conditional inference trees were chosen for the analysis of the present dataset because this test is fairly immune to common problems in corpus linguistics, such as data sparseness and the presence of outliers. Additionally, it allows for a straightforward and elegant visualization of how predictors interact.

Two separate conditional inference trees were computed. In both cases the dependent variable was 'synonym', which comprised three levels: the three synonyms *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented*. The first tree included 'sense' and 'period' as predictors, and the second one 'semantic category' and 'period'. Two analyses were conducted since 'semantic category' shows a much more fine-grained distinction than 'sense' and hence can provide information about specific types of nouns that are significantly more common with each of the synonyms. 'Semantic category' is a categorical predictor with nine levels, namely the nine semantic classes in Table 1.

3. The decision to divide the corpus into 50-year periods was necessary because of the relatively low frequency of the adjectives examined, especially *perfumed* and *scented* (cf. § 3.1), which would have made it difficult to observe changes in their distributional behavior if shorter time periods had been considered (e.g., decades or individual years).

'Sense', in turn, contains as levels the two senses introduced earlier, namely natural and artificial, as well as a third level 'neutral' to account for examples such as (8) in which it is not possible to identify the sense of the adjective.

(8) For a moment she laid her cheek against Angie's warm **fragrant hair**. She was almost choked by her surging love for the child and by the crisis of the last hour. (*COHA*, 1984)

In (8), *fragrant* could be used either to denote the natural smell of Angie's hair or to designate an artificial aroma, such as a fragrance left by some cleansing agent used to wash the child's hair. Finally, 'period' comprises the four 50-year periods mentioned above. Table 2 summarizes the statistical analyses conducted.

Table 2. Variables in the conditional inference trees

Conditional inference tree 1		**Conditional inference tree 2**	
Predictor	**Levels**	**Predictor**	**Levels**
Sense	Natural, Artificial, Neutral	Semantic category	Aes, Bo, Cl, Ea, f&d, Ma, p&f, Sen, t&c
Period	P1, P2, P3, P4	Period	P1, P2, P3, P4

2.2 Collocations

In the second part of the study, a more fine-grained collocational analysis was conducted by zooming in on the individual noun collocates of the three synonyms. As already mentioned, this dataset includes all adjectival uses of *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented* in *COHA*, not only their attributive uses. To this purpose, the method proposed by Brezina et al. (2015) and later extended to diachronic analysis by Baker (2017: 96–101) was followed. This approach consists in plotting the most important collocates of lexical items in networks in which the collocates are connected to their nodes – in this case the three synonyms – by means of arrows. The size of the arrow indicates the strength of the association between the node and the collocates: the shorter the line, the stronger the collocation.[4] Following Baker's (2017: 98) method for low frequency words, two collocational strength thresholds were defined: a collocate was included in the network only if it exhibited a minimum frequency of co-occurrence with the synonyms of 5 and a Mutual Information (MI) score of 3 or higher. The MI score is a measure of collocational strength that compares the

4. However, in the case of collocates shared by the synonyms the length of the arrows is not an indicator of association strength.

likelihood of two words co-occurring vis-à-vis the likelihood of the individual items (Church & Hanks 1990: 23): a score of 0 implies that the words do not typically co-occur, whereas a score of 3 or higher indicates that they are strongly associated.

Only those noun collocates occurring within a collocation window of L5-R5, that is, five words to the left and five words to the right of the node (i.e., synonym), were considered, and function words were excluded.

(9) He drew it forth, and read the blessed name of Hermione, and the city beneath him vanished [away, and the *air* grew **fragrant** as with the *breath* of] May-flowers, and a light streamed through the shadowy forest ….

(*COHA*, 1839)

In (9), for instance, the square brackets delimit the L5-R5 collocation window. In this case, only *air* and *breath* are considered collocates of *fragrant* as they are the only lexical nouns which appear in the window. A fairly tight collocation window was selected, since previous research has demonstrated that smaller windows are more adequate to investigate paradigmatic relations such as synonymy or antonymy (e.g., Sahlgren 2006: 106–108, 122; Peirsman et al. 2008: 35, 39).

Four collocational networks were built, one per 50-year period, to visualize the diachronic development of the three synonyms (cf. Figures 4–7 in § 3.2). These networks not only help to determine which collocates are shared by the synonyms at different points in time, but they also allow to identify changes in frequency over time as well as potential variations in the relation between the synonyms.

3. Results and discussion

This section provides the findings obtained and a discussion of their methodological and theoretical implications. Section 3.1 presents the outcome of the two conditional inference trees, while section 3.2 offers a visualization of the four collocational networks. Finally, section 3.3 puts forward a general discussion of the most significant results.

3.1 Conditional inference trees

As mentioned (cf. § 2), a total number of 2,097 tokens of the attributive uses of *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented* were examined in the first analysis. The frequency of the adjectives evidences a major difference among them, with *fragrant* accounting for more than half of the instances (1,282 (61.13%)), and *scented* and *perfumed* amounting to 437 (20.84%) and 378 (18.03%) examples, respectively. This considerable variation in frequency among synonyms is not uncommon, since there is often one or more dominant expression/s within a synonym set.

If we consider the frequency of the adjectives over the four periods, there is, however, an interesting diachronic development, shown in Figure 1. Whereas *perfumed* remains rather stable, the frequency of both *fragrant* and *scented* fluctuates across time. On the one hand, although *fragrant* is the most frequent adjective throughout the time span analyzed, the share of this adjective decreases drastically over time, particularly in P3 and P4. On the other, the relative frequency of *scented* is on the increase, from 13.04% of the total cases in P1 to 34.56% in P4.

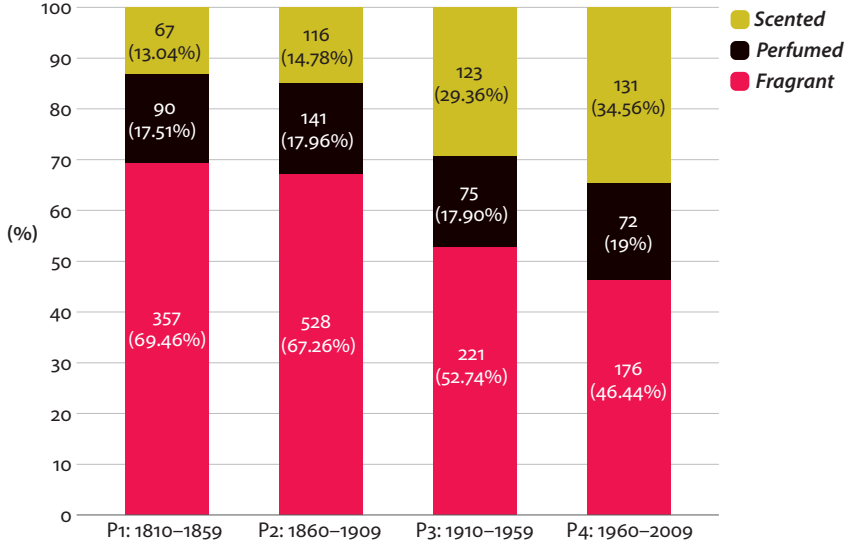

Figure 1. Absolute and relative frequency (percentages) of the synonyms over time

The results of the first conditional inference tree, that is, the one with 'sense' and 'period' as predictors of 'synonym', are shown in Figure 2. All the predictors that turned out to be significant at the level of 0.05 are included in the tree, with their names in the ovals – commonly labeled nodes – together with their corresponding *p*-values. The position in the tree indicates the importance of the predictor: the higher its position, the more important the predictor. The branches (i.e., lines emerging from each node) indicate the levels of the predictors in each split. Lastly, at the bottom of the tree, we find, in the form of bar plots, the distribution of the synonyms associated with each end node, which comprises all cases with a particular combination of variable levels.[5]

5. The number of observations contained in each end node is provided over the bar plots in parentheses.

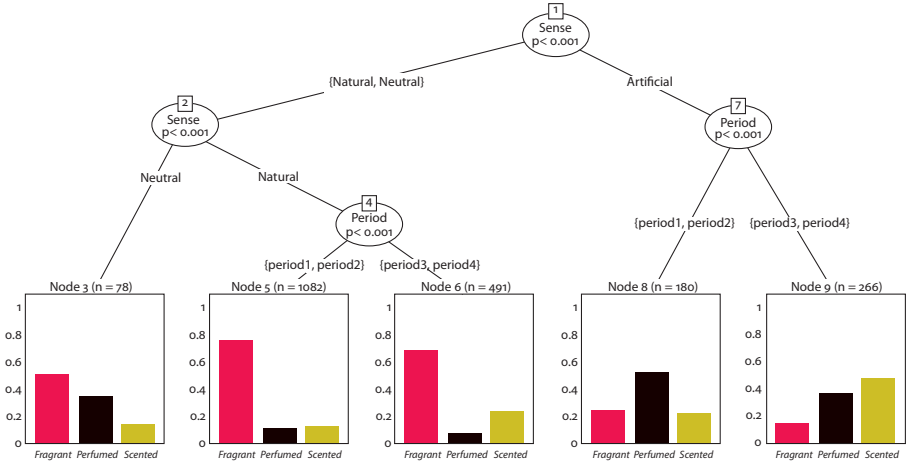

Figure 2. Conditional inference tree with sense and period

The most significant division involves the variable 'sense', with a split between the natural and neutral senses, on the one hand, and the artificial sense, on the other (Node 1). Moreover, within each of these partitions further significant divisions are found. First, in the left branch, the neutral and natural senses (Node 2) are divided into two new subsets: neutral (Node 3), with 78 observations, showing no diachronic changes in the distribution of the synonyms, and natural (Node 4), with 1,573 observations, in which there is a further split involving the predictor 'period'. As evidenced in these two end nodes (i.e., Nodes 5 and 6), from P1 and P2 to P3 and P4 there is an increase in the proportion of *scented* and a decrease in that of *fragrant* with natural types of nouns (e.g., *blossom*). Second, the artificial sense (Node 7) is further divided into two branches on the basis of the variable 'period': those examples of the synonyms in P1 and P2 (Node 8) and those in P3 and P4 (Node 9). As in the case of the natural senses, in P3 and P4 there is a significant upward tendency in the proportion of *scented* with nouns designating artificial smells (e.g., *handkerchief* or *body lotion*). *Fragrant* and, especially, *perfumed* display a decline with such nouns in the same periods. Additionally, note that while the absolute frequency of the adjectives used in the natural sense decreases drastically over time, from 1,082 in P1 and P2 to 491 in P3 and P4 (cf. Nodes 5 and 6), their frequency in the artificial sense increases considerably, from 180 to 266 occurrences (cf. Nodes 8 and 9). Therefore, although the absolute frequency of the concept SWEET-SMELLING, as denoted by the three adjectival synonyms declines over the time span examined, from 514 in P1 to 379 in P4 (cf. Figure 1), its use to denote artificial smells increases. This can possibly be explained by the changes American society experienced throughout the period 1810–2009 (cf. § 4).

The second conditional inference tree, which includes the predictors 'semantic category' and 'period', is plotted in Figure 3.[6] The predictor which is most strongly correlated with the independent variable 'synonym' is 'semantic category' (Node 1), which splits the data into two subsets, one containing the categories Earth, Food/Drink, Plants/Flowers, and Sensation (Node 2), and the other comprising Aesthetics, Body, Cleaning, Matter, and Textile/Clothing (Node 11). This division roughly corresponds with that between the natural and the artificial senses, except for the three categories which include examples of both senses, as well as that labeled neutral (i.e., Body, Matter, and Sensation). Further down the tree, we can see that the distribution of the synonyms in some categories changes over time. First, on the left-hand side of the tree, it becomes evident that the increase of *scented* and decrease of *fragrant* in the natural sense mentioned above concentrate in the semantic categories Food/Drink and Plants/Flowers (Node 3). Moreover, *scented* and, particularly, *fragrant* show an upward tendency in proportion with Sensation from P2 onwards, whereas *perfumed* loses ground in this category (Nodes 8 and 9). Contrariwise, on the right-hand side of the tree, no development over time is attested in the purely artificial semantic categories, that is, Aesthetics, Cleaning, and Textile/Clothing (Node 21), although there is a clear division of semantic labor between *scented*, which dominates in Cleaning (Node 22), and *perfumed*, which prevails in Aesthetics and Textile/Clothing (Node 23). Consequently, it seems as if the increase in proportion of *scented* and the decrease in that of *perfumed* and *fragrant* in the artificial sense must be localized in either Body or Matter. In fact, Figure 3 shows that it is in these two categories where *scented* is on the rise, particularly at the expense of *perfumed* in Body and both *perfumed* and *fragrant* in Matter (compare Nodes 15 and 19 for Body and Nodes 16 and 20 for Matter).

6. In this figure, the abbreviations *F, P*, and *S* stand for *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented*, respectively.

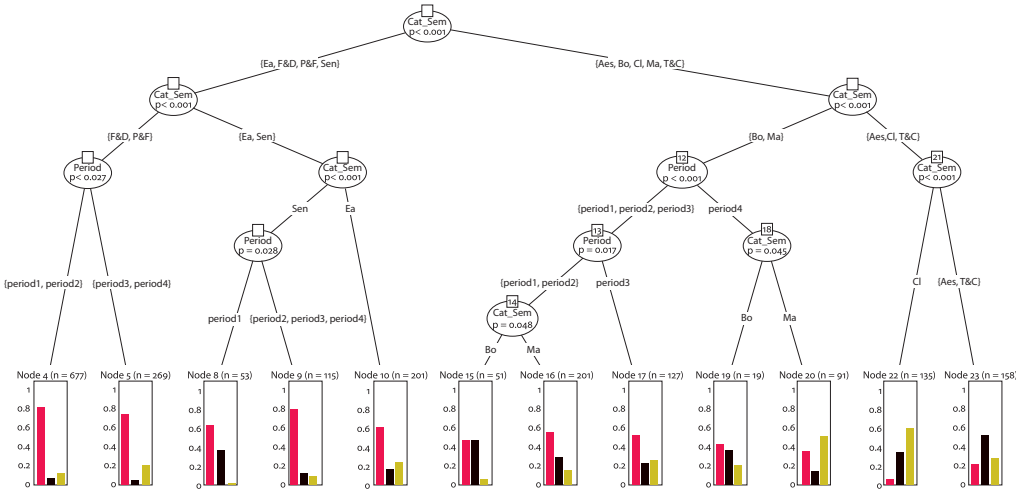

Figure 3. Conditional inference tree with period and semantic category

3.2 Collocational networks

Table 3 displays the evolution of the three adjectives in terms of their number of noun collocates in absolute frequencies and percentages. Additionally, Figures 4–7 visualize the most significant collocates of the synonyms *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented* in each of the periods distinguished.

Table 3. Absolute frequencies and percentages of the noun collocates of the synonyms*

	P1 (1810–1859)		P2 (1860–1909)		P3 (1910–1959)		P4 (1960–2009)	
	All	**Shared**	**All**	**Shared**	**All**	**Shared**	**All**	**Shared**
fragrant	45 (80.4%)	4 (8.9%)	74 (74%)	12 (16.2%)	39 (63.9%)	5 (12.8%)	33 (60%)	7 (21.2%)
perfumed	8 (14.3%)	3 (37.5%)	16 (16%)	9 (56.3%)	11 (18%)	6 (54.5%)	9 (16.4%)	7 (77.8%)
scented	3 (5.3%)	3 (100%)	10 (10%)	9 (90%)	11 (18%)	7 (63.6%)	13 (23.6%)	10 (76.9%)
Total	**56 (100%)**	**10**	**100 (100%)**	**30**	**61 (100%)**	**18**	**55 (100%)**	**23**

* Collocates shared by the adjectives are counted once per synonym with which they collocate. Percentages in the 'All' columns are calculated on the basis of the total number of collocates (see last row), while percentages in the 'Shared' columns are calculated on the basis of the total number of collocates per synonym in each period.

In P1 (Figure 4), there is a clear dominance of *fragrant*, with a total of 45 collocates, out of which 4 are shared with the other two adjectives. Contrariwise, *perfumed* and *scented* are much less prominent, with only 8 and 3 collocates, respectively. Moreover, in the case of *scented*, all of its collocates are shared by *fragrant* and/or *perfumed*. Concerning the types of collocates of the adjectives, Figure 4 clearly shows that *fragrant* commonly occurs in the natural sense, as it frequently serves as modifier of nouns such as *blossom, grass*, and *coffee*. No clear conclusion can be extracted from Figure 4 as regards the collocational behavior of *perfumed* and *scented*, due to their low number of collocates in this period.

In P2 (Figure 5) the picture changes somewhat, although *fragrant* is still clearly dominant with 74 collocates, out of a total of 100. However, both *perfumed* and *scented* increase in relative frequency and the upward tendency of *scented* is particularly noticeable, rising from 5.3% to 10% of the total number of collocates of the three adjectives. In fact, *scented* acquires many new collocates, of which all but one are shared by *fragrant* and/or *perfumed*. A sizeable proportion of these new collocates of *scented* point towards this adjective being used relatively often to denote a natural smell (i.e., *rose, grass*, and *bloom*), as is still also the case of *fragrant*. On the other hand, *perfumed* begins to exhibit a certain degree of specialization towards

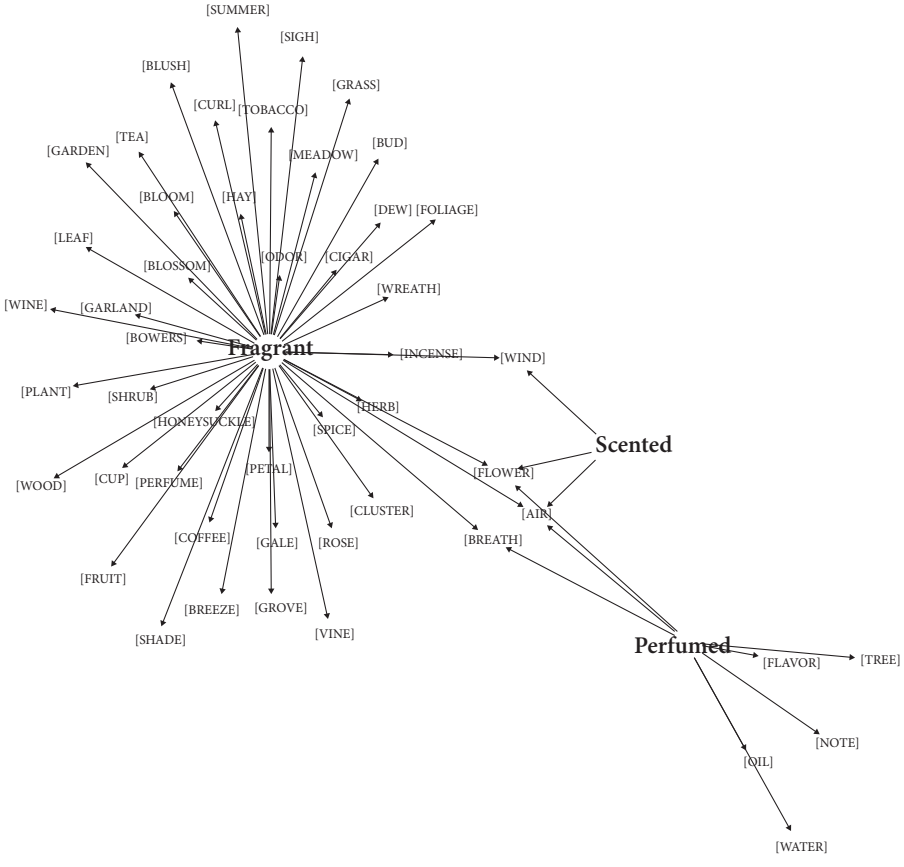

Figure 4. Collocational network P1 (1810–1859)

the artificial sense, which is evidenced by collocates such as *note, handkerchief, pocket, silk*, and *lace*.

Figure 6, corresponding to P3, shows that *fragrant* is losing some ground, particularly at the expense of *scented*, which continues to acquire new collocates. Whereas *fragrant* only accounts for 63.9% of the collocates, *scented* totals 18%, almost four times more than in P1 (5.3%), and already equals *perfumed* in terms of the absolute number of collocates. Besides, some of the new collocates of *scented* have been drawn away from the other two adjectives. In other words, several collocates which were previously shared by the synonyms are now exclusive to *scented*. This is the case of *tree* and *oil*. In addition, while *perfumed* and *fragrant* progressively exhibit a stronger preference for the artificial and natural senses, respectively, as evidenced by their collocates (e.g., *hay* and *forest* for *fragrant*, and *garment* and *silk* for *perfumed*), *scented* does not show a clear tendency towards either of the two senses.

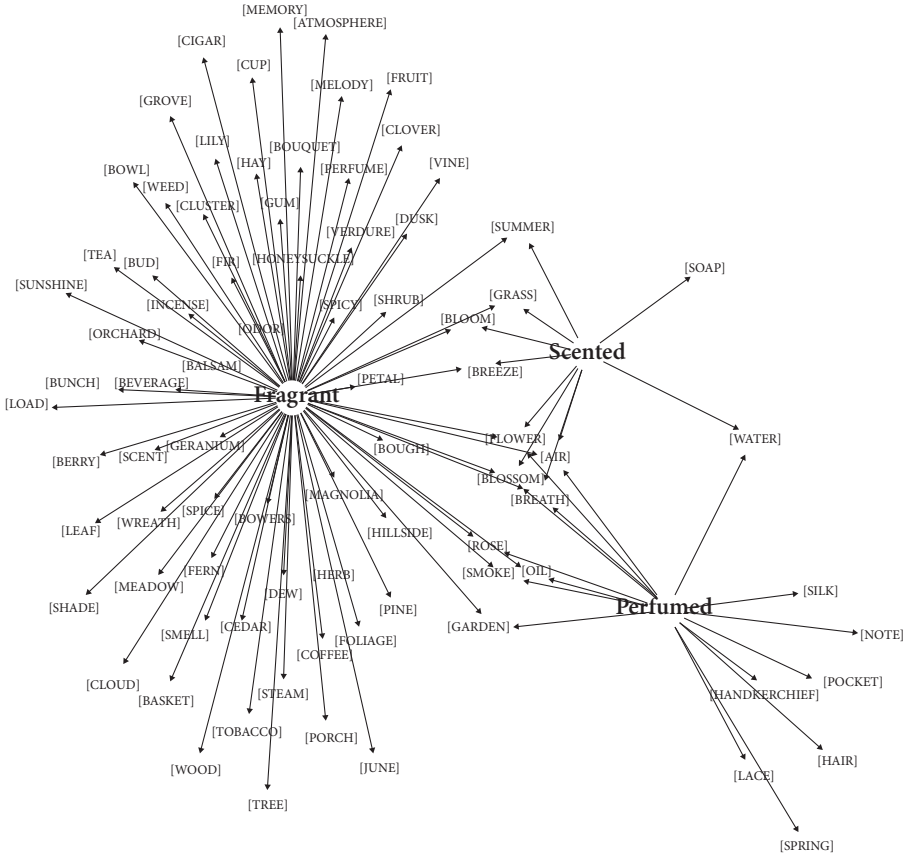

Figure 5. Collocational network P2 (1860–1909)

Finally, in P4 (Figure 7) *scented* encroaches even more upon the territory of the other two adjectives. In fact, *scented* is the only adjective that has consistently been growing in terms of its absolute number of collocates, from 3 in P1 (5.3%) to 13 in P4 (23.6%). Additionally, although *scented* still has many collocates in common with *fragrant* and/or *perfumed* (76.9% of the cases), a considerable number of them are now more strongly associated with *scented* than with the other two adjectives; in other words, *scented* displays a higher MI score with these collocates than *fragrant* or *perfumed* do. This is the case of nouns such as *water, bath, oil, hair, perfume*, and *smoke*. The findings of the two types of analyses conducted in the present chapter (§§ 3.1–3.2) are discussed in the next section.

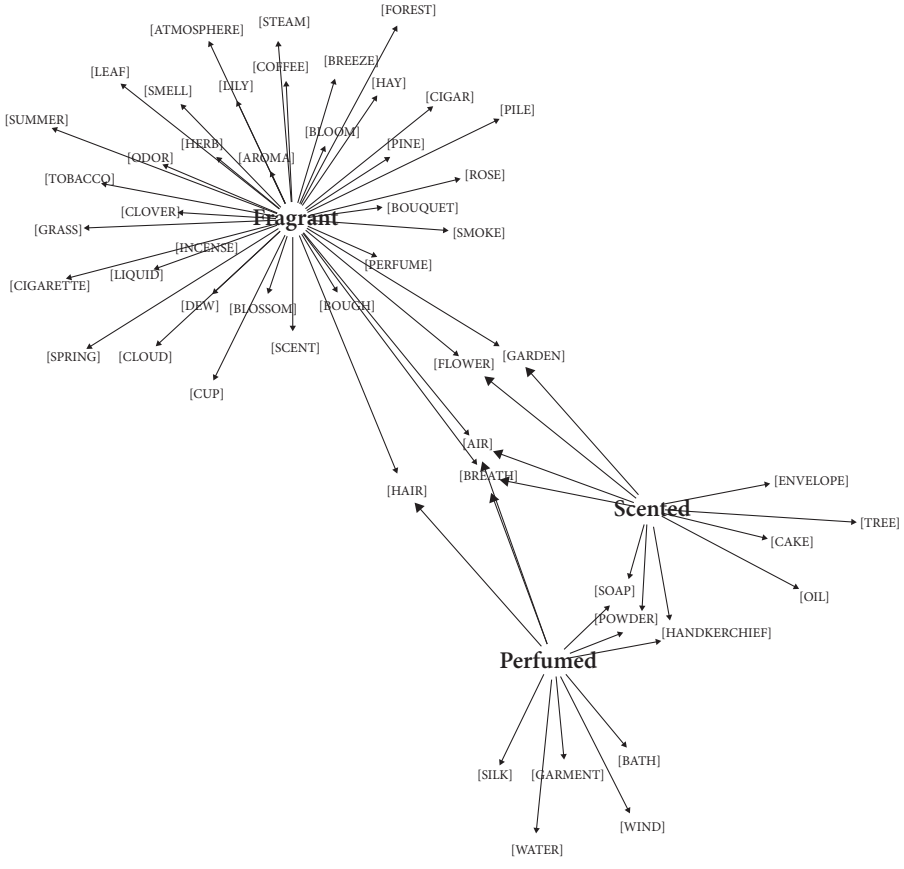

Figure 6. Collocational network P3 (1910–1959)

3.3 Discussion

The findings demonstrate that, in the synonym set at issue here, one of the adjectives is clearly dominant in terms of frequency, namely *fragrant*, which accounts for 61.13% of the total examples. However, the prevalence of *fragrant* drastically declines over time; simultaneously, *scented*, which was the least frequent adjective at the beginning of the 19th century, progressively becomes more pervasive. Contrary to the fluctuation of *fragrant* and *scented, perfumed* remains fairly stable over the period 1810–2009.

Concerning the historical evolution of the three synonyms in the different senses and semantic categories examined, the results of the conditional inference trees show a significant increase of *scented* in both the natural and the artificial senses at the

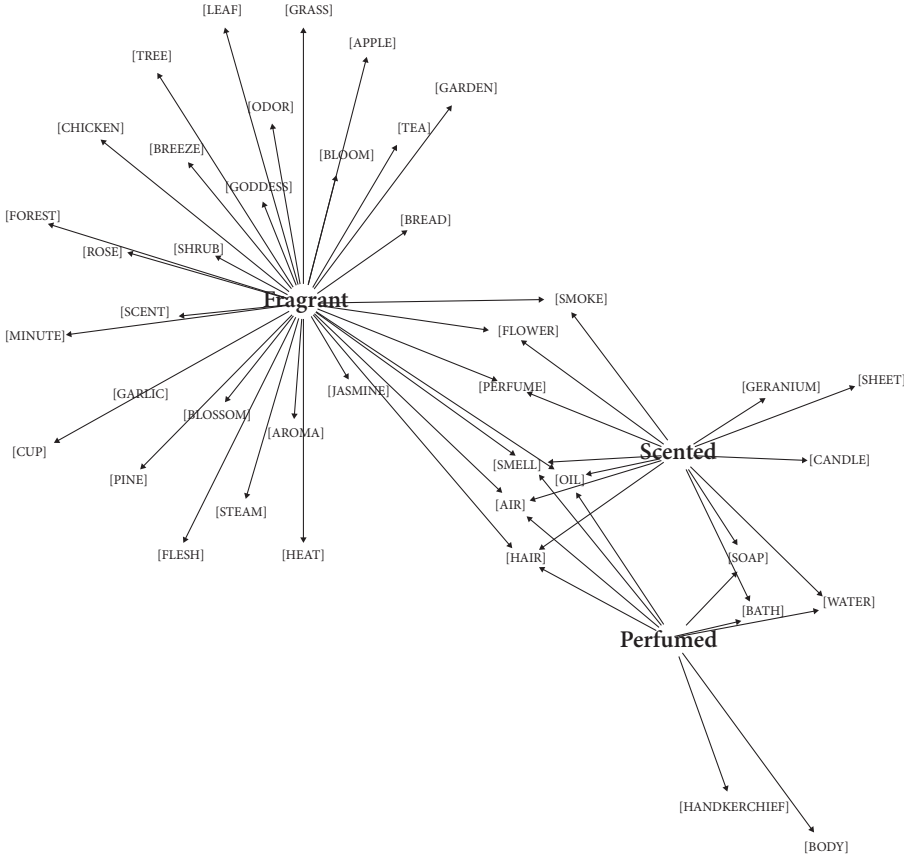

Figure 7. Collocational network P4 (1960–2009)

expense of *fragrant*, especially in the semantic categories Food/Drink and Plants/Flowers, and of *perfumed*, in Body and Matter. Moreover, the findings obtained from the collocational networks also reveal that *scented*, although infrequent at the beginning of the time span analyzed, is slowly but steadily encroaching upon the territory of *perfumed*, and to a certain extent also that of *fragrant*. Hence, while in P1 *scented* only has 3 collocates, all of them shared with *fragrant* and/or *perfumed*, in P2 and P3 it acquires its own collocates. Finally, in P4 *scented* has 13 collocates and some of those which it previously shared with either *perfumed* (e.g., *bath, hair*) or *fragrant* (e.g., *smoke*) are now more strongly associated with *scented* than with the other two adjectives. The collocational networks for each individual period thus clearly indicate that *scented* is becoming attracted towards both *fragrant* and *perfumed*, as it shares many of its collocates with them, with an average of 82.6% of shared

collocates throughout the four periods considered. Additionally, the percentage of the collocates *scented* has in common with *perfumed* and/or *fragrant* decreases over time, which suggests a process of replacement, since this decline is primarily due to *scented* drawing away collocates from the other two adjectives. Therefore, both conditional inference trees and collocational networks point towards the same conclusion, namely that *scented* is not simply increasing in frequency, but is slowly on its way to replacing *fragrant* and *perfumed* in some of their functions.

One possible account for this expansion of *scented* is that, whereas *fragrant* and *perfumed* are more specialized semantically, exhibiting a strong tendency to occur, respectively, in the natural and in the artificial senses, *scented* does not display a clear preference for any of these two senses. In fact, as the conditional inference tree in Figure 3 shows, the semantic categories in which the probability of *scented* increases the most are Body and Matter, namely two of the three categories which contain examples belonging both to the natural and artificial senses, as well as to that labeled neutral. In other words, the expansion of *scented* is more accentuated in the categories which are neither prototypically natural nor artificial but of a more diverse nature. Moreover, while the specialization of *fragrant* and *perfumed* gradually becomes more marked over time, thereby narrowing down their collocational range, *scented* is not as restricted in this respect, and its collocational range is therefore progressively widened. This is evidenced (i) by the results of the first conditional inference tree analysis (cf. Figure 2), where *scented* is shown to increase in both the natural and artificial senses, and (ii) by the type of the collocates of the synonyms: while *scented* displays a set of collocates that is not limited to one sense, *fragrant* and *perfumed* are more constrained in this regard and become even more so over time. The semantic specialization of *fragrant* and *perfumed* suggests that these two adjectives have undergone a process of differentiation, progressively moving towards opposite ends of the natural-artificial sense continuum. In fact, the percentage of collocates the two of them share shows a progressive decrease over time. For instance, out of the 3 shared collocates of *perfumed* in P1, all 3 (i.e., 100%) are also collocates of *fragrant*, but in P4, only 4 out of 7 (i.e., 57.4%) shared nouns also occur with *fragrant*.

Therefore, on the basis of the results achieved in the present study, the hypothesis that the processes of differentiation and attraction are not mutually exclusive when larger groups of synonyms are considered (cf. § 1) seems to be corroborated. In the synonym set analyzed here, while *scented* becomes attracted to both *fragrant* and *perfumed*, and vice versa, *fragrant* and *perfumed* share less and less semantic space with each other as time passes, thereby undergoing a process of differentiation. This demonstrates that the different members of the same synonym set can hold diverse and even opposite relations to one another.

To sum up, the findings have both methodological and theoretical implications which could pave the way for additional studies on synonymy from a diachronic perspective. In what follows, some possible avenues for future research are postulated, as well as a hypothesis which brings together changes at the lexico-semantic and social levels.

4. Conclusions

The present study constitutes one of the first diachronic analyses of lexical synonymy from the perspective of cognitive semantics and provides evidence of the successful application to diachronic research on synonymy of innovative methods within the contextual approach to semantics. The analyses not only uncover subtle distinctions in meaning between the three synonyms at issue, *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented*, but it also offers valuable insights into how the concept SWEET-SMELLING develops over time in American English and how these changes affect the relationship between the members of the synonym set, changes which can be explained in terms of the concepts of attraction, differentiation, and ongoing replacement. One of the most significant findings is that, by expanding the focus from pairs to larger sets of synonyms, it was possible to shed new light on the interplay between the three abovementioned diachronic processes and refute the claim that attraction and differentiation are two mutually exclusive developments. As evidenced by the evolution of the distributional patterns of *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented*, both these processes can be at play simultaneously, demonstrating that near-synonymy is a highly intricate semantic phenomenon.

Contrary to the semantic shifts mentioned in § 1 with regard to the pairs *pig-pork, cow-beef, deer-venison*, and *sheep-mutton*, among others, where the causes behind the changes are clear, the motivations underlying the diachronic developments of the synonym set at issue here are still not as well understood. However, the findings obtained in this case could also derive from changes at the social level. As mentioned in § 3.1, the concept SWEET-SMELLING as a whole decreases in frequency over time but, despite this decline, its use in the artificial sense is on the rise. Such an increase could be the result of extra-linguistic factors in the sense that it might be taken as a reflection of the change that American society has undergone over the time span considered in the analysis (i.e., 1810–2009). First, there has been a growth in the production of goods that exhibit an artificial pleasant, sweet smell, in particular of those belonging to the domains of cosmetics, hygiene, and cleansing agents, which, in addition, has led to an increased availability of these types of products and a wider selection of brands. Second, this growth has occurred at the same time as people have changed their habits concerning issues such as the attention

paid to personal hygiene and physical appearance. Lastly, the advertising industry, due to its growing presence and impact on our choices, has undoubtedly also played a crucial role in making these types of goods visible and central in our daily lives. This semantic development could consequently be understood as the reflection of changes taking place in society, whereby modernization and mass production have led to an ever-increasing need to refer to *artificially* scented soaps and oils rather than to *naturally* fragrant flowers and trees. Nevertheless, this explanation of the results is still preliminary and, therefore, it needs to be further tested.

Despite the valuable findings obtained, the scope of the present study could be further broadened and refined. One way to do so is by considering additional variables. First, as mentioned in § 2, the conditional inference tree analyses were based solely on the attributive uses of the three synonyms. Adding the examples of the adjectives in other syntactic functions, such as predicative and postpositive, could shed further light on the senses in which the synonyms are used. Many non-attributive cases of *fragrant, perfumed*, and *scented* are complemented by prepositional phrases – headed mainly by *with, from*, and *of* – which often indicate that the referent of the modified noun has been impregnated with a sweet-smelling substance rather than producing the smell itself, as in *his cambric handkerchief fragrant with eau de cologne* (*COHA*, 1849). Furthermore, the variable 'sense' could be expanded to include figurative uses of the adjectives (cf. Example (7)), in which the three synonyms are used metaphorically with the meaning 'pleasant' or 'sweet'. This would enable us to more accurately assess the (dis)similarity of the synonyms by exploring whether they have developed the same metaphorical mappings over time. Lastly, to test the hypothesis that the semantic evolution of the synonyms in the artificial sense is due to social changes, it would be useful to closely analyze the distribution of the synonyms in text-types such as magazines and newspapers, in which the frequency of the adjectives used in the artificial sense is likely to be higher due to the important presence of advertisements of cosmetic and cleansing products. In this way, we could determine whether the advertisement business has in fact played a significant role in the growth of the artificial sense of the three adjectives under analysis here and assess the plausibility of the theory put forward. Moreover, examining magazines and newspapers would also allow us to carry out a more fine-grained analysis of the distribution of the synonyms in the semantic categories Aesthetics, Cleaning, and Textile/Clothing, which overall have a low frequency in *COHA*.

In short, much remains to be done with respect to the synonym set at issue in this chapter, as well as in diachronic research on synonymy in general, which constitutes a domain that could and most likely will emerge as a prolific subfield of cognitive semantics in the near future.

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CHAPTER 8

The taking off and catching on of etymological spellings in Early Modern English

Evidence from the EEBO Corpus

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This chapter examines the path that orthographic etymologisation, as in *doubt* and *verdict*, followed mainly in the course of the sixteenth century. Few corpus-based studies have been undertaken on etymological spellings, but the recent availability of the large-sized EEBO Corpus must be of great help in making it clear when and how etymological spellings took off and caught on in the Early Modern English period. Besides giving a close description of the process of the orthographic shift, we discuss some methodological problems in the use of the corpus, stressing at the same time that it is an excellent tool, when carefully used, for studies in the history of English.

Keywords: etymological spelling, Renaissance, the sixteenth century, EEBO Corpus

1. Introduction

Etymological spellings such as *doubt* and *verdict* never fail to appear in histories of English.[1] Despite being a popular topic among students of the history of the language, few studies have been undertaken as to how etymological spellings increased in frequency at the expense of their non-etymological counterparts in the course of the Early Modern English period. In the literature it has been almost always remarked that orthographic etymologisation had its heyday in the sixteenth century, and indeed there is evidence that suggests that this was the case.[2] Reliable

1. See key references given in the next section.

2. The most telling evidence is certainly Holofernes's utterance in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*. In his conversation with Nathaniel, Holofernes criticises Don Armado for his ignorance when he says:

> He draweth out the thred of his verbositie, finer then the staple of his argument. I abhore such phanaticall phantasims, such insociable and poynt deuise companions, such rackers of ortagriphie,

https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.359.08hot

evidence for sixteenth-century etymologisation, however, is scarce. In particular, when and how relevant words developed their etymological spellings for general use, driving out their non-etymological counterparts remains to be described. An empirically based description of the path that orthographic etymologisation followed is, as of yet, unavailable. To this end, we decided to use the EEBO Corpus (the Early English Books Online Corpus) released in 2017 by Mark Davies.[3] This very large corpus makes it possible to undertake a quantitative investigation of the etymologising process.

In the next section, we summarise what previous studies have observed about when and how etymological spellings came into use, reviewing the account that they were motivated by Renaissance aspirations towards the classics among English authors of the era. The third section takes up technical issues concerning the EEBO Corpus as an important methodological discussion. The fourth section furnishes a detailed item-by-item analysis of spelling variation between the etymological and non-etymological spellings of selected lexical items. In the fifth section, we interpret the etymologising process in terms of lexical diffusion. The final section wraps up the main findings and discussion.

2. Previous studies

Most previous observations on the practice of etymological spellings agree that it was quintessentially a phenomenon of the sixteenth century, or the high period of the English Renaissance. For instance, Scragg (1974: 54) remarks that a "vast

> as to speake dout *sine* b, when he should say doubt; det, when he shold pronounce debt; d e b t, not d e t: he clepeth a Calfe, Caufe: halfe, haufe: neighbour *vocatur* nebour; neigh abreuiated ne: this is abhominable, which he would call abbominable, it insinuateth me of *infamie: ne intelligis domine*, to make frantick lunatick?
>
> (*Love's Labour's Lost*, V.i.17–23 qtd. in Horobin (2013: 113–114))

3. The EEBO Corpus in this paper refers to the version provided by Mark Davies (see link below), though parts of Early English Books Online are now searchable online at various sites. The corpus is based on the 'open source' version of the original Early English Books Online, and contains 755 million words from more than 25,000 printed texts from the 1470s to 1700 (see also the description in § 3). For details on this corpus, see <https://www.english-corpora.org/eebo/>, which notes its dependence on EEBO-TCP (Text Creation Partnership) and the Samuels Project (2014–2016). For EEBO-TCP and the Samuels Project, see <https://textcreationpartnership.org/tcp-texts/eebo-tcp-early-english-books-online/> and <https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/fundedresearchprojects/samuels/>.

One of the advantages of this particular corpus is the availability of its sophisticated and user-friendly interface, which is shared by several corpora including the *Corpus of Historical American English*.

number of medieval French borrowings into English had their spelling similarly revised on etymological lines in the sixteenth century." Furthermore, Upward & Davidson (2011: 11) speak of *doubt* and *debt* being among "the 16th-century etymology-based spellings". Similarly, Barber (2000: 180–181) regards such spellings as "Renaissance etymologizing" and "Renaissance remodellings". Although these commentators did not date the spelling practice exclusively to the sixteenth century, it can be said at least that they attached greatest importance to that particular century.

On the other hand, a few scholars commented on etymological spellings dated to other periods. For example, Salmon (1999: 27) notes that "a third attempted improvement by sixteenth-century printers (and also by many of their fifteenth-century predecessors) was to regularise the orthography of words borrowed from medieval French by altering them so as to reflect their supposed Latin etyma". Görlach (1991: 145) is another critic who looks at the spelling innovation on a longer time scale, both forwards and backwards, noting that "[s]pellings were Latinized in increasing numbers in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries". Among recent studies, Hotta (2015: 55) focuses on the fifteenth and preceding centuries for the origin and development of etymological spellings. Admitting that there was certainly the greatest growth of etymological spellings in the sixteenth century, Hotta concludes that "[t]he etymologising sixteenth-century is only part of the longer history. A historiography of etymological spelling in English needs to be aware of a wider context in which it was practiced, both chronologically and geographically". Iyeiri (2017: 51–52) also notes the existence of etymological spelling forms in fifteenth-century English, though her study is devoted only to *doubt*.

What is commonly lacking in these studies is empirical evidence. Some are little more than anecdotal or impressionistic comments, and others, if based on actual evidence, are too limited in their coverage for any generalisations. A closer diachronic description of the etymologising process around the sixteenth century is in order.

Another question that has been left unexamined is how the process of spelling etymologisation differed from word to word. Many studies have paid attention to characteristic items such as *doubt* and *debt*, but the maxim 'every word has its own history' should readily invite us to suspect that the pattern of shift from non-etymological to etymological spellings differed according to individual words.

In order to answer these questions, it will be necessary to have a description based on empirical analysis of the development of etymological spellings from the period concerned. As a tool that should allow us to achieve this goal, we turn to the EEBO Corpus.

3. The EEBO Corpus

The EEBO Corpus comprises 755 million words from more than 25,000 printed texts dated from the 1470s to 1700, all extracted from EEBO, which currently includes 125,000 titles. The obvious advantage of this corpus is its enormous size and it has already been used in a number of linguistic studies (e.g., McEnery & Baker 2017; Takahashi 2018).

In order to utilise the EEBO Corpus maximally, however, we note some caveats which other users may or may not be aware of before embarking upon our analysis. First of all, the corpus size differs greatly from subperiod to subperiod: as a rule, the later, the larger (see Figure 1 for the percentage of words and texts registered for each decade). Accordingly, the data presented below should be interpreted with care.

Secondly, it is impossible to know the exact or even approximate *English* word counts for different decades in the EEBO Corpus. Indeed, the word counts are given in the corpus, but they are based on the entire set of the texts in the database. Early Modern English books often include a substantial number of lines written in foreign languages, particularly Latin, and in some cases the whole texts are written

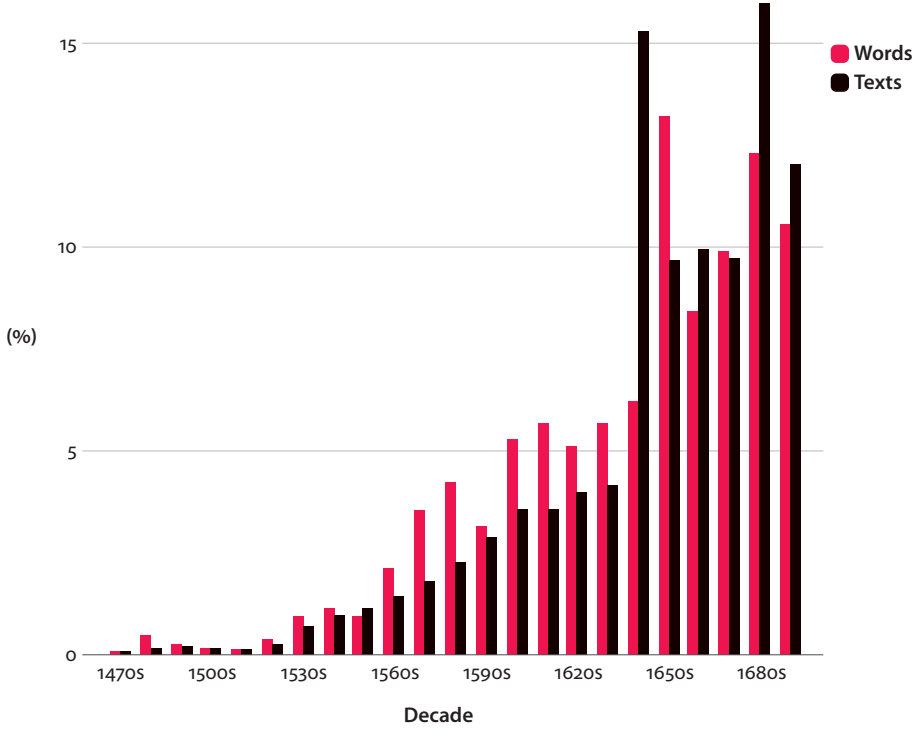

Figure 1. Percentage of words and texts for each decade in the EEBO Corpus

in languages other than English. Books of this kind are abundant in EEBO, and consequently in the EEBO Corpus as well. We have, therefore, opted for the basic method of using proportions, which we judge to be the safest solution, instead of resorting to frequencies per million words, etc. This is a problem that arises inevitably from the nature of Early Modern English books in general.

The third problem also arises from the state of Early Modern English books in general: a single lexical item can provide numerous spelling variants, making the automatic detection of all possible forms rather difficult. The EEBO Corpus provides the lemmatising facility, which can be activated by the use of the upper case in the search line, with the aim of detecting all relevant forms. It also remarks: "because there is so much spelling variation in EEBO, it is a good idea to use upper case for most words, in order to include all of the possible spellings" (see the EEBO Corpus site). In practice, however, this turns out to cover only a very limited number of variant forms out of the existent ones. FALCON is a good case in point. The lemmatised forms in the EEBO Corpus are nine (i.e., <falcon>, <falcons>, <faulcon>, <faulcons>, <faucon>, <fawcon>, <fawlcon>, <faulcon>, and <fawlcons>), while the database includes at least the following when the item is manually explored:

> <falcon>, <falcons>, <faulcon>, <faucon>, <fawcons>, <faucons>, <fawcon>, <faulcons>, <falkon>, <falcone>, <faukon>, <faulcone>, <faukons>, <falkons>, <faulcones>, <faulkon>, <faulkons>, <falcones>, <faulken>, <fawlcon>, <fawkon>, <faucoun>, <fauken>, <fawcoun>, <fawken>, <falken>, <fawkons>, <fawlkon>, <falcoun>, <faucone>, <faulcens>, <faulkens>, <faulkone>, <fawcones>, <fawkone>, <fawlcons>, <fawlkons>

To give another example, the lemma tool of the corpus interface provides only twelve different forms for APOTHECARY (i.e., <apothecaries>, <apothecary>, <apothecarie>, <apothecaries>, <apothecaryes>, <apothicaries>, <apothecarys>, <apothecarye>, <appothecary>, <appothecarie>, <appoticaryes>, and <apothecary>), whereas manual work yields about 90 orthographic variants of the same item (and about 130, when variants of POTHECARY are included). The following are some illustrative examples:

> <apothicary>, <apothecary>, <apothicarie>, <apothecharies>, <apothecries>, <apothicaryes>, <apotheearie>, <apotheearies>, <apothechary>, <apothecarrie>, <apothecaaries>, <apothecaeries>, <apothecaery>, <apothocarie>, <apothycary>, <apothicarry>, <apoticaries>, <apotecaries>, <apoticarie>, <apotecary>, <apoticary>, <apoticarye>, <apotecarie>, <apotycaries>, <apotycaryes>, <apotecharie>, <apotyquaryes>, <apottycaries>, …

The number of variant forms is approximate, since some are likely to be simple errors. This is the next issue to be raised.

Fourthly, even in the manual work, the detection of variant forms may not be exhaustive. Returning to the case of APOTHECARY, some forms are most probably erroneous, due to the transcription, and not to the original printing or to the corpus interface: the above-list of selected examples includes <apotheearie> and <apotheearies>, which should read <apothecarie> and <apothecaries>, respectively.[4] Overall, it is advisable to be cautious about possible errors with <c>, which may be transcribed erroneously as <e> or probably <t>. Also problematic are minims (*i, m, n, u*): the EEBO Corpus yields <captuied>, whose correct reading is <captiued>.[5] Hence, one needs to expect not only various possible orthographic forms in the Early Modern English period but also possible errors which may be caused in the transcription, while setting the search string in the analysis. We have made every effort to manually eliminate errors of this kind.

Obviously, these problems are ascribable to the transcription, while there is an additional case of a slightly different nature: there is a gap between the transcriptions in EEBO-TCP and in the EEBO Corpus. The corpus provides <admoished> for ADMONISH, while its corresponding form in the EEBO-TCP transcription is <admo~ished> for the EEBO image *admōished* (*A discoverie of Brownisme* … (1605)). Which of the two transcriptions (i.e., <admoished> and <admo~ished>) is more easily missed in the corpus search is not a relevant question for this section. This is simply where one has to be alert while exploring the corpus.

Finally, one also needs to be prepared for erratic word divisions. As an unavoidable result of the sheer amount of data included in the corpus, there are a number of errors in word divisions such as *apothecarywhich* for *apothecary which* (*The careless lovers a com …* (1673)), *apothecary1639* for *apothecary 1639* (*Catalogus librorum biblio…* (1681)), and *admonishone* for *admonish one* (*Remaines of that excellen…* (1674)). Hence, it is necessary to be aware of the possibility of the accidental loss of space, not only after the target item but also *before*: see the case of *heldecaptiue* for *helde captiue* (*The prophetie of the spir…* (1574)). These examples also reveal that

4. The EEBO Corpus provides two examples each of <apotheearie> (*A hundred and fouretene e …* (1596) and *The fleire* (1607)) and <apotheearies> (*The six voyages of John B …* (1677) and *The family-physician, and…* (1678)). The relevant EEBO reproductions show that three of them are clear transcription errors for <apothecarie> and <apothecaries>. The 1607 example is difficult to judge as its printing condition is not good, but it is likely an error for <apothecarie> as well.

5. The form <captuied> is a *hapax* form in the EEBO Corpus, occurring only in *The exposicion of Daniel …* (1545). The EEBO image clearly shows that it should read <captiued>.

one should not rely on the lemmas, or even on tags, since *heldecaptiue* is neither a verb nor a noun, but a combination of both.

In view of the enormous size of the EEBO Corpus, however, these problems are minor, or at least, can be minimised by using the simple text search plus manual work instead of relying on the lemmas and tags.[6] In the present study, KWIC (Key Word In Context) lines were sorted out manually, that is, examined by the authors, who saw to it that they were appropriate instances of (non-)etymological spellings for the present purpose. Destined to be time-consuming, this method made it necessary to restrict our attention to a small number of lexical items for investigation; we hope, however, that this restriction makes the findings maximally reliable.

We limited our focus to fifteen lexical items that involved etymological/non-etymological variation in the time range covered by the corpus (1470s to 1700). They are ADMONISH, AMETHYST, APOTHECARY, CAPTIVE, CAULDRON, COGNIZANCE, FALCON, LETHARGY "dullness," LETHARGY "lead", ORTHOGRAPHY, PHANTASM, PHANTOM, PHEASANT, SALMON, and VERDICT. These items were selected partly because they were among the collection of sixty-six etymological spellings that Hotta (2015) considered in his survey[7] and partly from a rather practical point of view, i.e., to keep the manual processing of search results manageable.[8]

The number of relevant occurrences collected from the corpus varies greatly from item to item. The frequencies and percentages for the individual items are given in Appendix 1.

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6. As we stated at the outset of this section, the major value of the EEBO Corpus lies in its enormous size. For the purpose of obtaining the overall tendencies of the target linguistic feature ('diagnostic' use), the minor inaccuracies involved in it are not necessarily problematic. When the research requires further accuracy, however, some meticulous work is needed. Here, we borrow the concept of 'diagnostic' use from the description of the *Helsinki Corpus* in CoRD (<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/>) (accessed 16 February 2019). It is usually applied to relatively compact corpora, but perhaps it can be extended to exceptionally large corpora like the EEBO Corpus, which can also give a powerful sketch of overall historical trends.

7. Hotta's (2015) selection of the sixty-six lexical items was itself more or less arbitrary, since no previous attempts had been made to prepare an exhaustive list of etymological spellings.

8. For example, the main reason why *doubt*, one of the most characteristic items for etymological spellings, was taken out of consideration is that it returned 166,209 initial hits in total, far beyond a manageable size for manual checking. Even this number must be a severe underestimate since it comes from a search for <doubt> in this particular spelling only.

4. Analysis and discussion

We look at the diachronic distribution of (non-)etymological spellings for the fifteen lexical items, one by one in alphabetic order.

4.1 ADMONISH

ADMONISH varies in spelling according to whether etymological <d> is inserted or not (e.g., <admonish> and <amonish>). Etymologised variants with <d> were much more common than older variants without <d> in a very early decade of our period. Although the non-etymological <amonish> type (21 times) predominated over the etymological <admonish> type (8 times) in the 1470s (that is, the earliest decade of our investigation), the etymological <admonish> type seems to have readily displaced it in the following decades. Note, however, that the frequency of the item was fairly low for the first six decades (a few dozen at most per decade). After the 1520s, all instances are spelt with <d>.

4.2 AMETHYST

This lexical item involves spelling variation between non-etymological <t> and etymological <th>. It is a very low frequency item, occurring only 271 times in the whole corpus. Even if the frequency for the item accordingly needs to be assessed with caution, it shows a characteristic way in which the etymological type gradually drove out the non-etymological type during the Early Modern English period. Non-etymological spellings such as <amatist> and <ametyst> remained clearly dominant until the middle of the sixteenth century, when etymological spellings such as <amethist> and <amythist> entered into rivalry, gradually gaining ground towards the end of the century and finally surpassing the older type in the early seventeenth century.

The relatively high rate (30%) for non-etymological spellings in the 1670s is attributed to the text *The art of metals in whic…* (1674), which is responsible for all of the four instances of <amatist(s)> recorded for the decade.[9]

9. An anonymous reviewer points out that the text was a translation of a text originally written in Spanish.

4.3 APOTHECARY

APOTHECARY, varying again between <t> and <th>, is another item that shows a typical pattern of shift from the non-etymological to etymological type. There are only 34 instances of the item before the 1550s, 32 of which are of the non-etymological type (e.g., <apotycaries> and <apotecaries>). From the 1550s onwards, however, there is a sudden increase of the item in frequency, and perhaps accordingly a quick replacement of the non-etymological type by the etymological type (e.g., <apothecaries> and <apothycary>).

It should be added that if the aphetic lemma POTHECARY is examined independently of APOTHECARY, the non-etymological type, interestingly enough, lingered on through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though the etymological type gradually increased, becoming the more common spelling around 1600. The fact that the pattern of shift differed between the non-aphetic and aphetic forms might be related to the difference in frequency (the former being much more common than the latter) and/or to the aphetic form perhaps maintaining independent status, but it reminds us that some sub-lemmas may be better dealt with separately.

The text *A quip for an vpstart cou…* (1592) contains 8 non-etymological and 5 etymological spellings, as illustrated, for instance, in "make my wyfe my doctor, and my garden my *apoticaries* shop" and "i thought them to be some herbalists or some *apothecaries*" (italics ours in this and the following quotations).

4.4 CAPTIVE

CAPTIVE occurs either with non-etymological <f> or with etymological <v> (e.g. <captif> and <captive>, respectively). The distribution of the variants, however, is straightforward enough: the etymological type is the more common all the time, with the non-etymological type occurring very infrequently in any period. The item becomes much more frequent suddenly from the 1530s onwards, possibly due to the increased publication of various Bibles in which it was frequently included.

4.5 CAULDRON

This item involves the presence or absence of <l>. It is a relatively low frequency item, occurring not more than 200 times in any single decade, but what evidence is available from the corpus reveals that the etymological type (e.g., <cauldron>) suddenly came out as a powerful variant alongside the non-etymological type (e.g., <caudron>) in the 1530s (again apparently on account of the new Bibles that frequently contained the item), and continued to compete keenly until it achieved a majority status towards the end of the century.

4.6 COGNIZANCE

The item COGNIZANCE varies between spellings with or without <g>. Non-etymological spellings such as <conisance> occur only a few times in any decade, except that the 1590s saw a striking spike in their use, almost all of the instances coming from the single text *An apologie for sundrie p…* (1593). In general, it can be said that the etymological type was effectively the only common spelling throughout the period.

4.7 FALCON

FALCON is one of the most helpful items for us in that it occurs frequently enough both in non-etymological spellings without <l> and etymological spellings with <l>. The critical point in time for the item was apparently the middle of the sixteenth century. Until the 1550s and 1560s, the non-etymological type (e.g., <faucon> and <fawcon>) was by far the more common form, whereas in the following decades the etymological type (e.g., <faulcon> and <falcon>) displaced its non-etymological counterpart so quickly that it would be the only spelling in effect at the end of the century.

Heavy fluctuation can be seen in the text *Epitaphes, epigrams, song …* (1567), dated from the critical period mentioned above. In that text there are 4 instances of the non-etymological type and 8 of the etymological type. To give an example of each, contrast "Doe not exchaunge a *Fawcon* for a kite" with "what may i deme of the (fayre *Fawlcon*) now, that neyther to my lure nor traine wilt bow."

4.8 LETHARGY "dullness"

LETHARGY involves variation between non-etymological <t> and etymological <th>. This word is divided into two distinct lexical items. One is LETHARGY meaning "dullness" or, more precisely from *OED* (lethargy, *n.* 1), "[a] disorder characterized by morbid drowsiness or prolonged and unnatural sleep," while the other is LETHARGY meaning "litharge" or "[p]rotoxide of lead (PbO) prepared by exposing melted lead to a current of air" (*OED*, litharge). This section concerns the former, the latter being discussed in the next section.

In the sixteenth century, LETHARGY "dullness" remained a low-frequency item occurring a few dozen times at most in a decade. The non-etymological type (e.g., <litarge> and <letarge>) became threatened by the etymological type (e.g., <litharge> and <letharge>) in the 1530s, and the following decades saw a keen competition between the two, until the etymological spelling proved the majority type at the end of the century.

4.9 LETHARGY "lead"

For this item, the non-etymological type persisted for quite a long time against the etymological type that was slow to rise in use. Although the etymological type was generally the more common from the 1570s onwards, the non-etymological type scores more than a third of all the occurrences of the item in each decade, particularly in the 1580s, 1590s, 1610s, and 1680s. This means that the etymologising process was a rather slow, lingering one that was not completed until the end of the seventeenth century. The patterns of shift are, therefore, rather different between LETHARGY "dullness" and LETHARGY "lead".

4.10 ORTHOGRAPHY

ORTHOGRAPHY occurs only once or twice in each decade before the 1560s, which makes it difficult to say anything decisive about the distribution of non-etymological (e.g., <ortographye>) and etymological spellings (e.g., <orthographie>). The 1560s and following decades saw a moderate increase in total frequency as well as a noticeable growth of the etymological type, which became the clear majority spelling by the end of the century.

4.11 PHANTASM

The word *phantasm* offers two distinct points for discussion. The first concerns variation between <ph> and <f>, while the second concerns the question of whether <s> is inserted or not. They should require separate discussions, one for PHANTASM and the other for PHANTOM. In this section PHANTASM will be dealt with, while PHANTOM will be taken up next.

PHANTASM was an infrequent item in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, prohibiting any conclusive remarks. A gradual increase in frequency from the last decades in the sixteenth century, however, allows us to make a more specific comment about the spelling variation: the etymological type became the norm from the 1610s onwards, although the older non-etymological type remained in use as a minor variant at ten per cent or so during most of the seventeenth century.

4.12 PHANTOM

As we noted above, PHANTOM is etymologically related to but lexically distinct from PHANTASM. Less frequent than PHANTASM, it did not occur more than thirty times per decade before the 1670s. The etymological type (e.g., <phantomes>) became predominant over the non-etymological type (e.g., <fantomes>) for the last few

decades of the seventeenth century, but this does not mean that the latter fell into disuse; rather it remained a minor variant even into the eighteenth century.

4.13 PHEASANT

PHEASANT is another item that fluctuates between etymological <ph> and non-etymological <f>. The non-etymological type was effectively the only form in use until the 1540s. From that decade onwards, however, the etymological type exhibited a remarkable increase, and then followed a keen competition in the range of 30 to 60 per cent for the etymological type. Not until the 1610s did it start to make its presence felt against the non-etymological type.

4.14 SALMON

This frequent item shows long-range variation between the non-etymological (e.g., <samon>) and etymological types (e.g., <salmon>). The non-etymological type predominated before the 1530s, but afterwards a half-century of uncertainty followed, with the more common type alternating from time to time. Finally, the etymological type became the majority spelling in the 1590s, but the non-etymological type survived as a minor variant and persisted well into the eighteenth century.

A near-pun is apparently intended in a context from *The Protestants evidence* … (1635): "more desirous of a mark (of silver) than of S. Marks Gospel, or of taking of *Salmons*, than of reading of *Solomon*." Here, a spelling without <l> for the fish would make the play on words less to the point, visually.

4.15 VERDICT

VERDICT is a fairly frequent item that shows a characteristic pattern of shift from the non-etymological (e.g., <verdit>) to the etymological type (e.g., <verdict>). The evidence points to the etymological type making a steady progress from the mid-sixteenth to the seventeenth century. *An English dictionary exp…* (1677) gives an etymological account of the item: "*verdict*, vere-dictum, the answer of the jury upon any cause."

In a context from *A guide to juries setting …* (1699) we find etymologised <verdicts> besides etymologised <indictments>: "by the common law, juries were not finable concerning their Presentments, *indictments* and *verdicts*." Here the context of terminological enumeration seems responsible for both the etymologised spellings.

4.16 Co-occurrence of spelling variants

In the above, we presented an item-by-item overview of the way etymological spellings replaced non-etymological spellings over the course of the Early Modern English period. The replacement was not always straightforward, but indeed the co-occurrence of etymological and non-etymological spellings in a context was rather common. The following are illustrative examples.

The search for ADMONISH gave us an interesting concordance line from *A godlie and learned expo …* (1606) that shows spelling variation, which reads "a great miserie of great men to be most admired, but least *admonished*: who haue many to admire them, but few to *amonish* them."

Likewise, we found a context in which both types of spellings for COGNIZANCE occur: "then ought to be known, of what things the jury may take *Cognizance*: what things the Iury may take *conuzance* of in their verdicts" from *Maxims and rules of plead …* (1694).

LETHARGY "lead" also gives us an instance of both types of spellings used side by side in *Glossographia, or, A dict …* (1661), with "*litargy* or *lithargy* (lithargyros) white lead, or the foam that riseth from lead."

PHEASANT offers another intriguing example. In *Regimen sanitatis Salerni…* (1528), both <f>- and <ph>-spellings for the item occur within a short distance: "whiche as some say is a *fesant* henne / and as some saye a more henne: whether hit be a *phesant* henne or a more henne / the fleshe is of good norishemet."

In many of these cases it is difficult to explain why both types of spellings co-occur, and we may simply consider that they are free variants in effect; in a few cases, however, the spelling variants written side by side seem to work well in a context of lexicographical definition, as with LETHARGY above.

5. Process of etymologising: A case of lexical diffusion?

The pattern of orthographic etymologisation varies by individual items. The growth of etymological spellings for the fifteen items can be summarised as a series of graphs given in Appendix 2. A glance at the graphs makes immediately clear that the pattern of growth, or the curve, varies from item to item. For example, AMETHYST, APOTHECARY, and VERDICT draw fairly natural and characteristic curves for the increasing etymological type, whereas CAULDRON, LETHARGY "lead," and SALMON show jagged lines. The curve of PHEASANT, on the other hand, indicates that fluctuation between the etymological and non-etymological types lasted rather long during the sixteenth century, suggesting an unstraightforward development for the item.

Apart from the shapes of the curves, the corresponding items may be divided roughly into six classes from the viewpoint of when the etymological type became established as the norm. It is indeed hard to decide when the etymological spelling for a particular item can be said to have been established as the norm, but our practical decision is to locate two consecutive decades that show more than a two-third share for etymological spellings.[10]

1. –1490s: ADMONISH
2. 1500s–1520s : CAPTIVE
3. 1530s–1540s: CAULDRON
4. 1550s–1570s: APOTHECARY, COGNIZANCE, FALCON
5. 1580s–1600s: LETHARGY "dullness," ORTHOGRAPHY, PHANTOM, SALMON, VERDICT
6. 1610s–: AMETHYST, LETHARGY "lead," PHANTASM, PHEASANT

The great majority of the items belong to the classes of the 1550s and following decades, while the rest are dated earlier. Although an investigation of the fifteen items should preclude any more general conclusion, the datings seem to suggest a case of lexical diffusion.[11] According to lexical diffusion, a few items shift to innovative forms at an early point in time; they are then followed by an increasing number of items within a relatively short period of time; and finally, more join the process at a slower pace.

Lexical diffusion has been applied typically to the process of phonological or morphological change, but there is no reason why a lexical diffusion-like process should not be observed for orthographic change as well.[12] After all, language change on any level is expected to proceed as old forms are more or less gradually replaced, or at least marginalized in frequency, by new forms, which in turn are adopted more

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10. This criterion is admittedly arbitrary. As we have seen, some items, like PHEASANT, experienced a longer period of coexistence than others between their etymological and non-etymological spellings, with either alternating for the majority position from time to time. Accordingly, the classification should be seen as an attempt at an overview.

11. The theory was first introduced by Wang (1969) as a model for sound change, and ever since the theory has been developed to address linguistic change in general. In fact, many studies have contributed to its theoretical refinement. Readers may find the following references a point to start for exploring the theory: Aitchison (1990, 2001), Chen (1972, 1976), Chen & Hsieh (1971), Cheng & Wang (1975), Denison (1999, 2003), Hotta (2012, 2015), Iyeiri (2010), Kiparsky (1995), Ogura (1993), Ogura & Wang (1996, 1998), and Wang & Lien (1993).

12. Inquiring into the orthographic innovation in Middle English from <u> to <o> in words such as MONK, SON, TONGUE, Wełna speaks of "a development which closely resembles the circumstances of lexical diffusion" (2014: 317).

or less gradually from speaker to speaker within a speech community. If plotted on a graph, the process will be likely represented as an ascending curve of some kind, perhaps an S-shaped one.

A major difference between phonological/morphological change and orthographic change would be in the level of consciousness on the part of innovators. Relatively speaking, orthographic innovation presupposes a certain level of consciousness (thus 'change from above'), while phonological/morphological innovation does not (thus 'change from below'). Since such orthographic awareness very likely involves spellers' interest in sociolinguistic/pragmatic implications of spelling variation,[13] the process of orthographic change may well be affected by more complex factors than that of phonological/morphological change, resulting perhaps in a less typical S-curve, as we have seen for most of the items analysed here.

We must admit that to see how well the etymologising process in spelling should fit with lexical diffusion, more items will need to be investigated. If, however, it is permissible to use phrases known among diffusionists, etymological spellings for the majority of the items can be said to have 'taken off' around the mid-sixteenth century and 'caught on' towards the latter part of the century.

6. Conclusion

After a quantitative survey of spellings for fifteen selected items by means of the EEBO Corpus, we came to the conclusion that the majority of items shifted from non-etymological to etymological spellings over the course of the sixteenth century. If we attempt a more specific overview, they took off around the mid-sixteenth century and caught on towards the latter part of the century.

It is true that, viewed closely, individual items differ in their time and rate of shift, showing rather idiosyncratic patterns; to get a bird's-eye view, however, the shift to etymological spellings, where it occurred, proceeded in a way that the theory of lexical diffusion should predict: a few items shift to innovative forms at an early point in time; they are then followed by an increasing number of items within a relatively short period of time; and finally, more join the process at a slower pace. We hope that our quantitative study with the EEBO Corpus has given a closer description than ever of the process of spelling etymologisation.

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13. In connection with such sociolinguistic implications, let us note that an anonymous reviewer pointed out possible influence of late sixteenth-century handbooks and manuals on spelling. Although such an impact would be minimal if present at all for the items whose etymologisation had been completed well before the period, the etymologisation of some later items can have been affected by pedagogical input. It is a possibility to be explored further, but it lies beyond the present chapter, and we leave the question open.

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Appendix 1. The ratio of etymological spellings for each item in each decade

The table below shows the percentage of the etymological spellings in all the spellings for each item in each decade. Figures separated by a colon in parentheses represent actual relevant frequencies for the item, the left one for etymological spellings and the right one for non-etymological spellings.

	1470s	1480s	1490s	1500s	1510s	1520s	1530s	1540s	1550s	1560s	1570s	1580s	1590s
ADMONISH	27.59%	94.06%	66.67%	85.71%	100.00%	72.73%	98.83%	97.01%	100.00%	100.00%	99.92%	99.94%	100.00%
	(8:21)	(95:6)	(14:7)	(6:1)	(18:0)	(16:6)	(169:2)	(260:8)	(294:0)	(801:0)	(1178:1)	(1675:1)	(880:0)
AMETHYST	NA	0.00%	0.00%	NA	0.00%	NA	18.18%	0.00%	50.00%	22.22%	37.50%	26.67%	52.63%
	(0:0)	(0:1)	(0:2)	(0:0)	(0:1)	(0:0)	(2:9)	(0:7)	(1:1)	(2:7)	(6:10)	(4:11)	(10:9)
APOTHECARY	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.56%	67.11%	56.14%	76.03%	84.95%	93.33%	86.98%
	(0:9)	(0:2)	(1:0)	(0:1)	(0:2)	(0:1)	(1:17)	(51:25)	(32:25)	(92:29)	(175:31)	(140:10)	(147:22)
CAPTIVE	NA	66.67%	NA	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	99.52%	99.01%	99.46%	98.45%	99.75%	100.00%	99.71%
	(0:0)	(4:2)	(0:0)	(2:0)	(7:0)	(32:0)	(206:1)	(299:3)	(184:1)	(507:8)	(797:2)	(871:0)	(1025:3)
CAULDRON	NA	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	73.33%	86.67%	12.90%	73.91%	57.50%	74.19%	50.00%
	(0:0)	(2:4)	(0:1)	(0:2)	(0:3)	(0:3)	(11:4)	(13:2)	(4:27)	(51:18)	(23:17)	(23:8)	(19:19)
COGNIZANCE	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		100.00%	55.56%	100.00%	100.00%	95.92%	98.88%	55.03%
	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0) NA	(0:0)	(1:0)	(5:4)	(2:0)	(6:0)	(47:2)	(88:1)	(82:67)
FALCON	0.00%	10.34%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	9.65%	62.50%	45.59%	93.48%	83.67%	79.27%
	(0:11)	(3:26)	(6:18)	(0:11)	(0:7)	(0:62)	(0:17)	(11:103)	(15:9)	(31:37)	(459:32)	(123:24)	(130:34)
LETHARGY "dulness"	0.00%	NA	0.00%	NA	NA	0.00%	75.00%	75.00%	50.00%	63.64%	87.50%	57.69%	73.33%
	(0:1)	(0:0)	(0:2)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:1)	(6:2)	(3:1)	(2:2)	(7:4)	(21:3)	(30:22)	(22:8)
LETHARGY "lead"	0.00%	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6.67%	9.76%	67.50%	50.00%	33.33%
	(0:2)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(1:14)	(4:37)	(27:13)	(10:10)	(3:6)
ORTHOGRAPHY	NA	0.00%	NA	NA	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	NA	100.00%	61.11%	30.56%	80.00%
	(0:0)	(0:1)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:1)	(0:1)	(0:1)	(0:2)	(0:0)	(1:0)	(11:7)	(11:25)	(8:2)
PHANTASM	NA	0.00%	0.00%	NA	0.00%	NA	100.00%	NA	NA	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	36.36%
	(0:0)	(0:4)	(0:2)	(0:0)	(0:1)	(0:0)	(3:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(1:0)	(1:0)	(5:0)	(4:7)

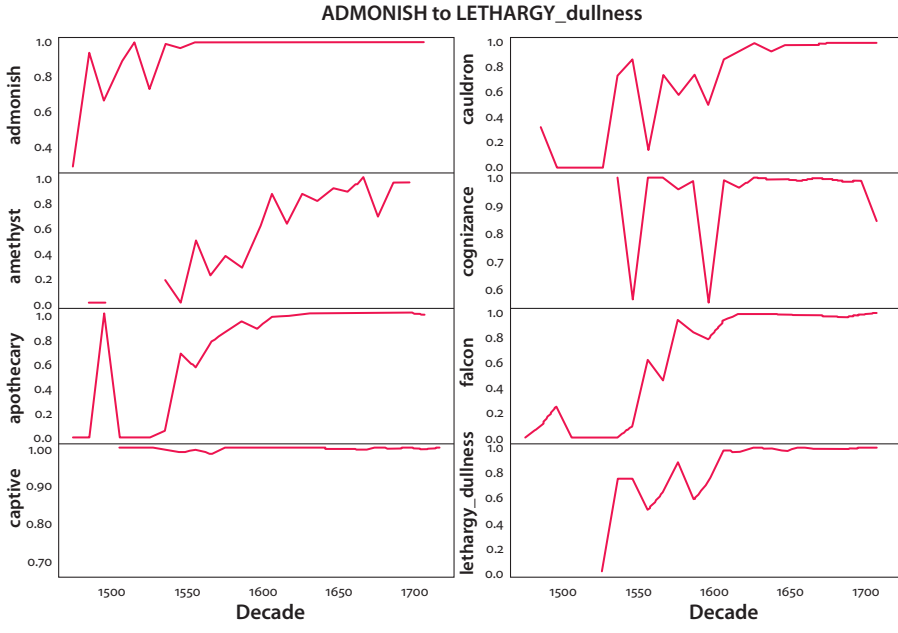
	1470s	1480s	1490s	1500s	1510s	1520s	1530s	1540s	1550s	1560s	1570s	1580s	1590s
PHANTOM	NA	NA	0.00%	0.00%	NA	NA	NA	0.00%	0.00%	NA	NA	NA	100.00%
	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:1)	(0:1)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:3)	(0:1)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(2:0)
PHEASANT	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	NA	20.00%	5.26%	0.00%	66.67%	51.85%	37.63%	51.35%	41.18%
	(0:3)	(0:4)	(0:3)	(0:6)	(0:0)	(1:4)	(1:18)	(0:9)	(12:6)	(14:13)	(35:58)	(19:18)	(28:40)
SALMON	NA	0.00%	0.00%	46.15%	0.00%	8.70%	75.00%	57.14%	85.71%	44.44%	60.00%	41.38%	79.03%
	(0:0)	(0:18)	(0:13)	(6:7)	(0:9)	(2:21)	(3:1)	(4:3)	(6:1)	(4:5)	(33:22)	(36:51)	(49:13)
VERDICT	0.00%	0.00%	NA	0.00%	NA	0.00%	44.44%	15.38%	13.33%	27.55%	49.11%	66.67%	74.87%
	(0:1)	(0:14)	(0:0)	(0:7)	(0:0)	(0:3)	(4:5)	(2:11)	(2:13)	(27:71)	(55:57)	(174:87)	(146:49)

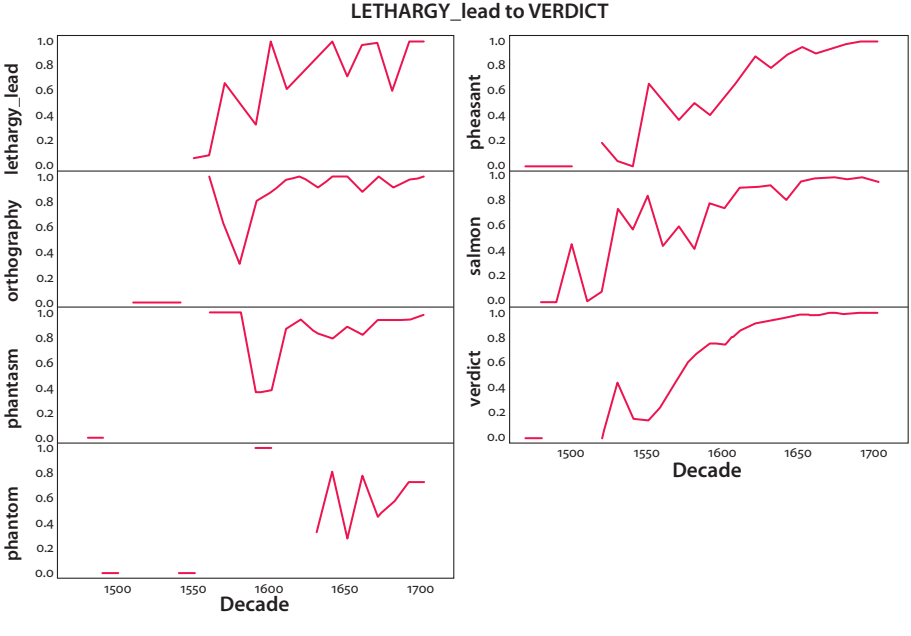
	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	Total
ADMONISH	99.93%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	99.91%	100.00%	99.92%	99.76%	100.00%	100.00%	NA	19801
	(1360:1)	(1732:0)	(1089:0)	(1177:0)	(1464:0)	(2115:2)	(1094:0)	(1217:1)	(1657:4)	(1312:0)	(109:0)	(0:0)	
AMETHYST	87.50%	63.16%	86.67%	81.82%	91.67%	88.89%	100.00%	69.23%	96.00%	96.30%	NA	NA	271
	(7:1)	(12:7)	(13:2)	(18:4)	(11:1)	(32:4)	(11:0)	(9:4)	(24:1)	(26:1)	(0:0)	(0:0)	
APOTHECARY	96.17%	96.85%	99.24%	100.00%	99.52%	99.52%	99.87%	99.90%	99.71%	100.00%	98.72%	NA	6006
	(251:10)	(246:8)	(260:2)	(507:0)	(209:1)	(624:3)	(764:1)	(953:1)	(677:2)	(596:0)	(77:1)	(0:0)	
CAPTIVE	100.00%	100.00%	99.93%	100.00%	99.82%	99.86%	99.67%	100.00%	99.86%	100.00%	99.66%	100.00%	23948
	(1645:0)	(1600:0)	(1420:1)	(1350:0)	(1622:3)	(3644:5)	(1791:6)	(2047:0)	(2773:4)	(1785:0)	(289:1)	(8:0)	
CAULDRON	87.76%	93.44%	100.00%	93.02%	98.36%	98.94%	98.73%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	NA	1335
	(43:6)	(114:8)	(101:0)	(80:6)	(60:1)	(186:2)	(78:1)	(150:0)	(132:0)	(99:0)	(14:0)	(0:0)	
COGNIZANCE	99.22%	96.19%	100.00%	99.58%	99.40%	98.96%	99.86%	99.38%	98.69%	98.87%	84.31%	NA	5754
	(128:1)	(101:4)	(91:0)	(239:1)	(497:3)	(855:9)	(731:1)	(805:5)	(979:13)	(874:10)	(86:16)	(0:0)	
FALCON	93.66%	99.45%	98.95%	99.22%	98.28%	98.09%	97.69%	97.37%	96.18%	98.17%	100.00%	NA	3325
	(192:13)	(541:3)	(189:2)	(127:1)	(57:1)	(154:3)	(127:3)	(259:7)	(327:13)	(107:2)	(28:0)	(0:0)	

	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	Total
LETHARGY	97.26%	96.77%	100.00%	99.44%	97.20%	100.00%	99.00%	98.99%	98.72%	100.00%	100.00%	NA	2104
"dulness"	(71:2)	(120:4)	(114:0)	(177:1)	(104:3)	(325:0)	(198:2)	(196:2)	(387:5)	(222:0)	(34:0)	(0:0)	
LETHARGY	100.00	61.54	75.00	86.67	100.00	72.54	96.88	98.96	60.51	100.00	100.00	NA	771
"lead"	(3:0)	(8:5)	(6:2)	(65:10)	(41:0)	(103:39)	(31:1)	(95:1)	(95:62)	(76:0)	(1:0)	(0:0)	
ORTHOGRAPHY	87.50	97.44	100.00	91.30	100.00	100.00	88.10	100.00	91.30	97.78	100.00	NA	534
	(28:4)	(38:1)	(19:0)	(21:2)	(40:0)	(73:0)	(74:10)	(53:0)	(42:4)	(44:1)	(9:0)	(0:0)	
PHANTASM	37.50	86.36	94.23	82.86	79.20	88.69	82.01	93.65	93.51	94.20	97.73	NA	1979
	(6:10)	(19:3)	(49:3)	(29:6)	(99:26)	(455:58)	(269:59)	(354:24)	(216:15)	(195:12)	(43:1)	(0:0)	
PHANTOM	100.00	NA	NA	33.33	81.25	27.78	77.78	45.16	56.14	72.32	72.55	NA	437
	(1:0)	(0:0)	(0:0)	(4:8)	(13:3)	(5:13)	(7:2)	(14:17)	(64:50)	(128:49)	(37:14)	(0:0)	
PHEASANT	55.56	70.27	88.14	78.38	88.89	95.10	90.32	94.55	97.94	100.00	100.00	NA	1795
	(35:28)	(104:44)	(156:21)	(116:32)	(48:6)	(194:10)	(84:9)	(191:11)	(285:6)	(111:0)	(12:0)	(0:0)	
SALMON	74.53	91.18	91.34	93.52	81.25	96.04	98.62	99.43	98.39	100.00	96.30	NA	1890
	(79:27)	(93:9)	(116:11)	(231:16)	(13:3)	(194:8)	(143:2)	(174:1)	(245:4)	(187:0)	(26:1)	(0:0)	
VERDICT	74.23	85.66	91.16	93.86	96.07	98.36	98.12	99.78	98.72	100.00	100.00	NA	7082
	(216:75)	(209:35)	(227:22)	(260:17)	(464:19)	(1077:18)	(469:9)	(928:2)	(1000:13)	(857:0)	(437:0)	(0:0)	

Appendix 2. Growth of etymological spellings

The graphs below are another way of representing the proportion of etymological spellings according to item and decade, taking the range between 0 (= 0%) and 1.0 (= 100%).





CHAPTER 9

Speech acts in the history of English

Gaps and paths of evolution

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Throughout the history of the English language we find different sets of speech-act verbs which seem to reflect the most prominent speech acts. These inventories change across the periods of the English language, revealing remarkable lexical gaps. This chapter investigates some of these gaps and how they were filled in the course of history. The basic result of this chapter is somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand it suggests that the study of speech-act gaps and paths of evolution of speech acts, together with a systematic study of speech-act loanwords is a highly promising but completely unexplored area in historical pragmatics. On the other hand, not all donor languages may have exerted a significant influence in the long run.

Keywords: speech acts, Old English, Middle English, Scandinavian influence, loanwords

1. Introduction

Debates in the field of diachronic speech-act analysis have so far largely focused on questions of contextualisation, form and function, and the different conceptualisations of speech acts in past centuries, for example: Can we access enough information about the background and setting of language use in past periods to determine the speech-act value of a given utterance (Stetter 1991; Bertuccelli Papi 2000)? Since there is no fixed link between the form of an utterance and its pragmatic function, how can we systematically access manifestations of a speech act in times long past (Kohnen 2004)? And, given the fact that speech acts were conceptualised differently in earlier periods (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2000), how can we find out the varying conditions and intentions underlying seemingly familiar speech acts in earlier periods?

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While these are, without doubt, important questions, other issues concerning the diachrony of speech acts have been more or less neglected. For example, in the individual periods of the English language we find different sets of speech-act verbs which seem to reflect the most prominent speech acts in the periods. These inventories of speech-act verbs change across the periods of the English language, revealing remarkable lexical gaps, for example, in Old English (Kohnen 2017). Do these gaps mean that these speech acts did not exist? And if so, how did they evolve? And, if we assume that certain speech acts only develop in the course of time, which speech acts can be assumed to be obligatory for every language community and which are optional (Lyons 1995: 251–252)?

In this chapter I give some preliminary answers to these questions. I start with Old English expressive speech acts, which apparently lack speech-act verbs denoting acts of apologising. Looking at previous work dealing with apologising in the history of English (Kohnen 2017; Williams 2018) and relevant anthropological research (Rosaldo 1982), I investigate how certain we can be that acts of apologising did not exist in Anglo-Saxon England or, on a more general level, whether there are language communities that seem to do without certain expressive speech acts. Based on the assumption that certain expressive speech acts did not exist in Anglo-Saxon England, I then sketch out two paths of evolution of how such speech acts may have entered the linguistic community (which I call the speech-act-first option and the loanword-first option).

I then take a more general perspective. Starting from the assumption that lexical innovations and loanwords may have contributed significantly to the evolution of speech acts in the history of English, I test the actual impact of a donor language on the inventory of English speech-act verbs. Looking at Scandinavian loanwords designating speech acts in Middle English, I try to determine in how far they influenced (Middle) English speech-act conventions. This pilot study, quite surprisingly, suggests that – at least from a contemporary perspective – the Scandinavian impact was rather limited.

Thus, the basic result of this paper is somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, the evolution of individual speech acts (apologising, congratulating) suggests that the study of speech-act gaps and paths of evolution of speech acts, together with a systematic study of (Latin, Greek and also Scandinavian) speech-act loanwords is a highly promising but completely unexplored area in historical pragmatics. On the other hand, not all donor languages may have exerted a significant influence in the long run. In the conclusion, I discuss these issues and point out the further avenues of research emerging from this.

2. Expressive speech acts in Old English: The case of apologising

As was pointed out in the introduction, the individual periods of the English language show differing sets of speech-act verbs, which seem to reflect the most prominent speech acts in the respective periods but which also seem to reveal significant gaps in earlier centuries. For example, some expressive speech acts (apologising, congratulating and complimenting) lack speech-act verbs in the Old English lexicon. Does this mean that these speech acts did not exist in Anglo-Saxon society? It seems notoriously difficult to identify non-lexicalised speech acts in the documents that have come down to us from Old English times and even more difficult to prove that these speech acts were not part of social interaction in Anglo-Saxon society.

But there are two studies (Kohnen 2017; Williams 2018) that both suggest that it is extremely unlikely that apologising was common in Anglo-Saxon England. Kohnen combined a search of the *Thesaurus of Old English* with extensive corpus analysis (including the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, the *Dictionary of Old English* and the electronic Bosworth & Toller), covering all the major manifestations known from Early Modern English and present-day English.[1] Williams also used electronic aids but relied on close reading as well. None of the typical patterns attested for apologies in later centuries could be found in the Old English data in either study, only acts of repentance which involved the speaker's sins and which were addressed to God. Although we cannot exclude the possibility of different and more marginal manifestations, the two studies strongly imply that there was no speech act of apologising in Anglo-Saxon England.

We should also consider the possibility of gestural and / or symbolic manifestations of apologising. Sadly, there is not much relevant research about non-linguistic symbolic acts during the Old English period. Generally, the focus of studies on ritual and other acts in past stages of a language seems to be on symbolic actions that are embedded in formal ritual and verbal interaction, not in informal gestural everyday-interaction (see, for example, Bax 2003). This means that we really cannot make any claims at all about the possibility of gestural manifestations. However, while gestural manifestations of apologies in Old English might have existed, we must also concede that their importance would have been fairly limited since they left no traces whatsoever in the Old English lexicon.

All the evidence we have, then, points to the assumption that in Old English apologies were extremely rare (if they occurred at all), since there were neither

1. Note that patterns in that study went beyond the explicit performative manifestation, including expressions designating sad feelings (the 'sorry-pattern'), expressions designating regret (the 'regret-pattern'), expressions designating excuse (the 'excuse-pattern') and expressions designating forgiveness (the 'forgive-pattern').

conventional means to perform them nor a lexical item to denote them.[2] Can we 'explain' this lack of apologising in Old English? We could attempt to make the gap at least plausible if we look at societies which show a similar absence of apologising and other expressive speech acts. From an anthropological perspective, Michelle Rosaldo (1982) reported on a present-day language community that seems to do largely without certain expressive speech acts. She lived for some time with the Ilongots, a people who inhabit the southern Sierra Madre and Caraballo Mountains on the east side of Luzon in the Philippines. The astonishing thing she noticed was that the Ilongots seemed to lack what we would call important expressive speech acts:

> Certainly, when in the field, I was consistently distressed to find that Ilongots did not appear to share in my responses to such things as disappointment or success, and that they lacked expressive forms with which to signal feelings of appreciation, obligation, salutation, and regret, like our "I'm sorry" or "good morning."
>
> (Rosaldo 1982: 217–218)

The very fact that there are societies which need not have types of speech acts that (from a typically Western perspective) we would consider indispensable elements of social interaction is very helpful and revealing for the diachronic study of speech acts. It shows that it is a basic mistake to assume that we should find the full inventory of (kinds of) speech acts that are familiar to us today in any period in the attested history of languages. But apart from this insight, Rosaldo's study is also helpful because in her attempt to explain the lack of expressives in Ilongot society she implicitly shows a possible parallel to Anglo-Saxon society. For Ilongots it is irrelevant to show inner feelings. Rather, their social interaction is in large parts based on 'objective' claims and bonds:

> In fact, it makes but little sense to speak of Ilongot "expressive" acts because Ilongots do not think in terms of inner "feelings" needing to emerge, but rather of social contexts in which people do or do not take for granted previously asserted claims and bonds. (1982: 222)

It is quite striking that Anglo-Saxon society (if we leave out the religious domain) seems to have worked in a similar way. In his insightful description of how 'emotions' functioned in Anglo-Saxon society, Allan J. Frantzen says that

> Anglo-Saxons … were expected to resist displays of emotion in their social lives but define themselves emotionally when their souls were at stake.
>
> (Frantzen 2012: 88)

---

2. However, stating that there was no apologising in Old English does not of course exclude the possibility that the Anglo-Saxons could (theoretically) communicate what we today would consider an apology (saying that you are sorry because you did something that was wrong etc., using the lexis of Old English). But there is no evidence of such metalinguistic formulation and for the time being we must assume that there was no social practice of apologising in Anglo-Saxon society.

Ilongot social order and Anglo-Saxon social order were certainly quite disparate. But it seems that in both societies the expression of inner feelings was not common and in both societies certain expressive speech acts are not documented. This shared feature may point to a similar motivation: if you are not supposed to show your inner feelings, the linguistic expression of such feelings will not be common and the speech acts associated with the expression of inner feelings will be lacking. In particular, the expression of feelings of regret would be seen as superfluous if the reason for the apology was objectively settled, that is, in terms of claims and bonds. We know that in Anglo-Saxon society (as far as the Anglo-Saxon laws suggest) misconduct and crime were objectively expunged by vengeance and retribution or by payment of money (see, for example, Mitchell 1995: 133–137; 200–203). The important point was thus to satisfy and correct the 'claims and bonds', not to soothe the feelings of the people involved in a conflict. Against this background it seems plausible that Anglo-Saxon society in fact could do without the speech act of apologising in the modern sense of the term.

3. The evolution of the speech act of apologising: Speech act first

If we accept that apologising did not exist in Old English, we might ask how it developed in the history of the English language. Williams (2018) has traced the evolution of apologising through Middle English and Early Modern English. It started as a confession of one's sins to God, and in the course of time acquired a predominant social function, seeking reconciliation with one's fellow Christians involving all kinds of transgressions (as also pointed out by Kohnen 2017). It seems to have spread from specifically Christian contexts (monastic communities, anchorites) to courtly milieus and middle-class interactions (as reflected by private letters). By late Middle English the speech act was associated with specific linguistic expressions, for example, *mea culpa, I am ryght sory, me* repenteth "my fault, I am very sorry, I regret". Finally, in the first half of the Early Modern English period, the speech act seems to have been fully conventionalised.

Now it is remarkable that, while the social practice of apologising was manifest already in late Middle English, the term describing it (*apology*) is a Greek loanword that entered the English language significantly later. The *OED* (s.v. *apology*) suggests the following steps by which the originally legal term assumed the specific speech-act meaning of today: first, apology is "the pleading off from a charge or imputation" (first citation Thomas More, *Apologie of Syr Thomas More*), then it is "justification, explanation of an incident or course of action" (first citation Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*) and thirdly, "the expression of regret" (first citation Shakespeare, *Richard III*). The speech-act verb *apologise* (a derivation) is not found until 1609. What we seem to witness here is the Early Modern English

application of a Greek loan word from a legal background to denote a social practice evolving in late Middle English. The important point is that the social practice is already in place when the term designating it is applied. I call this path of speech-act evolution the speech-act-first option. The evolution is based on a given social practice. The speech-act term is adopted from a loanword that denotes a remotely similar, but very much more specialised practice (pleading off from a charge in court).[3]

4. The evolution of the speech act of congratulating: Loanword first

The question in this section is whether the speech-act-first path is the only option for the evolution of a speech act. The possibility that springs to mind is a loanword-first option, where the evolution of a speech act in English society is largely based on the meaning of a loanword. In other words, a lexeme that designates a social practice in another society is adopted in English, forming the basis for an emerging similar practice. This seems to be the case with congratulating.

The relevant entry in the *OED* gives the meaning of *congratulate* as "to address (a person) with expressions of joy and satisfaction on an occasion considered fortunate" (*OED*, s.v. *congratulate*). The occasion may be an achievement, success or a happy event. The *OED* also offers other related, but now obsolete senses that are connected to the expression of joy, for example, "to express to a person one's pleasure or gratification at his good fortune, success, or happiness". Interestingly, the earliest citations belong to the present-day meaning, not to the obsolete ones.

As with apologising, there is no lexical evidence for congratulating in the Old English period. Neither the *Thesaurus of Old English* nor the *Dictionary of Old English* nor the electronic Bosworth & Toller contain the descriptor *congratulate*. In contrast to apologising, the act designated by the lexeme *congratulate* may well, however, have occurred. We find instances in Old English where people are addressed with expressions of joy and satisfaction on an occasion considered fortunate (for example, Hrothgar's praise of Beowulf in *Beowulf* 1841–1845), but this was certainly not an established and recognisable social practice that could be referred to by a lexical item and performed explicitly using a performative verb.

The etymology offered by the *OED* for *congratulate* is the participial stem of Latin *congrātulārī* (*con-* "together" + *grātulārī* "to manifest or express one's joy"). The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Glare 1968) confirms the speech-act sense of the Latin

3. This account does not make any claims about the different manifestations of apologies in Early Modern English. On these, see Jucker & Taavitsainen (2008).

verb, since one of the three senses of *congratulor*[4] is described as "to wish (a person) joy, congratulate". The citations given for this sense cover a large part of Antiquity (starting in the first century BC). So it is very likely that the verb *congratulor* was in fact a speech-act verb denoting the sense we associate with it today.

Early citations for the present-day sense of *congratulate* in the *OED* start from 1548, showing various constructions and addressing different occasions for congratulating, for example,

(1) 1548 *Hall's Vnion: Henry VI* f. clxiiij^{v} The inhabitauntes..sent to him messengers..thanking and congratulating him for his thither coming. (OED)

(2) 1587 R. Holinshed et al. *Hist. Scotl.* (new ed.) 358/2 in *Holinshed's Chron.* (new ed.) II Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quéene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulat their marriage. (OED)

(3) 1611 *Bible (King James)* 1 Chron. xviii. 10 Hee sent Hadoram his sonne to King Dauid..to congratulate [*Heb*. blesse][5] him, because hee had fought against Hadarezer. (OED)

Although the use of the verb in the early citations may not agree with contemporary usage, they all clearly include the original meaning of the Latin speech-act loanword *congratulor* in the sense of 'congratulate'.

As mentioned above with regard to Old English, we cannot exclude the possibility that the act designated by the lexeme *congratulate* may actually have occurred before the adoption of the loanword *congratulate*. But all the evidence points to the assumption that, since there was neither conventional means to perform the act nor a lexical item to denote it, it does not seem to have been a common social practice. Another question is whether there were other, synonymous verbs designating a similar speech act and a similar social practice before the loanword *congratulate* entered the language.

In the *Historical Thesaurus of English* the lexical item is listed under the link "the mind » attention and judgement » esteem » approval or sanction » commendation or praise » compliment » congratulation » congratulate (a person)". The link produces two entries that predate the date the loanword *congratulate* appears for the first time. The first one is:

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4. The other two senses are "to give thanks (to the Gods)" and "to be glad, rejoice".

5. This is a commentary by the editors of the *OED*. It is remarkable that the *King James Bible* did not adopt the original Hebrew "blessed" (בָּרַךְ bārak), but used the Latin *congratularetur* of the Vulgate for their translation. It seems that the Latin-based speech-act verb made much more sense to the translators.

(4) fain (a1300) †2. "To make glad. Hence to welcome (a person); also, to congratulate (const. *of*)"

This entry contains only one relevant citation from the transitional period between late Middle English and Early Modern English:

(5) *c*1500 *Roberte Deuyll* (1798) 10 Of hys companye no man us fayne
[in W. C. Hazlitt *Remains Early Pop. Poetry Eng.* (1864) I. 227 is fayne].

The evidence offered by this citation appears to be doubtful. Apart from the fact that the edition of *Roberte Deuyll* stems from 1798, the rendering given by Hazlitt in 1864 suggests the reading 'no man is inclined / willing'.

The second entry is:

(6) joy (1483) †5b. "To give or wish (a person) joy of something; to congratulate. Const. of (in)."

Here the only citation given is from the *Catholicon Anglicum*, an English-Latin wordbook, which gives synonyms of Latin *congratulor*, including also *gratulare* (see Herrtage 1881: 197). We are left again with the Latin verb *congratulor*.

Apart from the search in the *Historical Thesaurus of English*, I also made an entry search for *congratulate* in the *Middle English Dictionary*. This revealed three entries, one of which was the entry from the *Catholicon Anglicum* on 'joy' mentioned above. The other two entries were *gladden* and *thanken*. Quite generally, the meaning 'congratulate' appears only in very peripheral senses of the two entries.

(7) gladen: 2c: "to congratulate (sb.) on his good fortune"

(8) thanken: 2a: "To rejoice with someone; wish joy (to sb.); wish (sb.) joy, congratulate, rejoice with"

It turns out that all the citations given for *gladen* and *thanken* in the relevant sense 'congratulate' are translations of Latin texts (*Speculum Christiani* and the *Wycliffe Bible*), where *gladden* and *thanken* stand for the Latin verb *congratulor*. Below three examples are given:

(9) c1450 Spec.Chr.(2) (Hrl 6580)48/33:
He that dyez in this tyme.. es ***to be thanked*** *and*
He that dies in this time is to be thanked and
gladede [L ***congratulandus est***] *that he has ascapede fro so*
"congratulated" that he has escaped from so
many perelles..
many perils
"he that dies in this time is to be thanked and 'congratulated' that he has escaped from so many perils" (MED)

(10) (a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959) 2 Samuel 8.10:
Thou sente Joram his sone to kyng dauiþ þat he salute hym, ***thankyng***
Thou sent Joram his son to king David that he salute him thanking
to-gidere [WB(2): and ***thanke****]*, *& he do gracis*, *for þi þat he haþ*
together [and thank], And he do graces because he has
ouercomen Adadeȝer.
overcome Hadadezer.
[Vulgate (2 Samuel 8.10*): et misit Thou Ioram filium suum ad regem David ut salutaret eum* ***congratulans*** *et gratias ageret eo quod expugnasset Adadezer*.]
"Thou sent his son Joram to king David so that he may salute him, rejoicing with him, and he may give thanks, because he has overcome Hadadezer" (MED)

(11) (c1384) WBible(1) (Dc 369(2)) Luke 15.6:
Thanke ȝe *[WB(2): Be ȝe glad with] me [vrr. to me*, *togider*
Thank you-2PL be you-2PL glad with] me [to me, together
with me], *for I haue founden my scheep which hadde perischid*.
with me], for I have found my sheep which had perished.
[Vulgate: *et veniens domum convocat amicos et vicinos dicens illis* ***congratulamini*** *mihi quia inveni ovem meam quae perierat*.]
"Rejoice with me, because I have found my sheep that had perished" (MED)

So the result of the searches of the *Historical Thesaurus of English* and the *Middle English Dictionary* is that the earlier verbs denoting in some way a speech act 'congratulate' are directly linked to the Latin verb *congratulor*. They are attempts to explain the sense of the Latin speech-act verb using native lexical means (see also the first citation from 1548 given by the *OED* above: "The inhabitauntes..sent to him messengers..thanking and congratulating him", where the verb *thank* is given in addition to the loanword). In all then, all the evidence surveyed so far strongly suggests that the evolution of the speech act 'congratulate' in the English society was more or less directly based on the Latin word *congratulor* and the adoption of the loanword *congratulate*. This may be called a loanword-first option of the evolution of speech acts.

When we compare the evolution of apologising in English (the speech-act-first option) with the rise of congratulating (the loanword-first option) more closely, the two paths of evolution may not look as categorically different as they would appear at first sight. One might, in fact, argue that both processes of speech-act evolution are similar in that they both rely on the adoption of loanwords (*apologise, congratulate*). On the other hand, the prominence and conventionalisation of the social practice seems to be different. In the first case (apologising) the speech act is much more established and visible (in the form of typical associated linguistic manifestations, as *mea culpa, I am ryght sory, me repenteth*). It exists as a specific social routine. In the second case (congratulating) the establishment and

identification of the social practice seems to rely much more on the translation of a Latin lexeme, which is explained in terms of more familiar social practices (like thanking and wishing joy) and eventually adopted as a loanword. The two paths of speech-act evolution described here emphasise two aspects of the genesis of a new speech act: the development of an identifiable social practice and the availability and application of an appropriate speech-act term in the form of a loanword. The question is whether the designation will always be a loanword, not a native word, but it seems that in the history of English at least some incoming speech acts were termed with the help of loanwords.

5. The evidence of speech-act loanwords: A pilot study on Scandinavian loans in Middle English

The two cases of apologising and congratulating suggest that loanwords may have had an important role in the evolution of new speech acts in the history of English. On the one hand, speech-act loans can provide terms for (newly developed) speech acts and thus contribute to a richer inventory of the metalanguage that is used to refer to speech acts and to employ them as explicit performatives. On the other hand, they can trigger or at least support the development of new forms of speech-act conventions. Since English is a language that in the course of its history borrowed tens of thousands of loanwords from different sources, it seems plausible that speech-act loans may have contributed to the expansion and differentiation of the inventory of speech acts. But apart from the two single cases shown above, what was the general impact of a donor language on the inventory of speech-act verbs in the history of English? As far as I can see, there are no studies on loanwords that supplied new terms for designating speech acts in the history of English, especially none that include larger sets of loanwords (for example, Scandinavian speech-act loans in Middle English or Greek speech-act loans in Early Modern English). In this section I report briefly on a pilot study of Scandinavian loanwords designating speech acts in Middle English.

In order to evaluate the relevance of speech-act loans I searched all items in the *Middle English Dictionary* that have the etymology Old Norse ('on') and checked their etymology further in the *OED* (if they were listed there). I selected all words that designated speech acts. In all I found 39 speech-act terms (apart from about 10 phatic expressions that refer to different ways of speaking, talking and chatting, for example, *nevenen* "speak, say, utter, express", *dravelen* "mumble, mutter", *gāpen* "shout, talk loudly"). I am aware of the fact that the status of some of the items as Scandinavian loans may be debatable. On the one hand, the etymological information provided by the *Middle English Dictionary* is not very detailed and up-to-date,

and on the other hand the much more careful and recent revisions of the *OED3* only cover slightly more than one third of the complete *OED*. In addition, as Durkin (2014: 190–219) points out, identifying Scandinavian loanwords beyond doubt is in many cases simply impossible. Despite these basic uncertainties, the set of items I found gives a rough idea of speech-act terms that entered Middle English from the older Scandinavian languages.

If we arrange the 39 speech-act terms according to the traditional classes of speech acts (Searle 1976),[6] the following picture emerges: 8 representatives, 5 commissives, 8 directives, 16 expressives and 2 declarations (for more details see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Scandinavian speech-act loanwords found in the *Middle English Dictionary*

8 representatives	telling, asserting, informing, denying, gossiping	*monen* "tell, narrate; tell about (sb. or sth.), speak of", *carpen* "tell, chatter, gossip", *witnen* "assert authoritatively, declare, state", *nornen* "state (sth.), declare" etc.
5 commissives	promising, refusing	*yēten* "promise", *swāre* "a solemn promise", *nīten* "to refuse" etc.
8 directives	asking, requesting, demanding, urging, beseeching, advising	*callen* "ask, demand, request", *eggen* "urge, incite", *rōthen* "advise; give (sb.) counsel; advise (sth)", *witnen* "entreat, beseech", *nornen* "urge, entreat" etc.
16 expressives	reprimanding, rebuking, complaining, blaming, scoffing, mocking, bragging, boasting, greeting	*gabben* "speak mockingly or derisively, scoff, jeer", *rōs* "a boast, bragging", *snibben* "rebuke, reprove; reprove (sb.)", *brixlen* "chide (sb.); find fault with (sth.), criticize" etc.
2 declarations	cursing, nominating	*bannen* "curse, condemn" and *nevenen* "nominate or appoint (sb.) to an office"

Within this short chapter it is difficult to form an appropriate picture of the innovation the Scandinavian speech-act terms brought to Middle English. This would require a detailed study of the available synonyms in the various speech-act classes and the possibly new aspects the Scandinavian loans express. Here, especially the terms available for the expressive acts of reprimanding, rebuking and complaining on the one hand, and bragging and boasting on the other seem rewarding, given the sheer number of terms that entered the language in Middle English. From a contemporary perspective of Middle English, it seems extremely unlikely that these speech-act loanwords would not reflect a Scandinavian impact on Middle English (or Old English) speech-act conventions. But such an analysis must also carefully

6. Some verbs seem to have acquired a complex meaning and occur in two classes, for example, *nornen* "state (sth.), declare" and "urge, entreat".

assess the currency of these terms in Middle English and possible restrictions in terms of genre and dialect. Whatever the result of an in-depth analysis will be, it goes without saying that it would significantly enrich our picture of Middle English speech-act conventions.

On the other hand, if we look at the notorious gaps in the inventory of Old English speech-act verbs noted above (apologising, complimenting, congratulating etc.), it is obvious that the Scandinavian loans did not fill any of these gaps. In addition, the long-term impact of the Scandinavian speech-act loanwords seems to have been quite limited. According to the *OED*, all the speech-act loanwords found, except for two items, are either obsolete or only dialectal (Northern or Scottish). The exceptions are *to egg* and *to call* (which, according to Durkin (2014: 204) is a "more doubtful example"). This very limited effect contrasts with the attested general impact of early Scandinavian loans on the lexis of present-day English. After all, early Scandinavian loans supply 32 items (6%) of all the loans (529 items) to be found among the 1,000 most frequent words in the *British National Corpus* (Durkin 2014: 37).

One possible reason for the fact that the long-term Scandinavian influence on speech-act conventions was comparatively low might be that the Anglo-Saxon and Viking societies were both shaped by their common Germanic heritage. This makes it unlikely that the contact with Scandinavian would trigger any new speech-act conventions that would go beyond Germanic customs and persist beyond the Middle Ages (in contrast perhaps to the contact with French, Latin and Greek).

It is true that the results of the present pilot study are preliminary. But the study has clearly shown that the impact of a donor language in the history of English may be rather limited, at least from the perspective of present-day English. On the other hand, it seems to me that the really interesting aspect of Scandinavian influence lies in the contrast between the clearly noticeable initial impact during Middle English and its waning force after 1600, and the factors determining this development. Thus, this short account of Scandinavian speech-act loans may, after all, confirm the importance of the loanword approach to the evolution of speech acts.

6. Conclusions

Without question, diachronic speech-act analysis has made great progress within the last couple of decades and has become a major field of research within the discipline of historical pragmatics. Despite this fact, there are still areas in the field where virtually no research has been done. The aim of this contribution has been to highlight some of these fields and illustrate possible new avenues of research. This involves in particular a focus on the long-term diachrony of speech acts, on

the changing inventories of speech acts in various periods of a language, gaps in the inventories and, most importantly, the different paths the evolution of new speech acts might take and the role loanwords play in this process.

First of all, it is necessary to point out that in the course of history the inventory of speech acts was quite diverse and that across the centuries certain social practices were given up, whereas others developed. Once this fact is accepted, we can start to look at the various inventories of speech acts in the history of a language. In particular, we can search for gaps and the different ways in which these gaps were filled. In this article I have suggested two factors that seem to have been important in the history of English: the development of an identifiable social practice (speech-act first; apologising) and the availability and application of an appropriate speech-act term in the form of a loanword (loanword first; congratulating).

In a second step, I suggested a systematic analysis of loanwords in terms of speech-act designation. The pilot study on Scandinavian speech-act loans in Middle English revealed a mixed picture, with an interesting impact in Middle English and a significantly waning influence afterwards. But the cases of apologising and congratulating strongly suggest that Latin and Greek (and possibly French) loanwords were quite important in the formation of the current inventory of English speech-act terms.

Against the background of the present chapter, two avenues of research could be pursued. On the one hand, one could focus on further individual cases of speech-act evolution (for example, complimenting) and find out whether their developments rest more on established social practice or rather on the importation of a loan word. On the other hand, the general impact of individual donor languages (Latin, Greek, French, but also the Scandinavian languages) in particular periods in the history of English could be analysed. Here it seems important to distinguish the local, contemporary influence from the long-term effects in present-day English. For example, the Scandinavian contribution to Middle English speech-act verbs denoting expressive speech acts certainly deserves further detailed analysis, whereas its long-term effect appears to be negligible. As for other donor languages, it may be quite promising to look at Latin, Greek and French speech-act loans during the time of the Renaissance, but also the rise of new technical vocabulary during the 18th and 19th centuries may have resulted in new speech-act loans (for example, in the legal and scientific domains).

Thus, a systematic analysis of speech-act loans may not only provide valid evidence for the adoption of new speech acts in the history of English, but could also trace the different ways in which language contact has formed and changed the speech-act conventions of English society during the various periods of the language. Detecting gaps and tracing new paths of evolution will complement our knowledge about the history of English.

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This volume drawn from the 20th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL, Edinburgh 2018) focuses on the role of language contact in the history of English. It showcases a wide variety of historical linguistic approaches, including 'big data' analyses of large corpora, dialectological methods, and the study of translated texts. It also breaks new ground by applying relevant insights from other fields, among them postcolonial linguistics and anthropology. This pluralistic approach brings new and under-studied issues within the scope of explanation, and challenges some long-held assumptions about the nature of historical change in English. The volume will be of interest to an audience interested in the history of English, and the impact of its contact with Viking Age Norse, Old French, and Latin.

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