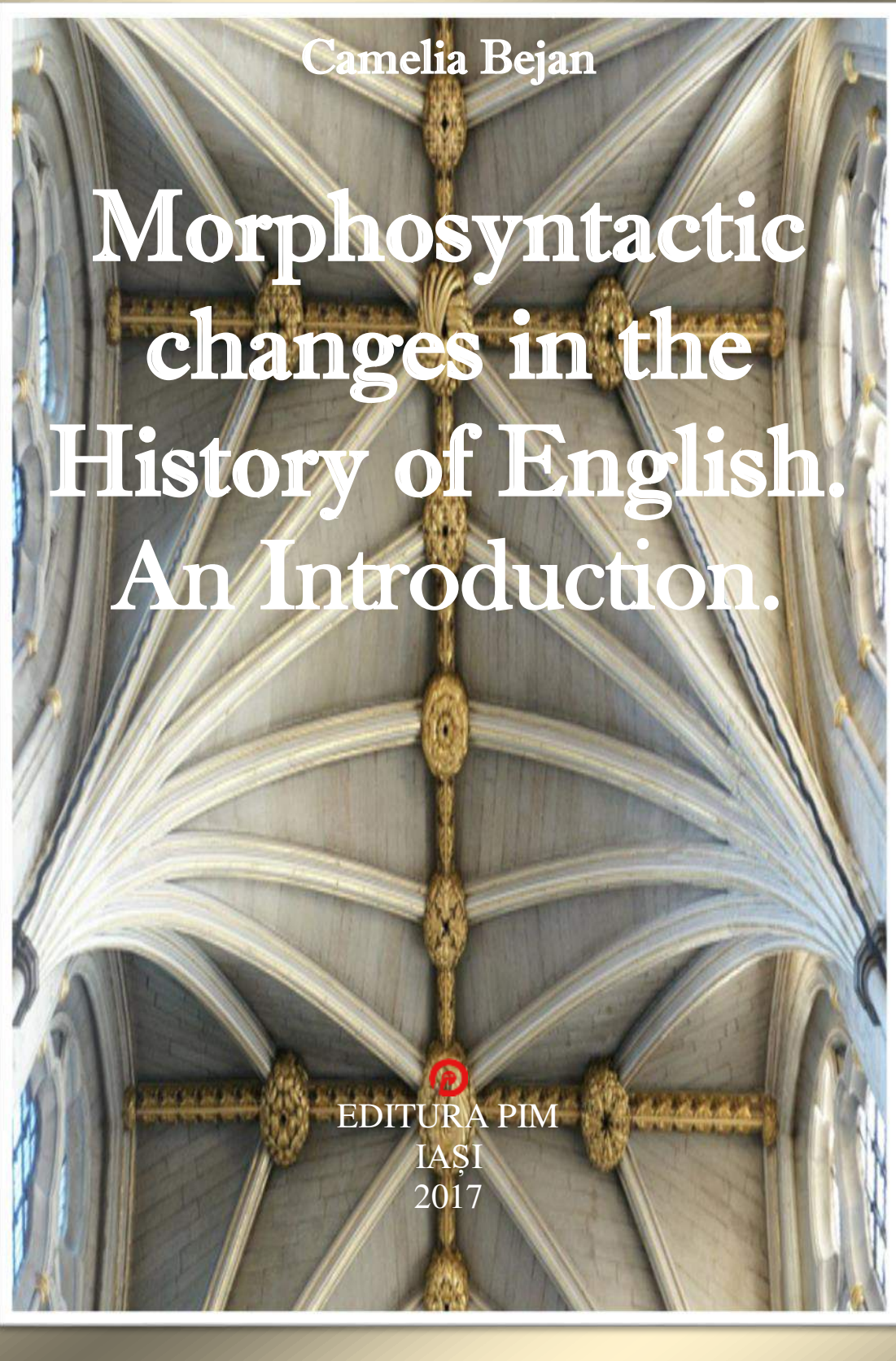




Camelia Bejan

Morphosyntactic changes in the History of English. An Introduction.


EDITURA PIM
IAȘI
2017

To appreciate the extent of transformation the language has undergone, we only need to take a look at the three Bible translations (*Genesis* 1: 3). Their original spelling has been retained but modern punctuation has been added:

God cwæð ða: Gewurðe leoht, & leoht wearð geworht.
'God said then: Be light, and light was made.'
(Ælfric, early 11th century)

And God seide, Ligt be maad, and lizt was maad.
(John Wycliffe, 1380s)

And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.
(*Authorised Version*, 1611)

Ælfric's **Old English** version needs glossing, because otherwise it will make no sense to a modern reader. It contains the word *God*, which is found unchanged in Present-day English, but the other words are no longer recognisable. By contrast, a modern reader might well recognize all the words in Wycliffe's **Middle English** translation although the way some of them are spelled looks odd. Finally, the **Early Modern English** text of the *Authorised Version* does not present any difficulties to speakers of Present-day English.

(Nevalainen 2006)

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List of abbreviations

Languages

OE	Old English	Gmc	Germanic
ME	Middle English	OF	Old French
ModE	Modern English	ON	Old Norse
EModE	Early Modern English	WS	West Saxon
LModE	Late Modern English	ww	word-for-word translation

Dictionaries and corpora

OED	Oxford English Dictionary
MED	Middle English Dictionary
CMEPV	Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse
OTA	Oxford Text Archive
HC	Helsinki Corpus

Lexical categories

A	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Aux	Auxiliary
D/Det	Determiner
N	Nominal / Noun
P	Preposition
V	Verb

Poss	Possessor
Refl	Reflexive
Subj.	Subjunctive
θ-role	Thematic role

Phrasal categories

AP	Adjective Phrase
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
DP	Determiner Phrase
GenP	Genitive Phrase
IP	Inflection Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
PP	Preposition Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase

Case

Acc	Accusative
Dat	Dative
Gen	Genitive
Nom	Nominative

Syntactic functions

O	Object
DO	Direct Object
IO	Indirect Object
PO	Prepositional Object
Su	Subject

Gender, number

m.	masculine
f.	feminine
n.	neuter
sg.	singular
pl.	plural
pers.	person
Ø	deleted element

Typographical conventions

//	slashes identify spoken sounds using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)
[]	square brackets identify phrases
< >	caret brackets identify written letters of the alphabet

Preface

This book is designed as a linguistic introduction to the history of the English language for undergraduate students of **English as a foreign language**.

We have attempted to make this textbook a bridge between elementary surveys of the history of English and more sophisticated (and theoretically oriented) work. The emphasis is on accurate description of language facts, avoiding a more theoretical architecture, where possible, so that access to information be easily available for students of English as a foreign language.

Successful completion of the course requires previous knowledge of descriptive morphology and syntax of Present-day English, and optionally, a 'survey' course in Old and Middle English literature, culture and/or history of Great Britain.

Following the periodization of the history of the English language, the textbook is organised in three main parts, each further subdivided into sections that give a theoretical outline of selected topics.

The book aims at giving an integrated view of the linguistic facts, in that theoretical accounts of the topics are followed by relevant and exemplary sentences and excerpts from earlier texts, annotated with glosses and Present-day English transcriptions. Theory is interspersed with short study assignments that are meant to reinforce the topics discussed.

Study assignments are mainly sentence based, emphasis being on recognizing structures, not on developing reading skills in earlier English. They comprise examples of constructions that are of particular interest in the history of English, and which highlight differences between earlier periods and later stages of the language. Each section ends with recommendations for further reading that guide the students' attention to the main bibliographical sources for the linguistic topic under discussion.

The book includes an answer key that permits easy-checking and provides short commentaries for some of the tasks suggested. The final sections comprise a glossary of linguistic terms that provides students adequate theoretical support in manipulating the data correctly and the references section.

The materials presented here have been derived from many sources. Specific acknowledgements have been made wherever possible, and reference is provided to the fuller original treatments. The main bibliographical sources include: general surveys of Old English, Middle English or Early Modern English with chapters on syntactic features; studies of the syntax of individual authors or texts; histories of the English language containing discussion of syntactic developments; histories of English syntax; articles focusing on

certain developments in the history of the language. The bibliography is geared to the annotated suggestions for Further reading.

The textbook highlights the main developments in the syntax of the English language and helps students gain an understanding of the successive transformations in the language and a proper appreciation of how English has evolved over time.

The author

Periodization and documentation

The English language has been greatly transformed over the centuries. Three major periods are usually distinguished in its history: Old English (before c. 1100), Middle English (c. 1100–1500) and Modern English (after c. 1500). Many historians divide the Modern English period further into Early and Late Modern English with 1700 as a dividing line.

The sections of the book contain detailed descriptions of the periods Old English, Middle English and Early Middle English in respect to two linguistic levels: morphological variation and syntax change. For each period selected important phenomena have been chosen for more detailed study.

The description of the language facts is documented with authentic materials selected from the relevant bibliography.

The surviving **documentation of Old English** before the middle of the 10th century is modest. Old English texts are divided along geographic lines into Northumbrian, Mercian, West-Saxon, and Kentish; they can also be categorized in terms of whether they were written in early or late Old English and whether they are poetry or prose.

The earliest Old English document is a Latin–Old English glossary, in the Mercian dialect, known from three 8th- and 9th-century copies known as the *Corpus Glosses* (CorpGl), the *Épinal Glosses* (EpGl), and the *Erfurt Glosses* (ErfGl). Several short Northumbrian poems from the 8th century also survive, notably *Bede's Death Song* (BDS) and *Cædmon's Hymn* (Cæd). The interlinear glosses to the *Vespasian Psalter* (Ps(A)), dating from the first half of the 9th century in early Mercian.

Three early **West Saxon** prose texts are of major importance: the translation of Pope Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* (CP), the translation of Orosius' history of the world (Or), and the translation of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (Bede). All date to the years around 900. Later texts are the Northumbrian glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (Li) c. 950, and *Beowulf* (Beo) in mixed dialect Northumbrian/West Saxon, manuscript from c.1000 but based on earlier version.

Thus, most evidence of older Old English comes from northern poetic texts, while evidence of later Old English comes from southern prose texts such as Alfred's *Orosius* or the works of Ælfric that survived in many copies.

It is commonly accepted that a wide gap exists between Old and Middle English as far as primary texts are concerned. Old English manuscripts are mainly preserved in the southern West Saxon dialect.

The **earliest Middle English texts** (from the period 1151–1250), however, are almost exclusively written in the Midland dialect, which is rather a continuation of the Anglian dialect of Old English. Old English and Middle

English data should not be compared, because they derive from two widely differing dialects.

The **Middle English** texts available are varied: travel accounts, medicinal handbooks, sermons, philosophical and scientific works, and fiction. There are several plays, such as the Wakefield and York Cycles 15th c; government documents prepared at the Chancery Southern dialect, 14th and 15th century; works of the Gawain poet, John Wycliff, Margery of Kempe, and Julian of Norwich; William Langland's *Piers Plowman* West Midlands, late 14th century; Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; and letters written by members of prominent families, such as the Paston Letters (1420s–1503) and the letters of the Cely (1472–1488), which show the transition between Middle and Early Modern English. Many of these texts can be found in the original at: <http://etext.virginia.edu/mideng/browse.html>, www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/library/me/me.html, or www.luminarium.org.

The **Early Modern English** period is well documented. In 1476 Caxton introduced the printing press to England and made texts available to a wider group of people. At this time, there were numerous attempts to print an **English version of the Bible**. Miles Coverdale worked on a version of Tyndale's Bible that appeared in 1539 in over 20,000 copies. Queen Elizabeth I decreed that a copy of Coverdale's Great Bible be present in every church. The King James Version, named after King James who hired a group of people to work on it soon after he succeeded Elizabeth, appeared in 1611. In addition to this, and Shakespeare's plays between 1590 and 1616, there are many other important works in the Early Modern English period. In 1565, Montaigne was translated by Florio; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were translated as well. Edmund Spenser published *The Fairie Qveene* in 1596, and Christopher Marlowe wrote *Dr. Faustus* and *Tamburlaine* around the same time.

Part I.

OLD ENGLISH (ca. 500 – 1100) – a synthetic language

The term “Old English” refers to those varieties of Germanic which were spoken in Great Britain from the Anglo-Saxon migration around 450 up until the end of the 11th century.

Compared with the present-day language, Old English was a highly inflected language. The Old English inflectional system derived directly from that in Germanic languages. Thus, nouns had special endings marking gender, number and case, while verbs inflected for tense, mood, person and number.

Further, in the Old English noun phrase there was agreement between the noun and the modifying adjective rather as in present-day German. Clauses were organized according to principles of word order typical of Germanic languages, with the verb in second position in main clauses and mostly in final position in subordinate clauses.

This chapter is concerned with the description, analysis, and explanation of the morphosyntactic changes that took place in the Old English period and paved the way for a less inflected language, Middle English.

1. MORPHOLOGY OF OLD ENGLISH

Compared with the present-day language, Old English was a highly inflected language. Nouns had four cases and three genders; verbs inflected for person and number and for the indicative and subjunctive moods. This chapter will give an overview of the nominal, adjectival and verbal inflectional system in Old English.

1.1. The Noun Phrase

The main element of a noun phrase is the head, which can be realized by a noun, a pronoun, an adjective or a quantifier. The head can be preceded by nouns (e.g. genitives), adjectives, quantifiers and pronouns, and followed by adjectives, appositive nouns, prepositional phrases and clauses. Noun phrases can be definite or indefinite; the most common way of marking this is with determiners (articles). This section will give a brief account of the main properties of the noun phrase constituents in Old English.

1.1.1. The determiner

The Old English demonstrative *se, seo, ðæt* which functioned both as a demonstrative with the meaning ‘that’ and as the equivalent to Present-day English ‘the’, played a vital role in the nominal declension. In Present-day English there are three terms: namely the specific *the* and then two contrasting words showing either nearness (*this*) or distance (*that*).

Like German, its sister language of today, Old English possessed a fully inflected definite determiner:

	singular			plural
	masc.	fem.	neut.	all genders
N.	sē	sēo	þæt	þā
G.	þæs	þāere	þæs	þāra
D.	þæm	þāere	þæm	þæm
A.	þone	þā	þæt	þā
I.	þy þon		þy þon	

The range of case forms includes an additional one, which is called the instrumental case that shows itself in the masculine and neuter singular.

The *se*-demonstrative

The pronominal character of the demonstrative *se* appears in its use as a relative pronoun (=who, which, that) and as a personal pronoun (=he, she, it). According to Traugott (1992: 171), the Old English pronominal *se* had a rather wider distribution than in Present-day English. In main clauses it can refer to an animate subject, and it usually signals emphasis or change of subject:

1)

Hi habbað mid him awyriedne engel, mancynnes feond and se hæfð andweald on...

They have with them corrupt angel, mankind's enemy and that-one has power over...

‘They have with them a corrupt angel, the enemy of mankind, and he has power over...’
(*ÆCHom* II, 38 283.113)

The *se* demonstrative is also used in the construction of relative, causal and other subordination types (see sections 2.5.2, 2.5.3.). It is also frequently encountered in cataphoric (forward-pointing) constructions of the type *He that said: that the king had left* (note that the demonstrative precedes the verb).

The *se*-determiner

Se functioning as a determiner is equivalent to Present-day English *the*. However, there are some differences between them. For example, *se*-

determiner can be used with proper nouns, as in the following example from Traugott (1992: 172):

2)

Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices...
In-this-year Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht of-his kingdom...
& **se Cynewulf** oft miclum gefeohtum feaht uuip Bretwalum
and that Cynewulf often in big battles fought against Brit-Welsh

‘In this year Cynewulf deposed Sigebriht...
and this Cynewulf often waged mighty battles against the Welsh.’
(*Chron A* (Plummet) 755.1)

On the other hand, in prose, absence of *se* is common in possessive constructions involving body parts of a possessor that is the subject of the clause:

3)

*on sumre stowe hine man mihte **mid heafde** geræcan*
in certain place it one.SUBJ could with head touch
In one place one could touch it (the roof) with the head.
(*ÆCHom I*, 34 508.18)

With nouns denoting body parts, Present-day English would use a possessive adjective (*his head*).

The indefinite determiner

Two indefinite determiners, *sum* and *an*, are widely used to introduce new information at the beginning of a narrative episode:

4)

*In ðeosse abbudissan mynstre wæs **sum broðor** syndriglice... gemæred*
In this abbess's minster was a brother specially... honoured
‘In this abbess's minster there was a certain brother who was
especially...honoured.’
(*Bede* 4 25.342.3)

The use of singular *sum* declined toward the end of the OE period, as *an* gradually acquired a presentative use (Traugott 1992: 174). *An* derives from the numeral ‘one’, hence its association with specific indefinites:

5)

*Ualens wæs gelæred from **anum Arrianiscan bisepe** Eudoxius wass haten*
Valens was taught by an Arian bishop Eudoxius was called
‘Valens was taught by an Arian bishop called Eudoxius.’
(*Or* 6 33.288.13;)

On the basis of the data collected, Traugott (1992: 175) concludes that there was an incipient indefinite article function in Old English, but that it was very restricted. The indefinite determiner is much less used than in Modern English.

1.1.2. Grammatical vs. natural gender

As in Indo-European languages generally the gender of Old English nouns is not dependent upon considerations of sex. Generally speaking, nouns designating males are generally masculine (*sē mann* ‘the man’) and females feminine (*sēo dohtor* ‘the daughter’), but those indicating objects are not necessarily neuter. Thus, OE *bōc* ‘book’ is feminine, *stān* ‘stone’ is masculine, *mōna* ‘moon’ is masculine, but *sunne* ‘sun’ is feminine, as in German.

Often even the gender of [+human] nouns seems to be illogical. Words like *mægden* ‘girl’, *wīf* ‘wife’ which we assume to be feminine, are actually neuter; while *wīfmann* ‘woman’ is masculine because the second element of the compound is masculine. The nouns *bearn* and *cild* ‘child’, which we expect to be feminine or masculine, are also neuter. These examples point to the fact that the grammatical gender of nouns in Old English does not always coincide with its natural gender. In the Germanic languages grammatical gender is an ancient historical feature, which has persisted everywhere except in English.

Grammatical gender in Old English can be recognised by the gender of the definite determiner and to some extent by the form of the noun, i.e. several word-building suffixes formed nouns of a certain gender:

1. All nouns ending in *-a* are masculine: *sē mona* ‘the moon’
2. Nouns ending in *-dōm*, *-hād*, *-scipe* are masculine: *sē wisdōm* ‘the wisdom’, *sē childhād* ‘the childhood’, *sē frēondscipe* ‘the friendship’.
3. Nouns derived from adjectives by suffixation in *-nes*, *-þu*, *-u*, *-ung* are feminine: *sēo rihtwīsnes* ‘the righteousness’, *sēo strengþu* ‘the strength’, *sēo bieldu* ‘the boldness’, *sēo scotung* ‘shooting’.
4. Compounds follow the gender of their last element: *sē wīfmann* ‘the wife’.

Towards the end of the Old English period attempts may be noticed to adjust the gender of nouns to semantics, replacing grammatical gender by natural gender in Middle English. The decline of the grammatical gender was accelerated by the levelling of endings. In contrast, the simplicity of Present-day English gender appears as a chief asset of the language.

1.1.3. The nominal inflections

Nouns in Old English carried inflections which marked the phrase for number, gender and case. These inflections appeared on the head (pro)noun and on determiners and adjectives associated with.

The Old English noun has two numbers: singular and plural and only four cases: nominative, accusative, dative and genitive and instrumental whose endings vary with different nouns, but fall into certain broad declensions. The instrumental case disappeared during the Old English period.

Number and case together are expressed by one inflectional ending. There are thus at most 8 different endings for any given noun.

The inflection of the Old English noun indicates distinctions of number (singular and plural) and case. There is a **vowel** declension and a **consonant** declension also called **strong** and **weak** declensions, according to whether the stem ended in Germanic in a vowel or a consonant, and within each of these types there are certain subdivisions. If the original stem suffix ended in a vowel *a, ō, i, u*, the declension was strong; if the original stem suffix ended in *-n* preceded by *a, ō, i*, the declension was weak. In addition, there are a few minor declensions with stems ending in *-nd* or *-r*, as well as athematic stems. Their nature may be gathered from the following paradigms.

The weak declension included masculine, feminine and neuter nouns:

masculine: sg. *se nama* ‘the name’ pl. *þā naman* ‘the names’

Singular	Plural
N. <i>sē nama</i>	N. <i>þā naman</i>
G. <i>þæs naman</i>	G. <i>þāra namena</i>
D. <i>þæm naman</i>	D. <i>þæm namum</i>
A. <i>þone naman</i>	A. <i>þā naman</i>

All nouns ending in *-a* belong to the weak declension: *cnapa* ‘boy’, *foda* ‘food’, *gefera* ‘companion’, *geleafa* ‘belief’, *gewuna* ‘habit’, *guma* ‘man’, *mona* ‘moon’, *steorra* ‘star’, *tima* ‘time’, *þeowa* ‘servant’, *wyrhta* ‘worker’, *hunta* ‘hunter’, *wita* ‘councillor’, etc.

feminine: *sēō sunne* ‘the sun’ *þā sunnan* ‘the suns’

Singular	Plural
N. <i>sēō sunne</i>	N. <i>þā sunnan</i>
G. <i>þære sunnan</i>	G. <i>þāra sunnena</i>
D. <i>þære sunnan</i>	D. <i>þæm sunnum</i>
A. <i>þā sunnan</i>	A. <i>þā sunnan</i>

Other feminine nouns belonging to the weak declension are: *cirice* ‘church’, *eorþe* ‘earth’, *heorte* ‘heart’, *mæss* ‘mass’, *nædra* ‘snake’, *tunge* ‘tongue’, *hlæfdige* ‘lady’, *wise* ‘manner’, etc.

The strong declension included masculine, feminine and neuter nouns:

masculine: *sē stan* ‘the stone’ *þā stanas* ‘the stones’

Singular	Plural
N. <i>sē</i> <i>stān</i>	N. <i>þā</i> <i>stānas</i>
G. <i>þæs</i> <i>stānes</i>	G. <i>þāra</i> <i>stāna</i>
D. <i>þæm</i> <i>stāne</i>	D. <i>þæm</i> <i>stānum</i>
A. <i>þone</i> <i>stān</i>	A. <i>þā</i> <i>stānas</i>

Further examples of masculine nouns belonging to the strong declension are: *āþ* ‘oath’, *beorg* ‘hill’, *cniht* ‘youth’, *dæl* ‘part’, *dōm* ‘judgement’, *eorl* ‘nobleman’, *fisc* ‘fish’, *gāst* ‘spirit’, *geard* ‘enclosure’, *hām* ‘home’, *prēost* ‘priest’, *cyning* ‘king’, *hlāford* ‘lord’, *þeow* ‘servant’, *weg* ‘way’, *wisdom* ‘wisdom’, etc.

feminine: *sēō giefu* ‘the gift’ *þā giefe* ‘the gifts’

Singular	Plural
N. <i>sēō</i> <i>giefu</i>	N. <i>þā</i> <i>giefe</i>
G. <i>þære</i> <i>giefe</i>	G. <i>þāra giefu/ giefena</i>
D. <i>þære</i> <i>giefe</i>	D. <i>þæm giefum</i>
A. <i>þā</i> <i>giefe</i>	A. <i>þā</i> <i>giefu</i>

Other feminine nouns belonging to the strong declension are: *andswaru* ‘answer’, *lufu* ‘love’, *scamu* ‘shame’, *talū* ‘tale’, *wicu* ‘week’, etc.

neuter: *ðæt scip* ‘the ship’ *þā scipu* ‘the ships’

Singular	Plural
N. <i>þæt</i> <i>scip</i>	N. <i>þā</i> <i>scipu</i>
G. <i>þæs</i> <i>scipes</i>	G. <i>þāra scipa</i>
D. <i>þæm</i> <i>scipe</i>	D. <i>þæm scipum</i>
A. <i>þæt</i> <i>scip</i>	A. <i>þā</i> <i>scipu</i>

Other examples of neuter nouns belonging to the strong declension are: *hūs* ‘house’, *beorn*, *cild* ‘child’, *dēor* ‘wild beast’, *flod* ‘flood’, *folc* ‘folk’, *gold* ‘gold’, *gear* ‘year’, *land* ‘land’, *mōd* ‘mood’, *sceap* ‘sheep’, *þing* ‘thing’, *wīf* ‘wife’, *word* ‘word’, etc.

Certain cases are identical in form (syncretism): the Accusative is the same as the Nominative in all plurals and in the singular of all neuters and all strong masculines. The genitive plural ending is always *-a* and the dative plural *-um*.

Irregular (or root) declensions included nouns which had mutated plurals: *mann* ‘man’ – *menn*, *foṭ* ‘foot’ – *fet* (also regular *fotas*), *gos* ‘goose’ – *ges*, *toð* ‘tooth’ – *teð*.

The declension of personal names varies with their origin. If personal names are of native origin, they are declined like common nouns of the strong declension:

masculine	feminine
N. Ælfred	N. Ēadburg
G. Ælfredes	G. Ēadburge
D. Ælfrede	D. Ēadburge
A. Ælfred	A. Ēadburge

Foreign personal names sometimes follow the analogy of native names: *Crīst*, *Salomon*, have Gen. *Crīstes*, *Salomones*, Dat. *Crīste*, *Salomone*. Sometimes they are declined as in Latin, especially those in *-us*; but very often with a mixture of English endings and Latin endings, used somewhat loosely.

Many names of countries and districts are compounds, formed from the name of the inhabitants followed by *land*. The first element is commonly in the Gen.pl.: *Englaland* ‘land of the English, England’, *Norþhymbraland* ‘Northumbria’, etc.

These few paradigms clearly illustrate the marked synthetic character of English in its earliest stage. The relative importance of the declensions was not the same, some of the declensions were represented by large numbers of nouns, whereas others were confined to several words; certain types of declension influenced the other types.

Historically speaking, the most interesting types are those which extended or survived in later periods. In this respect, especially significant are the paradigms of *a*- stems, *n*- stems and root stems whose traces are found in Modern English.

The plural markers. The plural ending *-as* (*a* stems, masculine, N./A.) and the ending *-es* (*a*-stems, masculine, Gen. sg.) began to be added in Old English to nouns originally belonging to other declensions. Thus, only in Middle English the N. A. pl. *-es* (from OE *-as*) ousted the other case forms of the plural.

It is important to note that, unlike masculine nouns, the neuter *a*-stems did not take *-as* in the plural (generally those with a short root vowel took *u*, e.g. *limu*. Others had dropped the ending in prerecorded Old English so that their

form did not change for the plural. Modern English nouns such as *deer*, *sheep*, *swine*, *yoke*, *score* have the same form for the singular and the plural because in Old English they were neuter, and all neuter monosyllabic nouns had the same form for both numbers whenever the root-vowel was long or when they ended in two consonants.

Another important group is that of the root stems with vowel interchange as a regular means of form-building. Thus, the prerecorded **fōtiz* (N. pl) and **fōti* (Dat. sg) became **fētiz* and **fēti* being both shortened to *fēt* after the loss of the endings.

Sound alternations sometimes occur in the other stems, as well. Thus, nouns ending in fricatives had a regular alternation between a voiced and a voiceless consonant depending on the position in the word, i.e. whether the consonant was followed by a vowel or stood at the end of the word:

wulf [f] (Nom. sg.)	wulfas [v] (Nom., Acc. pl.)	‘wolf – wolves’
muð [θ]	muðas [ð]	‘mouth – mouths’

Old English case remnants in Present-day English may be found in the ‘genitive of measure’: *five foot tall, ninety-mile journey* (the OE Gen. pl. *-a* was preserved in Middle English as *e* pronounced /ə/, which was dropped later). The dative plural has been transmitted in *seldom*, the dative singular in *-e* has been preserved in spelling in the word *alive* (OE ‘on life’). The OE feminine genitive without *-s* is preserved in *Lady Chapel* (i.e. *our Lady’s Chapel*), *Lady day*, *lady-bird*.

The Old English plural of *cild* was *cildru*, which became Middle English *childre* or *childer*. In one dialect *childer* was given an additional *-en* suffix *chideren*, which has become the Standard English *children*.

Further reading

Introductory reading on nominal inflections in OE, in Hogg (2003: chps. 2;3), Burrow and Turville-Petre (1992: § 4.2.) and others.

A detailed account of the properties of definite and indefinite NPs in Traugott (*CHEL* I: 4.2.1.).

For advanced reading on nominal inflections in OE, see Ringe and Taylor (2014: § 7.2.), Hogg and Falk (2011: ch. 3), Mengden (2012: § 18.1), among others.

Study assignment 1.1.1.- 1.1.3.

1. Give the declensional paradigm of the following nouns:
weak declension: masc. *sē guma* ‘man’, *sē hunta* ‘hunter’
fem. *sēo tunge* ‘tongue’, *sēo nædra* ‘snake’
strong declension: masc. *sē giefu* ‘gift’, *sē prēost* ‘priest’
fem. *sēo giest* ‘guest’, *sēo lufu* ‘love’

neut. *ðæt sunu* ‘son’, *ðæt cild* ‘child’, *ðæt wif* ‘wife’

2. Read the following phrases from Algeo & Pyles (1966:112) and decide which element is the gender indicator in each case, choosing from:
 - a. meaning (sexual gender)
 - b. the determiner
 - c. the indefinite determiner
 - d. the demonstrative
 - e. agreement between pronoun and noun
 - f. agreement between the indefinite determiner and the noun

masculine	feminine	neuter
<i>se wīfmann</i> ‘the woman’ <i>se æppel</i> ‘the apple’	<i>sēo hlæfdige</i> ‘the lady’ <i>sēo eorthe</i> ‘the earth’	<i>þæt wīf</i> ‘the woman’ <i>þæt ealu</i> ‘the ale’
<i>þes wīfmann</i> ‘this woman’ <i>þes æppel</i> ‘the apple’	<i>þēos hlæfdige</i> ‘this lady’ <i>þēos eorthe</i> ‘this earth’	<i>þis wif</i> ‘the woman’ <i>þis ealu</i> ‘the ale’
<i>sum æppel</i> ‘a certain apple’	<i>sumu hlæfdige</i> ‘a certain lady’	<i>sum ealu</i> ‘a certain ale’
<i>(Ic seah) sumne wīfmann.</i> ‘(I saw) a certain woman’	<i>(Ic seah) sume hlæfdige</i> ‘(I saw) a certain lady’	<i>(Ic seah) sum wīf.</i> ‘(I saw) a certain woman’
<i>se wīfmann...hēo is gōd</i> <i>se æppel...he is gōd</i>	<i>sēo hlæfdige...hēo is gōd</i> <i>sēo eorthe ...hēo is gōd</i>	<i>þæt wif...hēo is gōd</i> <i>þæt ealu...hit is gōd</i>

3. Use brackets to identify NPs in the following examples selected from Freeborn (1998:68). The markers of the nominal grammatical categories of gender, number and case have already been underlined. State what they indicate (Ø shows zero-marking):

a. <i>Seo næddre cwæp</i> The serpent said b. <i>he asende ut þone hræfn-Ø</i> he sent out the raven c. <i>þæt wif-Ø andwyrde</i> the woman answered d. <i>God-Ø cwæp to þam wife</i> God said to the woman	g. <i>hi gehyrdon his stemne</i> they heard his voice h. <i>he genam hi in to þam arce</i> he took her into the ark i. <i>ofer þære eorþan bradnysse</i> over the earth’s broadness (=surface) j. <i>þa wæteru adruwodon</i> the waters dried up

e. *se hræfn-Ø fleah þa ut*
the raven flew then out

k. *he abad oþre seofan dagas*
he waited (an)other seven days

f. *God-Ø cwæþ to þære næddran*
God said to the serpent

4. Read the following paragraph from the Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, which tells the story of the missionaries to England under St Augustine in 597.

Comment on the morphological marking of case on nouns and determiners:

Ðā wæs æfter manigum dagum þæt sē cyning cōm tō
Then was after many days that the king came to
Then it was after many days that the king came to

þæm ēalande, and hēt him ūte setl gewyrcean;
the island and commanded him out seat make;
the island and ordered (them) to make him a seat in the open air;

and hēt Augustinum mid his gefērum þider tō his spræce
and bade Augustine with his companions thither to his consultation
and he bade Augustine with his companions to come thither to (his)

cuman. Warnode hē him þy læs hīe on hwelc hūs tō him inēoden;
come. Guarded he him lest they in same house to him enter;
consultation. He guarded himself lest they should enter in the same

brēac ealdre hēalsunga, gif hīe hwelcne drycraeft hæfden
used old precaution, if they any sorcery had
house with him; he employed an old precaution in case they had any

þæt hīe hine oferswīðan and beswīcan sceolden.
that they him overcome and besiege should.
sorcery with which they should overcome and get the better of him.

5. **Modern survivals of the Old English inflections on nouns.** Two Old English inflectional endings have survived into Modern English, the genitive and the plural. Other inflections still survive but only in petrified forms. In the following examples match the modern forms of the nouns in italics with the Old English inflections:

They found a *bird's* nest.
He took a *five-day* trip.
The *mice* are hiding for fear.

The *boats* were at sea.
The *oxen* follow the plow.
It *seldom* snows.

There were three *hundred* men. The boy is five *foot* tall.
 The *sheep* are in the field. These *kind* are oak trees.
 There is hardly a native *alive*. The *deer* were frightened.
 The feast of the Annunciation is called *Lady Day*.

- a. N - A plural ending *-as*
- b. N - A plural ending *-an*
- c. N - A plural ending *-ru*
- d. N - A plural ending with mutation of the stem vowel.
- e. N - A plural identical in form with N-A singular
- f. G. singular ending *-es*
- g. G. singular without *-s*
- h. D. singular ending in *-e*
- i. D. plural ending *-um*

1.1.4. The pronominal system

Old English pronouns fall under the same classes as Present-day English pronouns: personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, relative, (the possessive and the relative were yet not so distinctly separate and not so well developed as the others).

1.1.4.1. Personal pronouns

The personal pronoun in all languages preserves a fairly complete system of inflections. Old English has distinctive forms for practically all genders, persons and cases, and it preserves in addition to the ordinary two numbers, singular and plural, a set of forms for two people or two things – the dual number, representing an isolated archaic trait in the grammar system. The paradigm of the person pronouns is as follows:

Singular	1 st	2 nd	3 rd		
				masculine	feminine
					neuter
N.	ic	ðū	hē (he)	hēo (she)	hit (it)
G.	mīn	ðīn	his	hi(e)re	his
D.	mē	ðē	him	hi(e)re	him
A.	mē (mec)	ðē(ðec)	hine	hīe	hit
Plural					
		1 st	2 nd	3 rd	
		N. wē	gē	hīe	
		G. ūser (ure)	ēower	hi(e)ra	
		D. ūs	ēow	him	
		A. ūs (usic)	ēow (eowic)	hīe	

There are four cases and there is gender distinction only in the third person singular. The nominative-accusative distinction is made in all persons and numbers except for the third person neuter and the third person plural. The dative-accusative distinction is made in the third person paradigms, both singular and plural.

It is important to note that there were separate singular and plural forms in the 2nd person. The Present-day English *you* is related to the Old English accusative plural rather than the nominative plural (which gives *ye*). This development takes place later (see section 3.1.4.)

Besides the singular and plural number, there is the relatively infrequent dual form. The dual mainly used to make clear that the reference is to two people only:

	1 st	2 nd
Dual	N. wit (we two)	git (ye two)
	G. uncer	incer
	D. unc	inc
	A. unc	inc

The personal pronoun also displayed the function of the later reflexive pronoun:

6)

*Ic on earde bad | ... ne **me** swor fela*

I on earth was-around ... not me-DAT swore wrong

‘I was around on earth ... I never perjured myself’

(*Beowulf* 2736–8; Gelderen 2006: 59)

Besides personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns can also be used for pronominal reference.

The forms of the personal pronoun survived into the Middle English period with minor changes: *ic* was often reduced to *I*, the dual number disappeared, the personal pronoun for the Nominative feminine *she* was adopted at different times in different parts of the country, the plural forms of Scandinavian origin *their*, *them* were recorded from early 13th century.

1.1.4.2. Possessive pronouns

The genitives of all the personal pronouns were used as possessives, and to some extent also the general 3rd person form *sġn* ‘his, her, their’, an old reflexive.

1.1.4.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Old English had two series of demonstrative pronouns: a simple demonstrative

and an emphasized (compound) demonstrative. The simple demonstrative originally meant ‘that’. Its paradigm is that of the definite determiner (see section 1.1.1.). Its meaning was often weakened and then it had the function of the definite determiner and was unstressed. *Sē, sēō* were replaced by *þē, þēō* in late Old English.

The emphasised demonstrative corresponds to ‘this’. Its paradigm is the following:

	masc.	singular neuter	fem.	plural all genders
N.	þes	þis	þēos, þios	þās
G.	þisses	þisses	þisse	þissa
D.	þissum	þisum	þisses	þisum
A.	þisne, þysne	þis	þās	þās

Functionally the two kinds of demonstratives differed. The simple demonstrative *sē, sēō þæt*, displayed all the functions performed by *the* and *that* today. Old English *sē*, however, underlies the Modern English definite determiner *the*. There was no indefinite determiner, the numeral *ān* fulfilled its function.

The demonstrative series serves three functions: it is used as a definite determiner for definite descriptions, it can also be used for pronominal reference and it serves as a relative pronoun, with or without the relative complementizer *þe* (see the relative pronoun in section 1.1.4.6.)

1.1.4.4. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in Old English were simple, compound or disjunctive. The simple interrogative pronoun had no plural. The interrogative pronoun *hwā* ‘who’ had only masculine and neuter singular forms, which were declined for case:

	masculine	neuter
N.	hwā ‘who’	hwæt ‘what’
G.	hwæs ‘whose’	hwæs
D.	hwæm ‘whom’	hwæm
A.	hwone ‘who’	hwæt

The interrogative pronouns: *hwelc, hwilc* ‘which of many’ and *hwæðer, hweðer* ‘which of the two’ were declined as strong adjectives:

7)

hwæðer dara twegra dyde daes faeder willan,
whether of them twain did the will of his father?

(*Mt. KmbL.*, 21, 31; Bosworth & Toller 1898: 571)

The pronoun *hwæt* sometimes referred to persons: *Hwæt syndon gē?* ‘Who are you?’ *Hwæs*, *hwæm* sometimes referred to things:

8)

Lyt ðu gemudest to hwam ðinre sawle Þing siðððan wurde,
little thou mind to what thy soul’s condition would come,
(*Soul Kmb.* 39; Bosworth and Toller 1898: 571)

The interrogative pronouns, *hwæðer* ‘which (of two)’ and *hwelc/ hwylc* ‘which (of many)’ could combine with *swā* to convey a meaning similar to *ever*-compounds in Present-day English: *swā hwā swā* ‘whoever’, *swā hwæt swā* ‘whatever’, *swā hwelc swā* ‘whichever’.

In contrast to Modern English, the interrogative pronouns are not used as relative pronouns. All three interrogative pronouns could be used as indefinite pronouns or quantifiers, meaning ‘anyone’, ‘anything’.

1.1.4.5. Indefinite pronouns

Some indefinite pronouns are: *(e)all* ‘all’, *sum* ‘some’ (mostly used in affirmative sentences), *ān* ‘one, a certain’, *ænig* ‘any’ (used in interrogative negative and conditional clauses), *nænig*, *nān* ‘none’, *swelc*, *swylc* ‘such’; *(n)āwuht*, *(n)ōwuht*, *(n)ōht* ‘nought, not’, *gehwilc*, *æghwilc*, *ælc* ‘each’, *gehwæpter*, *ægþter* ‘either’.

Many forms of indefinite pronouns were built on the basis of the interrogative pronouns: *āhwā*, *āhwæðer*, *āhwelc* ‘anyone, anything’. The addition of the prefix *ge-* changes the sense of some indefinites from ‘any’ to ‘every’: *gehwā*, *gehwylc* ‘each/ every one’, etc. All are declined as indefinite adjectives.

An and *sum* are sometimes used indefinitely: *ān mann*, *sum mann* ‘a certain man’ or simply ‘a man’. *Man*, a form of *mann*, is often used in the indefinite sense of ‘one’ (like French *on*, German *man*):

9)

his brōþor Horsan man ofslōg
his brother Horsan **one** killed
‘they killed his brother Horsa’

(Sweet 1978: 24)

1.1.4.6. Relative pronoun

There is no distinct relative pronoun in Old English. The relative link occurs under three forms:

- as the demonstrative *sē*, *sēō*, *þæt*
- as *sē*, *sēō*, *þæt*, + *þa*; *þæt* + *þe* became *þætte*, later *þæt* ‘that’
- as uninflected *þe* alone

Relative clauses could even be added without any introductory word. The commonest relative is the particle *þe*, which is indeclinable and serves for all genders and numbers:

10)

ælc þāra þe þās mīn word gehīerþ
 everyone who these my words hears
 ‘everyone who hears these words of mine’

(Sweet 1978: 24)

The particle *þe* is often combined with *sē*, which is declined: *sē þe* ‘who’ masculine, *sēo þe* feminine, etc. *Sē* alone is also used as a relative:

11)

se wære leoda cyning se þe ær was folce þeow
 he was of-people king.NOM who.NOM before was people.DAT servant
 ‘he would be th king who had been in bondage to the people’

(Or 4.6.95.32; Fischer et al 2000: 59)

With the loss of inflections, the number of relative pronouns decreased in the Middle English period.

1.1.4.7. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Old English also express reflexive and reciprocal relations. Reflexivity is conveyed by the accusative, dative and genitive forms of the personal pronoun with an antecedent in the same clause:

12)

Simon to ðisum wordum hine gebealh
 Simon at these words himself angered
 ‘Simon got angry at these words’

(van Kemenade 1994: 127)

In this example the antecedent of the pronoun in the accusative case, *hine*, is the subject of the sentence, *Simon*.

13)

hie gesamnodon hie
 they collected themselves
 ‘they assembled’

(Sweet 1978: 23)

Sometimes the adjective *self* (*seolf*, *sylf*) ‘self, same, own’ was used to intensify the meaning of the personal pronoun, but *self* is not generally a reflexive marker:

14)

He hit sylf negeseah
He it self not-saw
'He did not see it himself'

(Schmidt 1978: 63)

Similarly, the reciprocal relationship can be expressed by the plural form of the personal pronoun, optionally emphasized. An example of this is:

15)

and hie æt Tharse ðære byrig hie gemetton
and they at Tarsus the city each other met
'and they met each other at the city of Tarsus'

(van Kemenade 1994: 127)

Additionally, there are several expressions that have a meaning equivalent to the Present-day English reciprocal pronoun *each other*: *ægðer*, *naþer*, *oper*, *æghwylc*, *ælc*, *gehwa*, *gehwylc*, *ænig* used in combination with *oper*:

16)

Wrediaþ fæste ægwylc oper
support firmly each other
'each support the other firmly'

(*Bt. Met. Fox* 11, 69, *Met.* 11, 35; Bosworth & Toller 1898: 12)

Further reading

Introductory reading on the pronominal system in OE in Hogg (2003: §2.4.), Burrow and Turville-Petre (1992: 4.3.).

Advanced reading on pronominal inflections in Ringe and Taylor (2014: §7.3.3.) and Hogg and Falk (2011: ch. 5). For a generative account of the history of reflexive pronouns, see Gelderen (2000).

Study assignment 1.1.4.

1. Give a word-for-word translation of the following excerpt from Ælfric's *Colloquy* using the link to *Bosworth and Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (<http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz>). Then write the paraphrase of this fragment in Present-day English. Identify pronouns and comment upon them.

Ælfric "the grammarian" (955 – 1010) was abbot of Eynsham. He wrote *Colloquy* in Latin as a dialogue for young monks and novices. Some time later another teacher added an Old English gloss to one manuscript between the lines of the Latin. In the first part the members of the class are practitioners of the different occupations of

Anglo-Saxon village and town life: a plowman, a hunter, a merchant, a leathercraftsperson, and so on. They are interrogated by the teacher on the nature and (later) worth of their work.

- 1 [The teacher:] Hwæt hæfst þu weorkes?
- 2 [Pupil A:] Ic eom geanwyrde monuc, ond sincge ælce dæg seofon tida mid gebroþrum, ac þeahhwæþere ic wolde betwenan leornian sprecan on eden gereorde
- 3 [The teacher:] Hwæt cunnon þas þine geferan?
- 4 [Pupil A:] Summe synt yrþlingas, sume scephyrdas, sume oxanhyrðas, sume eac swylce huntan, sume fisceras, sume fugleras, sume cypmenn, sume scewyrhtan, sealteras, bæceras.
- 5 [The teacher:] Hwæt sægest þu, yrþlingc?
Hu begæst þu weorc þin?
- 6 [Pupil B:] Eala, leof hlaford, þearle ic deorfe. Ic ga ut on dægræd þywende oxan to felda, ond iugie hie to syl; nys hit swa stearc winter þæt ic durre lutian æt ham for ege hlafordes mines, ac geiukodan oxan, ond gefæstnodon sceare ond cultre mid þære syl, ælce dæg ic sceal erian fule æcer oþþe mare.

(adapted from McGillivray: 2004)

1.1.5. The adjectival inflections

An important feature of the Germanic languages is the development of a twofold declension of the adjective. In Old English adjectives were inflected in agreement with the noun modified. The weak or definite declension of adjectives corresponds to the weak nominal declensions and is used when the attributive adjective follows a demonstrative or a possessive pronoun, for instance: *se gōda mann* ‘the good man’.

The strong declension or indefinite declension for the most part parallels the strong nominal declension and it is used when an adjective occurs predicatively, or when it is a modifier of an indefinite NP, for example: *gōd mann* ‘good man’. Of the two declensions, the simpler is the definite one, which closely follows the noun declension (see section 1.1.3.); the difference being in the genitive plural, where there is, an *-r-* immediately after the stem.

The weak declension

The endings of the weak declension are the same as those of the nouns, except that the genitive plural usually ends in *-ra* instead of *-ena*, as in the strong declension. Here is the declensional paradigm of the adjective *good*:

	singular	plural	
masculine	feminine	neuter	
N. <i>gōda</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōdan</i>
G. <i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdra(-ena)</i>
D. <i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdum</i>
A. <i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōdan</i>

The strong declension

Many endings of the strong declension on adjectives differ from those of nouns. Let us illustrate this paradigm with the adjective *cwic* ‘alive’:

	singular		
	masculine	feminine	neutre
N.	<i>cwic</i>	<i>cwicu</i>	<i>cwic</i>
G.	<i>cwices</i>	<i>cwicre</i>	<i>cwices</i>
D.	<i>cwicum</i>	<i>cwicre</i>	<i>cwicum</i>
A.	<i>cwicne</i>	<i>cwice</i>	<i>cwic</i>
	plural		
N.	<i>cwice</i>	<i>cwica,-e</i>	<i>cwicu</i>
G.	<i>cwicra</i>	<i>cwicra</i>	<i>cwicra</i>
D.	<i>cwicum</i>	<i>cwicum</i>	<i>cwicum</i>
A.	<i>cwice</i>	<i>cwica, -e</i>	<i>cwicu</i>

As it can be noticed, unlike the definite declension, the indefinite adjective declension shows gender distinctions not only in the singular but also in the plural. Adjectives with a short root syllable are declined like *cwic*, for instance: *til* ‘good’, *sum* ‘some, a certain’, and the compounds ending in *-lic* and *-sum*: *faerlic* ‘sudden’, *gehiersum* ‘obedient’, etc.

This elaboration of inflection in the Old English adjective contrasts with the complete absence of inflection on the adjective in Modern English.

1.1.5.1. Agreement

The noun, the adjective, the pronoun and the numeral (partly) share the categories of gender, number and case. These categories were independent in the noun, whereas in the adjective and the pronoun they were dependent showing agreement with the corresponding noun.

Adjectives agree with the noun heads in gender, number and case, not only when used attributively, as in (17a), but also when the adjective occurs in an appositive construction, as in (17b):

17)

- a. *hīe ofslōgon ānne geongne Brettiscne mannan, swīthe æþelne*
they killed a.ACC young.ACC Briton. ACC so noble.ACC
‘they killed a young Briton, of very noble birth’

(Sweet 1978: 43)

- b. *ne ābyhþ næfre Ēadmund Hinguare, hæpnum heretoga*
 not submit never Edmund Hinguar.DAT, heathen.DAT general.DAT
 ‘Edmund will never submit to Hinguar, the heathen general’
 (Sweet 1978: 48)

Predicative adjectives agree in gender, number and case with subject NP. So do participial adjectives (as opposed to participles in periphrastic perfect and passive constructions; see Traugott (*CHEL* I: §4.4.3.1): 18)

þā menn sind gōde
 ‘the men are good’

1.1.5.2. Adjective comparison

For the majority of adjectives in Old English, the process of comparison is achieved by the addition of comparative and superlative suffixes. The regular formation of a comparative of Old English adjectives is by adding *-ra* to the stem. The comparative is declined according to the weak declension. For instance, the adjective *lēof* ‘dear’ has the following forms:

masculine	feminine	plural
<i>lēofra</i>	<i>lēofre</i>	<i>lēofran</i>

The superlative normally ends in *-ost* and may occur either in the strong or in the weak declension: *leofost*.

A number of adjectives have mutated vowels in the comparative and the superlative:

<i>eald</i>	‘old’	<i>ieldra</i>	<i>ieldest</i>
<i>geond</i>	‘young’	<i>gingra</i>	<i>gingest</i>
<i>hēah</i>	‘high’	<i>hīerra</i>	<i>hīehst</i>
<i>lang</i>	‘long’	<i>lengra</i>	<i>lengest</i>
<i>sceort</i>	‘short’	<i>scyrta</i>	<i>scyrtest</i>
<i>strang</i>	‘strong’	<i>strengra</i>	<i>strengest</i>

Several adjectives have comparative and superlative forms from roots that are different from those in the positive degree:

<i>gōd</i>	‘good’	<i>betera, betra</i>	<i>betst</i>
<i>yfel</i>	‘bad’	<i>wiersa</i>	<i>wier(re)st</i>
<i>micel</i>	‘great’	<i>māra</i>	<i>mæst</i>
<i>lytel</i>	‘little’	<i>læssa</i>	<i>læst</i>

1.6. Adverb comparison

The comparative of adverbs is formed by adding *-or*, the superlative by adding *-ost*, instead of the usual positive ending *-e*:

positive	comparative	superlative
swīpe ‘greatly’	swībor	swīpost
blīpelīce ‘joyfully’	blīpelīcor	blīpelīcost

Like the corresponding adjectives, the following adverbs form the comparative and the superlative from different roots:

positive	comparative	superlative
wel ‘well’	bet	bet(e)st
yfle ‘badly’	wiers	wier(re)st
mīcle ‘much’	mā	mast
lyt ‘little’	las	last

Further reading

More on adjectival declensions and comparison and on adverbs in Mengden (2012: § 18:1.3). For advanced reading on adjectival inflections in OE, see Ringe and Taylor (2014: §7.3.1.), Hogg and Falk (2011: ch. 4), among others.

Study assignment 1.1.5.-1.1.6.

1. Write the paradigms of the adjective *glad* in the strong and in the weak declension.
2. Modern survivals of the Old English inflections on adjectives and adverbs. Match the examples with the comments:

a <i>colder</i> winter	the <i>narrowest</i> road
an <i>elder</i> daughter	the <i>eldest</i> son
He slept <i>days</i> .	<i>Mondays</i> they come early.
He has a lot to do <i>besides</i> .	They called <i>once</i> .
He drives <i>slower</i> in town.	the <i>foremost</i> painter

And feed *deep* upon her peerless eyes. he drives *slower* in town.
Why lives thou, dead dog, a *lenger* day? (Spencer)

- a. adverb formed with the suffix *-e*
- b. genitive singular used adverbially
- c. adverb comparative ending *-or*
- d. adjective comparative ending *-ra*

- e. adjective superlative ending *-est* (from earliest *ist*) with mutation
- f. adjective comparative ending *-ra* (from earlier *-ira*) with mutation
- g. adjective superlative ending *-ost*
- h. adjective double superlative endin

Summary

Old English noun phrases evince properties typical of Germanic languages: demonstratives, nouns and adjectives are inflected for case, number and gender; there is a strong declension and a weak declension for nouns and adjectives and a relationship of agreement is established between the constituents of the noun phrase.

Another feature of Old English is that the nominal system is deficient in determiners, both definite and indefinite, although the lexical items which later become the determiners (distal demonstrative *se* 'that', numeral *an* 'one', and quantifier *sum* 'some') are in some cases arguably used with the force of a determiner already in Old English.

The pronominal system has distinct forms for all genders, persons and cases, but it also preserves, in addition to singular and plural, the dual number, as an isolated archaic trait.

1.2. The Verb Phrase

Old English distinguished only two simple tenses by inflection, a present and a past. It recognised the indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods and had the usual two numbers and three persons.

1.2.1. Verbal inflections

A peculiar feature of the Germanic languages was the division of the verb into two great classes, the weak and the strong, often known in Modern English as regular and irregular verbs. The strong verbs, like *sing*, *sang*, *sung*, which represent the basic Indo-European type, are so-called because they have the power of indicating change of tense by a modification of their root vowel. In the weak verbs, such as *walk*, *walked*, *walked*, this change is effected by the addition of a 'dental', sometimes of an extra syllable.

1.2.1.1. Strong verbs

In Old English, if we exclude compounds, there were only a few over three hundred of irregular verbs, and even this small number falls into several classes. Nowadays these verbs, generally speaking, have different vowels in

the present, past and the past participle. In Old English the vowel of the past tense often differs in the singular and in the plural, as well; or to be more accurate, the first and third person singular have one vowel while the second person singular and all persons of the plural have a different one.

Old English strong verbs, therefore, have four forms: the infinitive, the preterite (past) singular (first and third person), the preterite plural and the past participle. In Old English the strong verbs can be grouped in six general classes, to which a seventh may be added, the reduplicating verbs. Here are the ablaut classes of the strong verbs:

	infinitive	pret. sg.	pret. pl.	past participle
I.	drīfan (drive)	drāf	drifon	gedrifen
II.	cēosan (choose)	cēas	curon	gecore
III.	drinkan (drink)	dranc	druncon	gedruncen
IV.	beran (bear)	bær	bæron	geboren
V.	sprecan (speak)	spræc	spræcon	gesprecen
VI.	faran (fare, go)	fōr	fōron	gefaren
VII.	feallan (fall)	fēöll	fēöllon	gefeallen

The complete conjugation of *bindan* ‘bind’, a strong verb, is given below:

present

Indicative	1 sg.	ic	binde
	2 sg.	þu	bindest
	3 sg.	he/ heo/ hit	bindeþ
Subjunctive	1-3 pl.	we/ ge/ hi	bindaþ
	1-3 sg.	ic/ þu/ etc.	binde
	1-3 pl.	we/ ge/ hi	binden
Imperative	sg.		bind
	pl.		bindaþ
Participle			bindende

past

Indicative	1-3 sg	ic/ he etc.	band
	2 sg	þu	bunde
	1-3 pl	we/ ge/ hi	bundon
Subjunctive	1-3 sg	ic/ þu/ he	bunde
	1-3 pl	we/ ge/ hi	bunden
Participle			gebunden
Infinitive			bindan
Inflected infinitive			to bindenne

1.2.1.2. Weak verbs

An important group of verbs in Old English form their past tense by adding *-ede*, *-ode*, or *-de* to the present stem, and their past participles by adding *-ed*,

-od, or *-d*. Thus *fremman* ‘to perform’ has the preterite *fremede* and the past participle *gefremed*; *lufian* ‘to love’ – *lufode* – *gelufod*; *libban* ‘to live’ – *lifde* – *gelifd*.

The personal endings except in the preterite singular are similar to those of the strong verbs. It is important to note, however, that the weak conjugation has come to be the dominant one in the English language. Many strong verbs have passed over to this conjugation, and practically all new verbs added to the language are inflected in accordance with it (see § 3.2.1.). Let us look at the paradigm of *fremman* ‘to perform’, a typical Old English weak verb:

weak verbs		class I		class II
Infinitive		<i>fremman</i> ‘to perform’		<i>lufian</i> ‘to love’
present				
Indicative	1 sg.	ic`	fremme	lufie
	2 sg.	þu	fremest	lufast
	3 sg.	he/ heo/ hit	fremeþ	lufaþ
	all pl.	we/ ge/ hi	fremmaþ	lufiaþ
Subjunctive	1-3 sg	ic/ þu/ he	fremme	lufie
	1-3 pl	we/ ge/ hi	fremmen	lufien
Imperative	sg.		fremme	lufa
	pl.		fremmaþ	lufiaþ
Participle			fremmende	lufiende
past				
Indicative	1-3 sg	ic/ he	fremede	lufode
	2 sg	þu	fremedest	lufodest
	1-3 pl	we/ ge/ hi	fremedon	lufodon
Subjunctive	1-3 sg	ic/ þu/ he	fremede	lufode
	1-3 pl	we/ ge/ hi	fremeden	lufoden
Participle			gefremed	gelufod
Infinitive			fremman	lufian
Inflected infinitive			to fremmenne	to lufienne

The verb *trymman* ‘strengthen’ can be conjugated like *fremman* and the verbs: *andswarian* ‘answer’, *āscian* ‘ask’, *blissian* ‘rejoice’, *endian* ‘end’, *leornian* ‘learn’, *macian* ‘make’, like *lufian* ‘love’.

The present indicative singular generally has a first-person ending *-e*, a second-person ending *-(e)st*, a third-person ending *-e(ð)*, and a general plural ending *-að*. The second and third person singular in the strong verbs have an umlauted root vowel, since the ending originally contained an *i*:

infinitive	2nd, 3rd pers sg. pres. ind.
cnāwan (know)	cnæwð (he / she knows)

cumin (come)	cymð
drīfan (drive)	drīfþð
drinkan (drink)	drincð
faran (go)	fræð
sprecan (speak)	spricð
seoþan (boil)	syþþ

The past indicative first and third person singular of the strong verbs have a separate stem. The stem receives no ending for the first and third persons, and *–e* for the second:

1st, 3rd sg	2nd sg.	all pl
draf	drife	drifon ‘drove’

For **the indicative** of the weak verbs, the endings are *–e* for the first and third person singular, *–est* for the second person singular and *–edon* for the plural, thus:

class I	sg. fremede, fremedest	pl. fremedon
class II	sg. lufode, lufodest	pl. lufodon

The past subjunctive singular ending is *–e*, like that of the indicative first and third person singular,; the plural ending is *–en*.

The infinitive is formed by adding *–an* to the stem.

The past participle of the weak verbs has the dental suffix; that of the strong verbs an *–en* suffix attached to the past plural ablaut stem. All past participles have the prefix *ge–*, for instance, weak: *gefremed*, *gelufod*, strong: *gedrifēn*.

The paradigm of the verb *be*

The irregular verbs: *wesan/ bēon* ‘be’ have the following paradigm:

present				
Indicative	1 sg.	ic	eom	bēo
	2 sg.	þu	eart	bist
	3 sg.	he/ heo/ hit	is	biþ
	1-3 pl.	we/ ge/ hi	sind/ sindon	bēoþ
Subjunctive	1-3 sg.	ic/ þu/ etc.	sie	bēo
	1-3 pl.	we/ ge/ hi	sien	bēon
Imperative	sg.		wes	bēo
	pl.		wes aþ	bēoþ
Participle			wes ende	bēonde

There are two parallel **indicative** paradigms. The usual sense of the *eom* paradigm is to express a present state; *bēon*, on the other hand, is mostly used

to express futurity or a timeless (generic) state. Both paradigms remained in existence for a long time until the first paradigm ousted the second, except, of course, in the infinitive, where *bēon* is today the only infinitive form (Hogg 2003: § 3.4.):

past		
Indicative	1-3 sg. ic/ he etc.	wæs
	2 sg. þu	wære
	1-3 pl. we/ ge/ hi	wæron
Subjunctive	1-3 sg. ic/ þu/ he	wære
	1-3 pl. we/ ge/ hi	wæren
Infinitive	wesan	bēon

The past indicative forms of *bēon* are very similar to the Present-day English verb forms, and it takes its forms from the alternative infinitive *wesan*.

This collection of forms was dismembered in Early Middle English, and various portions spread over the dialects.

1.2.2. Tense

Although Modern English also has a two-tense system, present and past, both indicative and subjunctive in Old English were far more general in meaning. The prime indicators of temporal relations are the verbal inflections for present and past and the temporal adverbs and temporal conjunctions.

1.2.2.1. The present tense referred the action to any time (except the past), i.e. to the present as illustrated in (19a) or future (sometimes with a time adverb) as in (19b):

19)

- a. *Donne ðū ðā in bringst, hē yt and blētsaþ þe*
 Them you then in bringst, he eats and blesses you
 ‘when thou bringst them, he will eat and bless you’
 (Schmidt 1978: 76)

- b. ... & ic *arise* of deaðe þam þriðdan dæge
 ...and I will-arise from death on that third day
 ‘... and I will arise from death on the third day.’
 (ÆCHom I, 10 152.7; Traugott 1992: 181)

Traugott (*CHEL* I: 181) notes that the present primarily refers to the present ('now'), to an action that in Present-day English would be expressed by present progressive, as in (20a), and it can also refer to timeless present and habitual action, as in (20b):

20)

- a. *Ic Beda...sende gretan ðone leofasten cyning Ceolwulf, & ic þe sende þæt spell*
I Bede...send to-greet that most-beloved king Ceolwulf, & I to-thee send that narrative
'I Bede... send this to greet the beloved king Ceolwulf; & I send you that story'
(*BedePref* 2.1)
- b. *Fela wundra worhte God, and dæghwamlice wyrhð*
Many wonders performed God, and daily performs
'God performed many wonders and does so daily.'
(*ÆCHom* I, 12 184.24)

The present can also be used when present relevance is of prime importance, in contexts where Present-day English usually requires the present perfect:

21)

- Efne min wif is for manegum wintrum untrum*
Indeed my wife is for many winters sick
'Indeed my wife has been sick for many years.'
(*ÆLS* (Apollonius) 41)

1.2.2.2. The past tense (indicative or subjunctive) referred the action to the past only, without discriminating between priority or non-priority of an action on the one hand, or its connection with the present on the other hand. So it indicated either a past action having no connection with the present (22a), a past action related to the present (22b) or a past action accomplished before another past action (22c):

22)

- a. *þā þā menn slēpon, þā cōm his fēonda sum*
while men were sleeping, came his enemies one'
'while men were sleeping, one of his enemies came'
(Sweet 1978 :50)
- b. *we ... hlāford þine ... sēcean cwōmon*
we lord your ... seek came
'we have come to seek thy Lord'
(Schmidt 1978: 77)
- c. *ðā sende... ærendwrecan and onbēad þæt hē of Rōme come*
then sent ..messenger and announced that he from Rome came
'then sent messenger and announced that he from Rome (had) come'
(*Bede's Ecclesiastical History*; Baugh & Cable 1993: 62)

1.2.3. Mood

Apart from two tenses, Old English distinguished three moods morphologically: indicative, subjunctive and imperative. Generally speaking, the indicative mood is used to present a proposition as true, while the subjunctive expresses desire, wish, expectation and so forth.

The subjunctive mood, which was widely used in Old English, especially in subordinate clauses (see section 2.5.), must have presented actions or events as unreal or probable. In main clauses it expressed wish or command while in embedded clauses, the subjunctive was used in indirect speech to convey the speaker's uncertainty:

23)

*Ic wēne ðætte nōht monige begeondan Humbre **næren** and āscode hine hwæt ðæt **wære***

I think that not many beyond Humber not-were and asked him who that be

‘I think that not many were beyond the Humber’

(Schmidt 1978: 77)

The subjunctive occurred after verbs of desire and command in the main clause:

24)

*þæs ic **gewilnige** and **gewysce** mid mōd-e, þæt ic āna ne **belīfe***

this I desire and wish with heart, that I alone not remain

‘this I desire and wish in my heart, that I may not remain alone’

(Sweet 1978:53)

It was also preferred in clauses of purpose introduced by *þæt* ‘so that’, comparison *swelce* ‘as if’ or concession *þēah* ‘though’, and in clauses of condition introduced by *gif* or *būtan*, *wiþ þæm þe* ‘on condition that’, ‘provided that’.

1.2.4. The non-finite verbal forms

As to the non-finites, the infinitive and the participle, it should be pointed out that their verbal characteristics were as yet less developed than their nominal characteristics.

Infinitives are of two main morphological types, as shown in Traugott (*CHEL* I: 241):

(a) an infinitive with the suffix *-(t)an*, originally the nominative accusative case marker for a neuter verbal noun, for example:

25)

*He sæde þæt he... wolde **fandian** hu longe þæt land norþryhte læge*
He said that he..wanted to-find-out how long that land northwards lay
(Or 1 1.17.7)

(b) an infinitive with prepositional *to*, originally 'toward', and the inflected infinitive suffix *-anne/-enne*, originally the dative case marker for a verbal noun, for example:

26)

*... ne þe nan neod þearf ne lærde **to wyrcanne** þæt þæt ðu worhtest*
... nor thee no need not taught to perform that that thou performedst
'... nor did any need teach you to perform what you performed.'
(Bo 33.79.16)

The inflected or prepositional infinitive was used to denote direction, purpose or intention. Initially the simple infinitive was more frequently used. In time, however, the endings of both kinds were levelled and lost, and *to* came to be used with the infinitive, losing its initial meaning. The simple infinitive is still used with modals (*can, may, must*, etc.) and with the verbs: *do, let, make, see*.

The participle, as a verbal adjective, had both verbal and nominal categories. The two participles were opposed through voice and tense differences. The present participle was present and active, the past participle denoted a state resulting from an accomplished past action and was passive in meaning when formed from transitive verbs: *maciende* 'making', *āgan* 'gone', *(ge)macod* 'made'.

Like adjectives, participles could be declined as weak or strong ones having case, number and gender distinctions; thus, being grammatically dependent on the noun they modified. As a **predicative**, however, the participle wavered between uninflected and inflected forms:

27)

*wurdon VIII folcgefeoh**t** **gefohten*** (uninflected)
were eight battles fought

wæron ofslægene IX eorlas and an cyning (inflected: N.masc. pl.strong)
were slain nine earls and one king

Further reading

Most introductions to Old English give a good overview of the principal features of Old English morphology, and of these Mitchell & Robinson (1992) and Quirk & Wrenn (1957) are the most widely used. The former is based on Early West Saxon, the latter on Late West Saxon.

Visser (1963–73) focuses on the study of Old English verbs.

More on the conjugation paradigms of strong and weak verbs in Hogg (2003: ch.4), and Hogg (*CHEL* I: 67-164), among others.

For advanced reading on verbal morphology in OE, see Ringe and Taylor (2014: §72.), Hogg and Falk (2011: ch. 6), Mengden (2012: § 18:2).

On the use of tense and mood in OE, see Traugott (*CHEL* I: § 4.3.) and more specifically on the subjunctive, Traugott (*CHEL* I: § 4.3.1.3.).

Study assignment 1.2.

1. The following verbs are given in their infinitive and preterite singular form. Decide which of them are weak verbs and which are strong:

brengan – brōhte ‘bring’	hyngran – hyngrede ‘hunger’
gifan – geaf ‘give’	lōcian – lōcode ‘look’
habban – hæfde ‘have’	scīnan – scān ‘shine’
hyran – hyrde ‘hear’	steppan – stōp ‘step’
hōn – hēng ‘hang’	tæcen – tāhte ‘teach’

2. The *Douay-Rheims Bible* II is the translation of the medieval Latin Vulgate into English (*New Testament* published 1582, *Old Testament* 1609). It is different from the King James version, but it is the only version closest to the medieval Latin. Here are some examples selected from the concordance of the verb *come* in the collection of biblical texts:

(60 Gen 42:11) sons of one man: we are **come** as peaceable men, neither
(188 Num 22:41) And when morning was **come**, he brought him to the high
(206 Deu 1:31) all the way that you have **come**, until you came to this
(269 Jos 22:10) And when they were **come** to the banks of the Jordan,
(372 1Sa 10:5) and when thou shalt be **come** there into the city, thou
(383 1Sa 13:11) me, and thou wast not **come** according to the days
(405 Sa 17:28) thy heart: that thou art **come** down to see the battle.

Douay-Rheims Bible II IntraText Edition CT Copyright Ëulogos 2007
(available at: <http://www.intratext.com/X/ENG0011.htm>)

Check the frequency of occurrence of the auxiliary verbs *have* and *be* with verbs of motion and change of state. Use the link to find the concordance of the verbs: *travel, ride, run, wake, fall*.

3. Read the following excerpt from Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (Baugh & Cable 1993: 62) and find instances of morphological marking of tense and mood on verbs. Underline verbs in the word-for-word transcription and compare the use of tenses in Old English with that in Modern English:

Ðā hē þā sē cyning þās word gehīerde, þā hēt hē hīe bīdan
When he the king these words heard, then bade he them to bide
When the king heard these words, then he bade them to bide

on þæm ēalande þe hīe ūp cōmon; and him þider hīera þearfe
on the island that they upon came; and them thither their need
on the island that they had come upon; and them thither their need

forġeaf, oð þæt hē gesāwe hwæt hē him dōn wolde. Swelce
provided, until that he saw what he them do would. Likewise
provided, until that he saw what he would do with them. Likewise

ēac ær þæm becōm hlīsa tō him þære crīstenan æfæstnesse,
ere that came fame to him of-the Christian religion,
before that had come to him the fame of the Christian religion,

forþon hē crīsten wīf hæfde, him gegiefen of Francena
since he Christian wife had, him given from the Franks
since he had a Christian wife, given him from the royal family

cyningcynne, Beorhte wæs hāten.
royal family, Bertha was named.
of the Franks, (who) was named Bertha.

Summary

The main Germanic features of Old English verbs are their division into two main groups: weak and strong (i.e. verbs that indicate tense changing by a modification of the root vowel) and their inflectional marking for tense, mood, number and person. The Old English expression of tense is much simpler than that of today. There were only two tenses: present and past, morphologically marked in the indicative and in the subjunctive mood.

The non-finite verbal forms available in the language were the infinitive, a verbal form of nominal origin, and the participle, commonly declined as weak or strong.

2. THE SYNTAX OF OLD ENGLISH

The syntax of Old English is much closer to Modern German than to present-day English, mainly as far as word order patterns in phrases and clauses are concerned. Hence, the main issues to be discussed in this chapter will be the properties of the main clause constituents, the subject and the object, and their realization in impersonal constructions, as well as the principles governing word order in main and subordinate clauses.

2.1. Grammatical relations

This section begins with a brief account of case assignment and thematic roles, moves on to the discussion of the 'subject' and the 'object' in Old English and finally addresses the issue of 'impersonal' constructions.

2.1.1. Case and thematic roles

In Old English, nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions were able to assign thematic roles and inherent case to a dependent NP.

The genitive had a fairly free position; it could occur both before and after its head word (for more details, see Mitchell 1985: §§1304ff.), i.e., nouns assigned genitive case not only to the left but also to the right:

28)

Cristes læwa
Crist.GEN betrayer
'betrayer of Christ'

Genitive – Noun

(Ælfric *Catholic Homilies* (II.602.12); Lightfoot (1999: 117)

Æ Drihtnes
the law of the Lord

Noun - Genitive

(Ps. Spl. 18, 8: Mt. Bos. 26, 28)

This property of nouns accounts for the existence of discontinuous genitive constructions.

Lightfoot (1999:126) shows that Old English verbs, adjectives and prepositions could also assign inherent case and this was realized as a morphological genitive or dative case, as illustrated below:

29)

...deaðes onfoð
death.GEN receives
'...(he) suffers death'

Genitive – Verb

(Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies*, I, 21.308.2)

Ac ge onfop þæm mægene Halges Gastes **Verb – Dative**
 But you receive the power.DAT Holy Ghost.GEN
 ‘But you receive the power of the Holy Ghost’
 (HomS 46 (*Blickling Homilies* 11), 49)

Many Old English verbs were construed with an object in the genitive. Visser (§§370–93) labels this construction the causative object, because the object here often indicates the cause or reason for the action or state indicated by the verb, as in: *Bona weorces* (Gen.) *gefeah* ‘The destroyer rejoiced at the work.’ Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 259).

Predicative adjectives take NP complements in the dative or in the genitive case. The cases correspond roughly to the same semantic roles as those assigned by the verbs, for instance, Dative for the Experiencer:

30) *þeah hit þam cyng* *ungewill wære* **Dative – Adjective**
 though it the king.DAT displeasing was
 ‘though it was displeasing to the king’
 (van Kemenade 1994: 133)

ðæt he bið deaðes *scyldig* **Genitive – Adjective**
 that he is death.GEN guilty
 ‘that he is guilty of causing death’
 (*L. In.* 5; Th. I, 104,13; Bosworth and Toller, 1898: 847)

The NP complement in the Dative or Genitive case can precede, as above, or follow the adjective:

31) *ane cyrcan wurðlice þam halgan* **Adjective – Dative**
 a church fit-for the.DAT saints.DAT
 ‘a church fit for the saints’
 (coelive,+ALS_[Edmund]:168.7063; Taylor 2014: 456)

heora net full fixa **Adjective – Genitive**
 their net full fishes.GEN
 ‘their net full of fish’
 (coaelhom,+AHom_15:147.2213; Taylor 2014: 456)

There are few prepositions which regularly take the genitive case. The only common examples are *andlang* ‘along’, *to* ‘to’, especially in expressions of time (Hogg 2003:74).

Nominal and pronominal types of complements may occur in different positions. Thus, nominal objects of prepositions frequently appear to the right of the preposition (i.e. after the preposition):

32)

...*neah þære tide*

...near this hour.DAT

Preposition – Dative

(Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, ch.24)

Micele hundas ... ræsdon wið Petres weard.

Huge dogs rushed towards Peter.GEN

‘Huge dogs rushed towards Peter’

(Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies*, I, 376.33)

Preposition – Genitive

Pronominal objects of prepositions, on the other hand, appear either to the right, like the nominal ones, or to the left of P (immediately before P, as in (33a), or separated, as in (33b)):

33)

a) *þa cwæð se biscop him to*

then said the bishop him to

‘then the bishop said to him’

(coalive,+ALS_[Basil]:515.818)

b) *& se hælend him com to on sumere nihte mid his apostolum*

and the Saviour him came to on a-certain night with his apostles

‘and the Saviour came to him one night with his apostles’

(coalive,+ALS_[Basil]:109.520; Taylor 2014: 443)

The adnominal genitive

The main uses of the genitive are to show the functional relationships between two nouns, thus there are genitive complements of deverbal nouns: subjective genitives and objective genitives where the noun in the genitive acts as the subject or the object of a corresponding clause (*The invaders destroyed the village.* > *The invaders’ destruction of the village*) (cf. Hogg 2003: 73).

The **subjective genitive** was commonly used in Old English, as in:

34)

þæs bisceopes bodung

The.GEN bishop.GEN preaching

‘The bishop’s preaching’

where the bishop is doing the preaching, i.e. the bishop is the subject of the clause: *The bishop preaches.*

The **objective genitive** is interpreted as the object of a verb in the equivalent clause:

35)

folces weard

folk.GEN guardian

‘folk’s guardian’

(Hogg 2003: 73)

where ‘the guardian of the people’ has the clausal equivalent: *They guarded the people*.

However, there are instances when both the subjective and the objective genitive can be realized in the same phrase:

36)

Ælfric's Godes lof
Ælfric.GEN God.GEN praise
‘Ælfric’s praise of God’

(Ælfric *Catholic Homilies* (II.602.12); Lightfoot (1999: 117))

The genitive construction corresponding to the clausal paraphrase: *Ælfric praised God*.

The **possessive genitive** is mostly employed when the noun in the genitive modifies another noun to express relations of possession between them:

37)

þæs cyninges broþur
that.GEN king.GEN brother
‘that king’s brother’

The **partitive genitive** (*one of the girls*) is another type of adnominal genitive frequently used in Old English. A nominal partitive mostly follows the head, as in (38a), while a pronominal partitive most frequently precedes, as in (38b) (cf. Taylor 2014: 466):

38

a) *opþæt an minra wimmanna me wið hine ahredde*.
until one my.GEN.PL women.GEN.PL me from him rescued
‘until one of my women rescued me from him’
(coelive,+ALS_[Eugenia]:188.306)

b) *swa swa heora mænig dyde*
just as of-them many did
‘just as many of them did’
(coelive,+ALS_[Exalt_of_Cross]:181.5659)

In addition to the subjective, objective, possessive and partitive genitive, which closely resemble genitive structures in Present-day English, there are two types of genitive which no longer exist in the language: the genitive of measure and the adverbial genitive.

The **genitive of measure**, as in *fif nihta first* ‘a five nights period’, where present-day constructions usually prefer an *of*-construction, thus ‘a period of five nights’ (Hogg 2003:74). The quantifier *fela* ‘many’ and numerals are followed by a genitive NP: *fela wundra* ‘many miracles’, *fiftig wintra* ‘fifty winters’.

39)

twa hund mila brad
two hundred miles.GEN wide

The **adverbial genitive** had a rather common usage in Old English:

40)

dæges and nihtes
day.GEN and night.GEN
'by day and by night',

This type of genitive is also found alone, i.e. *dæges* 'by day', *nihtes* 'at night'. The adverbial genitive may also define **time** spans or extent of **space**, equivalent to *of*-phrases in Present-day English:

41)

on Agustes monþe
in August.GEN month
'in the month of August'

Ormæte stream wæteres
huge stream water.GEN
'huge stream of water'

(Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies* ii. 196.5)

Case and thematic roles

Old English case endings, as illustrated in section (1.1.3.), still correspond fairly closely to specific semantic roles.

The **Nominative** case can be used for the Agent subject, but also for the Patient in a passive sentence or for the Experiencer in sentences with a psychological verb such as *lician* 'like', *hreowna* 'rue' (see 2.1.4.).

The **genitive** case is associated with the Stimulus/ Source role, particularly when an Experiencer NP is present, i.e. when the clause is built around a verb of sensory and mental experience. When there is no subject NP accompanying these verbs, the Experiencer is generally in the dative or accusative and the Stimulus in the genitive (Traugott *CHEL* I: § 4.4.2.):

42)

and him ðæs sceamode
and them.DAT that.GEN shamed
'and they were ashamed of that'
(ÆCHom I, 1 18.10)

þæt hi þæs metes ne recð
that them.ACC. that food.GEN not cares.SG
'that they take no interest in the food.'
(Met 13.44)

With verbs, the NP in the genitive case functions as an Object and it often denotes the Target of various emotions and mental states, such as joy, desire, gratitude, concern:

43)

*þegnas on ða tid þarle gelyste **gargewinnes***
 thanes.ACC in that time exceedingly enjoyed spearfight.GEN
 ‘thanes exceedingly enjoyed spearfight in that time’

(*Judith: Whitelock*, 23/307; Bancila 1991: 54)

The Genitive Object continued to be used until it disappeared early in the Middle English period.

The **Dative** is regularly used for roles such as Goal in (44a), Recipient in (44b) and Experiencer in (44c) below:

44)

a. *þeos worold is on ofste, and hit nealæcð **þam ende***
 ‘this world is in haste and it approaches the end.DAT’
 (van Kemenade 1994: 132)

b. *Ic **eow** meaht giefe*
 I you.DAT might give
 ‘I will give you might’
 (*Exon*. 14b; *Th.* 30,II; *Cri.* 478; *Bosworth and Toller*, 1898: 474)

c. ***Him** nan yfel ne hriwþ*
 Him.DAT no evil not grieves
 ‘No evil grieves him’
 (Băncilă 1991:44)

There are numerous Old English examples of Benefactives marked with dative:

45)

*hi offrodon **Criste** gastilce recels, and noldon*
 they offered Christ.DAT spiritually frankincense and not wished
 ‘they offerd Christ frankincense spiritually and did not wish to offer’
 (11] *ÆC Hom* 1.7.116.13 [Denison 1993:105)

The relation of possession between a human possessor and a noun with the semantic feature [+part of the human body], is often expressed by a dative NP, not by the genitive as in Present-day English:

46)

... he **him** het *þæt heafod of aceorfan*
 ... he to-him commanded that head off to-cut
 ‘...he commanded his head to be cut off.’
 (Or 5 12.242.16; Traugott 1992: 205)

The accusative is primarily the case of the direct object and it generally expresses the Patient role:

47)

Ic eow lære Godes ege
I you.ACC teach God.GEN fear
'I will teach you the fear of God'

(*Ps. Th*, 33, II; Bosworth and Toller 1898: 611)

The Experiencer of some impersonal verbs, e.g. *geweorðan* 'please' also occurs in the Accusative and adverbially, especially to express duration of time:

48)

Pá gewearð þone weregan þæt hé costode cyning alwihta
then pleased the accursed.ACC that he tempt lord all-beings
then it pleased the accursed one to tempt the lord of all
(*Crist und Satan*, in Thorpe's *Cædmon*, p. 265; Sat. 669; Bosworth Toller)

hwy stande ge her ealne dæg idle
why stand you here all.ACC day.ACC idle
'Why do you stand here all day idle?'
(Sweet 1978: 45)

With the decay of the system of morphological case in the course of the early Middle English period, the correspondence between case endings and semantic roles went with it. Thus, in the 13th and 14th centuries, the earlier relation between verb or adjective and the dative or genitive object, came to be expressed by means of prepositions: *to* for the earlier dative and *of* for the genitive. As a result case assignment by adjectives was lost altogether. The distinction between dative and accusative was lost: both came to appear as 'objective' case.

2.1.2. The subject

In many languages, including Modern English, the subject phrase has a set of syntactic properties that serve to identify it as such. Among these are the following: the subject is nominative, the verb agrees with the subject, the subject acts as an antecedent for a reflexive

Even in Old English, the subject had all these properties, however, the subject was not always in the nominative case. There is one set of constructions, the impersonal constructions, in which the subject is in the dative, also known as dative or quirky subject.

2.1.2.1. Subject-verb agreement

The verb usually agrees with the subject in number. However, number agreement may be absent under certain conditions involving conjoined subjects and word order. Traugott (1992: 179) notes that agreement is with the verb in the singular, when the subject is expressed by conjoined NPs in the singular, as in (49a) or when the first conjoined NP is in the singular and the verb separates the conjoined NPs, as in (49b), below:

49)

a. *Se frumsceapena man and eall his offspring wearð adræfed*

That first-created man and all his offspring was driven-out

‘The first-created man and all his offspring were driven out.’

(*ÆCHom* I, 7118.23)

b. *God bebead Abrahame þæt he sceolde and his offspring his wed healdan*

God commanded Abraham that he ought and his offspring his covenant

keep

‘God commanded Abraham, that he and his sons should keep his covenant.’

(*ÆCHom* I, 6 92.30)

Word order also affects agreement: the verb is in the singular, when it precedes plural conjoined subject NPs or a NP quantified by a numeral multiple of ten:

50)

ða wæs þæt wæter and ealle wyllspringas gehalgode

then was that water and all well-springs hallowed

(*ÆCHom* II 3 22.96)

...in Egyptum wearð on anre niht fiftig manna ofslegen

...in Egypt was in one night fifty of-men slain

‘In Egypt fifty men were slain in one night.’

(*Or* 1 8.40.12)

2.1.2.2. Subject omission

In Old English there are various structures in which subject omission is allowed.

Conjoined subject deletion is the most frequently occurring one in Old English. Omission of the subject is allowed in conjoined sentences, when it refers to the subject of the first clause:

51)

And him comon englas to, and him ðenodon

And him came angles to, and him served Ø

‘and angels came to him, and served him’

(*ÆCHom* I, 11.174.17; Fischer et al. 2000: 39)

The omitted subject marked by Ø is identical in reference with the subject of the first conjoined sentence, *englas*.

The subject can also be omitted in narratives which describe a series of actions performed by the same person:

52)

He swanc ða git swiðor. Wolde geswutelian his mihte
He laboured then even harder. Ø Wanted (to) make clear his power
(van Kemenade 1994: 127)

The omitted subject Ø is identified under coreference with the subject *he*.

The deletion of identical conjoined subjects is still found in Modern English, while omission of the subject in narratives is still possible in colloquial Modern English.

Old English has a very Germanic form of **subject omission in impersonal contexts** in which there is no nominative subject, and no insertion of a dummy subject *it* (Mitchel 1985: §1032). This phenomenon is sometimes noticeable with weather verbs that function as zero-predicates; i.e. they do not take a referential argument:

53)

and swa miclum sniwde swelce micel flys feolle
and so heavily Ø snowed as if much fleece fell
'and it snowed so heavily, as if a lot of snow were falling'
(van Kemenade 1994: 126)

Subject deletion regularly appears in **impersonal passive constructions**:

54)

...ðætte forðy to ungemetlice ne sie geliðod ðæm scyldgan
... that therefore Ø too greatly not be let-off the guilty.DAT
'...that therefore it must not be let off too greatly to the guilty'
(CP 20.149.24; Fischer et al 2000: 39, 4)

This type of subject omission seems to have been largely lost by 1500.

2.1.2.3. The apposition

Two NPs have an appositive relation when one specifies or modifies the other. A frequently occurring type of apposition is that of an appellative in combination with a title: *Sidroc eorl se gioncga*, Sidroc earl the young, 'the young earl Sidroc', *Ælfred kyning*, King Alfred. In Old English the name usually precedes the title. Middle English displays more variation in this respect.

Old English allows several NPs in apposition, as is evident from the following example:

55)

[_{NP} *heahfæderas*], [_{NP} *eawfæste and wuldorfulle weras on heora life*],
 patriarchs, religious and glorious men in their lives
 [_{NP} *witegena fæderas*], *ðara gemynd ne bið forgiten*
 prophets fathers, whose memory not be forgotten
 ‘patriarchs, religious and glorious men in their lives, the prophets’ fathers,
 whose memory not be forgotten’

(van Kemenade 1994: 126)

2.1.3. The object.

The Object which is the NP constituent within the VP, is not necessarily adjacent to the verb as in Present-day English. The grammatical relation of Object is signalled through morphological case marking. The objects can be marked for **accusative**, **dative** or **genitive** case:

56)

Hwi wolde God swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan
 Why would God such little thing.GEN him.DAT deprive
 ‘why would God deprive him of such a thing?’

(van Kemenade 1994: 132)

Very often the Object occupies a preverbal position, although the post verbal position is also attested due to the relative free word order in the VP. The demise of the OV order in prose texts takes place in the first half of the 16th century.

2.1.4. Impersonal constructions

Impersonal constructions contain verbs that describe a certain cognitive/mental experience of being unvolitionally involved in a situation. They are also known as psychological or emotion verbs. Syntactically such constructions lack an agent subject and have the verb in the 3rd person singular.

The literature on the evolution of the impersonal constructions (Băncilă 1991, Allen 1995, Fischer et al. 2000, among others) clearly shows that psych verbs could frequently occur in configurations in which they had two internal arguments and no external one. The two arguments, the Experiencer and the Theme, could be realised in the following core case configurations:

a. EXPERIENCER – dative	THEME – nominative
b. EXPERIENCER – nominative	THEME – genitive
c. EXPERIENCER – dative	THEME – genitive

Most experiencer verbs occur in only one or two of these constructions. According to Allen (1995: 85), the only verb attested in all three constructions (as well as with a clause) is *ofhreowan* ‘to cause/feel pity’:

57)

- a. *þa ofhreow ðam munece þæs hreoflian mægenleost*
Then was-pity the monk.DAT the leper’s weakness.NOM
‘Then the leper’s feebleness caused pity in the monk’
(*ÆCHom* I, 23.336.10; Anderson 1986; Denison 1993: 63)
- b. *Se mæssepreost þæs mannes ofhreow*
The priest.NOM the man.GEN was-pity
‘The priest took pity on the man’
(*ÆLS*(Oswald) 262); Anderson 1988; Fischer et al. 2000: 23)
- c. *Him ofhreow þæs mannes*
Him/them.DAT was-pity the man.GEN
‘He felt pity for the man’
(*ÆCHom* I, 13.192.16; Anderson 1986; Denison: 1993: 63)

The pattern in (a), Dative – Nominative is by far the most frequent, while the last configuration is attested with considerable less frequency than the two alternative types. The class of psych verbs in Old English includes: *abelgan* ‘irritate’, *hreowan* ‘rue’, *(ge)sceamian* ‘shame’, *ofþyncan* ‘displease’, *(ge)lician* ‘like’, *onhyrian*, ‘envy’, *cweman* ‘please’, *(mis)lician* ‘(dis)please’, *(ge)lystan* ‘desire’, *langian* ‘long’, *lustfullian* ‘please’, etc.

The Experiencer is always a NP in the Nominative or Dative case, while the Theme is a NP in the Nominative or Genitive case. The selection of the morphological genitive case is justified by its semantics: it expresses origin or source understood in a very general sense. With psych verbs, such as: *fægnian* ‘rejoice’, *hrewsian* ‘rue’, *sceamian* ‘shame’, *benugan* ‘enjoy’, etc., the genitive is often used to denote the object of various emotions and mental states.

However, the Theme argument may also be realized as a clausal complement, rather than as an NP or a PP:

58)

- and me ofhrew þæt hi ne cuþon ... þa godspellican lare*
and me.DAT regretted that they not knew the evangelical doctrines
‘and I regretted that they knew not..the evangelical doctrines’
(*ÆCHom* I, (Pref)2.7; Fischer et al. 2000: 45)

The prototypical verb in Old English is *lician* ‘like’ (cf. Allen 1995), which could be used with a nominative Cause argument (indicating the source of pleasure) and a dative Experiencer argument:

59)

<i>ge</i>	<i>noldon</i>	<i>Gode</i>	<i>lician</i>	Nominative – Dative
you.NOM	not-would	God.DAT	please	
‘you would not please God’.				

(Allen 1995)

Since Old English was a verb-second language, the dative could also appear in first position, followed by the finite verb:

60)

<i>ac</i>	<i>gode</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>licode</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>heora</i>	<i>geleafleas</i>	Dative – Nominative
but	God.DAT	not	please	not	their	faithlessness.NOM	
‘but their faithlessness did not please God’							

(Allen 1995)

Constructions with the Experiencer in the nominative case can be easily accounted for syntactically. However, for structures that lack an argument in the nominative case, Allen (1995) argues that the experiencer behaves like syntactic subject, despite its case-marking, as has been argued for related constructions in Icelandic (Hrafnbjargarson 2004, Barðdal and Eythórsson (2005), among others).

In the 15th century the preposed dative was reinterpreted as a nominative, thus ousting the construction with the nominative Cause argument in initial position. Impersonal constructions without a nominative subject continued to be productive into the 15th century (see § 4.1.2).

Further reading

For fuller presentations of case usage, see Mitchell (1985: §§1240-1427), Quirk & Wrenn (1957: 59-68).

For detailed studies of impersonal constructions, see Mitchell (1985: §§ 1025-51); Denison (1993: 66-73) gives an extensive list of impersonal verbs in all structural patterns in OE and ME)

For more advanced reading on case-assignment, subject properties and impersonal constructions, see Traugott (*CHEL* I: 4.4.) and Lightfoot (1979), Taylor (2014: § 8.5.; 8.7.) among others. Allen (1995) concentrates on the history of the verb *like*.

Study assignment 2.1.

1. Comment upon the genitive constructions, indicating the position and the head on which they depend:

- a. *Lufu godes and manna*
Love God.GEN and men.GEN
'Love of God and men'
(Ælfric *Catholic Homilies* (II.602.12))
- b. *Iohannes dagum fulwihteres.*
'From the days of John the Baptist'
(*West Saxon Gospels* (Ms A), Matt 11.12; Lightfoot 1993: 38)
- c. *Þeh hie þæs wyrþe næron*
Though they that.GEN worthy not-were
'Though they weren't worthy of that'
(*Orosius* 104, 5)
- d. *Ðæs rinces se ríca ongan cyning costigan*
The man.GEN the powerful began king tempt
'the powerful king began to tempt the chief'
(Cd. 137; Bosworth & Toller)

2. Verbs of sensory and mental experience may be subjectless. Identify the Experiencer argument and discuss the case configuration:

- a. *ðonne ofðyncð him ðæs ilcan ðe he ær forbær*
then displeases him.DAT the same.GEN that he before endured
'then he regrets what he endured before'
(CP 33.225.18; Fischer et al. 2000: 44)
- b. *þæt we þurh þæt ealle Gode lician*
that we.NOM through that all God.DAT please
'that we all please God with that'
(*HomU* 20 (B1Hom 10) 42; Fischer et al. 2000: 45)
- c. *-Gode swiþe oflicað heora ceorung*
God.DAT highly displeases their complaint.NOM
'Their complaint is highly displeasing to God'
(Băncilă, 1991: 56)
- d. *Gelustfullodon ðe dohtra cyninga*
Delighted-pl thee.DAT daughters.NOM (of) kings
'The daughters of kings delighted you'
(Băncilă, 1991: 56)

3. Subjectless constructions, like impersonal constructions, were frequently used in Old English. Match the subjectless constructions below to one of the following types of verbs: verb of physical state,

psychological verb, weather verb, psychological adjective (examples are due to Osawa 1996: 366):

- a. *norþan sniwde*
from the north snowed
'snow came from the north'
(*Seafarer* 31)
- b. *Siððan him hingrode*
afterwards him.DAT hungered
'afterwards he hungered'
(*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* I 166/12)
- c. *nu þyncþ me*
now seems me.DAT
'now it seems to me'
(Sweet 1978: 46)
- d. *him ofhreow þæs mannes*
him was sorry the man.GEN
'he was sorry for the man'
(*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* I 192/16)
- e. *him gelicade hire þeawas*
him.DAT pleased their customs.GEN
'he was pleased with their customs'
(*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* D 201/32)

4. Comment on the position of the head in the following prepositional phrases and state whether they are head-first or head-last:

- a. *þæs cyninges þegnas þe **him beæftan** wærun*
The king's thegns who him behind were.
'The king's thegns who were behind him.'
(Mc Gillvray 2004)
- b. *þa gatu **him to** belocen hæfdon*
the gates them against locked had
'had locked the gates against them'
(Mc Gillvray 2004)
- c. ***ymb** twā gēar þæs hē **on** Francum cōm*
about two years that he to France went
'about two years after he went to France'
(Sweet 1978: 56)

Summary

Old English grammatical relations differ from Present-day English in three main respects. The subject is not obligatory; subject-verb agreement in number

depends on word order, few verbs are lexically distinguished according to which role functions as subject; and oblique constructions are marked by genitive, dative and occasionally instrumental case, relatively infrequently by prepositional phrase.

Impersonal constructions occur in three different case-configurations, with an Experiencer argument either in the Nominative or in the Dative.

2.2. Periphrastic verb constructions

In Old English there were sequences of two verbs, apparently similar in form to the Present-day English auxiliary+main verb sequences: MODAL+infinitive, BE+participle, and HAVE+participle, although the syntax and semantics of such sequences were not necessarily the same as in present-day language.

2.2.1. Pre-modal verbs

The pre-modals (also known as preterite-presents because their present tense forms had past tense or “preterite” morphology) were distinct in that they never had any inflection for the third person singular, although they were inflected elsewhere: *þu cannst*, *we cunnan*, *we cuðon*. (Kemenade & Los 2006: 30) This class includes the pre-modals: *sceal* ‘shall’, *maeg* ‘may’, *cunn* ‘can’, *mōt* ‘must’, and some semi-modals: *witan* ‘know’, *þurfan* ‘need’, *durran* ‘dare’, *munan* ‘remember’, *dugan* ‘avail’, *agan* ‘own’. The term ‘pre-modals’ is used for these verbs because they show the beginnings of behaviour like that of their Present-day English modal counterparts *will*, *must*, *shall*, *may* and *can*.

Pre-modal verbs in Old English, and to a large extent in Middle English as well, had a number of morphosyntactic properties that made them look more like main verbs than auxiliaries, both from a morphological and from a syntactic point of view (cf. Lightfoot 1979).

The Old English inflectional morphology of modals shows that they had some range of verb inflections, certainly more than the present/past distinction in Modern English: two different person endings in the present as well as the preterite; a singular/plural distinction in the present and preterite. The paradigm of *cunnan* is the following:

Indicative		Present Preterite	
	1, 3 sg.	can(n)	cūðe
	2 sg.	canst	cūðest
	1- 3 pl.	cunnon	cūðon
Subjunctive	sg. and pl.	cunne(n)	cūðe(n)
Participle		cunnen	

The modals, however, do not have a participial form and their infinitival form occurs very rarely. The sparse use of infinitival forms indicates that they cannot be simply considered lexical verbs.

The lexical-verb properties of preterite-present verbs

Syntactically, preterite-present verbs behave more like lexical verbs than like auxiliaries. Just like lexical verbs, modals can have an agentive subject, they can occur without an accompanying infinitive and with a direct object as in (61a) or with a tensed clause complement as in (61b):

61)

- a. *and ne drincð nan man eald win & wylle sona þæt niwe*
and not drinks no man old wine and wants soon the new
(Lk(WSCp) 5.39; Visser 1963-73: §§548-73)
- b. *ic wolde ðæt ða ongeaten ðe.. hwelc mildsung siððan wæs, siððan se cristendom wæs*
I would that they perceived who.. what blessing since was, since the Christianity was.
'I would want those who..to perceive what blessing there has been since the rise of Christianity' (Or 38.10; Denison 1993: 308)

In intransitive constructions these verbs frequently occur with a directional expression:

62)

- ... *þa hi to scipan woldon*
...when they to ships wanted
'... when they wanted to go to their ships.'
(Chron E (Plummer) 1009.38; Traugott 1992: 194)

Another property that seems to be characteristic of main verb syntax is that preterite-present verbs enter into verbal clusters similar to those of the modern continental West Germanic languages:

63)

- for his micclan wundrum þe eft he gedon habban wolde*
for his great wonders that afterwards he done have.INF would
'for his great wonders which afterwards He willed to do'
(LS 24(Seven Sleeper)I 23.254; Mitchell 1985:§922)

ðeh hie æt ðæm ærran gefeohte him ne mehten to cuman
though they at the earlier fight him not could to come
'though they could not get him at the earlier fight'

(van Kemenade 1994: 128)

meaning ‘they could not penetrate through the battlefield and reach him’.

Pre-modals originally occurred as lexical verbs, expressing for instance, *sculan*, the idea of debt or obligation or *willan* that of wish or intention:

64)

agief þæt þū me scealt
repay that thou me shalt
‘repay that which thou owest me’

(Schmidt 1978: 76)

wen is, þæt hi us lifigende lungre wyllen/ sniome forsweargan
expectation is that they us living quickly intend at-once swallow-up
‘It is likely that they will swallow us up at once’

(PPs 123.2; Denison 1993: 299)

The auxiliary behaviour of preterite-present verbs

On the other hand, some uses of the pre-modals indicate no lexical-verb properties, but typically auxiliary behaviour. For example, already in Old English *shall* and *will* are analysed as auxiliaries for the future tense:

65)

Gif me seo godcunde geofu in ðære stowe forgifen beon wile
If me.DAT the divine gift in that place granted be will
‘If the divine gift is granted to me in that place...’

(Bede 4.29.366.4; Denison 1993: 304)

wenen and wilnian þæt ge lange libban scylan her on worulde.
think and want that you long live shall here on world
‘think and wish that you will live long in this world’

(van Kemenade 1994: 129)

Thus, it seems fair to conclude that in Old English, preterite-presents (pre-modal) verbs are a class with mixed properties and they will continue to behave similarly in Middle English (see section 4.2.4.).

2.2.2. The periphrastic construction *beon* + present participle

A form consisting of *beon/wesan* ‘be’ (less often *weorþan* ‘become’) and the present participle occurs in Old English, but there are significant differences between the Old English and present-day pregressive structures:

66)

a) *eall middangeard bið þonne on dæg byrnende*
all the earth is then by day burning

(Hogg 2006: 79)

b) Se *eadiga martir þa wæs biddende his Drihten*
 the blessed martyr then was beseeching his Lord
 ‘the blessed martyr was then beseeching his Lord’
 (cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_29:423.145.5751; Taylor 2014: 428)

It is clear that the meaning of this verbal construction in (66a) is that conveyed by the simple present tense in English today. On the other hand, the simple present tense was often used for expressions where Present-day English would use *be* + *present participle*:

67) *ðeos worold is on ofste and hit nealæcð ðam ende*
 this world is in haste and it is approaching its end
 (Hogg 2006: 80)

However, not any combination of *beon/wesan* + present participle is a progressive construction, simply because the present participle can also be used as an adjective, in (68a); and, verbal nouns had the same ending *-end*, *-ende* in the plural, as the present participle, as in (68b) (cf. Taylor 2014: 429):

68) a. *Ac nu manna gitsung is swa byrnende swa þæt fyr on þære helle*
 but now of-men desire is as burning as the fire in the hell
 ‘but the desire of men is now as burning as the fire in hell’
 (coboeth,Bo:15.34.7.617)

b. *þonne magon ge eac swylce þæs halgan hlafes dælnomende beon*
 then may you also likewise of-the holy bread partakers be
 ‘then you may also likewise be partakers of the holy bread’ (cobede,
 (Bede_2:5.112.12.1055)

Such combinations (of adjective or nominal) with the verb *be* may create confusion with the progressive verbal forms.

So, structurally there are links between the Old English *beon* + present participle and present-day progressive constructions, but semantically there are also significant differences, which exclude any kind of identity. The ‘true’ progressive will emerge later, in the Middle English period. (see section 4.2.4.)

2.2.3. Perfect auxiliaries: HABBAN / BEON

Present and past perfect developed late in the Old English period and were formed by means of two different auxiliaries similarly to Modern German: *habban* – *hæfde* were used with transitive verbs and *beon* – *wesan* with intransitive verbs:

69)

Ic hæbbe gestriened
I have gained

Ic hæfde gestriened
I had gained

He is gecumen
he is come
'he has come'

he wæs gecumen
he was come
'he had come'

The HAVE perfect. A late Old English construction corresponding to the present perfect was sometimes employed for actions with no relation to the present. Evidence is provided by parallelism with a past or by occurrence with an adverbial of definite past tense:

70)

*Annania, deofol **bepæhte** ðine heortan, and ðu **hæfst alogen** þam Halgan Gaste.*

Ananias devil seduced your heart and you have lied-to the Holy Ghost
(*Æc Hom I* 22.316.26; Denison 1993: 352)

Another construction in late Old English consisting of *hæfde* + *past participle*, also denoting the resultative aspect was employed for a past action performed before another past action; it may be regarded as the beginning of the past perfect:

71)

*þa hi **eten hæfdon**, hi wunedon þær*
when they ate had, they remained there
'after they eaten had, they remained there'

(*Gen* 31.54; Denison 1993: 350)

The past participle is left uninflected in the later language; but earlier it was used in the accusative because it was regarded not as part of the verb but as an adjective agreeing with the noun or pronoun object of *habban*. Both constructions may appear in the same text:

72)

*& heo **hæfdon utamærede** þa bigengan *þisses ealondes*
and they had expelled.ACC.PL the inhabitants.ACC.PL this island.Gen
'and they had expelled the inhabitants of this island'*

(*Bede* 12.54.7; Mitchell 1985: §710)

hafde** se cyning his fierd on tu **tonumen
had the king his army in two divided
'The king had divided his army in two'

(*ChronA* 84.31 (894); Denison 1993: 347)

The BE perfect. As indicated above, there was a second (plu)perfect construction that consisted of a BE verb (*beon*, *wesan*, *weorðan*) and a past participle construction, and was mainly restricted to intransitive verbs of the type involving change of place or state, such as: *faran* 'go', *cuman* 'come', *weaxan* 'grow', *odfeallan* 'fall into decay'.

A somewhat similar situation exists in present-day German and French. The complementary use of *habban* vs. *wesan* is illustrated in:

73)

*Wæs Hæsten þa þær cumen mid his herge... Hæfde Hæsten ær
Was Haesten then there come with his army... Had Haesten earlier
geworht þæt geweorc æt Beamfleote & wæs þa utafaren on hergab
built that stronghold at Benfleet and was then out-gone on pillage*

‘Haesten had arrived there with his army... Haesten had previously
built the stronghold at Benfleet and had then gone out on a foraging
expedition.’

(*Chron A* (Plummer) 894.43; Traugott 1992: 192)

Hogg (2003: 79) argues that the rivalry between *habban* and *beon* which has finally led to the complete loss of the latter type in Present-day English was already apparent in Old English. Thus, it was possible to find the auxiliary *habban* with verbs of motion, as well:

74)

*ða Scipia hæfde gefaren to ðære niwan byrig Cartaina
‘Then Scipio had travelled to the new city of Carthage’*

(Bosworth 93, 41: 4)

The verb *weorðan* ‘become’ is also occasionally used in this construction:

75)

*On þæm swicdome wearþ Numantia duguð gefeallen.
in that treachery became Numantians’ nobility fallen
‘by that treachery the nobility of the Numantians had fallen/died’
(coorosiu, Or_5:3.117.11.2458; Taylor 2014: 438)*

2.2.4. The passive auxiliaries: BEON / WEORDAN

As to voice, Old English shows relics of synthetic medio-passive forms, which together with the active forms may have constituted the category of voice in Common Germanic:

76)

*Ofer þā ēā hātte Araxis
over the river named Araxis
‘over the river (that was) called Araxis’*

(Schmidt 1978: 77)

Yet in Old English new analytical forms with a passive meaning began to develop. They consisted of *beon* ‘be’ and ‘*weorðan*’ ‘become’ + past participle of verbs:

77)

wæron ofslægene
‘were slain’

wurdon gefohten
‘were fought’

There appears to have been a tendency to use *beon/wesan* for resultant states and *weorðan* for activities and changes of state. This semantic distinction between *weorþan* and *beon/wesan* becomes less and less clear during Old English and disappeared in Middle English, when *weorþan* was eventually replaced by the *GET*-passive.

Traugott (*CHEL* I: 198) argues that the ancestor of the Old English syntactic passive is a construction with a BE-verb and an inflected, originally adjectival, past participle:

78)

On þære ilcan tide wurdon twegen æþelingas afliemde.PL of Scipþian
At that same time were two athelings put-to-flight from Scythia
‘At that same time two noblemen were banished from Scythia.’
(*Or* 1 10 44.24)

This may be contrasted with the uninflected passive in:

79)

& hu æþelingas wurdon afliemed of Scipþium
and how two athelings were put-to-flight from Scythia
‘and how two noblemen were banished from Scythia.’
(*Or* Head 64.10; Traugott 1992: 198)

Furthermore, several verbs in Old English took a single object in the dative case, either invariably or in variation with other cases, for example *swican* ‘betray’, *wiþhabban*, ‘withstand, resist’. There are lists of such verbs in Visser (1963-73: &316, 323) and Mitchell (1985: &1092). If these verbs occurred in the passive, an NP which would have been marked dative in the active retained its dative case in the passive, and the verb was 3 SG, as shown in Denison’s (1993: 104-7) examples:

80)

Ac ðæm mæg beon suiðe hraðe geholpen from his lareowe
But that-one.DAT may be very quickly helped by his teacher
‘But that one may be helped very quickly by his teacher.’
(CP 225.22)

Ða wæs gylden hilt gamelun rince | on hand gyfen
then was golden hilt.NOM old warrior.DAT ... in hand given
(*Beo* 1)

ac him næs getiðod ðære lytlan lisse
 but him.DAT not was granted that small favour.GEN
 ‘But he was not granted that small favour.’

(*ÆC Hom* 1 23.330.29)

Verbs with an accusative object and an oblique NP allow only the accusative object to be passivised. An example of *gelæran* with an accusative and a dative object rather than two accusatives is:

81)

... & fuslice gehyrdon, ða ðe him gelærde wæron
 ... and readily obeyed, those PT them taught were
 ‘...and readily obeyed the (injunctions) they were taught.’
 (*Bede* 4 28,362.23; Traugott *CHEL* I: 213)

When a verb is associated with one or more oblique NPs and no nominative or accusative NPs, then the so-called **impersonal passive** is used; this is a passive construction without a subject, but with a dative or genitive NP, or with a sentential complement and a verb in the 3rd singular:

82)

Ac ðæm mæg beon suiðe hraðe geholpen from his lareowe
 But him.DAT may be very quickly helped by his teacher
 ‘But he may be helped very quickly by his teacher’
 (*CP* 33.225.22; Traugott *CHEL* I: 214)

There was no passivization of indirect objects or prepositional objects. Such objects could not become subjects in passive sentences.

The **agentive phrase** was most commonly introduced the preposition *fram*. Derived from the locative 'from', this preposition highlighted the causal role of the agent in passive constructions:

83)

Hu on Egyptum wurdon on anre niht L monna ofslagen from hiora agnum sunum
 How in Egypt were in one night fifty men slain by their own sons
 ‘How fifty men were slain by their own sons in one night in Egypt.’
 (*OrHead* 64.8)

The preposition *purh* could be used for both agent and instrument. An example of the agentive use is:

84)

...and purh eow me bið gehalgod manegra opre clennysse
 ... and by you.AGENT to-me is hallowed of-many other purity
 ‘... and the purity of many is hallowed for me by you’
 (*ÆLS* (Julian and Balissa) 6; Traugott 1992:208)

Old English **used** a construction equivalent in meaning with a passive, that had an indefinite subject pronoun *man* ‘one’ and a verb in the active voice: 85)

*Hu is he gesmyrod? Man smyrað cyning mid gehalgodum ele
how is he anointed one anoints king with consecrated oil
‘How is he anointed? One anoints a king/A king is anointed with
consecrated oil’*

(cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_1:7.162.135–6; Taylor 2014: 433)

Although Old English was not characterised by true analytical forms, certain features of this kind may already be identified in this remote period. The passive voice constructions were consolidated in the Middle English period when they became analytical forms proper.

2.2.5. The sequencing of auxiliaries

Old English auxiliary verbs ((pre-)modals, HAVE and BE) combined with lexical verbs to form various periphrastic constructions. Combinations of more than one auxiliary plus a lexical verb were also available in Old English, but they were more restricted than in Present-day English. Most three verb clusters were made up of a modal + infinitival BE + passive participle, as illustrated in (86a), while the remainder were modal + infinitival BE + present participle (86b) and modal + infinitival HAVE + perfect participle (cf. Denison 1993; Taylor 2014: 439):

86)

a) þæt se cwyde **mihte beon** on Martine **gefylled**
that the saying might be in Martin fulfilled
‘that the saying might be fulfilled in Martin’
(coaelive,+ALS_[Martin]: 1207.6769)

b) We **sceolan beon þeonde** symble on godnysse
we shall be increasing always in goodness
‘we must always be increasing in goodness’
(coaelive,+ALS[Ash_Wed]:268.2854)

c) þa he hit swa **gedon habban wolde**
when he it so do have would
‘when he would have done it so’
(cowulf,WHom_6:143.334)

Further reading

Mitchell (1985) and Denison (1993, ch. 10-15) devote large sections to modal and auxiliary verb patterns. For the paradigms of modals, see Lass (*CHEL* II: 143).

The analysis of OE modals as full verbs in Lightfoot (1979) and as auxiliary verbs in Denison (1993), on the basis of syntactic and semantic evidence. Van Kemenade (1989) argues that the Old English modals could be both main verb and auxiliary, and that the former option disappears due to some internal changes later on in the grammar.

Introductory reading on tense, aspect, voice and mood, in Quirk and Wrenn (1957: 77-86).

More advanced reading on periphrastic constructions, in Taylor (2014: § 8.4.) and Molencki (2012: § 19.4).

Summary

In Old English the ancestors of the Present-day English modals were not distinct, syntactically or semantically, from full verbs: morphologically, they showed tense (past/non-past) and mood (indicative/subjunctive) contrasts in common with full verbs, as well as person distinctions. The pre-modals had meanings, and appeared in constructions, which did not distinguish them from full verbs.

Periphrastic tenses were only at a stage of inception in Old English. Although constructions with the structure *have+past participle* or *be+present participle* existed in Old English, they were rarely used and could have meanings different from those we associate with perfective or progressive aspect today. Incipient passive structures employed two auxiliary verbs: *beon* and *weorðan*, apparently to distinguish between resultant states and activities, respectively.

Roughly speaking, in Old English structures with BE perfect, BE+present participle or BE passive, it is equally difficult to determine the status of BE as main or auxiliary verb and to distinguish between the adjectival or the verbal nature of the participle.

Furthermore, the use of *will/shall + verb* as a means of expressing the future is only a rare occurrence in Old English, both verbs being originally lexical verbs.

2.3. Word order at the phrase level

In this section the emphasis will be on the peculiarities of word order in the NP (patterns of premodification, postmodification, stacked adjectives, discontinuous constituents) in Old English, and on the variation in the position of the object in the VP.

2.3.1. Word order in the NP

Word order in the NP in Old English is to a great extent similar to that of Present-day English.

Premodification in Old English is not very different from that of Modern English – the preferred word order in the NP is for all modifiers to precede the head noun in the ordering:

quantifier, demonstrative pronoun/ possessive pronoun, numeral, *oper*, adjective (one or more), genitive noun, head.

Obviously, NPs with all these modifiers are not attested, but NPs with fewer modifiers as illustrated below:

87)

[_{NP} *anum unwisum cyninges þegne*]
an unwise king.GEN thane
Det Adj Gen. head Noun
'an unwise thane of the king'
(*ChronA*(Plummer) 874.5; Fischer et al 2000: 46)

[_{NP} *mænig oper god man*]
many another good man
Quant. *oper* Adj head Noun
(van Kemenade 1994: 125)

[_{NP} *þisses ieglandes bigengan*]
this island.GEN inhabitants
Dem. Gen. head Noun
(Sweet 1978: 59)

There are certain exceptions to the ordering of constituents in premodification. For instance *monig* 'many' can follow a demonstrative pronoun, *oper* can precede a quantifier. (cf. van Kemenade 1994: 125):

88)

[_{NP} *þara monegena gewna*]
the many battles
Det Quant. head Noun

[_{NP} *opre fela bisceopas*]
other many bishops
oper Quant. head Noun
(van Kemenade 1994: 125)

Demonstrative and possessive can both precede a noun in Old English. With a co-occurring adjective, the pattern is: *poss. + dem. + adj. + noun*:
89)

we sceolan gehyhtan on Godes þa gehalgodan cyricean

we must trust in God's that hallowed church

'we must trust in the hallowed church of God'

(*WHom* X.III.8-9; Traugott *CHEL* I: 173)

When the adjective is not present, the order: *dem. + poss. + noun* is preferred. However, some potential constructions of this type may actually involve not a demonstrative modifier but a pronoun (cf. Traugott *CHEL* I: 173). For instance:

90)

Se heora cyning ongan ða singan

That their king began then to-sing

'He, their king, then began to sing'.

(*Or* 1 14.56.31)

se is probably a pronoun in a topicalised construction because the adverb *ða* follows the subject rather than being verb-initial.

Postmodification by the same modifiers is also attested, though much more frequently in poetry than in prose. All the individual modifiers can follow the head (Fischer et al 2000: 47):

91)

þegne monegum

thanes many

'many thanes'

þa scipo alle

the ships all

'all the ships'

(*ChronA*(Plummer) 885.7)

Examples like these are not very frequent and some of them are restricted to poetry. Somewhat more frequent are noun phrases with both demonstrative and modifying adjective in postposition. In these cases the demonstrative precedes the adjective:

92)

cycle þone grymmestan

cold the grimmest

'the grimmest cold'

(*HomS17*(B1Hom5) 136; Fischer 2000: 47)

Certain constituents like prepositional modifiers and relative clauses always follow the rest of the NP:

93)

a. *ane boc be cyrclicum ðeawum*

'a book about ecclesiastical customs'

(van Kemenade 1994: 125)

- b. *to þam ylcan campdone þe heora fæderas on waron*
 to the same military service which their fathers in were
 ‘to the same military service which their fathers had been in’
 (ÆLS(Martin) 31; van Kemenade 1994: 125)

Multiple adjectives in premodification (stacked adjectives) were much less common in Old English than in Present-day English. Fischer (2000: 169) notes that, whether weak or strong, the adjective closest to the noun in such constructions frequently denotes a nationality/ location, or a material, as in (94a) and (94b) respectively:

94)

- a) **god**<s> **wylisc**<s> eala (**<s>** strong declension)
 good welsh ale
 (colacnu,Med_3_[Grattan-Singer]:74.1.414)
- b) **þæt clæne**<w> **hwætene**<w> corn (**<w>** weak declension)
 the clean wheaten grain
 (covinceB, [Vincent]:304.14)

Besides these premodification patterns, both adjectives can occur conjoined, pre-nominally, weak or strong; both adjectives occur post-nominally (95a), always conjoined and strong; or one adjective occurs in pre- and one in postnominal position, either with (95b) or without a conjunction (95c) with the post-nominal adjective, always strong (examples from Taylor 2014: 454):

95)

- a) **ænne wyrhtan wurðfulne**<s> **and getreowne**<s>
 a laborer honourable and trustworthy
 (coaelive, +ALS_[Thomas]:40.7564)
- b) **þa yrsiendan**<w> **mod & unlipe**<s>
 the raging minds and harsh
 (cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_25:386.215.4960)
- c) **ænne sweartne**<s> **deofol ormætne**<s>
 a black devil huge
 (coaelive, +ALS_[Martin]:1182.6755)

In Old English, **discontinuous phrases** occur in two constructions: when they are coordinated or in apposition.

a. **Coordinated NPs** functioning as **subjects** and **objects** are often treated quite differently than in Modern English. The coordinate subject is divided and only the first NP is considered a subject for the verb:

96)

Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices & West Seaxna
Here Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht his kingdom & West Saxons
'Here (in this year) Cynewulf and the council of the West Saxons

wiotan for unryhtum dædum.

council for bad deeds.

deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom for bad deeds.'

(*AS Chron.* 890 (Laud Peterborough) [E] 1122; Lightfoot 1999: 90)

Notice that the verb agrees with the subject in the singular. Likewise, a compound object can also be separated by one or more other sentence constituents:

97)

Hie ...þone æþeling ofslogon, & þa men þe him mid wærun.

They... the prince killed and the men who him with were

'They... killed the prince and the men who were with him.'

(*AS Chron.* 890 (Laud Peterborough) [E] 1122; Lightfoot 1999: 92)

Discontinuous phrases may also involve relative clauses separated from the antecedent (with which they form otherwise a complex NP: noun + relative clause):

98)

manegum wæron his wundra cuþe þe god worhte þurh hine

many.DAT were his miracles known that God performed through him

'the miracles that God wrought through him were known to many'

(van Kemenade 1994: 126)

Coordinated attributes. Old English nouns assigned genitive case not only to the left but also to the right (see section 2.1.1.), and if in both positions it was realized as morphological genitive, then the genitive phrase could be split, namely, it could occur on both sides of the head noun. This accounts for the discontinuous genitive constructions, as:

99)

Inwæres broþur ond Healfdenes

Inwær.GeEN brother and Healfden.GEN

'Inwær's and Healfden's brother'

(*AS Chron.* 878; Lightfoot 1999: 117)

If the second genitive is conjoined, i.e. coordinated with *and*, then the usual word order is for the second genitive to be separated and placed after the head noun. Jespersen 1909: 300) notes that with conjuncts, splitting represents the usual word order in Old English.

b. **Appositional elements** where two NPs are in parallel, were usually split: the two elements occurred on either side of the head noun (100a,b), although (100c) was also possible, where *Ælfredes cyninges* is not split (cf. Lightfoot 1999: 118):

100)

a. *Ælfredes godsune cyninges.*

Alfred.GEN godson king.GEN

(*AS Chron.* 890 (Laud (Peterborough) [E] 1122)

b. *þæs cyninges dagum herodes*

The.GEN king.GEN days Herod.GEN

‘In the days of Herod the king’

(*West Saxon Gospels* (Ms A), Matt 2.1)

c. *Ælfredes cyninges godsunu*

Alfred.GEN king.GEN godson

‘King Alfred’s godson’

(*AS Chron.* 890 (Parker c900))

Conjoined pre-modifiers, with or without demonstrative or even a governing preposition, can also follow the head:

101)

berenne kyrtel oððe yterenne

bearskin garment or otterskin

‘a garment of bearskin or otterskin’

(*Or* 1.15.17; Fischer et al. 2000: 47)

Splitting within NPs was restricted to conjuncts and to appositional elements.

2.3.2. Word order in the VP: OV vs. VO

It has often been said that English changed from an OV language to a VO language, a tendency which becomes noticeable as early as Old English, when VPs had objects on the left of the lexical verb:

102)

*ond he his feorh **generede**, ond þeah he wæs oft gewundad*

and he his life saved and yet he was often wounded

‘and he saved his life, although he was often wounded’

(*ChronA* (Plummer) 137.11; Fischer et al. 2000: 138)

Already in Old English there was great variation between OV and VO word orders (Fischer et al. (2000: 51) and objects could appear on the left or on the right of the non-finite verb in main clauses, as in (103a) and in embedded clauses, as in (103b):

103)

- a. *þes mann nolde **cyðan** ðam syngigendum heora synna*
verb IO DO
this man not-wanted make-known the sinning their sins
'this man would not make known to the sinning their sins'
(*ÆCHom* II, 22.194.148)

*Se mæssepreost sceal mannum **bodian** þone soþan geleafan*
IO verb DO
The masspriest must people preach the true faith
'the masspriest must preach the true faith to the people'
(*Ælet*2 (Wulfstan I) 175)

- b. *þe **geearnian** wile ece myrhðe æt ðam soðan Gode*
verb DO PP
who earn wants eternal joy from the true God
'who wants to earn joy from the true God'
(*WHom* 7.221)

*þæt hi urum godum **geoffrian** magon ðancwurðe onsægednysse*
IO verb DO
that they our gods offer may grateful sacrifice
'that they may offer a grateful sacrifice to our gods'
(*ÆCHom* I, 38.592.31)

*þæt hy syððan **faran** scoldon geond ealne middneard*
verb PP
that they afterwards go must throughout all world
'that they must afterwards travel throughout the world'
(*WHom* 7.78)

Nominal objects and PPs are the constituents whose position is variable with respect to the non-finite verb; the position of the other element is rather fixed. Personal pronouns almost always appear somewhere left of the non-finite verb, adverbs, including negation markers and stranded prepositions and particles are usually immediately left of the non-finite verb.

The relative order of the dative and the accusative objects in both positions (preverbal and postverbal) is more or less free. There are, however, several restrictions concerning the position of the object pronouns. Object pronouns nearly always precede nominal objects, and very often precede all other VP constituents. Two pronominal objects can only occur in a fixed order: Accusative – Dative.

104)

*Ic **hit** þe þonne wile getæcan*
I it you then will teach

‘then I want to teach it to you’

(van Kemenade 1994: 136)

The Old English tendency to put the Object before the verb is gradually given up, and the SVO order has become firmly established by the beginning of the Middle English period.

Further reading

Advanced reading on the distribution of adjectives in earlier English in Fischer (2000).

For a detailed examination of the pattern *good men and true* with and without a determiner after *and*, see Fischer (2012) who argues that the postposed member is not attributive but predicative in Old English.

For a survey of the descriptive literature on word order patterns in the VP, the reader is referred to Denison (1993: 27-58).

Study assignment 2.3.

1. Comment on premodification in the following Old English NPs:

a. *Ealle his woruldlican æðelborennysse*

‘all his worldly nobility’

(*ÆCHom* II, 9.73.36; Fischer et al 2000: 46)

b. *þas min word*

these my words

‘these words of mine’

(Sweet 1978: 48)

c. *monige oþre cyninges þegnas*

many other of-king thanes

‘many other thanes of the king’

(*ChronA*(Plummer) 894.85; Fischer et al. 2000: 46)

d. *ealle his leofan halgan*

all his dear saints

(van Kemenade 1994: 125)

2. Analyse postmodification in the following NPs from Fischer et al. (2000: 47):

a. *mægwinne mine*

kinsmen-dear my

‘my dear kinsmen’

(*Beo* 2479)

- b. *þa roða þreo*
the roods three
'the three roods'
(*El* 867)
- c. *alle Cent eastwearde*
all Kent eastward
'all eastern Kent'
(*ChronA*(Plummer) 865.1)
- d. *tamra deora unbebohtra syx hund*
tame.GEN animals.GEN unsold.GEN six hundred
'six hundred unsold tame animals'
(*Or* 1.15.8)

3. Identify the types of discontinuous constituents: coordinated subjects or objects, appositions in the following examples from Lightfoot (1999: 118, 199):

- a. *Wearþ Heahmund bisceop ofslægen ond fela godra monna*
Was Heahmund bishop slain and many good men
'Bishop Heahmund and many good men were slain'
(*AS Chron.* 871)
- b. *Ond he hine miclum ond his geferan mid feo weorðude*
And he him much and his companions with money honoured
'And he much honored him and his companions with money'
(*AS Chron.* 878)
- c. *Iohannes dagum fulwihteres*
John.GEN days.Dat baptist.Gen
'(from the) days of John the Baptist'
(*West Saxon Gospels* (MS A), Matt. 11: 12)

4. Comment upon adjectival modification in the following examples: identify inflectional marking and state whether the adjective is in the weak or strong declension:

- a. *maran cyrcle ic geseah, and wýrsan*
greater cold I saw, and worse
'I have seen a greater and worse cold'
(*ÆCHom* II, 23.202.107; Fischer et al. 2000: 48)
- b. *þa ealdan burg & þa welegan*
the old city and the prosperous
(*coorosiu, Or_3:9.69.14.1354*; Taylor 2014: 454)

- c. *liflice onsagednysse and halige and God andfenge*
 living sacrifice and holy and God acceptable
 ‘living and holy sacrifice, and acceptable to God’
 (*ÆCHom* I, 32.482.8; van Kemenade 1994: 125)

2.4. Word order at clause level

Word order at the clause level in Old English differs in major respects from that of Modern English. Old English word order is best analysed as basically SOV, i.e. verb-last. This is the typical word order in the embedded clause, from which the word order of the main clause is derived by means of the verb-second rule.

2.4.1. Verb-second

A typical declarative clause with one finite verb allowed the verb to appear in second position. This phenomenon is known as the verb-second principle, i.e. the verb was always the second constituent, as indicated in the following hypothetical example:

105)

The king	defeated	the enemy	near the castle.
S	V	O	AM
The enemy (obj)	defeated	the king (subject)	near the castle.
O	V	S	AM
Near the castle	defeated	the king	the enemy.
AM	V	S	O

The initial position in the sentence could be occupied either by the subject or by another constituent (objects or adverbial modifiers). When the sentence-initial position was already filled, then the subject immediately followed the verb.

When the predicate consists of a finite verb (auxiliary or modal) and a non-finite verb (infinitive or participle), then the rule of verb second entails that the finite verb is preposed to second constituent position, while the non-finite verb occurs at the end of the sentence:

106)

The king	would	the enemy	near the castle	defeat.
S	finite V	O	AM	non-finite V
The enemy	would	the king	near the castle	defeat.
O	finite V	S	AM	non-finite V
Near the castle	would	the king	the enemy	defeat.
AM	finite V	S	O	non-finite V

The objects and adverbial modifiers were moved to front position in the sentence, i.e. to topic position.

Though it has been said that Old English was of the SOV word order type, in reality there was a good deal of variation. The word order of quite a few Old English main clauses with one finite verb was like that of the present-day language. An example is a subject-initial main clause with one verb:

107)

We habbað hwæðere þa bysne on halgum bocum

‘We have, nevertheless, the examples in holy books’

(*ÆCHom* I, 31.474.33; Fischer et al. 2000: 49)

In other sentence types, however, there are important differences: main clauses introduced by question words, negatives and topics have subject-verb inversion:

108)

... God, hwæt gifst þu me?

God, what do you give me?

(Bt. 27, 2; Fox.96,12; Bosworth and Toller: 1075)

An important difference between inversion contexts in Old English and their counterparts in Present-day English is that the phenomenon is not restricted to auxiliaries in Old English; all finite main verbs may undergo inversion.

However main clauses introduced by a constituent other than the subject do not always invert the verb with the subject. Inversion takes place when the subject is nominal, but a pronominal subject is not inverted, i.e. it remains in preverbal position:

109)

- a. *On ðam dæge worhte God leoht, and merigen, and æfen*

On that day made God light and morning and evening

‘On that day God made light, morning, and evening

(*ÆCHom* I, 6. 100.5; Fischer et al 2000: 50)

- b. *æfter þissum hē fērde to Philistēa lande*

‘after this he went to the land of the Philistines’

(Sweet 1978: 60)

Thus, in most cases nominal subjects are inverted, while pronominal subjects are not.

2.4.2. Inversion patterns

Most simple declarative sentences in Old English are organised according to the verb-second principle. However, there are instances when the structure of

the sentence is different, namely in inversion patterns and when the objects are pronominal.

One structure which shows an overt verb-subject structure is illustrated by sentences of type):

110)

Wæs he se mon in weoruldhade geseted ...
was he a man settled in the secular life ...

As pointed out in Hogg (2003: 89), such sentences have a presentative structure, which is rather similar to the present-day structure seen in sentences such as: *There rose in his imagination....* This type of inversion is quite different from the interrogative structure shown in the next section.

The end-weight principle

Another main clause structure that apparently shows verb final word order is exemplified below:

111)

Ond heo hine þa monade
And she him then encouraged
Su Obj Verb

Even though the verb comes after not merely the subject, but also the object, this is, however, in fact a verb-second construction.

Hogg (2003: 89) accounts for this word order in terms of the weight of syntactic phrases. There was a clear preference in Old English to place light elements, i.e. elements with only minimal phonological content, towards the beginning of clauses, and, conversely, to place elements with a great deal of phonological content at the end of clauses. And the placement of object pronouns before their verbs, is the clearest example of this principle.

It is important to note that when the clause has a first element other than a subject, then an object pronoun will still precede the verb, if the subject is not a pronoun itself:

112)

*Fela spella **him** sædon þa Beormas*
Many stories. Acc him. Dat told the Beormas.Nom
DO IO Verb Su

But if the subject is also a pronoun and there is a non-subject first element, then both pronouns follow the verb:

113)

þa sæde he him þis bigspel
then told he **them** this story
verb Su IO DO

The interaction of weight features and the ‘ordinary’ word order. i.e. verb-second, is complex.

The second phenomenon that complicates Old English word order is the fact that **light**, i.e. phonologically short, often adverbial or pronominal, forms, were preferred clause-initially, especially in the middle period around 1000, and heavy elements, typically complex phrases or subordinate clauses, were preferred sentence-finally. (Traugott *CHEL* I: 276).

2.4.3. Question-formation

As in present-day English, interrogative clauses in Old English can be either *yes-no* questions asking about the truth of the proposition, or *wh*-questions addressed to a constituent and they occur as main clauses or subordinate clauses.

Question formation in Old English is somewhat different from its counterpart in the present-day language. The two types of questions, *yes-no* questions and *wh*-questions, share the prominent syntactic feature of subject-verb inversion, also known as verb-fronting:

114)

Hæfst þu hafoc?
Have you hawks?

Ond hwæt will ge?
And what want you?

(Ælfric's *Colloquy* Coll 22.23; Mc Gillivray 2004)

In simple clauses, yes-no interrogatives are typically indicative clauses in verb - subject order.

In **wh-questions** a constituent is questioned by fronting an interrogative pronoun or adverb, such as *hwelc* ‘which’, *hwær* ‘where’, *hwy* ‘why’ and *hwa* ‘who’:

115)

Hwæt sægest þu, mancgere?
What say you, merchant?

(Ælfric's *Colloquy* Coll 22.23; Mc Gillivray 2004)

The word order in both types of questions is inverted: finite verb – subject. The main difference from present-day English is that inversion is not restricted to auxiliaries or modals; all lexical finite verbs are inverted.

When the question word is part of a PP, the preposition is fronted with its complement. There is no ‘P-stranding’ equivalent to the present-day ‘who

did you give the book to?':

116)

To hwæm locige ic buton to ðæm eaðmodum...?

To whom look I except to the humble

'to whom do I look except to the humble...?'

(CP 41.299.18; Fischer et al. 2000: 53)

Pied piping is obligatory (i.e. preposition stranding does *not* occur) both in direct and indirect questions:

117)

Ic nat ful geare ymb hwæt þu giet tweost

I not-know full well about what you still doubt

'I do not quite understand what you are still doubtful about'

(Bo. 5.12.26; Fischer *CHEL* II: 388)

There are also independent questions introduced by *hwæper*, which are different from the *yes-no* and *wh*-questions. The *wh*-word is always *hwæper*, inversion does not take place and the verb is always in the present subjunctive:

118)

7 cwæð: Hwæper þu nu fullice ongite forhwy hit þonne swa sie?

and said whether you now fully understand.Subj why it then so is.Subj?

'and said:Do you now understand why it is so?'

(Bo 33.74.25; Fischer et al. 2000: 54)

The subject-verb order, the use of the subjunctive and the frequency of OV word orders are all characteristics of subordinate clauses (see I.1.1.). This betrays the origin of this type of question as an indirect question, *hwæper* as a conjunction. In complex sentences, *hwæper* introduces interrogative sentential complements.

2.4.4. Negative sentences

As in Present-day English, negation in Old English is of two types: sentence negation, when the verb is negated and constituent negation, when another constituent of the sentence (subject, object, adverbial modifier) is negated.

An essential element in Old English is the negative particle *ne*, which always occurs on the immediate left of the finite verb. In sentence negation, *ne* alone is used in the vast majority of cases:

119)

Ne læt þu þin ferhð wesan sorgum aslæead

Not let you your spirit be.Inf sorrows.Dat bound

'Do not let you spirit be bound with sorrows'

(GenA.B 2196; Mitchell 1985: §3742)

He ne andwyrde ðam wife æt fruman

He not answered the woman at first

‘He didn’t answer the woman at first’

(*ÆCHom* II, 8.68.45; Fischer et al. 2000: 124)

Occasionally, two negation elements are employed to express sentence negation. In such cases, the element *na* or *no* is used as the second negative element, although *noht* and *nawiht* are also attested:

120)

Ne bi na se leorningniht fur or onne his lareow

Not is not the apprentice further than his master

‘The apprentice is not ahead of his master’

(*ÆCHom* 14.134; Fischer et al. 2000: 55)

Constituent negation is usually expressed by prefacing the relevant constituent with *na* or a phonological variant of it. In the example below *nan* is a contraction of *na an*:

121)

þær næs eac nan geðafung

There not-was also no consent

‘there was also no consent’

(*ÆCHom* I, 11.176.7; Fischer et al 2000: 55)

Negation can also be expressed by use of a negative indefinite pronoun (including adverbial pronoun) or quantifier. Synchronically, the negative pronouns and quantifiers can be considered to be derived by cliticisation of *ne* to a pronoun. Traugott (*CHEL* I: 268) points out that historically they are derived from earlier *ni* + pronoun or quantifier, for instance, neg. + *a* ‘ever’-> *na* ‘never, not at all’, which was often used to introduce contrasting NPs, adjectives, or adverbs, and also non-finite clauses.

Similarly, neg. + *æfre* ‘ever’ produced the negative adverb *næfre* ‘never’ and neg + *a-wiht* ‘anything’ resulted in *na-with* / *noht* ‘nothing’ (the earlier form of PDE *not*), neg + *an* ‘one’ produced the constituent negator *nan* ‘no’.

Contraction. The negative particle *ne* and the finite verb are frequently contracted, *næs* is the contracted form of *ne wæs*; *nabbað* in the example below is the contracted form of *ne habbað*:

Especially in West Saxon, *ne* can be optionally cliticised and attached to a small set of verbs (whether main verbs or auxiliaries) such as *habb-* ‘have’, *wes-* ‘be’, *wit-* ‘know’, *willan* ‘want’ (cf. Traugott *CHEL* I, 268):

122)

He nolde beon cyning

He neg-want to-be king

‘He didn’t want to be king.’
(CP 3.33.19)

This cliticisation is normally called negative contraction, and typical examples of it are seen in Hogg (2003: 95):
123)

Ac he nyste hwæt þæs soþes wæs
‘But he didn’t know how true that was’

Næfde he þeah ma ðonne twentig. hryðera
‘He didn’t have, however, more than twenty cows’

Ac heora tal næs na of rihtwisnysse ac of niðe
‘But their story wasn’t at all of truth but of evil’

The common usage in Old English was that in negative clauses *ne* appeared before the finite verb and that it also attached itself to any suitable indefinite pronoun or quantifier. This construction in which negation spreads from an initial negation to any other items which can take the particle is called **negative concord**.

Negative concord is by not restricted to only one further instance of the particle, it can be extended to several. An example of extended concord is:
124)

..ða ða we hit no hwæðer ne selfe ne lufedon, ne eac oðrum monnum ne lefdon
...when we it neither not selves not loved, nor also to other men not allowed
‘when we neither loved it ourselves, nor even allowed it to others’
(Hogg 2003: 95)

Very often the negative particle is cliticised, or attached to the following word.

Old English is a negative concord language: any negative sentence can contain multiple negative elements, but the meaning conveyed is that of one single logical negation:

125)

Ne of al þet eauer wa is ne schal ham neauer wontin
Nor of all that ever woeful is not shall.3.SG them.DAT never lack
‘nor wil they ever be in want of anything that is woeful’
(c1225 (SWard 152; Denison 70)

Negative co-ordination, whether of clauses, NPs, adjectives or adverbs, is typically expressed by *ne* or *næper* ‘neither’. An example of negative adjective co-ordination is Traugott (CHEL I: 269):

126)

...nu nit **nawþer nyle** beon **ne** scearp **ne** heard
...now it neither not-will be not sharp not hard
‘..now that it [their spirit] wishes to be neither sharp nor hard.’
(Or 4 13.212.29)

Patterns of negative clause co-ordination are illustrated in the following:

127)

Nis he **na** gesceapen, **ne** he **nis na** gesceaft
Not-is he not created, nor he not-is not creation
‘He [God] is not created, nor is he a creation.’
(ÆHom 1 169)

To conclude, Old English word order had a wider range of verb fronting strategies than late Middle English. In all those contexts in which the present-day language still has fronting of the auxiliary only, i.e. questions and negative-initial sentences, all finite verbs could be fronted in Old English.

This option of fronting finite lexical verbs in questions and negative-initial sentences was lost in the course of the early Modern English period, as the modal auxiliaries achieved their modern status, and *do*-support came to be used regularly.

Interrogative and negative-initial sentences document subject-verb inversion, as a verb-fronting strategy in Old English.

2.4.5. Verb-last

Word order in embedded clauses is different from that of the present-day language. Constituents in an embedded clause are arranged according to the principle verb-last, i.e. the verb occupies the final position in the clause. In a hypothetical example, word order would be the following:

He said [that the king near the castle the enemy defeated].
...conj. S AM O finite V

When the embedded clause contained a finite and a non-finite verb, then the principle verb-last would require both verbs to be clustered at the end, the finite in final position and the non-finite immediately preceding it:

... [that the king near the castle the enemy defeat would].
...conj. S AM O non-finite V finite V

Such word orders produce verb clustering at the end of the embedded clause (a phenomenon characteristic of Modern Dutch and Modern German):

128)

þæt he Saul ne doreste ofslean
that he Saul not dared murder
'that he didn't dare to murder Saul'

(van Kemenade 1994: 136)

In general, inversion with front position of the finite verb does not occur. However, evidence shows (cf. Fischer et al. 2000: 50) that there was a form of fronting of the finite verb in embedded clauses. In the following examples, the finite verb *sculon* is moved from the final position to the left:

129)

þæt we ealle sculon ænne geleafn habban
Su fin.vb DO non-finite vb
that we all must one faith have
'that we all must have one faith'

(*Or* 5.14.131.13)

There are also a few examples with fronting of finite verb from a verb-particle combination, as in (130a) below, where the particle remains in clause-final position, as compared with (130b), where the auxiliary, but not the non-finite verbs, is fronted:

130)

- a. *þæt he wearp þæt sweord onweg*
'that he threw the sword away'
- b. *gif hio ne bið hrædlice aweg adrifen*
if she not is quickly away driven
'if it is not quickly driven away'

(*Bede* 1.7.38.18)

(*CP* 13.79.23)

The kind of verb fronting in embedded clauses differs in several ways from that in main clauses. Firstly, specially fronted constituents such as topics and question elements do not occur in subordinate clauses of this type. The constituent preceding the finite verb is always the subject (nominal or pronominal), except in special constructions such as passives. Moreover, verb fronting in main clauses is vastly more frequent than in subordinate clauses.

2.4.6. Phrasal verbs

The verb-particle combinations of Old English differ from those of present-day English. The relative ordering of verb and particle differs sharply between main clauses and embedded clauses, as shown below. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, we illustrate the Old English word order patterns using present-day English words:

131)

main clause

He	threw	the sword	off.	
Su	+ finite V +	DO	+ Part	
He	would	the sword	off	throw.
Su	+ finite V +	DO	+ Part + verb	

embedded clause

She	heard	that	he	the sword	off	threw.
		conj. + S +		DO +	Part.	+ V
She	heard	that	he	the sword	off	throw would.
		conj. + S +		DO +	Part.	+ V + finite verb

In main clauses the particle nearly always follows the verb, with no clear restrictions on the number and type of constituents intervening, and subjects often intervene in V2 contexts, as the following examples (132 a,b) from Kemenade (1994: 31) seem to demonstrate:

132)

- a. *Pa ahof Drihten hie up*
Then raised the Lord them up
'then the Lord raised them up'
- b. *aslat þa þa tunas ealle ymb þa burg onwæg*
destroyed then the villages all around the city away
'and the destroyed all the villages around the city'

In embedded clauses the particle usually immediately precedes the verb, which occurs in final position:

133)

Pa idlan word þe he ær unrihtlice ut forlet
the idle words that he before wickedly out let
'the idle words to which he wickedly gave utterance before'
(van Kemenade 1994: 31)

Where the particle follows the verb, there are severe limitations on the number and types of constituents that may intervene between verb and particle.

Kemenade (1994: 130) accounts for this asymmetry between word order in main and embedded clauses with verb particle constructions by assuming that Old English has a basic SOV order and a rule preposing the finite verb to second position in main clauses: the verb-second rule. Since V2 applies in main clauses only, and it usually leaves the particle behind in the base position

of the verb. The asymmetry is so clearly marked in Old English because the base position for the verb is at the end of the sentence: Old English is SOV. This base word order changed to Middle English SVO. The changes in the position of particles in relation to the verb correlate with the change from SOV to SVO.

2.4.7. Word order in coordinate clauses

Main clauses generally have verb-second. By analogy, we would expect coordinate main clauses to exhibit verb-second phenomena, have topics, show inversion and have the word orders typical of main clauses. But very often they do not. The number of coordinate main clauses that lack verb-second is great and they have the verb-final word orders usually associated with subordinate clauses:

134)

*7 þa ongeat se cyning þæt 7 he on þa duru eode 7 þa unheanlice
hine **werede***

& then perceived the king that & he on the door went & then nobly himself
defended

‘and then the king perceived this and he went to the door and then nobly
defended himself’ (ChronA(Plummer) 755.13; Fischer et al 2000: 53)

The first coordinate clause shows inversion after *þa*, which is characteristic of main clauses, but the second coordinate clause has no verb-second and the finite verb follows the PP *on þa duru*, while the third coordinate clause does not repeat the subject and again has the verb in clause-final position.

Though coordinate in nature, they have a strong tendency to show a verb-last word order typical of subordination.

Further reading

Introductory reading on word order in most textbooks on OE.

See Fischer et al. (2000: 104-137) for an account of the position of the finite verb in OE and ME. Advanced reading on verb position in Taylor (2014: § 8.2.3.).

Van Kemenade (1987) is a major generative study on word order in OE and ME.

Advanced reading on the high degree of word order flexibility, in van Kemenade et al. (ICEHL 2006) who identify two main factors: adverbs that function as discourse partitioners, and pronominal elements used in strategies of discourse reference.

See Tiekens-Boon van Ostade et al. (1999) for a presentation of negation structures in Old English.

For a detailed discussion of the rise of phrasal verbs Fischer (2000: 180-210) in current theoretical terms, and Elenbaas (2007).

Coordinate *ond* 'and' clauses are discussed in Mitchell (1985). On verb-final position in conjoined clauses, see van Kemenade 1987 and Traugott (1992: 272), among others.

Study assignment 2.4.

1. Read the following passage from Ælfric's *Colloquy* with the help of a dictionary. Comment on the structure and type of questions:

- 86) The teacher:] Hwæt sægst þu mancgere?
87) Pupil H:] Ic secge þæt behefe ic eom ge cyngce ond ealdorannum ond weligum ond eallum follice.
88) [The teacher:] Ond hu?
89) Pupil H:] Ic astige min scyp mid hlæstum minum, ond rowe ofer sælice dælas, ond cype mine þingc, ond bigce dyrwyrþe þingc þa on þisum lande ne beoþ acennede ond ic hit togelæde eow hider mid micclan plihte ofer sæ, ond hwilum forlidenesse ic polie mid lyre ealra þinga minra, uneaþe cwic ætberstende.
90) [The teacher:] Hwilce þinc gelædst þu us?
91) [Pupil H:] Pællas ond sidan, deorwyrþe gymmas ond gold, selcuþe reaf ond wrytgemangc, win ond ele, ylþesban ond mæstlingc, ær ond tin, swefel ond glæs, on þylces fela.
92) [The teacher:] Wilt þu syllan þingc þine her eal swa þu hi gebohtest þær?
93) [Pupil H:] Ic nelle. Hwæt þænne me fremode gedeorf min? Ac ic wille hira cypen her [deoror] þonne gebicge ic hig þær, þæt sum gestreon ic me begyte, þanon ic me afede ond min wif ond minne sunu.

(Mc Gillvray 2004)

2. Discuss word order in the following negative sentences and comment on the negative markers:

- a. *Ne hate ic eow na þeowan,*
NEG call I you not servants
'I do not call you servants'
(coaelive,+ALS_[Eugenia]:84.238; Ringe / Taylor, 2014)
- b. *Ne sende se deofol ða fyr of heofenum, þeah þe hit ufan come*
Not sent the devil then fire from heavens though that it from above came
The devil did not send fire from heaven, though it came from above

(*ÆCHom* I, (Pref)6.13; Fischer et al. 2000: 55)

- c. *Nis na se halga gast wuniende on his gecynde swa swa he gesewen wæs*
Not-is not the holy ghost existing in his nature as he seen was
'The Holy Ghost is not existing in his nature as he was seen'
(*ÆCHom* I, 22.322.17; Fischer et al 2000: 125)

3. Comment on the position of the subject and analyse word order in the following examples:

- a. *on ðisum wræcfullum life we sceolon earmra manna helpan*
in this life of exile we should poor people help
'in this life of exile we should help poor people'
(van Kemenade 1994: 136)
- b. *hwæt wille we eow swiðor secgan be ðisum symbeldæge*
what will we you more say about this feast day
'what more shall we say to you about this feast day'
(van Kemenade 1994: 136)
- c. *Das ðreo ðing forgifð God his gecorenum*
These three things gives God his chosen
'These three things God gives to his chosen'
(*ÆCHom* I, 18.250.12; Fischer et al. 2000: 50)
- d. *Be ðæm we magon suiðe swutule oncnawan ðæt...*
By that we may very clearly perceive that..
'By that, we may perceive very clearly that..
(*CP* 26.181.16; Fischer et al. 2000: 50)
- e. *Forðon we sceolan mid ealle mod & mægene to Gode gecyrran*
Therefore we must with all mind and power to God turn
'Therefore we must turn to God with all mind and power'
(*HomU* 19 (B1Hom8) 26; Fischer et al. 2000: 50)

4. Comment upon verb-fronting in the following embedded clauses:

- a. *Þæt he wisdom mæge wið ofermetta æfre gemengan*
that he wisdom may with pride ever mingle
'that he may ever combine wisdom with pride'
(van Kemenade 1994: 136)
- b. *Þæt hi mih-ton swa bealdlice Godes geleafan bodian*
that they could so boldly God's faith preach
'that they could preach God's faith so boldly'

5. Read the following excerpt from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.
- Use pairs of brackets to identify main and subordinate clauses first in the glosses and then in the Old English text;
 - State what principle governs word order in each clause:

Da wæs on þā tid Æþelbeorht cyning hāten on Centrice,
Then was in that time Æthelberht king named in Kent,
'Then (there) was in that time a king named Æthelberht in Kent,

and mihtig: hē hæfde rīce oð gemæru Humbre strēames,
and mighty he had dominion to confines Humber river-gen,
and (a) mighty (one) he had dominion up to (the) confines of the
Humber river,

sē tōscādeþ sūtfolc Angelþēode and norðfolc. Þonne is
which separates south folk (of) English and north folk. Now is
which separates the south folk of the English and the north folk.

on ēastewardre Cent micel ēaland, Tenet, þæt is siex hund
in eastward Kent large island, Thanet, that is six hundred
Now (there) is in eastward Kent a large island, Thanet, that is six

hīda micel æfter Angelcynnes eahte...On þyssum ēalande cōm
hides large after English-gen reckoning ...On this island came
hundred hides large after the reckoning of the English. On this

ūp sē Godes þēow Augustinus and his gefēran;
up the God-Gen servant, Augustine, and his companions;
island came up the Servant of God, Augustine, and his companions;

wæs hē fēowertiga sum.
was he one of forty some.
he was one of forty.

2.5. Subordinate clauses

In Old English, as in Present-day English, complex sentences usually involve complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses of various types, such as: purposive, resultative, causal, conditional, concessive, temporal and comparative.

Old English has three main markers of subordination: conjunctions, word order and/or subjunctive inflections on the verb:

135)

- a. *Forðy me þinkþ better gif iow swe þinkþ*
Therefore me seems better if you so seems
'Therefore it seems to me better if it seems to you'
(at. Pref; Sweet 7,5; Bosworth & Toller 1898: 474)
- b. *We ælpweodige wæron siððon se æresta ealdor Godes bebodu abrac*
we exiled were, since the first man (Adam) God's commands broke.
'we have been exiled, since Adam broke God's commands.'
(Blikl. *Homl.* 23,4; Bosworth & Toller 1898: 879)
- c. *secgað eowrum hlaforde þæt unforht sy*
say your lord that fearless be (subj)
'Say your lord that he should be fearless'
(*ÆCHom* I, 37.568.30; Fischer et al. 2000: 57)

The word order in (a) is SVO (frequent in main clauses), but *gif* 'if' clearly marks it as a subordinate clause. In example (b) *siððan* 'since' could be an adverb or a conjunction, but in this case the OV word order is decisive for interpreting it as a conjunction. Finally, the subjunctive *sy* 'be' combines with OV word order in marking (c) as subordinate. Subordinate marking is, therefore, achieved by the interplay of various signals.

Besides *siððan* which can be interpreted either as a conjunction or as an adverb, there are other 'ambiguous' adverbs/conjunctions, as Mitchell (1985: § 2536) calls them, the most prominent among them *þa*, 'then/when', used at a large rate in virtually all Old English texts. It often appears in so-called correlative constructions:

136)

Ða ða Landfranc crafede fæstnunge his gehersumnesse mit
When Landfranc craved pledge his submission with
aðswerunge, þa forsoc he. & sæde þæt he hit nahte to donne.
oath-swearing then refused he and said that he it not-had to do.

'When Landfranc demanded a pledge of his obedience on oath,
he refused and said that he did not have to do it'

(*ChronA* 204.9 (1070); Mitchell 1985: §§932-3)

The OV word order in the first clause suggests subordination, while the VS word order in the second clause is typical of main clauses.

2.5.1. Complement clauses

Complement clauses behave like NPs, i.e. they have syntactic functions such as subject or object. They may be either finite (i.e. have a tensed verb) or non-

finite. Among non-finite complements are constructions often referred to as 'accusative/dative and infinitive constructions'.

2.5.1.1. The finite complement clause.

Finite complements in Old English are typically introduced by two main markers or 'complementisers': *þæt* 'that', and *hwæþer* 'whether'.

137)

þeah þe nu þince þæt ðu deorwyrðe feoh forloren habbe
 Though to-you now seems that you precious good lost have
 'though it may seem to you that you have lost precious goods'
 (Bo 20.48.17; Fischer et al. 2000: 62)

The complementiser *þæt* is sometimes omitted if the verb is one of saying, such as *cweþan*, *secgan* 'say', where the clause reports what is being said:

138)

... and cwæð he wolde wiðsacan his Criste
 ... and said he intended to-deny his Christ
 '...and he said he intended to deny his Christ.'
 (ÆLS (Basil) 371, Traugott *CHEL* I: 236)

The origin of the complementiser *þæt* is not entirely certain. Traugott (*CHEL* I: 170) argues that it originated in a neuter singular demonstrative pronoun followed by an explanatory clause in apposition, such as:

139)

That was their custom: they the dead froze.
 He **that** said: Abraham was a holy man.

This hypothesis assumes that *þæt* as an object preceded the verb; when it became a complementiser it started to be associated with the sentential complement and followed the verb. *He said that Abraham a holy man was.*

The origin of *þæt*-complementiser can be traced back to the 'anticipatory' pronoun *þæt*, cataphorically referring to the following clause, especially when the pronoun occurs clause-initially:

140)

þæt gefremede Diulius hiora consul þæt þæt angina wearð tidlice
þurhtogen
 that arranged Diulius their consul that that beginning was in-time achieved
 'Their consul Diulius arranged (it) that it was started on time.'
 (Or 4 6.172.2; Traugott *CHEL* I: 238)

Choice of mood (indicative vs. subjunctive) in complements is a complex issue. Traugott (*CHEL* I: 239) argues that it partly depends on three factors:

the existence of a negative or a modal verb in the main clause, the direct or indirect reporting, and the lexical verb governing the complement.

The subjunctive is associated with such properties as unreality, potentiality, wishes, desires, commands, doubts. The subjunctive is, therefore, preferred when the main clause contains **a negative**, or when the **governing verb is one of wish or doubt**, for example, with mental verbs such as *þencan* and *þyncan* and with verbs of ordering, and requesting, such as *bebeodan*, *hatan* 'order, bid'. Also, expressions of desire most likely introduce a subjunctive:

141)

Forðy ic wolde þætte hie ealneg æt ðære stowe wæren (SUBJ)

Therefore I wanted that they always at that place were

'Therefore I wanted them always to be there.'

(CPLetWærf 73)

The subjunctive is also extensively used in reported speech, as is typical in the early Germanic languages. Initially, this use may have been of the 'hear-say' type in which the reporter wished to avoid commitment to the truth of what was reported, or wished to cast doubt on it.

The indicative is associated with facts or events that have occurred, or are likely to occur. Verbs of saying and declaring are often found with a finite clause complement:

142)

...bebead Tituse his suna þæt he towearp (INDIC) þæt templ

... commanded Titus his son that he overthrew that temple

(Or 67.262.18)

With factive verbs in the main clause (i.e. verbs that govern complements the truth of which is known, such as: verbs of knowing, remembering, being pleased), the indicative mood is also favoured.

2.5.1.2. Non-finite complements

Non-finite complements in Old English are for the most part objects of transitive verbs. The infinitive constructions are the precursors of such Present-day English constructions as *She persuaded John to go* (= *She persuaded him that he should go*). Verbs requiring this construction are called 'object control' verbs. They allow the subject of the lower clause to be referentially the same as the object of the higher clause. Another infinitive construction is illustrated in the sentence: *She promised John to cook a cake*. (= *She promised Jim that she would cook a cake*'). Verbs of this type are called 'subject-control' verb because the subject of the main clause is referentially the same as the subject of the infinitive.

Object control verbs in Old English include *hatan* 'command', *biddan* 'command', *forbeodan* 'forbid', *befastan* 'entrust (to do)', *forgifan* 'give (to do)'. Most are evidenced in constructions with two NP objects (i.e. in 'ditransitive' constructions) as well as with infinitive complements. (cf. Traugott 1992: 247). Thus, *bebeodan* can occur with a complement clause as in (143a), and also with two objects (143b):

143)

a. *Ða bebead se biscop ðeosne to him lædan*

Then commanded that bishop this-one to him to-lead

'Then the bishop commanded this one to be led to him.'

(*Bede* 5 2.388.20)

b....and *him* bebead seofon daga *fæsten*

...and him commanded seven of-days fast

'..and commanded him to fast seven days.'

(*ÆChom* I, 29 434.20)

In (143b) *fasten* is the accusative object, *him* the oblique object. Most object control verbs take dative (oblique) NPs, and allow the inflected infinitive. *Hatan* and *biddan*, however, often have accusative objects, and disfavour the inflected infinitive.

On the hand, infinitive constructions with subject-control verbs of the *promise-type* are rare. Some verbs including *behatan* and *gehatan* 'promise' appear to be equivalent to subject-control verbs, primarily on grounds of meaning:

144)

& eallan folce *behet* ealle þa unriht to aleggenne þe on his broðer timan wæran

and to-all people promised all those wrongs to reverse PT in his brother's time were

'and promised everyone that he would reverse all the wrongs that had occurred in his brother's time.'

(*Chron* E (Plummer) 1100.33)

The most important type of non-finite complementation in Old English is the infinitival clause, however it was used less frequently and in fewer environments than in Modern English.

2.5.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are adjectival in the sense that they modify a noun. Relative clauses are typically introduced by a grammatical form called a 'relative marker' or 'relativiser'. In Old English, as in present-day language, there are two types of relative marker: a pronoun (Present-day English *who-whom-*

whose), and an invariant form (in Present-day English *that*). Alternatively, there may be no marker at all (as in *That is the woman you met yesterday*).

Three major types of relative clauses can be distinguished in Old English on the basis of the relative word that introduces them: **se relatives**, **se þe relatives**, **þe relatives**.

se relatives are introduced by the pronominal relativiser *se*, *seo*, *þæt* 'that' which are forms of the demonstrative, used as a relative pronoun. There has been much debate over whether *se* is a demonstrative or a relativiser:

145)

þæm cyninge, se wolde geagnian him þa læssan Asiam
the king who wanted usurp to-himself the lesser Asia
'the King, who wanted to usurp Asia Minor'

(*Or* 5.4 118.1; Fischer et al. 2000: 58)

se þe relatives are initiated by a combined form of the demonstrative *se* with the indeclinable relative *þe*:

146)

se arwurða bisceop, ðone ðe God sylf geceas
'the worthy bishop, whom (that) God himself chose'

(van Kemenade 1994: 138)

Sometimes the relative pronoun *se* is inflected for the case of the antecedent (a construction called the 'attracted relative', as illustrated in the following examples from Traugott (*CHEL* I: 225):

147)

a. heriað forði Drihten (ACC), þone (ACC) ðe eardað on Sion
praise therefore Lord, whom PT lives in Zion
'Praise therefore the Lord, who lives in Zion.'

(*Ps* 9.11)

b. hi adulfon gehwylcne dæl þæs wrytgeardes (GEN) þæs (GEN) þe þær ær undolfen was
they dug each part of-that vegetable-garden of-that PT there before not-dug was
'they dug every part of the vegetable garden that had been left undug before.'

(*GD* 202.3)

In example (147a), *þone* 'whom' in the following sentence is in the accusative case, like the antecedent, although the relativiser functions as subject in the relative clause, while in example (147b) the relativiser *þæs þe* occurs in the genitive case although it occupies the subject position in the relative clause.

***þe* relatives** are introduced by the invariant relative particle *þe*, most frequently when the relativised NP serves as subject or object:
148)

sealde þæm munucum corn genog þe wæron æt Hierusalem
gave those monks corn enough who were at Jerusalem
'gave enough corn to the monks who were in Jerusalem.'
(*Or* 6 4.260.9)

There are a few instances in Old English of *þæt* used invariantly (i.e. not having an antecedent inflected for the nominative/ accusative, singular, neuter). An example of *þæt* referring to a feminine antecedent is:
149)

þurh þa halgo rode (fem, ACC) þæt Crist wæs on þrowod
through that holy cross that Christ was on tortured
'through the holy cross on which Christ suffered.'
(*Chron* E (Plummer) 963.63)

The presence in Old English of the invariant *þæt* is of special interest because *that* totally replaced *þe* in Middle English as the invariant relativiser.

Finally, relatives without a relative pronoun, also called 'contact clauses', are relatively rare in Old English. They usually contain the verb *hatan* and the relative corresponds with the subject:
150)

Him þa andswarode his ealdorbiscep, Cefi wæs haten
Him then answered his high priest Ø Cefi was called.
'The high-priest, who was called Cefi, then answered him'
(*Bede* 2.10.134.11; Fischer et al. 2000: 61)

The word order patterns in relative clauses are the patterns which typically occur in subordinate clauses.

Preposition stranding

Fischer (*CHEL* II: 388) notes that preposition stranding is obligatory in Old English relative clauses introduced by *þe*, as in (151a) or zero relative clauses as in (151b):
151)

- a. *Seo gesyhð þe we god myd geseon scylon is angyt*
the sight that we God with see shall is understanding
'The sight with which we shall see God is understanding'
(*Solil.* 1 29.1)
- b. *Donne is oþer stow elreordge men beoð on*
then is other place Ø barbarous men are in

'There is another place where barbarous people live'
(*Man.* 18)

Furthermore, preposition stranding is also obligatory in infinitival relatives, which always have a zero relativiser:

152)

Eanflæd seo cwen ... bæd Osweo þone cyning ðæt he þær forgefe stowe
Eanflæd the queen bade Osweo the king that he there gave place Ø
mynster on to timbrenne þæm foresprecenan Godes þeowe Trumhere
minster on to build to the afore-mentioned God's servant Trumhere
(*Bede* 3 18.238.21)

'Queen Eanflæd bade king Osweo to give the afore-mentioned
Trumhere, God's servant, a place for building an abbey'

In relative clauses introduced by *se* or *þe* preposition stranding does *not* occur; the preposition moves to initial position in the relative clause (i.e. pied-piping is obligatory):

153)

...þæt he us þingie wið ðone heofanlican cyning, for þæs naman he
þrowode
'... that he intercede for us with the heavenly king, for whose name he
suffered'
(*ÆCHom.* 1 29 434.33)

2.5.3. Adverbial clauses

Old English adverbial clauses may be introduced by 'compound' conjunctions that disappear from English later on. They take the form of a preposition followed by the appropriate form of *se* (usually the dative or instrumental) and then the relative particle *se*. Some combinations are:

<i>for þæm / þon þe</i>	'for that which' (= because)
<i>mid þæm þe</i>	'with that which' (= when)
<i>ær þæm þe</i>	'before that which' (= before)

A wide range of subordinating conjunctions is available, depending on the type of clause.

Adverbial clauses of purpose and result are commonly introduced by the conjunction *þæt*, though there is a slight decline in the frequency of this form in result clauses in the later Old English period. Other conjunctions (occurring mainly in prose) include *swa* (...) *þæt(te)* and prepositional phrases such as *to DEM* (...) *þæt(te)* and *for DEM* (...) *þæt*. An example of a purpose clause is:

154)

and behyddon þæt heafod...þæt hit bebyrged ne wurde
 and hid the head so that it buried not were
 ‘and hid he the head so that it would not be buried’

(*ÆCHom* I, 1.20.4; Fischer et al. 2000: 64)

Distinction between the two types of adverbial clauses is made in the choice of the mood. Subjunctive usually signals a purpose clause, as in (155a), and indicative, a result clause, as in (155b):

155)

a. þæt ic wille eac gescadwislecor gesecegan, þæt hit mon geornor ongietan
mage (SUBJ)

That I will also more-wisely say, that it one more-exactly understand may
 ‘I will also say it more carefully, so that it may be better understood.’

(*Or* 1.60.8)

b. Ða sume dæge se niðfulla deofol... wearp þa
 Then one day that malicious devil... threw then
æne stan to ðære bellan, þæt heo eall tosprang (INDIC)
 one stone at that bell, that it completely flew-to-pieces
 (*ÆHomW*, 11 93.32)

‘Then one day the malicious devil... threw a stone at the bell,
 so that it burst into pieces.’

The prototypical **adverbial clause of cause** is introduced by compound conjunctions of the type: *for* + DEM + the optional particle *þe*, in either pre- or post-main clause position (Traugott *CHEL* I: 252). The most frequent forms for the causative clause marker are *for þæm / þon þe* ‘for that which’ (= because). A few dozen examples occur of *for þy/þi þe*. Constructions with *þe* often express cause rather than explanation. Thus, the compound clause marker *forðon þe* occurs in a strictly causal sense in (156a), and *forþæm* in an explanatory sense, in (156b):

156)

a. Ða cwæð ic: Hwý? Ða cwæð he: Forðon þe we witon
 Then said I: Why? Then said he: For-that PT we know
swiðe lytel ðæs þe ær us wæs buton be gemynde
 very little of-that PT before us was except by reflection
 (*Bo* 148.7,8)

‘Then I said: ‘Why?’. Then he said: ‘Because we know very little
 about what preceded us except from thinking about it.’

b. Sume men cweþaþ ...þæt hit sie feaxede steorra. forþæm þær stent lang
leoma of

Likewise men say that it is long-haired star because there stands long light
 from
 (*Chron A* (Plummer) 892.3)

‘Likewise people call it the long-haired star (in English) because a long

ray of light streams from it.’

Causative clauses are typically indicative unless they are negative (i.e. express a denied cause), in which case they are usually subjunctive:

157)

...ac *pæs* wundrodon men, na *for ði* *pæt* hit mare
... but of-that wondered men, not for that that it more
wundor wære (SUBJ), ac *for ði* *pæt* hit wæs (INDIC) ungewunelic
wonder were, but for that that it was unaccustomed
(ÆCHom I, 12 184.26)
‘... but people wondered about that, not because it was a greater
mystery, but because it was unaccustomed.’

The first 'because'-clause is subjunctive because the proposition is denied, but the second is indicative because it was the real reason for the wonder.

The prototypical **conditional sentence** is marked by *gif* ...*þonne*, cognate with the Present-day English conditional markers. In general, conditionals have indicative in both 'if- and 'then'-clauses. The following three examples illustrate future, past and present possibilities, respectively.

158)

...*Gif* *þes* bealdwyrda biscop acweald ne *bið* (IND.), *Syððan* ne *bið* ure ege
ondrædendlic
...If this bold bishop killed not will-be, then not will-be our fear terrible
‘If this bold bishop is not killed, the fear we bring will not be terrible.’
(ÆCHom I, 29 420.1)

Conditional clauses of type II take a verb in the subjunctive mood:

159)

Gif *pu* her andwerd wære, *nære* ure broðer forðfaren
If you here present were not-was.SUBJ our brother departed
‘If you had been present here our brother would not have died’
(ÆCHom I 8.130.5; Visser 1963 -73:§§815, 861)

The past subjunctive is also used to express imaginary and unreal conditionality, in which case both clauses are Subjunctive:

160)

...& *pær* *frecenlice* gewundod wearð, & *eac* *ofslagen*
... and there dangerously wounded was, and even slain
wære (PAST SUBJ), *gif* *his* *sunu* *his* ne *gehulpe* (PAST SUBJ)
would-have-been, if his son him not had-helped
(Or 4 8.186.22)
‘...and was dangerously wounded there, and would even have been
killed, had his son not helped him.’

With **concessive clauses**, the main clause is asserted to be true despite the fact that the 'although'-clause is true. The prototypical marker of concession in Old English is the conjunction *peah*, for example:

161)

& *peah* þæt folc nolde ær Gode abugan,,
and although that people not-wanted earlier to-God obey,
hy hwæðre þa hyra unðances him gehyrsume wæron
they nevertheless then at-their unwillingness to-him obedient were
(*Or* 1 7.38.17)

‘and although that people had not wanted to obey God earlier, they then were nevertheless against their will obedient to him.’

Concessive clauses usually take the verb in the subjunctive, even though the factuality of the concessive clause is asserted.

Temporal clauses can be introduced by *þa* ‘when’, *þonne* ‘when’, *nu* ‘now’, *siððan* ‘after’, and a *hwile* ‘while’. The temporal conjunction *þa* is almost exclusively associated with past tense and narrative sequence, i.e. individual events or states of affairs:

162)

Ða on morgenne gehierdun þæt þæs cyninges þegnas þe
When in morning heard that of-the king's thanes PT
him beæftan wærun þæt se cyning ofslægen wæs, þa ridon hie þider
him behind were that that king s lain was, then rode they thither
(*Chron A* (Plummet) 755.23)

‘In the morning when the king's thanes who had been left behind heard that he had been killed, then they rode there.’

The conjunction *þonne* has a much wider distribution. Several other conjunctions occur with a temporal sense, such as: *þær* ‘there, when’ (in the sense of both ‘at that time’ and ‘whenever’).

163)

... ac clummiað mid ceafum **þær** hi scoldan clipian
...but mutter with jaws there they should speak-aloud
‘...but mutter with their jaws when they should speak aloud.’
(*WHom* 16b 13)

Other conjunctions originate as prepositional phrases, such as *þa hwile þe* ‘while’, and *swa lange swa* ‘as long as’. The main conjunctions expressing temporal sequence are *siþþan*, and *after þæm þe* that primarily signals a sequence:

164)

Þa on ðam ilcan dæge after þæm þe hie þiss gesprečen hæfdon,

fuhton Gallie on þa burg

Then on that same day after that PT they this said had,
fought Gauls against that fortress

(*Or* 2 8.92.7)

‘Then on that same day after they had said this, the Gauls attacked the
fortress.’

Most subordinate temporal clauses have the verb in the indicative mood.

Clauses of comparison can be introduced by conjunctions expressing comparison of equality: *swa* (*swa*) (...*swa*), or inequality *þonne*:

165)

ne eom ic wyrþe þæt ic swa hangie swa min drihten

not am I worthy that I so hould-hang as my lord

(*ÆCHom* 1, 26, 382.8)

‘I am not worthy to hang like my Lord’

166)

*ma manna fægnodon dysiges folces gedwolan þonne hie fægnedon sopra
spella*

...more men rejoiced-at foolish people's heresy than they rejoiced-at true
words (BoHeadW)

more people rejoiced at the heresies of foolish people than rejoiced at the
truth

There is a tendency for the clause of comparison of inequality to be subjunctive if the main clause is positive, and indicative if the main clause is negative.

To put it shortly, Old English subordination was explicitly marked by a different word order in comparison with the main clause and by the use of the subjunctive mood. There was also a wide range of subordinators, many of which occurred as compounds that often included the demonstrative.

Further reading

For more on relative clauses, relativisers and the use of mood, see Traugott (*CHEL* I: § 4.5.2.) and more on adverbial clauses in Traugott (*CHEL* I: § 4.5.4. – 4.5.8.).

On finite subordinate clauses in OE, see Molencki (2012: ch.19 §5.3).

On developments of the infinitive complements, see Taylor (2014: §8.8.1.) and on finite subordinate clauses (§ 8.9.).

A detailed account of the types of complex complementation and a review of the literature on the topic in Denison (1993: ch.8, ch.9.).

Further general reading on Old English

Old English syntax has been covered in great detail in Mitchell's (1985) monumental two-volume work, and, more discursively, in Visser (1963–73). Other general sources of basic information on OE syntax include Mitchell & Robinson (1986), Quirk & Wrenn (1957) and others.

Advanced reading on OE syntax in: van Kemenade (1987), Fischer (1990), Fischer at al. (2000: ch.7), Ringe and Taylor (2014: ch.8), Fischer (2016: ch. 14), among many others.

Study assignment 2.5.

1. Comment on the relativiser in the following examples:

- a. *þæt gewrit þe hit on awriten wæs*
the writ that it in written was
'the writ that it was written in'
(van Kemenade 1994: 138)
- b. *...nyhst þæm tune ðe se deada man on lið*
... next that homestead PT that dead man in lies
'...next to the homestead in which the dead man lies'
(Or 1 1.20.30; Traugott *CHEL* I: 226)
- c. *Heriað forði Drihten(Acc), þone (Acc) ðe eardað on Ston*
Praise therefore the Lord, who that lives in Zion
(Hogg 2003: 98)

2. Identify the type of adverbial clause and the subordination markers:

- a. *þæt is gif min fot aslad, Drihten, ðin mildheortnys geheolp me*
That is if/whenever my foot slipped, Lord, thy mercy helped me
'If my foot slipped, Oh Lord, your mercy aided me.'
(*ÆCHom* II, 28 227.202; Traugott *CHEL* I: 256)
- b. *...ne geortriewe ic na Gode þæt he us ne mæge*
... not distrust I never to-God that he us not can
gescildan to beteran tidun þonne we nu on sint (INDIC)
shield for better times than we now in are
'I do not doubt that God can protect us for better times than we are now in.'
(Or 2 5.86.2; Traugott *CHEL* I: 264)

Summary

Old English is, particularly in contrast to later stages of English, a typically Germanic language in many respects (vocabulary, rich inflectional system, specific word order patterns, etc.). But, the language at this stage already begins to show the decay and simplification of inflections which characterises the later stages of English.

At the end of the Old English period the incipient loss of verbal, adjectival, and nominal inflections gradually led to stricter word order, which in turn facilitated further inflectional losses, but it also set the scene for the development of new periphrastic expressions in Middle English.

Part II.

MIDDLE ENGLISH

From a Synthetic to an Analytic(al) Language

Middle English is the form of English spoken and written roughly between 1100 and 1500. Its beginning corresponds to the Norman Conquest of 1066, while its end is marked by the arrival of printing in England (1476). These two historical events have had crucial implications for the status of the language during the Middle English period.

The Norman Conquest had profound effects on the development of the language, and the English texts from the 12th century onwards reveal changes at each level of the language. In the morphological development of English the areas most affected by substantial changes involve the nominal, the verbal, and the adjectival inflectional systems. Compared with the Old English period, when the syntax of the language was relatively stable, the Middle English period is one of change. Syntactically, the language tends to have a fairly strict word order, and to make greater use of periphrastic constructions; i.e. it relies more heavily on auxiliary verbs, prepositional phrases, etc.

In the early Middle English period, the structure of the English language was mainly affected by the decline of the inflectional morphology and the parallel reduction of word order sequences. It was this interplay between morphological attrition and syntactic rigidification that had a decisive influence on the development of the English language that evolved from a highly inflected language into an analytic one.

3. MORPHOLOGY OF MIDDLE ENGLISH

The Middle English period is marked by significant reduction in the inflectional system inherited from Old English, so that Middle English is often referred to as the period of weakened inflections. The main causes for this were the mixing of Old English with Old Norse. Frequently, the English and Scandinavian words were sufficiently similar to be recognisable, but had different sets of inflections. In these circumstances, uncertainty and confusion would arise about the correct ending to use, and speakers in bilingual situations would tend to rely on other grammatical devices, such as word order, to distinguish, for instance, between subject and object in the sentence. Another

cause was phonological: the loss and weakening of unstressed syllables at the end of words destroyed many of the distinctive inflections of Old English.

3.1. The decline of the inflectional morphology

In the transition from Old English to Middle English the system of morphological marking on nouns, adjectives and verbs is dramatically diminished due to various factors.

3.1.1. The reduction of the nominal inflections

The Old English declensional system of the noun collapsed owing to syncretism, phonological reasons and increased use of prepositions. Nominal inflections marking gender, number and case became superfluous and gradually disappeared.

3.1.1.1. The demise of grammatical gender

The historical shift from 'grammatical' to 'natural' gender was rather the result of gradual relaxation of purely grammatical constraints.

Lass (*CHEL* II:106) points out that the first signs of the demise of grammatical gender could be noticed in Old English, when there was already a tendency for a pronoun occurring further away, in a conjoined or subordinate clause to agree with the natural gender of the noun, while agreement within the original NP would be in grammatical gender. For example, in the *Old English Gospel of Luke* (1:59) the neuter *cild* 'child' (with male reference) appears in one clause with the neuter determiner *þæt*, and in a following conjunct it is referred to by the masculine pronouns *hyne*, *his*:

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*Þa on þam ehteoðan dæge hi comon þæt cild ymbsniðan,
and nemdon hyne his fæder naman Zachariam.*

'Then on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child, and
called him by his father's name, Zacharias.'

(Old English Gospel of Luke (1:59))

Like many major structural simplifications in English, gender loss began in the north; there are fluctuations as early as the tenth-century (in Lindisfarne Gospels, for instance, *stan* 'stone' is both masculine and neuter).

By around 1200 the old system is variably abandoned in most dialects the shift to natural gender was pretty well complete by the end of the century.

3.1.1.2. The erosion of case-marking on nouns

The rapid loss of nominal inflections started in the Late Old English period in the northern part of the country and was more or less concluded in the fourteenth century.

One of the causes leading to the loss of inflectional endings was **syncretism**. The fact the nouns in the **Nominative** and **Accusative** had the same form, a phenomenon known as **syncretism**, in most declensional sets in Old English is generalized to all nouns both in the singular and in the plural. Thus, the opposition Subject – Object comes to be expressed only by the position of the NP versus the verb. Similarly, the **dative-accusative syncretism** apparent in part of the declensional system of the noun spreads to all nouns and persons with the result that the Direct Object and the Indirect Object functions are no longer marked at the inflectional level.

Syncretism goes hand in hand with **phonological weakening** of final syllables. It became increasingly difficult to hear them, because of the way words had come to be stressed during the evolution of the Germanic languages. The ancestor language of Germanic, Indo-European, had a ‘free’ system of accentuation, in which the stress within a word moved according to intricate rules. In Germanic, this system changed and most words came to carry the main stress on their first syllable. This is the system found throughout Old English. (As always there were exceptions, the **ge-** prefix is never stressed).

Having the main stress at the beginning of a word can readily give rise to an auditory problem at the end. This is especially so when there are several endings which are phonetically very similar, such as **-en**, **-on** and **-an**. In rapid speech it would have been difficult to distinguish them.

The weakening of the vowel segments occurring in post-stress position led to the loss of the vocalic declensional sets. The early loss of final **-n** in the areas under Scandinavian influence and its gradual spread to the other dialects does away with the weak declension of nouns as well.

3.1.1.3. The restructuring of the declensional system

The erosion of case marking on the noun goes hand in hand with restructuring of the declensional system, and the ultimate takeover by the masculine *a*-stems, as the commonest noun type.

Two main declensions were generalized. One was the declension which in Old English had its nominative plural in *-as* (*stānas* ‘stones’) and its genitive singular in *-es* (*stānes* ‘of a stone’). Both these endings became Middle English *-es*, so that both the nominative plural and the genitive singular were *stones*.

The other declension was the one which in Old English formed both its nominative plural and its genitive singular in *-an*, which in Middle English became *-en*. Thus, *ēage* was 'eye', and *ēagan* 'eyes' and 'of an eye'; in Middle English these became *eye* and *eyen*.

Of these two declensions, the first became dominant in the northern dialects, in which all nouns tended to form the nominative plural and the genitive singular with *-es*, and forms like *eyes* are normal by about 1200.

In the south, on the other hand, it was the *-en* declension that became dominant by the middle of the period, and many nouns that in Old English belonged to other declensions came to use the *-en* plural (though *-es* was common for the genitive singular).

So forms like *devlen* 'devils' and *englen* 'angels' can be encountered, where Old English had *dēoflas* and *englas*. But in the course of the Middle English period the *-es* plural spread southwards and displaced *-en*, and by the fifteenth century it was almost universal. The modern plural ending on nouns is directly descended from it. In Shakespeare's time a few plurals in *-en* can still be found, like *eyen*, *shoon*, *hosen*, *housen*. Such forms have survived in the plurals: *oxen*, *children* and *brethren*.

By the end of the 15th century plural nouns regularly took the ending *-s*, a result of the overall simplification of the original Old English system, which had a variety of plural markers.

The **genitive** proved to be more resistant and survived as an inflectional category throughout the Middle English period. The old synthetic genitive, however, varies extensively with the new analytic *of* genitive (*þe lannd off Ȝerrsalæm* vs *Dauipþ kingess chesstre*); the noun following the preposition *of* normally takes the 'prepositional' case form (Lass *CHEL* II: 110).

The **dative singular** ending *-e* continues to serve as a general post-prepositional marker; *o lifft-e* 'in the air', *i an cribbe-e* 'in a manger', *þurh trowwþ-e* 'through truth'.

So the old *-e* ending is available and widely used, but it is not obligatory as in Old English: both marked and unmarked prepositional objects seem to be equally grammatical.

Prepositional use in Middle English shows enormous expansion over Old English. Prepositions in Old English selected either a noun in the dative or in the accusative case and rarely even the genitive case (NPs in the Genitive case functioned as Genitive Objects). In Middle English the system was much simplified, since all prepositions were now followed by the **Objective case**.

Mustanoja (1960: 345-427) examines the expansion of prepositions that entered the language from native and foreign sources. Comparing Middle English with Old English usage of prepositions he states that:

'The syntactical relationships formerly expressed by means of the case-endings now come to be expressed mainly by means of word-

order and prepositions. *Of* for example, becomes a favourite equivalent of the genitive...; *to* and *for* are widely used for the original dative..., and *mid*, *with*, *though*, *by* and *of* for the instrumental (Mustanoja 1960: 348)

Since in Middle English most nouns, of whatever historical class, have masculine *a*-stem *-es* for all cases, there is no case distinction in the plural. The plural inflection *-ess* also occurs in prepositional constructions that would take dative in Old English (*amang Goddspelless word-ess*) as well as genitives (*zer-ess*, *menn-ess*) (cf. Lass *CHEL* II: 110)

Thus, by the end of the Middle English period, only two parameters were normally marked on nouns: singular vs plural, and genitive vs. non-genitive (often called 'common case').

By the end of the twelfth century, generalising roughly over all dialects, there is a massive reduction of noun paradigm types.

According to the traditional view, the loss of inflections is caused by a change in the system of stress-rules, which would have caused the last syllable, originally strong, to become weak. Thus, the inflection situated in the last syllable was levelled from a distinctive vowel to schwa, via phonological processes. In parallel the ending *-s* originally attached only to nouns belonging to the *a*-stems, is analogically extended to practically all English nouns, as a marker of the genitive singular and of the plural.

With a few exceptions, the late fourteenth-century declensional system is essentially the same as today's.

3.1.2. Loss of inflection on the definite determiner

The Old English equivalent of the definite determiner *the* was a fully inflected demonstrative adjective/pronoun, marked for case, number and gender (see section 1.1.1.). However, none of the ten distinct forms is the ancestor for the later Middle and Present-day English definite determiner *the*.

Lass (*CHEL* II: 112) argues that the most plausible origin of the definite determiner *the* is analogical levelling of initial *p*- throughout the paradigm. (note that the only forms in *s*- are the masc. nom. sg. *se* and fem. nom. sg. *seo*) As a matter of fact, *þe* for masculine nominative singular appears as early as the tenth century (~ *se* in the Mercian portion of the *Rushworth Gospels*, and about the same time in Northumbrian texts).

Loss of inflection is earliest in the east and north, the south and west generally remaining more conservative. As late as the thirteenth century inflected article forms are still used in southern and western texts, though there is practically no trace in the east after 1150 of anything except number

concord. By the fourteenth century in general, however, invariable *þe* 'the' is normal for all singular gender/case categories.

The Old English *se, seo, þæt* fulfilled the functions of both definite determiner and demonstrative adjective. In Middle English a clearcut distinction developed between these two functions with the invariant form *the* taking the role of the determiner and the Old English neuter form *þæt* > *that* (plural *tho*, northern *tha*, later *those*) beginning to function purely as a deictic. (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II: 217)

In the earliest Middle English manuscripts one still finds inflected forms of the definite article, especially the plural form *þa*, but in the course of the thirteenth century *the* had become the rule in most dialects.

The indefinite determiner developed out of the Old English numeral *an* (OE *sum* disappeared early on in the period). In Middle English the indefinite article is usually unstressed *a(n)*, the stressed form *oon* being preserved for its function as a numeral. In Old English indefinite nouns occurred without a determiner, in Middle English *a(n)* became a regular feature with indefinite noun phrases, used in more or less the same functions as in Present-day English.

However, Fischer (*CHEL* II: 220) points out that the indefinite determiner is regularly absent in Middle English when the noun phrase is used predicatively, especially with abstract or non-count nouns:

...*uram þet he wes child...*
'ever since he was [a] child'
(*Ayenb.* 191: 8)

3.1.3. The loss of the adjectival inflections

The same process of loss of case distinctions took place in demonstratives and adjectives. Old English did not have a grammaticalised proximal/distal (speaker-centred vs non-speaker-centred) contrast, as with PDE *this* vs *that*. The original Old English paradigm is fully inflected (section 1.1.1.) but in Middle English most case-marked forms of the demonstrative are lost by the thirteenth century.

The Old English declensional system on adjectives underwent a two-stage restructuring in Middle English. In early texts there are relics of some endings of the strong declension; but as Middle English proceeded, the strong/weak opposition decayed, and with the loss of case and gender marking on the article, that on the adjective disappeared as well. The end result, typical of most of Middle English, at least through the fourteenth century, was a simple opposition between forms with and without *-e*.

In adjectives, the trend was towards the use of only two forms: the base-form (for example, *fair*), and a form with the ending *-e* (such as *faire*) which was used both for the plural and as the weak form. This stage has been reached in Chaucer, who writes '*the weder is fair*' and '*she hadde a fair forheed*', but '*faire wives*' (in the plural form) and '*this faire Pertelote*' (where the weak form of the adjective is used after the demonstrative *this*). When the final *-e* was lost towards the end of the Middle English period, these two forms became the same, and the adjective became indeclinable, as it is today.

This extreme simplification is not the result of phonological factors (as is the case with the declension of nouns) but the result of language contact. During the period of the Danelaw the contact between English and Scandinavian would have led to the emergence of a pidgin-like variety of speech between the two cultures. As with pidgins everywhere, there would have been a loss of word endings and a greater reliance on word order. Gradually this pattern would have spread until it affected the whole of the East Midlands area – from which Standard English was eventually to emerge.

However, **inflectional marking for comparison** remains throughout Middle English (and indeed today) in principle the same as in Old English, with minor simplifications. The main Middle English archaism is the retention until quite late of old unlauted comparatives and superlatives (Chaucer, for instance, still has *long/leng-er*, *-est*, *strong/streng-er*, *-est*, etc.).

3.1.4. Inflection preserving personal pronoun

This is the only word class that, throughout the history of the language, preserves inflection not only for number and genitive/non-genitive, but also for other cases and gender as well.

There was great simplification during Middle English, but the old system remained and was broadly structured as earlier. By Late Middle English a number of major transformations had occurred, as shown in Lass (2006: 95)

The pronoun *thou/you*. In Modern English the second person pronoun has only one form for singular/plural (Nom. Acc. *you*). The form *you* surviving from the Old English pronominal system is actually an old oblique (*you* < OE dat/acc pl. *eow*, not the nominative OE nom pl *ge*).

The beginnings of this appear by the late thirteenth century. During Middle English *you* begins to spread as the 'unmarked' pronoun of address for both numbers in upper-class and courtly registers. At the same time *thou* (apparently normal lower-class usage) begins to develop special senses like intimacy (if used reciprocally) or contempt (if non-reciprocally).

By Chaucer's time *you* was well on the way to becoming neutral, and *thou* 'marked'. By the middle of the fifteenth century there was an explicit association of *thou* with intimacy and 'equality'.

The pronoun *him*. The 3rd person sg. masc. pronoun *him* is the result of dative and accusative syncretism. Old English already showed a tendency towards dative/accusative syncretism, normally in favour of the dative form. In Middle English this trend continues in the masculine and feminine third-person singular. The collapse of *hine* and *him* in a general object-case *him* begins early, though *hine* remains as an alternative in southern texts into the fourteenth century.

Third-person pronoun *scho*, *sche*. The old fem. nom. sg. *heo* had been replaced in most areas by a new form in /ʃ/, e.g. *scho*, *sche*. For most of the Middle English period *scho* is restricted to the north, and *sche* to the east midlands, while the south keeps the old *heo* or its descendants, e.g. *ho*, *hue*, *hi*.

The rise of the possessive pronoun. During Middle English the possessive forms were morphologically much like other adjectives: pl. *min-e leov-e sustren* 'my dear sisters' and the like.

Beginning in the north and northwest midlands in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century, a new genitive type arose, with suffixed *-(e)s*, as in *your(e)s*, *her(e)s*, *our(e)s*, etc. These forms spread gradually southwards, appearing in the southeast midlands in the later fourteenth century. The new forms were used, as nowadays, in predicative position: e.g. Chaucer's *al this good is our-es*. (Lass *CHEL* II: 119)

In the south and parts of the midlands, the second genitive was formed on the model of possessives like *min*, *þin*, with *-(e)n*: *zour-en*, *his-en* – a type that still survives in some dialects both in England and the US.

The third-person plural system: *they*, *their*, *them*. The Old English third-person plural forms in *h-* had begun to yield to a new (Scandinavian) type in *þ-/th-*, the originals of *they* / *their* / *them*.

The entire third-person plural system was replaced in the standard by a Scandinavian paradigm; but the different case forms were not uniformly replaced except in the north. The eventual merger pattern is the same as for the singular: dative and accusative fall together, and what remains is formally the historical dative (*them* < OScand. *þei-m*; cf. *hi-m*).

By comparing the forms of the third person plural pronouns in texts from different areas, it becomes clear that the influence was much stronger in the North and in the West Midlands than in the South (Trips 2002: 16):

169)

North:

þair golde and þaire tresoure drawes þam til dede.
their gold and their treasure draws them to death
(CMROLLEP, 64.65)

East Midlands:

& Šiff **þe** all forrwerppenn itt, itt turneþþ **hemm** till sinne,
and if they all reject it it turns them to sin
(CMORM,DED.L143.37)

WestMidlands:

... ich wende from **heom** lesse mon þenne ich ear wes.
I turned from them less man than I ever was
(CMANCRIW,II.127.1638)

South:

He ordeyned **hem** to worschippe the goddes Venus, ...
he ordeyned them to worship the godess Venus
(CMPOLYCH,VI,29.189)

Northern Middle English dialects generally show a full Scandinavian paradigm from earliest times, with descendants of *þeir*, *þeirra*, *þeim* (nom., gen., obl.). The other dialects show a gradual southward movement of the *þ*-paradigm, the native *h*-type remaining longest in the conservative south. So *þei* appears in London in the fourteenth century, and Chaucer, typically for the period, has *þei/her(e)/hem*.

London texts of the fifteenth century vary between *her(e)* and *their*, and towards the end of the century *their* begins to take over, and by Caxton's time is the only form in common use. *Them* is the last to be adopted. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the modern paradigm is fully established.

Further reading

More on the decay of the nominal inflections in ME, in Lass (*CHEL* II: 2.9.1.), Welna (2012: 27.2).

For an account of the development of the double genitive like “a friend of mine” to the middle of the fourteenth century, see Allen (2002).

On the developments of the personal pronouns, see Mustanoja (1960: 122-51).

On the decline of indefinite pronoun *man* ‘one’ in ME and its disappearance in Late Middle English, see Lass (2002), who relates this to the loss of V2 and to the spread of *to*-infinitival complementation.

Summary

In early Middle English, grammar lacked the morphological case properties of the earlier system.

The Old English case system disappeared in the period of the tenth-to-thirteenth centuries, the loss spreading through the population from the north to the south – probably under the influence of the Scandinavian settlements. Case syncretism meant that the dative – accusative distinctions on nouns were lost. The genitive survived as a morphologically marked category but it no longer served as a case governed by verbs or prepositions. Thus, there were

two noun cases, which in modern English are called ‘common’ (the unmarked form) and ‘genitive’.

By late Middle English the noun (except for the genitive) was no longer case marked, and the former declensions had mostly been levelled under the *a*-stem pattern (-s in plural and genitive). Prepositional use in Middle English showed enormous expansion over Old English.

Adjectival inflections were reduced to a contrast between $\emptyset$ and -e at most, where inflectional -e in adjectives could mark plurality or (especially in early Middle English) a weak adjective.

Inflections were preserved only in the pronominal system. In personal pronouns, it was the old dative form which survived rather than the accusative.

The restructuring that characterised Middle English was largely complete by the end of the sixteenth century.

3.2. The restructuring of the verbal inflectional system

The categories expressed inflectionally on the verb in Old English were person, number, tense (present, past) mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative). Verbal inflections also undergo further erosion in Middle English.

3.2.1. Lexical verbs

Tense distinctions continued to be formally marked on all verbs during the Middle English period, but the marking of the other categories underwent further reductions due to **phonological erosion**, which resulted in the survival of just a handful of surface inflections by the end of the period.

3.2.1.1. Present tense marking

Verb inflections evolved rather differently in the various Middle English regional dialects (Gelderen 2006: 98). The levelling of the present tense verbal inflections is illustrated in the table below, with the paradigms of the verb *nerian* ‘to save’ for the present tense in three regional dialects:

170)

OE	ME Northern	ME Midlands	ME Southern
ic nerie ‘I save’	ic nerie	ic nerie	ic nerie
þu neri est	þu neries	þu neries(t)	þu neri est
he/o neri eð	s/he neries	he neri eþ/es	s/he neri eð
we neri að	we neries	we neri eþ/es	we neri eþ
ge neri að	ge neries	ge neri eþ/es	ge neri eþ
hie neri að	thei neries	hie neri eþ/es	hie neri eþ

The most important regional indicators are the present third-person singular and the plural: 3 sg. *-s* is northern (though it may also occur in the midlands as well), *-en* is a distinctively midland plural, and *-eþ* a distinctively southern inflection. This early clarity in dialectal forms points to the fact that the present-tense verb inflection *-(e)s* in Present-day English, that has developed from the London dialect, has a non-southern origin.

Early London texts show the typical southern pattern, with *-eþ* for third-person singular and all plurals remained until about the midfourteenth century, when the *-eþ* plural began to yield ground to the midland *-en* for both present and past.

The old *-eþ* survived as a minority variant in the indicative until well into the fifteenth century. By Chaucer's time the merging London standard had a generally stable verb conjugation of this kind:

171)

Present sg.	1	<i>-(e)</i>
	2	<i>-(e)st</i>
	3	<i>-eth</i>
pl.		<i>-e(n)</i>

Given the instability of *-e* and its archaic status by the late fourteenth century, the verb system was actually very like the modern one. Removing *-e*, the present tense conjugation is, by 1400, distinct from the modern system in only three particulars:

***-(e)st* for the 2nd person**, singular that survived into the 16th c.:

172)

Thow comest hoom as drunken as a mous

(Chaucer *Wife of Bath* 246; Benson 1987: 108)

***-(e)th* for the 3rd person**, singular, present indicative of all main verbs was later replaced by the modern ending *-(e)s* originally found in the northern dialects of Britain:

173)

This Frere bosteth the he knoweth helle

‘This friar boasts that he knows hell’

(Chaucer *Summoner* 1672; Benson 1987: 128)

The final consonant was gradually weakened and lost with the result that the sg./pl. opposition was neutralised for all persons except the 3rd, where the ending *-s* has survived down to the present.

-(e)n as plural-marked on verbs, tends to be dropped from about 1250—1450, initially in contexts where the first verb in a series carries plural marking:

174)

þa **namen** hi þa men **þe** hi **wenden** ðat ani god **hefden**...

and **diden** heom in prisun, and **pined** hem ...

'Then they *took* the men that they *thought had* any property ...

and *put* them in prison, and *tortured* them...'

(*Peterborough Chronicle* for 1137, Lass *CHEL* II: 98)

The grettest clerkes been noght wisest men

'The greatest clerks are not wisest men'

(Chaucer *Reeve* 40547; Benson 1987: 80)

The *-en* marking for plural was highly variable and increasingly recessive. By around 1300, the Old English system had been largely restructured everywhere.

3.2.1.2. Past tense marking

The great majority of verbs were weak, and their numbers steadily increased, since most newly formed or borrowed verbs were weak; there was also a tendency for verbs that were strong in Old English to become weak in Middle English (see the next section).

Weak verbs form their **past tense** by adding *-ed(e)*, *-d(e)* or *-t(e)*, while strong verbs change their stem vowel. The past tense of the weak verb *heren* 'to hear' in the language of *Ancrene Wisse*.

Conjugation of weak verbs:

Indicative	ic her de
	þu her dest
	he her de
	we, 3e, ha her den
Subjunctive	sg. her de
	pl. her den

In the indicative mood, verbs may distinguish in form between the first, second and third persons of the singular, but all verbs have one form throughout the plural. However, there are considerable variations according to dialect. The subjunctive has just one form throughout the singular to which it adds *-n* throughout the plural.

During the Middle English period and, for another three centuries, the whole strong-verb system was undergoing changes. **Strong verbs** form their past tense by changing the stem vowel. The traditional seven classes of Germanic vocalic verbs were still distinguishable in Middle English, but the tendency towards fewer distinct stem-forms increased:

	infinitive (pres.)	past 1 st , 3 rd	past pl.	past participle
Class				
I	ride(n)	rod(e)	riden	riden
II	freese(n)	frees(e)	frozen	frozen
III	drinke(n)	dronk	drunken	drunken
IV	come(n)	cam	camen	comen
V	ete(n)	at	eten	eten
VI	shake(n)	shok	shoken	shaken
VII	holde(n)	held	helden	holden

Gradually the two vowels of the past tense were reduced to one, sometimes setting on the stem vowel of the singular, sometimes on that of the plural, but this took place quite unsystematically, leaving doublet forms even in the same text: e.g. in *Gawain* there are the past tense plural forms *ran* and *runnen*.

Another Middle English development is the movement of verbs wholly or partly into the weak conjugation. This was common all through the period, but increased in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries. (e.g. Chaucer has *shyned* ~ *shoon* (OE *scan*), cl. VII *wepte*, *slepte* (OE *Mop*, *step*); Margery Kempe cl. III *halpe* ~ *helpyd* (OE *healp*). (see Lass *CHEL* II: 131)

This simplification of the verbal morphology seems to have begun in the north with a later wave, in the west. Both tendencies converge in the later London/east midlands dialects and show up in the modern standard.

All strong verbs are conjugated as illustrated below with the verb *to drive*:

indicative	ic draf þu drive he draf we, 3e, ha driven
subjunctive	sg. ic, þu, he drive pl. we, 3e, ha driven

The forms of the past tense were progressively simplified, so that in the language of the *Gawain* manuscript the past tense often has the same form throughout the singular and the plural, indicative and subjunctive *drof* for 'drove'.

In short, aside from later stabilisations and reductions, Late Middle English had clearly reached a point at which marking for person and number (and even mood) was becoming rather peripheral; tense was the one obligatory category, with person second in importance, but only in the singular.

3.2.1.3. Non-finite forms

In Middle English the non-finite forms of the verb were the infinitive and the participle (present and past). These undergo further developments owing especially to the variation in the dialectal usage.

The inflected infinitive still occurs in early southern and southwestern Middle English; but not only with reflex of *-enne*. Forms in *-ende* (identical with the present participle) also appear. *Lazamon B* has *to flende* ‘to flee’, while the *A* text has *to fleonne* (see Mustanoja 1960: 512ff.).

The non-inflected infinitive ends in *-i(e)n* or *-i(e)* in the southern dialects *makien*, *lokien*, *luvie*. The infinitive form is used on its own, with *to* or with *for to*. The short infinitive is used after modal verbs such as *shall*, *will*, *can*, *may*, *mot*, and others such as *dare* and *let*:

175)

Ich nolde don
I not-would do
‘I would not do’

(*The Owl and the Nightingale* 159; ETCUVL: 18)

his hors he lette irnen
his horse he let run
‘he let his horse run’

(*Lazamon: Brut* 60; ETCUVL: 553)

In coordinated infinitives, the first may be short, while the second is long:

176)

lovede wel fare/ And no dede to do
loved well live and no deed to do
‘loved to live well and do nothing’

(*Langland Piers Plowman* 8-9; ETCUVL: 553)

The participle with its two forms, present and past, undergoes significant changes. The **present participle** varies according to dialect. The most common Middle English endings are geographically distributed this way: North *-and*, Midlands *-ende*, South *-inde*. The northern form probably reflects Scand. *-ande*; the southern and midland ones continue OE *-ende* (S *-inde* may be significant, since it has the same vowel as *-inge*).

Lass (2006: 81) shows that there is still variation in the fourteenth century. The Chaucerian consensus has *-ing(e)*, while the contemporary Gower prefers

-ende, except if a rhyme on *-ing(e)* is needed. Some more southerly varieties have exclusive *-inde*. By the fifteenth century *-ing(e)* was the dominant standard form. The *-nd-* type disappears during the fifteenth century.

The past participle was historically a deverbal adjective, i.e. an adjective formed off a verb stem that was morphologically marked. In Middle English the weak participle retained (as it still does today) its final *-d* or *-t*; the strong participle was more variable, and over the period more and more variation appears, with *-en/-e/-Ø* often appearing in the same text. The Late Middle English situation can be exemplified from Caxton's prologues and epilogues, which show a pattern very much like Chaucer's nearly a century earlier. Some verbs always have *-n* (*goten, guyen, chosen, wreton/wryton*), a few seem never to (*begonne, blowe*), while many others vary (*vnderstandee*) ~ *vnderstanden*, *see* ~ *seen*, *found(e)* ~ *founderi*). (Lass *CHEL* II: 146)

The major transformations in the past participle (as in all parts of the strong verb) occurred in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

The Old English past participle prefix *ge-* began to drop as early as the tenth century, especially in Northumbrian, presumably connected with the Scandinavian tendency to lose prefixes.

By Middle English times it had vanished completely in the north and most of the midlands, and was stable only in the south and some south-west Midlands. In its normal reduced form *i-/y-*, it was available in London until quite late, and some writers like Chaucer used it extensively. By the late fifteenth century *i-/j-* had virtually died out.

3.2.2. The verb BE

The verb BE in Old English had two related conjugations that were dismembered in Early Middle English, when various portions of the paradigms spread over the dialects. Thus, the verb *beon* 'be' has wide variation in form in different regions, but by the late fourteenth century the southeast midland dialects had stabilised a paradigm of this type:

Indicative		Present	Past
sg.	1.	am	was
	2.	art	were
	3.	is	was
pl.		be(n) are(n)	were(n)

Lass (*CHEL* II: 141) notes that the *be(n)* plural is much commoner throughout the period than the northern *are(n)*. A selection of letters written by Margaret Paston between 1441 and 1461, for instance, shows a *be(n)*: *are(n)* ratio of about 7:1; Caxton's prologues and epilogues from the 1470s—1480s indicate

roughly the same. The following confirms that *ben* was still in use:
177)

*'I suppose that in alle cristendom or not so many ...
men of the lawe as **ben** in england.'*

(Caxton's *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* (1474), book III, ch.3)

The Old English present plural (*e*)*aron* type was Anglian only; during Middle English it spread into the more southerly dialects, eventually becoming established as modern *are*. The rapid adoption of *are* and the loss of the pres. 2 sg. *art*, made the paradigm of *be* look like the modern English one.

3.2.3. Modal verbs in Middle English include the following: *cunnen* 'to know how to', (modern 'can'); *mahen* 'to be able to, have the ability', 'may'; *moten* 'to be allowed to, compelled to' (its past tense gives modern 'must'); *schulen* 'to have to, shall'; *witen* 'to know'. In the language of *Ancrene Wisse* they are conjugated like this:

present indicative

sg. 1	can	mei	mot	schal	wat	wulle
2	canst	math	most	schalt	wast	wult
3	can	mei	mot	schal	wat	wule
pl. all pers.	cunnen	mahen	moten	schule(n)	witen	wulleð

subjunctive

sg.	cunne	mahe	mote	schule	wite	wulle

past indicative

sg.1.3.	cuðe	mahte	moste	schulde	wiste	walde

(the conjugation continues as for weak verbs)

During the Middle English period the infinitive forms of these verbs were lost, and the past forms were already used as present. For example, the past of *owe* (now the quite separate verb *ought*) was already being used as a present in the earliest Middle English texts: the twelfth-century *Poema morale* (Lambeth MS) has:

178)

ich em nu alder þene ich wes awintre & a lare.

'I am now older than I was in winters and in learning/

*Ich welde mare þene ich dede mi wit **ahte** bon mare*

I possess more than I did — my wit *ought* to be greater'

(Hall 1920:1. 30; Lass *CHEL* II: 144)

3.2.4. The tense system

In Middle English, as in Old English, there are two morphologically marked tense categories: past and present. These indicate temporal relations, in combination with lexical devices such as adverbs and conjunctions of time. Periphrastic constructions (perfect, pluperfect, future) also play a role in the tense (and aspect) system of Middle English, but in most cases they are still interchangeable with the present and past tense categories. The periphrastic forms will be discussed separately in section (4.2.).

The **present tense** in Middle English, as in Old English, may be neutral as regards time; it is therefore used to express general truths and habitual or repeated action:

179)

Pu chaterest so doþ on Irish prost
You chatter so does an Irish priest
'you chatter like an Irish priest'

(*The Owl and the Nightingale* 322; ETCUVL: 32)

Wel flȳt þat wel flȳt
'well fights that well flees' (proverbial)

(*The Owl and the Nightingale* 176; ETCUVL: 92)

The other main function of the present in Middle English is that it indicates that an action is going on at the moment of speaking. In such contexts it covers the function of the present progressive of Present-day English:

180)

Thow walkest now in Thebes at thy large, /
And of my wo thow yevest litel charge.

(CT 1.1283-4 [1:1285-6]; Fischer *CHEL II*: 246)

In Middle English the present is still normally used to refer to the future, although periphrastic constructions are more numerous, even in the Early Middle English texts:

181)

We foure rayse it noȝt right to-yere
We four raise it not upright this-year
'the four of us will not raise it upright this year'

(*The York Play of the Crucifixion* 164; ETCUVL: 320)

The historic present, not found in Old English or in Early Middle English, becomes common in the later 14th century, particularly in past-time narrative lines:

182)

Per hales in at þe halle dor an aghlich mayster
'there comes in at the hall door a fearsome knight'
(*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 136; ETCUVL: 6)

The **past tense** is similarly used to express both simple and progressive aspects:

183)

þo al þo þat þerin sete/ þat it was King Orfeo underzete
then all that therein sat/ that it was King Orfeo understood
'then all those who were sitting there understood that it was King Orfeo'
(*Sir Orfeo* 575-6; TEAMS)

When an action starts in the past but continues into the present, a perfect is usual in Present-day English. In Middle English past-tense and perfect forms are found side by side. An example of the past tense is:

184)

here is wayth fayrest/ þat I seþ þis seuen zere in sesoun of wynter.
'this is the finest kill that I saw [have seen] these seven years in the winter season.'

(*Gawain* 1381-2; Fischer *CHEL* II: 246)

With the temporal adverbs *ever* / *never* the past tense is almost the rule:

185)

For thys ys the moste shamefullyste message that ever y herde speke
off. I have aspyed thy kynge never yette mette with worshipfull man.
(*Malory Wks* (Add.59678) 55: 6-8; Fischer *CHEL* II: 246)

The **subjunctive mood** expresses supposition in contrast with the indicative mood that generally indicates the factuality of a report. The present subjunctive is used for wishes and commands in main clauses:

186)

Drihten us fulsten!
God us help.Subj
'may God help us!'

(*Lazamon: Brut* 46; ETCUVL: 553)

In subordinate clauses the subjunctive mood generally signals that the action or state specified by the verb is the object of a wish, a hope, or a fear, a command or request, a conjecture, belief or hypothesis, or is for some other reason unreal:

187)

*Forðy ic wolde ðætte hie ealneg æt ðære stowe **wæren** . . .*

Therefore *I* prefer that they always at that place would-be.SUBJ

‘Therefore *I prefer* that they always would be at that place.’

(Mc Gillivray, M. 2004)

The Subjunctive mood collapsed when modal verbs acquired prominence.

Further reading

More on the loss of verbal inflections in ME, in Welna (2012: 27.3).

See Lass (1992: 96) for an account of two major Middle English developments: (a) the loss of plural concord on the verb; (b) the loss of the infinitive suffix *-(e)n*, that illustrates the characteristic mechanism by which morphological change occurs.

On the controversial categorial status of the modals in OE and ME, Fischer (*CHEL* II, 1992: 393).

The subjunctive mood in Middle English is discussed by Mustanoja (1960: 451–78).

Summary

Verbal morphology is marked by dialectal variation. Strong verbs become weak; and the subjunctive forms are progressively replaced by modal verbs.

As far as the non-finite forms are concerned, the main Middle English developments, can be briefly summarized as: the loss of the infinitive ending, so that the infinitive comes to be the same as the bare stem; the merger of the original *-ende* present participle with the *-ing* noun; and loss of the *ge-* prefix with the past participle. All of these are virtually complete by about 1500.

4. THE SYNTAX OF MIDDLE ENGLISH

4.1. Grammatical relations

This chapter is an attempt to capture the main developments that take place in the syntax of Middle English at phrasal and clausal level. The significant issues related to the structure of the main clause are: the rise of the formal subject, the increase of periphrastic verbal constructions and the stabilization of word order in the noun phrase and the verb phrase. As far as subordination is concerned, the radical changes affecting the clausal structure are the decline of verb-last principle and the decrease in the use of the subjunctive mood.

4.1.1. The obligatory subject.

The disappearance of the inflectional morphology and the reduction of word order sequences resulted in the stabilisation of English as a rigid SVO language type with obligatory overt subjects. Thus, the preverbal position becomes the territory of the Subject.

4.1.1.1. The generalisation of the formal subject. The fact that the subject becomes firmly fixed in sentence initial position has as a syntactic consequence the generalisation of the use of the formal Subjects in those structures in which their use had been optional in earlier stages of development of the language. Verbs in earlier English had the potential for subjectless use, whereas no verb in present-day English may be used without a subject in ordinary declarative clauses.

Subjectless constructions involving weather verbs as well as statements of time or space, are eliminated. In Middle English the pronoun *it* is introduced to serve as a formal Subject:

188)

OE *Now es day, now es night*
 Now Ø is day, now Ø is night

ME *Now it shyneth, now it reyneth faste*
 (Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1535; Benson 1987: 46)

Intransitive verbs with a *that*-complement clause or an infinitival clause as an argument also continue to occur without a subject as in Old English:

189)

if so be that eny of the Kyngys hows com in-to Norwyche.
(*Paston letters*, Part I, To Margaret Paston 1471, 07,22: CMEPV)

And happed so, they coomen in a toun.

‘And it so happened (that) they came to a town.’

(Chaucer, *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, 4177: CMEPV)

In both constructions the pronoun *it* is introduced to serve as a formal Subject.

4.1.1.2. The formal Su in existential constructions expressed by the expletive pronoun *there* was well established in the 14th c. It had developed from the locative adverbial *there*, which was allowed in preverbal position due to the V2 rule, and which came to be reinterpreted as a formal Subject in existential constructions:

190)

<i>swyðe manig burh</i> very many fortresses Su	<i>bið</i> are V₂	<i>þær</i> there Adv.Mod.
<i>þær</i> there Adv.Mod	<i>bið</i> are V₂	<i>swyðe manig burh</i> very many fortresses Su
<i>þær</i> there formal Su	<i>bið</i> are V₂	<i>swyðe manig burh</i> very many fortresses real/ logical Su (existential construction)

Gradually *there* lost the adverbial meaning, became a subject filler and took on subject properties (for instance, inversion in questions), while the real subject lost some of its properties (agreement with the verb). The examples below show that there was no agreement in person and number between the verb and the logical subject:

191)

There is (SG.3rd), *but we two* (PL.1st).

If there was (SG.) *twenty* (PL.) *I should kill them all.*

Modern English has maintained the existential pattern in which the semantic subject controls agreement with the verb, while the pronoun *there* is analysed as a formal subject.

4.1.2. The demise of the impersonal constructions.

Impersonal constructions without a nominative subject remained productive into the 15th century. Old English impersonal verbs could occur in three configurations in which the verb was invariably in the 3rd person singular (see

section 2.1.4.):

EXPERIENCER	THEME
Dative	Nominative
Nominative	Genitive
Dative	Genitive

Fischer (2000: 74-77) argues that early in the Middle English period the possibility to mark an argument of a verb with genitive case disappeared. The use of the genitive was restricted to functions inside the NP, most typically indicating the possessive (*the man's weapon*). Instead, the Theme argument came to be expressed by the objective forms, as in (a) or by a prepositional phrase, as in (b), a possibility that in fact occurred (alongside the genitive) in Old English as well:

192)

- a. *Ic hit 3ierne*
 I it.OBJ yearn
 'I yearn for it'

(*Vices&V* 59.27; Allen 1995: 128)

- b. *...yonge men ... yurnes to gaumes*
 ...young men ... yearn to games
 '...young men like games'

(*Destr.Troy* 2937; Fischer et al. 2000: 75)

The syncretism of the dative and the accusative had an important effect on impersonal verbs. The Experiencer in the dative was reinterpreted as an Experiencer in the accusative:

193)

- Sche him pleseth of suche wordes as sche spekth*
 She him.OBJ pleases by such words as she speaks
 'she pleases him by the words that she speaks'

(Gower *Confession Amantis* 1.1698; CMETV: 82)

These two changes affecting genitive and dative resulted in the Old English three patterns being converted into the two present-day patterns:

EXPERIENCER Nom	THEME Acc
EXPERIENCER Acc	THEME Nom

Impersonals continued to be used until the end of the Middle English period in the pattern with an accusative Experiencer and a clausal Theme:

Me marvaylyyth mychil why God 3euylth wyckyd men swych power
 Me.ACC marvels much why God gives wicked men such power
 ‘I wonder a lot why God gives wicked people such power’
 (*Dives&Pauper* I.1.336.2; Fischer et al. 2000: 76)

195)

I merveyll that I here no tidyngges from yow
 I.NOM marvel that I hear no news from you
 ‘I wonder why I don’t hear any news from you’
 (*Paston Letters*, To Margaret Paston 1465.08.07; CMEPV: 140)

Reanalysis is argued to have taken place in three distinct stages (cf. Hrafnbjargason 2004). At the first stage subjects can be dative and objects nominative. At the second stage, subjects can still be dative but objects that were nominative at the previous stage have been replaced by accusative objects. At stage three, dative subjects have been replaced by nominative subjects and objects are accusative as at stage two:

Dat – Nom $\rightarrow$ Dat – Acc $\rightarrow$ Nom – Acc

Kemenade (1987) suggests that in the late 10th century, the decline of the morphological case system led to an intolerably marked situation. The syncretism of the Nominative, Dative and Accusative case forms obscured the relationships holding between the zero-case marked nouns and the co-occurring impersonal verbs. The sentence initial position came to be increasingly identified with the domain of the subject and word order became crucial for the identification of subjects and objects.

196)

Us liketh (as a 3rd person sg with no object)
us.DAT pleases

Us lyken ye. (the old construction, where *like* means ‘to please’)
 Us.DAT please.pl you

We lyken yow (the modern use whose continuation would be
 we.NOM like.pl you ‘and we have always liked you’)

The verb *like* underwent a historical change from a reverse to a direct construction, i.e. from a construction in which the Cause argument is mapped onto the Subject position to a construction in which the Experiencer is placed in that position.

To conclude, the disappearance of morphological case-marking and the rigidification of word order led to the lexicalisation of the preverbal Subject position which was occupied by a NP in the nominative case. The preverbal position was available for a NP which functioned either as a formal Subject (in sentences about weather and time and in existential constructions) or as a semantic or real subject in all other sentences. The disappearance of the impersonal construction is connected to the rise of lexical subjects.

4.1.3. The object position

Object pronouns in Old English tended to precede the verb in both main and subordinate clauses. Nominal objects, however, were as a rule postverbal in main clauses, while they could be both pre- and postverbal in subordinate and co-ordinate clauses.

The position of the pronominal NP is usually explained by reference to its light weight in comparison to nominals. In Middle English rapid changes take place in the area of object placement due to the loss of morphological marking on nouns. Thus, Object-NPs that are light, i.e. pronominals tend to occur early in the clause, whereas heavy NPs and NPs containing new information tend to occur late.

The emergence of the analytic indirect object

In Old English the indirect object was expressed by a noun inflectionally marked for the dative case. The dative was also employed in other contexts: in adverbial expressions, to denote the role of experiencer or instrument, and it was inherent case with certain verbs, adjectives and nouns (see 2.1.1). Verbs that required a dative object in Old English were: *helpan* ‘to help’, *andswarian* ‘to answer’, and adjectives: *lað* ‘disagreeable’, *leof* ‘dear’) (for more uses of the dative consult Mustanoja (1960: 95ff.)).

In the Late Old English/ Early Middle English period, with the loss of inflections, the dative and accusative were no longer distinct. The dative lost most of its functions, being replaced by a prepositional phrase, or changing syntactically into a direct object, as is the case after verbs like *helpan* (Fischer *CHEL* II,4.8.4.1.)

When the **analytic** or **periphrastic dative** emerges, almost all orders are still possible, as in:
197)

a. *Gif ic dale all ðat ic habbe **wrecche mannen**,...*

'If I give all that I have [to] poor people'

(*Vices&V(I)* (Stw) 39.17)

b. *...þei xulde delyuyr **to hyr þe** keyyes.*

(*MKempe A* 8.35)

c. *& who so is absent...schal paie **to þe brotherede** [= brotherhood] a*

pound wex. (Chambers & Daunt 1931: 42.21-2; Fischer *CHELII*: 381)

There was a tendency in Middle English to use the *to*-phrase rather than the inflectional dative whenever the dative was next to the verb, similar to: *He gave to Jane the book*, which is a word order no longer available in Present-day English. This was not an unusual construction in Middle English.

4.1.4. Agreement at clause level

Subject–verb agreement or concord is more loosely structured in Middle English than in Present-day English, even within one sentence, as in:
198)

*In þat conte....**ben** (PL.) gret **plentee** (SG.) of **Cokodrilles** (PL.), þat is (SG.) a maner of a long serpent...*

(*Mandev.(Tit)* 192.16-18; Fischer *CHELII*: 364)

Examining concord or the lack of it in Middle English, Fischer (*CHEL*: 365) argues that it mainly depends on the nature of the Subject NP triggering concord and on the relative positions of finite verb and subject NP. Furthermore, a distinction has to be made between simple and complex NPs.

Simple NPs headed by collective nouns occur both with singular and plural verbal inflections. There is, however, a tendency to treat these nouns as plural in Late Middle English. Thus, in Chaucer, *folk* tends to be treated as a plural noun while *people* is usually singular:

199)

*I wolde that al **this** (SG.) **peple** were (SUBJ.SG.; or PL.) ago.*

(CT IV.1764[5: 520])

...the *peple* that *was* (SG.) *theere*...

(CT VII.626 110: 626))

Complex NPs, on the other hand, may occur as coordinate NPs or as structures with a head and an *of*-phrase. Coordinate NPs viewed as a unity agree with the verb in the singular; otherwise the verb is in the plural: 200)

... *Wherof supplant and tricherie/ Engendred is* (SG.);

(CA (Frf) ii.2840-1)

rightwisness ne vengeance han (PL.) nought to don amonges vs

(*Mandev.* (Tit) 196, 4-5)

Complex NPs with an *of*-adjunct allow agreement with a singular verb or with a plural verb, depending on which part of the NP acts as a head: 201)

Pere **ben** (PL.) also in þat contree **a kynde of Snayles**...

(*Mandev.* (Tit) 128, 36)

Bezonde þat yle is another yle where is (SG.) **gret multytude of folk**

(*Mandev.* (Tit) 192, 1)

In the first example agreement is in the plural with the noun in the *of*-adjunct position *snayles*, while in the second example agreement is in the singular with the grammatical head *a multitude*. In both cases of complex NPs, the plural inflection on the verb is favoured, although the singular one can also be encountered.

Absence of concord is, however, quite frequent in Middle English.

Further reading

More on impersonal constructions in OE, in Fischer (*CHEL* II: 4.3.1.)

For detailed accounts of impersonal constructions in OE and ME, see Bancilă (1991) and Allen (1995).

Summary

Grammatical relations in Middle English undergo a process of stabilisation. Thus, the pre-verbal position in the sentence becomes the territory of the subject, whether formal or semantic, and the post-verbal position belongs to the object. Agreement with the verb in number becomes the norm. These developments lead to the demise of the impersonal constructions and to the emergence of new types of subjects in the prepositional and indirect object

passives constructions that become productive in the 13th century and in the 15th century, respectively.

4.2. The rise of aspect and modality

It is generally assumed that all auxiliary verbs derived historically from full verbs with complex complementation. The order by date of **grammaticalisation** is different: probably modals / perfect *have*, then *do*, passive *be*, progressive *be*, passive *get*.

4.2.1. The emergence of modal verbs

Preterite-present verbs in Middle English were still a class with mixed properties. As full, lexical verbs, they had transitive uses, i.e. they could have their own subject and direct object as in (202a) and tensed clause complements as in (202b):

202)

*'And said the faith that I **shal** (=owe) Priam of Troy'*

(Chaucer, House of Fame, 187; Benson 1987: 350)

Preterite-present verbs also occurred as intransitive verbs with an adverb of direction:

203)

*And seyde he **moste** unto Itayle*

'And said he had [to go] to Italy'

(*HF* 187; Fischer *CHEL* II: 263)

The pattern modal + directional adverbial, still common in Middle English, is often used in Germanic languages as if the modal were a verb of motion.

The preterite-present verbs in Middle English also had non-finite forms (past participles), which they no longer have in Present-day English:

204)

*But Pandarus, if godly **hadde** he **myght**...*

'but Pandarus if goodly had he might (= been able to)'

(Chaucer, Tr. And Cr., 111.654-5, 2. 1430; Fischer *CHEL* II: 263)

These possibilities disappear in the 16th century from Standard English, although they survive in some dialects.

An interesting consequence of the grammaticalisation of the modals, which takes place all through the period (and beyond), is the new combination of two modals within the verb phrase. Visser's earliest examples (1963-73: §1685) are from the *Ormulum* (ca 1200):

205)

*þatt mannkinn **sholde mirzhenn** wel/ Upp cumenn inntill heoffne*
'that mankind should well be able to go up to heaven'
(*Orm.* 3944-5)

All the instances in Visser (1963-73: §§1685, 2134) show that this combination occurs almost exclusively with the modal *shal*. This is probably related to the fact that *shal* (much earlier than *wil*) became the auxiliary of future reference. As such it became grammaticalised and emptied of meaning (as part of the Middle English tense system) earlier than the other auxiliaries and could therefore more easily occur in combination with another modal verb.

Preterite-present verbs are also encountered in verb clusters with two infinitival forms:

206)

*þatt I **shall cunnen cwemenn** Godd*
that I shall can.INF please.INF God
'that I will be able to please God'
(c1180 *Orm.* 2958; Denison 1993: 310)

Another significant development is that modal verbs gradually replaced the subjunctive forms, a phenomenon that was favoured by the gradual erosion of verbal inflections. This development started in Late Old English when periphrastic constructions became increasingly common and was over by the end of the Middle English period periphrastic constructions largely replaced subjunctive forms.

The decay of the system of verbal endings in the 14th century led to the disappearance of the subjunctive mood, which was gradually replaced by uses of the modals as auxiliaries: *may/might* to express possibility, *can/ could* for possibility, *must* for logical necessity. Modals lost their non-finite forms completely and in the late 15th and early 16th century modals largely lost their lexical verb properties.

4.2.2. Periphrastic future

Already in Old English *sculan* / *willan* are used with predictive meaning, but in these cases *sculan* usually expresses obligation or necessity as well, and *willan* volition. Traugott (*CHEL* I: 4.3.2.3) states that there are no examples in Old English where the verbs *sculan* or *willan* has pure future reference. The first examples appear in Middle English:

207)

*And rightful folk **shul gon**, after they dye,/ To hevene;*
(*PF* 55-6)

The verb *shal* is more frequent in prophesies, in commands and instructions and is, therefore, particularly common in the third person. *Wil*, on the other hand, occurs especially in promises, wishes and resolutions and is far more often in the first person, since modally it is related to the desire of the speaker/subject:

208)

we wulleð folhi þe, we wulleð don als wa, leauen al as þu dūdest
 'we will follow you, we will do likewise, [we will] leave everything
 [behind] as you did'

(*Ancr.* (Corp-C) 87.6-7, Fischer *CHEL* II, 264)

Other verbs employed in periphrastic future expressions were *worthen* (see Mustanoja 1960: 495), in Late Middle English *to be about to* (Mustanoja 1960: 354) and right at the end of the period *to be going to* (Mustanoja 1960: 592).

Be going to originates in Old English *gangan* 'go'. It usually referred to movement in some direction, but it could also be followed by an infinitive or a gerund of purpose, and in such contexts its meaning comes close to the Modern English future meaning:

209)

Ic geongo to cunne þa ilca
 I go to know the same
 'I am going to find that out'

(van Kemenade 1994: 130)

This use was consolidated in the Middle English period when periphrastic constructions became common.

4.2.3. Quasi-modals

A number of periphrastic verb forms developed in the Middle English period: *be able to*, *have to*, which are also known as quasi-modals. In general, quasi-modals acquired some modal meaning during the Old English or early Middle English period. They were used to express modality and aspect, but they occurred in main-verb contexts.

Be able to has been employed with a modal sense expressing ability from the time that it was borrowed from French, from the 14th century:

210)

I truste to God I shall be able to withstonde youre malice.
 'I trust God, I shall be able to withstand your malice'.

(Malory, *Works* (Win-C); MED)

The quasi-modal ***have...to*** was predominantly possessive in Old English, it acquired a modal sense of obligation quite early:

211)

hæfst þu æceras to erigenne?

have you fields to plough?

‘do you have fields to plough/ have to plough fields?’

(van Kemenade 1994: 130)

Even in the early 13th century, this quasi-modal was used with the meaning of obligation:

212)

...se deorewurðliche to witen hit

...respectfully, you have to know it

(a1250 *HMaid.*(Tit D.18); MED)

This use was consolidated in the course of the Middle English period, and *have to* came to clearly express obligation in addition to *must*.

Another modal periphrasis is *be to* in its modal meaning of obligation/destination. The modal meaning appears in Old English and develops more firmly in Middle English:

213)

Be discrasie þat lefte stil bihynd is to be alterate.

The disorder that [is] left behind has to be altered.

(?a1425 **Chauliac(1)* (NY 12); MED: 162a/a)

Other examples of this modal periphrasis are given in Kemenade (1994: 130):

214)

early ME *ic wot al þat to cumen is*

I know all that to come is

late ME *he wist what he was to do*

he knew what he was to do

The modal periphrasis *be to* differs from the quasi-modals in one important respect: it came to be used as a finite verb only, like the core modals.

4.2.4. The rise of aspect

Incipient use of periphrastic constructions marking tense, aspect or modality could already be noticed in the Old English period, but whether verbs like *habban*, *beon*, *willan*, *sculan*, etc. already enjoyed auxiliary status is difficult to decide.

4.2.4.1. The perfect aspect

The English **present perfect** construction can be assumed to have had its origin in transitive constructions of type *He has the fish caught.*, where at first the reference was obviously to present time, HAVE having main-verb status and the past participle functioning as a clear object complement, often inflected for case/gender/number concord with the object. Such perfect constructions are also known as ‘resultative perfect’(Denison 1993: 340, Elsness 1997: 239).

These constructions underwent a formal change - the concord inflection on the participle was dropped and the participle was preposed to the object in transitive HAVE constructions, the result being the present perfect construction in Modern English.

As far as word order is concerned, the Middle English resultative perfect remains very common until the sixteenth century. Fischer (*CHEL* II: 256) notes that this word order is still found in many non-standard dialects, e.g. in Hiberno-English, where its usage resembles the original Old English construction with HAVE as a full lexical verb denoting possession and the participle as a complement of the object NP.

Besides this construction with HAVE, there was another one with BE, of type *He is come.*, commonly used with intransitive verbs. Initially BE had the status of main verb and the participle that of subject complement, which might be inflected for concord with the subject. This construction seems to be the starting-point for the present perfect construction with auxiliary BE, which survived well into the Modern English period.

The (plu)perfect is not fully grammaticalised in Middle English: it freely alternates in almost all its functions with the past. The (plu)perfect was formed with the auxiliary *habben/hauen*, there was a form with *ben*. As in Old English, this was mainly restricted to the so-called mutative verbs (i.e. intransitive verbs involving a change of place or state). However, the distinction in Middle English becomes less clear-cut. *Habben* extended to the *ben*-domain, while *ben* is found with some intransitive, non-mutative verbs. A number of verbs occur with both auxiliaries.

In the later development *have* ousts the *be* forms in the formation of the perfect. Various factors are at work:

(a) the greater functional load of BE (used as an auxiliary of the passive, progressive and perfect) compared to HAVE (at this stage only perfect) and the ambiguity that could arise because of this, since the past participle of a transitive verb could be perfect as well as passive; the progressive in *-ing* is sometimes found written as *-en*, the same ending as the past participle of strong verbs). That is why HAVE was felt to be a more suitable candidate for the perfect;

(b) *be* had become the auxiliary of the passive voice.

The perfect aspect was regularly used in Middle English. The auxiliary verbs are: *have* with transitive verbs and *be* with intransitives and the verb *become*: 215)

*If I **hadde ytaken** for to write The armes of this ilke worthi man,
Than wolde ich of his batailles endite.*

(Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 5.1766: MED)

*Secundus Miles: He **is gone**. Tercius Miles: Alas, wha?*

Secundus Miles: He has gone . . .

(*Towneley Pl.* (Hnt HM 1) 319/439: MED)

*He **is bicumen** hunte*

‘he has become a huntsman’

(*Lay. Brut* (Clg A.9), 10648: MED)

All types of verbs in the BE perfect have been gradually moving over to the *have* perfect, a process effectively completed in the 19th century (cf. Denison 1993: 359).

4.2.4.2. The progressive aspect

Old English did not have a fully grammaticalised aspectual contrast: progressive aspect was optionally expressed by means of a form of *be* followed by the present participle with *-ende*. During the late Old English period confusion arose between the present participle in *-ende* and the verbal noun then ending in *-ung*. The verbal noun came to be used with adverbial adjuncts and in the Middle English period it replaced the older present participle in *-ende* (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II: 250-256).

Phonological changes apparently merged two separate Old English constructions, i.e. *he wæs huntende* ‘he was hunting’ and *he wæs on huntunge* ‘he was ahunting’ that became very similar in Middle English **he was hunting(e)* and *he was on / an / in la hunting(e)*, and ultimately coalesced, thus increasing the frequency of the progressive form proper. The hypothesis is that the preposition *on* weakened first to *an* and *a* and then disappeared altogether.

Throughout the Old English and Middle English periods the use of the present participle and later of the gerund as a means of marking progressive aspect was optional. An example of this is the gradual replacement of the Old English construction *he com ridan* ‘he came ride’ by the *he com ridyng / ridand* ‘he came riding’ construction (see Mustanoja 1960: 557):

216)

OE *he com ridan*
he came ride

->

he com ridyng / ridand
‘he came riding’

Gradually, all these constructions were replaced by the *be+ -ing* form. In Middle English both present and past progressive forms were available, but they were not common in the early period:

217)

eall middangeard bið þonne on dæg hyrnende

all middle-earth is then by day burning

'the whole earth will then be urning by day'

[*HomU* 34(Nap 42) 25.15; Denison 1993: 381]

As I was wryghtyng þis bulle

as I was writing this note

[(1473) *Paston*, 36.29; Denison 1993: 375]

Mustanoja (1960: 585-6) has a survey of the Middle English dialectal distribution of the progressive. He suggests that the progressive forms are sporadic in the early part of the period except in the north, in Kent, and in Worcestershire. By the fourteenth century it had become current in the central and east midlands and in London, and during the fifteenth century it reached the remaining parts of the country.

In Middle English the **progressive perfect and pluperfect** are first recorded from the mid/late fourteenth century (Fischer *CHEL* II: 256); but they remain uncommon. Likewise future progressives enter the language in the fourteenth century, first in the north:

218)

*Heere in this temple of the goddesse Clemence/ We han ben waitynge
al this fourtenyght.*

(CT 1.928-9 [1: 930-1]) Fischer 256)

... and lyfand shall I be...

(*Towmleij Pl.* (Hnt) 20, 218.459).

The only missing forms in our period are the future perfect (*will/ have been -ing*) and all the passive forms.

Only in the sixteenth century does this construction become truly frequent. The progressive BE was grammaticalised as an obligatory marker of progressive aspect in the early Modern English period when its frequency increased dramatically (see section 5.2.2.).

4.2.5. Passive voice

The Old English passive auxiliaries are preserved in Middle English: *be* 'be' and *worthe* 'be, become', the latter until the end of the 14th century, particularly with a future tense meaning:

219)

þou worst wiþ us yborn

you be with us carried

‘you shall be carried off with us’

(*Sir Orfeo* 174; Burrow & Thurville-Petre 1992: 51)

In þe foli þou worst itake.

‘You were taken by madness’

(*7 Sages*(1) (Auch) 61/1324: MED)

He Was flowen fro the ground so hye That al the world..No

more semed than a prikke.

(Chaucer HF (Benson-Robinson), 907: MED)

The prototypical Old English passive had a nominative subject corresponding to an accusative object in the active sentence:

220)

þonne he bið west gewesen, þonne tacnað he æfen

when it.NOM is westward seen, then signifies it evening

‘when it [the evening star] is seen in the west, it signifies evening’

(*Bo* 39.135.32; Fischer et al. 2000: 77)

Passives of this type continue throughout the Middle English period, but in addition to this simple type, two new types of passives began to appear in the Middle English period: the prepositional passive, as in (221a), and the recipient passive, as in (221b):

221)

- a. *no prophete is so mychel leten of in his owene cuntre*

no prophet is so much[=well] thought of in his own country

(c 1400 *Pep. Gosp.*44.9; Denison 1993: 127)

- b. *and whan he was gyvyn the gre be my lorde kynge Arthure*

When he.SUBJ was given the prize by my lord King Arthur

‘when he was given the prize by my lord King Arthur’

(a 1470 *Malory Wks.* 699.19; Denison 1993: 111)

With ditransitive verbs (i.e. verbs construed with a dative and an accusative case, like *give*, *send*, etc.), only the accusative case could become nominative in a passive construction in Old English, however it was also possible for the dative to appear initially in topic position, as in:

223)

þa him wearð on slæpe swefen ætywed

then him was in sleep dream shown

‘then he was shown a dream in his sleep’

(*Dan.* 495; Fischer *CHEL* II: 384)

These constructions remain frequent up to the end of Middle English (see Visser 1963-73: §1966). Since such constructions with an indirect object in initial position were ambiguous, a reanalysis from dative passive to nominative (subject) passive seems to have taken place, mainly due to the increasing rigidification of SVO order.

Thus, in the course of the Middle English period passives with indirect object appear, first, from about 1200, with (ambiguous) nominal indirect objects:

224)

*Nas neuere **quene** in þis lond **ido** so muche ssome...*

'never was a queen in this country done so much shame'

(*Jacob & (Bod)* 229; Fischer *CHEL* II: 385)

In Middle English the possibilities for preposition stranding became greatly extended starting with the thirteenth century when the first examples can be encountered. The first instances of preposition stranding in passives are found at about the same time:

225)

*þer wes sorhe te/ seon hire leoflich lich **faren** so reowliche **wið**.*

'it was painful to see her lovely body dealt so cruelly with.'

(*St. Juliana* (Roy) 22.195-6; Fischer *CHEL* II: 389)

In such constructions the passive subject corresponds to the object of the preposition or to the indirect object in the active sentence. The prepositional passive appears in a greater number in texts written after 1300, whereas the recipient passive is a later development: the first examples appear around 1375 but it was still not frequent even in the 15th century. It is believed that it appeared as a result of the fixing of word order in active sentences with ditransitive verbs.

4.2.6. Sequencing of auxiliaries

Middle English can be characterised as the period in which the modern auxiliary system becomes established and auxiliary sequences increasingly occur. Thus, in Middle English perfect HAVE develops into a true aspectual auxiliary and freely combines with passive and 'progressive' BE and with the modals. Denison (1993: 447) dates the first occurrence of two auxiliary sequences available in Middle English; thus perfect HAVE combines with progressive BE (from a 1325) and with passive BE (c1180) and the sequences with a modal and two auxiliaries: modal + perfect HAVE + progressive BE + V (?a1425) and modal + perfect HAVE + passive BE + V (a1325).

The modal and auxiliary sequences in Middle English are then more or less the same as the ones in Present-day English, except that passive and 'progressive' BE cannot yet be combined in Middle English.

However, there are two differences from Present-day English, as pointed out in Fischer (*CHEL* II: 277). Firstly, there may be more than one modal in the sequence and the modal can still occur as V in (a), either by itself or in the form of a past or present participle (b);

226)

- a. *She **koude** muchel of wandrynge by the weye.*
'She knew a lot about travelling.'
(CT 1.467 [1: 469])
- b. *But Pandarus, if goodly **hadde** he **might** /*
We wolde han hyed hire to bedde fayn,...
(Troilus 111.654-5)

Secondly, whereas in Present-day English only an adverb can be placed between the finite verb and the rest of the verb phrase, other sentence elements could still occur there in Middle English, especially pronouns:

227)

- lef me þ[et] ich **mote þe treowliche luui**en.*
'allow me that I may thee truly love.'
(St.Juliana (Roy) 25.244)

4.2.7. The rise of the auxiliary *do*

In Old English *do* was a lexical verb used either transitively, meaning 'perform', 'accomplish' or 'put', 'place', or intransitively with the meaning 'act'. It continues to behave like a lexical verb in Middle English as in Denison's (1993: 256) examples:

228)

- þis he **dyde** eall for þes biscopes luuen*
this he did all for the bishop's love
'this he did all for love of the bishop'
(c1123 *Peterb.Chron.* 1123.73)
- me **dide** cnotted strenges abuton here hæued*
one put knotted strings about their head
'knotted strings were tied around their heads'
(c1155 *Peterb.Chron.* 1137.23)

- Y most **do** as hothyr men dothe, ar ellys Y most kepe styлле.*
I must do as other men do or else I must be inactive
'I must do as other men do or else I must be inactive'
(1478 *Let. Cely* 22.34)

Further developments in Middle English concern notional, substitute and causative *do*.

Substitute DO was already available in Old English. The verb *do* could be used as a pro-form for verbs, copying their tense, person and number in instances of VP-ellipsis:

229)

*He miccle ma on his deaðe acwealde, ðonne he ær cucu **dyde***
He many more in his death killed, than he earlier alive did
'He killed many more in death than he did before [when he was] alive'
(van Kemenade 1994: 131)

*& Pær he wunede eallriht swa drane **doð** on hiue*
and there he dwelt alright as drone does in hive
'and there he lived exactly as a drone does in a hive'
(c1127 *Peterb. Chron.* 1127.55; Denison 1993: 272)

In both cases substitute *do* replaces a lexical verb used elsewhere in the clause, thus avoiding repetition.

The verb *do* was also used as a causative verb in Old English:

230)

*þe biscop of Wincestre ...**dide** heom **cumen** þider*
the bishop of Winchester ... caused them come.INF thither
'the bishop of Winchester ...had them come there'
(c1155 *Peterb. Chron.* 1140.22; Denison 1993: 257)

These three uses of *do*, as a lexical, a pro-form or a causative verb, continue into the Middle English period, in which a new type emerges - the periphrastic *do*.

It is more or less generally accepted that causative *do* is the precursor of **periphrastic do**. On the one hand, this is the construction in which *do* is followed by an infinitive; on the other hand, *do*+ *infinitive* in Middle English is often ambiguous between a causative and a non-causative interpretation:

231)

*A noble churche heo **dude** a-rere*
A noble church she did raise
'She built a noble church' or 'She had a noble church built'
(*SLeg. (Ld)* 4.118; van Kemenade 1994: 131)
*He **dude** writes sende...*
he did letters send
'He sent letters' or 'He had letters sent'
(*Horn (Cmb)* 1001; Fischer CHEL II: 271)

Periphrastic *do* is first found in declarative sentences in 13th century, and in negative and interrogative sentences in the 14th c:
232)

*His sclauyn he **dude** dun legge*
his pilgrim's-cloak he did down lay
'He laid down his pilgrim's cloak'
(c1300 *Horn* 1057; Denison 1993: 264)

*How **dost** þow, harlot, þyn errand bede?*
How do you rascal your message deliver
'What kind of message are you delivering, rascal?'
(c1380 *Firumb*.(1) (Ashm) 3889; Denison 1993: 256)

By the end of the Middle English period, *do* had become an auxiliary in some of its uses. Like the other verbal periphrases, *do* was **grammaticalised** as such in the early Modern English period.

Periphrastic *do* began to occur with significant frequency at the beginning of the fifteenth century and steadily increased in frequency until it stabilised into its modern usage by the mid-seventeenth century. (Kemenade and Los 2006: 34).

4.2.8. The decline of the link verb *weorðan*

Petré and Cuyckens (2006) examine the structure of the copulative predication in Old English in which the link verb *weorðan* occurred with a past participle and identify the following patterns:

Perfect participle construction, i.e., copula + past participle of intransitive verb, the meaning conveyed being that of an assignment of a resulting state to a subject:
233)

*Se hreofla, þe hym ær lange on wæs, **wearð** þa sona nyðer **afeallen**.*
'The leprosy, which formerly had been long on him, *had* then immediately *fallen off* [lit. down].'
(c1075. VSal 1 [Cross]:33.7)

Passive participle construction, i.e., copula + past participle of transitive verb; to indicate the assignment of a resulting state to a subject:
234)

*Þa feoll an of his handum, þæt hit **wearð** **tobrocen** & **tostrægd** on unarimedlice styccu.*
'Then one [glass lantern] had fallen from his hands, so that it got *broken and scattered* in innumerable pieces.'
(c1075. GregD 1 [C]:7.49.20-1)

Besides these patterns with a participle, the copulative verb *weorðan* combined with a prepositional phrase, meaning ‘come to, turn into’, as in (a), adjectival phrase; ‘get, become’, as in (b), noun phrase, illustrated in (c): 235)

- a. *Gif þu sie Godes sunu, cweþ þæt þa stanas to hlafum geweorþan.*
‘If you are God’s son, say that the stones turn *into breads*.’
(c1000. HomS 10 [BIHom 3]:27.4)
- b. *For þinum wundrum forhte weorðað.*
‘For your miracles they get *afraid*.’
(c970. MetPs 64:8)
- c. *Ond binnan III gearum heo wearð þæs minstres abbud.*
‘And within three years she became *abbess* of that nunnery.’
(c1025. Mart 1 [Herzfeld-Kotzor]:De25, C.15)

This network of copular uses of *weorðan* already in Old English served as a model for the analogical extension of *becuman* as a copula.

Since *weorðan* was used in other constructions as well (for instance, as passive auxiliary), it was highly frequent in Old English. However, its frequency rapidly decreased in Middle English, so that it disappeared almost entirely by the end of the fourteenth century. This development took place during the transition from Old English to Middle English. In early Middle English, a ‘true’ passive construction with *weorðan* as an auxiliary verb emerged.

Petré and Cuyckens account for the rapid decline in use of the copulative *weorðan* in Middle English and its replacement, mainly by *become*. They show how the development of the copularizing function of *become* can be seen as a process of analogical extension in which *becuman* copied the copularizing functions of *weorðan*.

Further reading

Lightfoot (1979) provides a theory of the development of the category of modal auxiliaries that has started a debate among linguists arguing for a different analysis, among whom van Kemenade (1989).

More on the combinability of modals with other auxiliaries, in Denison (1993: ch.11). The periphrastic forms are discussed in Fischer (*CHEL* II: § 4.3.3).

See Denison (1993: 253-446) for a detailed account of the rise of the auxiliary verbs (ch.10.12.13.14). In ch. 12 he discusses perfect HAVE and BE (and WEORÐAN) + past participle. The origins of the perfect are traced back to predicative constructions, and the rivalry between HAVE and BE and the eventual triumph of HAVE are viewed as crucial stages in the development of the perfect aspect.

More on perfective *haben* construction as denoting an action and the *ben* construction as denoting a state in Visser (1963-73: §1898).

Visser (1963-73, &&1947-57) also deals with the prepositional passive at length. See Petré and Cuyckens (2006) for an account of the disappearance of the *weorðan* as a copulative verb in OE and the emergence of *becuman* as an alternative in ME.

Study assignment 4.2.

1. Comment upon the mixed (lexical or modal) properties of modal verbs in the following examples:

- a. *And by that feith that I shal Priam of Troye.*
 ‘And by that faith that I shall (= owe) Priam of Troy.’
 (Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 3.791: MED)
- b. *yow moste haue greet bisynesse.*
 (Chaucer, *CT.Mel.*(Manly-Rickert) B.2826: MED)
- c. *wultu kastles and kinedomes?*
 will-you castles and kingdoms?
 ‘Do you want castles and kingdoms?’
 (van Kemenade 1994: 129)

2. Comment on the properties of the auxiliary verbs and the modal verbs in the following Middle English examples selected from Denison (1993: 305-382):

- a. *On a day as þis creatur was heryng hir Messe*
 on one day as this creature was hearing her mass
 ‘One day when this creature was hearing her Mass’
 (a1438 *MKempe* 47.15)
- b. *þo Octa hit onderstod, þat heo comyng were*
 when Octa it understood that they coming were
 ‘when Octa learned that they were coming’
 (c1425 *Glo.Chron. A* (Hrl) 1 142.15 (=Clg. 2999))
- c. *But the swerde wolde nat oute*
 ‘but the sword would not come out’
 (a1470) Malory, *Wks* 62.14)
- d. *Who this booke shall wylle lerne. . .*
 he-who this book shall wish learn . .
 (c1483(?a1480) Caxton, *Dialogues* 3.37)

3. Examine the structure of the following passive constructions in Middle English, selected from Denison (1993: 154, 425):

- a. *when any..haves envy to..þam þates **spokyn** mare gode **of** þan of þam*
when any..feel envy towards them that are spoken more good of than of them
'when any . . . are envious of those who are praised more than them'
(a1450(?1348) Rolloe, *FLiving* 86.43)
- b. *and þes oþer wordis of þis bischop ouzte **to be taken hede to**.*
and these other words of this bishop ought to be taken heed to.
((?a1400) *Wycl Clergy HP* 369.1)
- c. *he ne **mot** na **beon** eft **gefullod***
he not may not-at-all be again baptised
'He may not be baptised again.'
(*ÆLS* 1 270.142)
- d. *. . . ȝef ich **hefde ibeon akeast** wið strengðe*
. . . if I had been overthrown by force
(c1230(a?1200) *Aner* 86b.28)

4. Decide whether the verb *do* is used as a lexical, causative, auxiliary (emphatic, substitute verb):

- a. *þe þurst him dede more wo þen heuede raþer his hounger do.*
the thirst him caused more woe than had earlier his hunger done
(?a1300 *Fox & W.* 67; Denison 1993: 273)
- b. *þe king þe maiden dede rise*
The king the maiden did rise
'the king made the maiden rise'
(van Kemenade 1994: 131)
- c. *ah þah ha ne trust nawt on hire ahne wepnen, ah deð o Godes grace*
'and yet she not trusts not in her own weapons but does in God's grace'
(c1225 (?1200) *SWard* 208; Denison 1993: 272)
- d. *Beryn ...doist þow slepe, or wake?*
'Beryn... are you sleeping, or awake?'
(c 1460 (?c 1400) *Beryn* 2148; Denison 1993: 265)
- e. *Do sei me að þe meiðen hwa sende þe to me*

‘do tell me said the maiden who sent you to me’
(c 1225 (?1200) *St. Juliana* (Bod) 35.381; Denison 1993: 268)

- f. *uton ...don hine on þone ealdan pytt*
let us do him in that old well
‘let us put him in the old well’
(van Kemenade 1994: 131)
- g. *him sceal on Domes-dæg sceamian...swa þam menn dyde þe...*
him(D) shall(3sg) on doomsaday shame..as that man(D) did who
(*Æ Hom.* II 27.779.116; Denison 1993: 272)

Summary

The main development in the domain of Middle English verbs is the rise of modality and aspect. Although in Old English preterite present verbs, in many ways, still had the status of full verbs, they gradually underwent important changes. The grammaticalisation of the modal verbs went hand in hand with the loss of the subjunctive which had been hastened by the reduction of verbal inflections.

Middle English witnesses a very rapid increase in the use of periphrastic constructions especially of the perfect aspect and future tense, and in the use of modals in contexts where Old English favoured the subjunctive. The progressive form becomes more frequent towards the end of the period.

Middle English also marks the beginning of the development of the auxiliary *do*, although its greatest growth will take place later.

4.3. Word order at phrase level

In this section the focus will be on developments related to the noun phrase, such as the rise of the periphrastic genitive and of the group genitive, and to word order in the verb phrase, more precisely the shift from OV to VO in Middle English.

4.3.1. Word order in the Noun Phrase

In the Middle English period NP internal word order becomes more restricted towards the Modern English norm, though several exceptions are still found.

With regard to **the determiner system**, there were only some minor differences in terms of combinability, in the sense that quantifiers like *many* or *each* could precede the determiner; they could not do so in Old English and cannot do so any more in Present-day English:

236)

Ich aue hy go [_{NP} **mani** *amyle*]

I have gone many a-mile

‘I have travelled many a mile’

(*King Horn* (Ld) 66.1215; ETCUVL: 553: 68)

purh out [_{NP} **vch** *a toune*]

throughout each a town

‘throughout every town’

(*King Horn* (Hrl) 12.218; ETCUVL: 16)

Predeterminers like *all*, *both*, *half* and some other quantifiers like *some* and *any* occur in combination with the definite determiner, where Present-day English would use an *of*-phrase, as shown in Fischer (*CHEL* II: 212):

237)

some þe *messagers*

(*Glo.Chron.A* (Clg) 2718) (other manuscripts have *some of*)

only the *other eyght*

(Caxton's Preface, Vinaver 1967: cxii, 6)

(the other extant copy of the Caxton edition has *only of...*)

Determiners can be combined, mainly in a genitive relationship in the pattern: article or possessive adjective + possessive noun phrase:

238)

hare baðre luue

their both love

‘the love of both of them’

(*St.Kath.* (Tit) 1212-13); van Kemenade 1994: 126)

for þare aller right

for the.GEN all.GEN right

‘for the right of them all’

(*Cursor* (Vsp) 469); Fischer *CHEL* II: 213)

When inflections were lost in the Early Middle English period, it was not always possible to recognise a genitive case in these constructions. To avoid ambiguity, these genitives were replaced by *of*-constructions in the course of the Middle English period.

4.3.1.1. The rise of the periphrastic genitive

The developments in case-assignment in Middle English are mainly related to the genitive case. In Old English the genitive case could be assigned by nouns, adjectives or verbs (see section 2.1.1.). Due to the general erosion of

inflections, the occurrence of **the inflectional genitive** becomes sharply reduced in the Middle English period. By the end of the period the inflectional genitive had become restricted to adnominal usage. Genitive case assigned by a verb or an adjective was lost very early in Middle English period. In most instances, the original genitive is replaced by a prepositional phrase, usually an *of*+NP. (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II: 227)

The use of **the periphrastic genitive**, the *of*-phrase, to replace the inflectional genitive is a native development, but it may have been facilitated by the parallel French construction with *de*. There is some evidence that the frequency of the *of*-construction was higher in some works written under strong French influence. Mustanoja (1960: 75) provides tables that show roughly how the periphrastic genitive spread from just 1 per cent of all genitive constructions in Late Old English to roughly 85 per cent in Late Middle English.

The genitive with a subjective or possessive meaning continued to be inflectional, as in *John's helmet*. The objective genitive, on the other hand, started to be expressed by an *of*-genitive of the type: *the killing of his enemies* (equivalent to the clause *He killed his enemies*, where *enemies* functions as an object).

In a similar way the genitives dependent on adjectives are replaced by a prepositional phrase in Early Middle English. In the earliest texts examples of the inflectional genitive can still be found, and also of the periphrastic genitive preceding the adjective:

239)

ðu art deaðes.GEN sceldi(h)

you are of-death guilty

'you are guilty of death'

(*Vices V(1)* (Stw) p. 51: 23-4; Fischer *CHEL* II: 227)

he was of ȝeftes custi

he was of-gifts generous

'he was generous with gifts'

(*Brut* (Otho) 2033; Fischer *CHEL* II: 227)

In the case of verbs, genitives were often replaced by the oblique form, as well as by prepositional phrases.

4.3.1.2. The split genitive constructions, analysed as discontinuous expressions, are also available in Middle and Early Modern English (cf. Lightfoot 1999:117-125):

240)

The clerkes tale of Oxenford

(Chaucer, *Clerk's Tale*, Prologue)

This kynges sone of Troie.

(Chaucer, Troilus and Cressida: III.1715)

meaning ‘the clerk of Oxford’s tale’, i.e. the rightmost element *Oxford* is not related to the head noun *tale*, instead it is related to the leftmost element of the genitive *the clerk*:

241)

[the clerk of Oxford]’s tale

[the king of Troy]’s son

This type of split genitive is different from those of Old English because the rightmost element is neither a conjunct nor appositional. Mustanoja (1960: 78) notes that “the split genitive is common all through Middle English” and is more common than the modern “group genitive,” *The clerk of Oxford’s tale*.

Kemenade and Los (2006: 36-40) note that split genitives were around for four centuries and then dropped out of the language. Probably due to the loss of morphological case, including the genitive *-es*, the newly available *’s* was construed as a clitic, which case-marked DPs, and made possible group genitives like *The clerk of Oxford’s tale*.

The splitting genitive is replaced by the group genitive, which is first attested in the late 14th century, in the language of Chaucer:

242)

The grete god of Loves name

‘The great god of love’s name’

(Chaucer *House of Fame* 1489; Benson 1987: 32)

The emergence in the Middle English of *N of NP/DP* forms is a consequence of the loss of the morphological case system. The preposition *of* was introduced to assign case to an NP which was no longer case-marked morphologically. It is important to note that the Middle English discontinuous expressions only involve *of*-phrases.

A construction that also becomes current in Middle English is the type *The Man of Lawe his tale* (CT II.133/4 [3: 133/4]), in which the genitive inflectional *-(e)s* is replaced by a possessive pronoun *his*.

4.3.1.3. Attributive adjectives in Middle English were usually in prenominal position. However, they were allowed to follow the noun especially in poetry with single adjectives borrowed from French or with coordinated adjectives:

243)

[_{NP} *Schame eternal*] *schule be my mede*

Shame eternal should be my reward

‘eternal shame would be my reward’

(Lydgate *Troy Bok* 1.2476; Fischer et al. 2000: 80)

It was also possible for one adjective to precede and one to follow the head noun:

244)

King Pandyones [_{NP} *fayre* *doughter dere*]

King Pandion's fair daughter dear

'King Pandion's beautiful beloved daughter'

(Chaucer *Legend* 2247; Benson 1987: 624)

From the thirteenth century on, the second adjective was sometimes preceded by *and* and a determiner:

245)

[_{NP} *A trewe swynkere*] *and* [_{NP} *a good*] *was he*

A true labourer and a good was he

'He was a good and faithful labourer

(Chaucer, *Gen. Pro.* 531; Benson 1987:32)

In Present-day English the pronoun *one* would be needed in this construction: 'he was a good labourer and a faithful one.'

4.3.2. Word order in the VP: the shift from OV to VO

The transition to Middle English brought about a number of changes as far as word order in the VP is concerned. Early Middle English and Late Middle English had sentences with one or more objects preceding the lexical verb, as in Old English:

246)

- a. *Hi hadden him manred maked and athes sworen....*

They had him homage done and oaths sworn

'they had done him homage and sworn oaths'

(*ChronE* (Plummer) 1137.11; Fischer et al 2000: 138)

- b. *...that thou ne mayst nat thyn owene conseil hyde,*

that you not can not youe own conseil hide

'that you cannot hide your own counsel...

(Chaucer *Melibee* 1147; Benson 1987: 222)

These examples show that OV remained possible throughout the Middle English period. It continued to occasionally appear in prose writing until the 16th century and in verse well into the 19th century.

But although OV word orders are found frequently well into the Middle English period, clauses with VO order begin to vastly outnumber those with OV order. The shift from OV to VO was completed around 1200 and VO

patterns became absolutely predominant. This change allowed prepositional passives to be introduced. In close connection with the change from OV to VO is the change in the position of the particle in sentences with phrasal verbs (cf. Kemenade 1987).

Further reading

Advanced reading on the distribution of adjectives ME, in Fischer (2006).

For a discussion of the discontinuous constituents, (also known as ‘split’ expressions) see Lightfoot (1999: 117–125).

For an account of the loss of OV word orders in current theoretical terms, see Fischer et al. (2000: 138-179).

Advanced reading on the variation OV/ VO in Early Middle English in Trips (2002) and in Kemenade (1987), among others.

Study assignment 4.3.

1. Analyse NP internal word order in the following examples:

- a. *Alle othere lyvyng beestes*
‘all other living beasts’
(Chaucer *Bo.* (Benson-Robinson), 2.pr.5.17 3: MED)
- b. *lyouns all white*
lions all white
‘lions which are all white’
(van Kemenade 1994: 126)

2. Find the ModE equivalent genitive construction for the following ME split genitives as in the examples from Lightfoot (1999: 119):

- a. *The Prologe of the Wives’s Tale of Bath*
(Chaucer, *Troilus & Cressida*, I, 2)
- b. *Kyng Priamus sone of Troy*
(Chaucer, *Troilus & Cressida*, III, I, 2)
- c. *This kynges sone of Troie*
(Chaucer, *Troilus & Cressida*, III, 1715)
- d. *The Archbishop’s Grace of York.*
(Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV* III.ii.119)

4.4. Word order at clause level

4.4.1. The verb-second principle

Declarative clauses in Old English were governed by the principle verb-second. As a rule, the subject and the finite verb were inverted after temporal, locative and negative adverbs (see Traugott *CHEL* I, § 4.6.1), especially after *þonne* and *þa*, although there is a tendency for a pronoun subject to retain a preverb position (see van Kemenade (1987) for an explanation of this distribution).

The traditional term for this type of word order is inversion, in the more recent (generative) literature, the phenomenon is included under verb second.

This does not change very much in Middle English. Mitchell (1964) notices even more occurrences of this word order in the continuations of the *Peterborough Chronicle* than in his Old English sample from Ælfric. Moreover, in *Ormulum* verb second is clearly the rule after the aforementioned adverbs. In general, inversion (or V2) remained the norm after *wh*-elements and adverbial phrases in Middle English.

The verb-second character remained fairly stable until well into the 14th century, when topicalization of a constituent other than the subject regularly led to subject-verb inversion of a nominal subject:

247)

thus may thine instrument last perpetuel
 V Su

If the subject is a pronoun, inversion does not take place, as was the rule in Old English:

248)

bi bis ypocrisie bei wolen bringe in

From the mid-fourteenth century nominal subjects increasingly behave like pronominal ones. They occur before the finite verb, even if the topic is a non-subject (cf. Kemenade 1994: 137). The verb-second rule remained only in sentences with a *wh*-word or with a negative element as the first constituent. These two types of sentences are still characterised by inversion in Present-day English.

English lost its verb-second character at the close of the Middle English period. Later on in the early Modern English period, lexical verbs could no longer be preposed, and only auxiliaries could take part in subject-verb inversion.

4.4.2. Question formation

Question formation in Middle English is not different from the Old English period. Concerning the two main types of questions (*yes-no* questions and *wh*-questions), inversion of the subject with the finite verb was still the rule in main clauses, as shown in:

249)

Woot ye nat where ther stant a litel toun . . . ?

Know you not where there stands a little town

‘Don’t you know where this little town is?’

(Chaucer *Manciple* 1; Benson 1987: 282)

Why make ye youreself for to be lyk a fool?

Why make you yourself for to be like a fool

‘Why do you allow yourself to behave like a fool?’

(CT*Malibee*.980 [10:980])

The interrogative auxiliary *do* did not occur before 1400. A negative question had VS order with *ne* before the verb:

250)

Why ne dyȝtteȝ þou me to diȝe?

Why not condemn you me to die’

‘why don’t you condemn me to die?’

(*Patience* 488; Burrow & Thurville-Petre 1992: 52)

In questions addressed to a prepositional object in Old English, the preposition had to move along with the object, in the so-called pied-piping construction. This began to change in early Middle English. In the 13th century, in Layamon’s *Brut*, there appear the first instances of preposition-stranding in *wh*-questions:

251)

nuste nan kempe, whæm he sculde slæn on

not-knew no soldier whom he should hit on

‘No soldier knew whom he should strike at’

(Layamon’s *Brut* (Clg) 13718-19; Fischer *CHEL* II: 390)

Around the same time, preposition stranding also began to occur in *wh*-relatives and passives.

4.4.3. Negative sentences

In the transition from Old to Middle English some important changes took place in the system of sentence negation. In Old English the negative adverb

was *ne*. It was possible to combine *ne* with *na* ‘never’ or *naht* (coming from *nawiht* ‘nothing’) in the sequence:

ne + finite verb + na/ naht

The combination with *naht* often had an emphatic meaning ‘by no means’, ‘not at all’. *Na* disappeared quite quickly and the emphatic *ne...naht* began to be used more frequently and could no longer be considered to be truly emphatic.

In Early Middle English *naht* had also acquired a fixed position after the finite verb. In the course of the Middle English period, *ne ...naht* became the regular negator. Over the same period of time it became increasingly common to reinforce the verb negator *ne* with the adverb *nawt* ‘not’:

252)

he ne edstont nawt as foles doð; ah. . .

he not stops not as fools do, but . . .

‘He does not stop as fools do, but . . .’

(c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.* 94b.10; Denison 1993: 450)

By the end of the Middle English period the use of *not* was practically obligatory if there was no other negative element than *ne*.

Ne could be cliticized to an auxiliary, especially *is*, to form *nys* ‘not-is’:

253)

Ther nys nat oon kan war by other be.

There not-is not one can aware by other be

‘There is not a single person who learns from the mistakes of others.’

(Chaucer *Troilus* I 203; Benson 1987: 476)

finite verb + not

Denison (1993: 450) argues that sporadically from early Middle English and increasingly frequently from later Middle English onwards, *ne* was omitted in favour of *not*:

254)

& spacc he nohht wiþþ tunge

and spoke he not with tongue

‘and he did not speak with tongue’

(c118 *Orm.* 224)

for it sufficeþ noȝt to be vnbounden, but if...

for it suffices not to be unbound unless...

‘...for it is not enough to be unbound unless...’

(?c1425(>c1400) *Loll. Sermon*. I 243)

In late Middle English *ne* was gradually dropped. From the 14th century it became common to negate the verb with *not* alone, usually following the lexical verb: *I know not þe* ‘I know not you’.

Contraction of a modal verb with the following *not* is first recorded from the fifteenth century with assimilation or elision of part of the modal: c1420 *schulnot* (*should* + *not*), c1420 *wynnot* (= *will* + *not*). (cf. Denison 1993: 309)

Multiple negation

The disappearance of *ne* precipitated the erosion of multiple negation later in the Modern English period. It was still normal in Middle English, when two or more indefinite pronouns or adverbs were present for all these to be negative:

255)

But nevere gronte he at no strook but oon

‘But never groaned he at no blow but one’

(Chaucer *Monk* 2709; ETCVUL: 161)

where Present-day English would prefer ‘but he never groaned at any of the blows except one’.

According to Jespersen (1909-49: V 451), multiple negation was already ‘comparatively rare’ in Elizabethan English, and from the beginning of the seventeenth century, an isolated phenomenon.

Further reading

Most textbooks on ME include introductory reading on word order in the clause.

Kemenade (1987) provides a good starting point for the generative approach to word order, illustrating the changes taking place between the OE and ME periods.

On the V-2 type that disappears in ME, see Buys and Castillo (2015).

For a detailed account of negation patterns in Middle English see: Tieken-Boon van Ostade et al. (1999), Denison (1993), Fischer (*CHEL* II: § 4.5.)

Study assignment 4.4.

1. Analyse the structure of the following V2 declarative clauses. Examples (a, b) are taken from *The travels of Sir John Mandeville*, a bestselling travel book from the 1300s and examples (c, d, e) from the *Canterbury Tales* of Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1340 – ca. 1400):

a. *After that 3it scholde he putten hem in a fayrere paradys ...*

‘Yet after that he would put them in a more beautiful paradise..’

(Mossé 1968: 279; Santorini & Kroch 2006: ch.14)

b. *þere* scholde *þei* dwellen with the most fairest damyselles ...
'There they would dwell with the fairest damsels'
(Mossé 1968: 279; Santorini & Kroch 2006: ch.14)

c. *Thy profit* wol I telle thee anon.
'I will tell you right away what's in it for you.'
(Chaucer, *Pardoner's Tale*; Benson 1987: 200)

d. *Thanne* shal al this gold departed be...bitwixen me and thee.
'Then all this gold will be divided up between me and you.'
(Chaucer, *Pardoner's Tale*; Benson 1987: 201)

e. *Thanne* may we bothe oure lustes all fulfille.
'Then both of us can fulfill all our desires.'
(Chaucer, *Pardoner's Tale*; Benson 1987: 201)

2. Vestiges of V2 in Modern English are illustrated in the following examples. Explain what elements trigger subject-verb inversion and rearrange the constituents of these sentences in such a way as to avoid using vestigial V2 in favor of the ordinary subject-initial word order.

- a. Never in my life *have* I seen such a disaster.
- b. Under no circumstances *will* I vote for him.
- c. Not a single verse *has* he written in all that time.
- d. Only in Holland *have* I seen such tulips.
- e. Only a single book *has* he written in all that time.
- f. Only under exceptional circumstances *will* I accept that.

3. Make a contrastive analysis of the two versions of the following text, illustrating the main changes that have taken place since the Old English period in morphological marking and sentence structure:

The following excerpts are historical translations of the same story of Peter's denial from the *New Testament*, St Matthew's Gospel, 26, vv. 69-75, from Freeborn (1998: 410-413).

Late West Saxon Old English c. 1050

69 Petrus soðlice sæt ute on þam cafertune. þa com to hym an
þeowen 7 cwæð. 7 þu wære myd þam galileiscan hælende.
70 7 he wyðsoc beforan eallum 7 cwæð. nat ic hwæt þu segst.
71 þa he ut eode of þære dura. þa geseh hyne oðer þynen. 7 sæde
þam ðe þar wæron. 7 þes wæs myd þam nazareniscan hælende.
72 7 he wyðsoc eft myd aðe þæt he hys nan þyng ne cuðe.

word-for-word transcription

69 Peter truly sat out(side) in the courtyard. then came to him a servant & said. & thou wast with the galilean saviour.

70 & he denied before all & said. ne-know I what thou sayest.

71 then he out went of the door, then saw him other servant. & said to-them that there were. & this (man) was with the nazarean saviour.

72 & he denied again with oath that he of-him no thing ne-knew.

14th- century S Midlands dialect (*The Wycliffe Bible*)

69 And Petir sat with outen in the halle; and a damysel cam to hym, and seide, Thou were with Jhesu of Galilee.

70 And he denyede bifor alle men, and seide, Y woot not what thou seist.

71 And whanne he zede out at the zate, another damysel say hym, and seide to hem that weren there, And this was with Jhesu of Nazareth.

72 And eftsoone he denyede with an ooth, For I knewe not the man.

4. Comment upon the structure of the following examples of *wh*-questions selected from Chaucer:

<i>What</i> is better than a good woman?	(B 2298)
<i>Who</i> herd ever of swich a thing or now	(D 2229)
“ <i>Who</i> artow [art thou]?” “It am I, Absolon.”	(A 3766)
<i>Whos</i> is that faire child that stondeth yonder?	(B 1018)
This carpenter answerede, “ <i>What</i> seystow [sayest thou]?”	(A 3490)

5. Analyse multiple negation in the following sentences:

- a. *Never him nas wers for noþing*
Never he not-was distressed for nothing
‘he was never more distressed about anything’
(*Sir Orpheo* 98; TEAMS)
- b. *Ne isæh nævere na man selere cniht nenne*
Not seen never no one better knight no-masc.acc.sg
‘no one had ever seen a better knight’
(Lazamon: *Brut* 28; ECTVUL: 552)

4.5. Subordination

In Old English subordination was marked by word order, subordinators and the use of the subjunctive. In Middle English word order no longer played an important role since the tendency was for all clauses (main and subordinate) to have the same word order. Subordinators underwent several of important changes.

4.5.1. Subordinators

Old English had a number of elements that could function either as an adverb or as a subordinating conjunction: *þa* ‘when’, *þonne* ‘then’, *swa* ‘so’ so that often it was the word order that would signal whether a specific clause was main or subordinate. Likewise, *though/ þeih/ þah* could still function as adverbs, as well as conjunctions, in early texts:

256)

Ich wat þah to sode ð[et] ich schal bituhen ham neomen deaðes wunde.

‘Yet I know though for sure that among them I shall receive death’s wound.’

(*Ancr. (Corp-C)* 199.11-12; Fischer *CHEL* II: 287)

but in Chaucer *though* has become almost exclusively a conjunction. An example of adverbial usage is:

257)

And thogh wherto? For trewely/ I holde that wyssh nat worth a stree!

(*BD* 670-1; Fischer *CHEL* II: 287)

The only unambiguously subordinating particle was *þe*. *Þe* and *þat*, originally both deictic markers, developed from the same Germanic root. They were used as complementisers in Old and Middle English, but in Middle English *þe* gradually gives way to *þat*.

Some of the Old English **correlative constructions** like: *þa...þa...*, *þonne...þonne...*, ‘then...when...’ and *swa...swa...*, ‘so...so...’ survived in early Middle English, but they were quickly replaced by distinct conjunctions signalling specific types of clause. In early texts Old English conjunctions were still encountered:

258)

- a. *Dat oþer dei þa he lai an slep in scip, þa þestrede þe dæi ouer al landes*
the other day when he lay in sleep in ship then darkened the day over all lands
‘the next day, when he lay asleep in the boat, (then) it became dark
everywhere in the country’

(*ChronE*(Plummer) 1135.2; Fischer et al. 2000: 88)

- b. *þanne he com þenne he were bliþe*
 when he came then they were glad
 ‘When he came, they were glad’
 (*Havelok* 778; CMEPV: 25)

In later texts however, the correlative adverb was often dropped or one of the two conjunctions was replaced by a conjunction different in form.

4.5.2. Complement clauses

A finite complement clause was normally introduced by *that* if it was a statement, but as in Present-day English, it was possible for *that* to be omitted. Omission was mainly found after the verbs *seyn*, *thinken*, *witen*, when the clause reported more or less directly the actual words spoken or thought: 259)

And þei seyn þei sinnen zif þei refusen ony man.
 (*Mandev.* (Tit) 118.29-30; Fischer *CHEL*:313)

Non-finite complement clauses

Special attention deserves the infinitival construction, which was the most frequent type of non-finite complement in Middle English. There had been many new developments concerning the infinitive construction since the Old English period. First, there was a difference in the infinitive marker: this could be zero (bare infinitive) or *to* as in Old English, but the innovative form *for to* also appeared. Other Middle English innovations concern the much wider use of the passive infinitive, also preceded by *to* which is never found in Old English.

The presence or absence of an **infinitive marker** depended on the grammatical function the infinitive had within the clause. Thus, variation (between a bare and a *to*-infinitive might occur when the infinitive functioned as a subject or object complement, but the (*for*) *to* infinitive was the rule after nouns and adjectives and in adverbial function.

Thus, when the activities expressed by the main predicate and the infinitive took place at the same time, the bare infinitive was used especially after modals and verbs of perception: 260)

Ther saugh I pleye jugelours
 There saw I play jugglers
 ‘There I saw jugglers performing’
 (*Chaucer House of Fame* 1259; Benson 1987: 363)

On the other hand, when the infinitival predicate has independent time reference, the *to*-infinitive occurs. In the example below the *to*-infinitive clearly refers to some future event in relation to the activity denoted by the main verb:

261)

*How that the popeas for his peoples reste/ Bad hym **to wedde** another if hym leste*

How that the pope asked him to marry another if him pleased

'How the Pope asked him to marry someone else if he wanted to'

(Chaucer *Clerk* 741; Benson 1987: 147)

The construction known as **for – to infinitive**, illustrated in: *It is time for us to leave.*, is new in the Middle English period. When the *for NP to V* construction first occurred in Middle English, *for* was a preposition marking the benefactive function of the following NP in the dative case. With the loss of inflections, this dative was slowly replaced in the course of the Middle English period by a prepositional phrase, in Early Middle English usually *to* + NP, later also *for* + NP:

262)

a. *Hit is swiðe earfoðe **ænigum** (Dat.) **to þeowienne** twam hlafordum*

'it is very difficult [for] anyone to serve two lords'

(*Æ Admon* 1 2.46; Fischer *CHEL* II: 331)

b. *For it was not semely **to þe to folowe** swych a rowte...*

'it was not fitting for you to follow such a company'

(Allen 1931: 23, 119-20)

c. *...that it is bet **for me/ To sleen** myself than been defouled thus.*

(*CT V.1422-3* [6: 714-15])

These examples indicate the various stages in the development of the benefactive marking: (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II: 330). The development of the preposition *for* to the complementiser *for* is of later date.

The **negative infinitive** occurred in two structures in Middle English: **not-to-verb** order and **to-verb-not** order, as illustrated below:

263)

a. *...**nowth To helpe** myself in no doynge.*

...not to help myself into not doing

(*Castle Persev.*(Folg V.a.354) 290: MED)

b. ***to sorow noght** for hys syn as he sulde do*

to sorrow not for his sin as he should do

(*Rolle's Form of Living* 99.260; Myashita 2000)

The order **to-verb-not** further accounts for negative infinitives followed by a participle or by a direct object: **to-verb-not-participle** and **to-verb-not-object**:

264)

- a. *For which thing I deme hem..for **to be not vnquyetid or disesid** [L inquietari]*
(WBible(1) (Dc 369(2)) Deeds 15.19)
- b. *and **to spille not oure tyme**, be it short be it long at Goddis ordynaunce.*
and to waste not our time, be it short be it long at God's ordinance
(Purvey's *Prologue to the Bible* I,56.73; Han & Kroch 2000)

The most interesting development in Middle English is the extension of **the accusative + infinitive constructions**. In Old English only causative verbs and verbs of physical perception could take an *Acc + infinitive*. In Middle English this possibility is extended to certain object-control verbs (*command, require, warn*) and to the so-called verba declarandi et cogitandi (*expect, believe, etc*). Thus, the following clause types were new in Middle English:

265)

*he ded of hys crowne and **commaunded the crowne to be sett** on the awter*
'he took off his crown and commanded the crown to be placed upon the altar'
(Malory *Works* 908.11; CMEPV)

*..that namyth hym-self Paston and **affermyth hym vntrewely to be** my cousyn*
'..who names himself Paston and affirms himself wrongfully
to be my cousin'
(*Paston Letters, To An Identified Lawyer in Rome*, 1425, 11, 05; ECTVUL)

Another new development is the **perfect infinitive** which becomes frequent from the 14th c onwards. In present-day English the perfect infinitive usually refers to an action that has taken place before the moment of speaking. However, most of the Middle English examples do not concern an action in the past; most often the perfect infinitive in combination with modal verbs expresses the non-realization of an action, unreality.

This association of unreality and the perfect infinitive led to what Mustanoja (1960: 517) has called the 'peculiar' Middle English use of the perfect infinitive in cases where the action expressed in the infinitive is simultaneous with that of the matrix verb, where Present-day English would employ a present infinitive:

266)

*And on hir bare knees adoun they falle/ And **wolde have kist** his feet*
And on their bare knees down they fell/ and would have kissed his feet..
'They fell down on their bare knees and wanted to kiss his feet...'
(Chaucer, *Knight* 1758; Benson 1987: 47)

Here the perfect infinitive suggests that the action of ‘kissing’ did not take place, as the further context of this excerpt indeed makes clear.

The **passive infinitive** was not yet available in Middle English. In Old and Middle English an active infinitive is often used where Present-Day English would employ a passive one, as in:

267)

*and yf ye thynk it **be to doo**...*

'and if you think it can be done...'

(Davis 1971-6: 184.70)

The active infinitive with so-called passive sense was replaced by a periphrastic passive in the course of the Middle English period:

4.5.3. Relative clauses

The Old English relative system collapsed in Middle English, due to the gradual loss of the particle *þe* and the replacement of the paradigm *se, seo, þæt* by the indeclinable *that*. In the Northern dialect in *Ormulum*, *þæt* was the usual form. From the North, *þæt* quickly spread to the other dialects, and in the 13th century *þæt* was the rule everywhere. (cf. Fischer *CHEL* II: 4.6.1.)

In the 13th century *that* was practically the only relativizer, being used in restrictive as well as non-restrictive clauses, with animate as well as inanimate antecedents. *That* was gradually replaced by *what* in early Middle English and by *which* in late Middle English when the antecedent was a clause.

In Old English the *wh*-pronouns (*hwa, hwæt, hwylc*) were not used as relative pronouns. The earliest instances of *wh*-pronouns preceded by an antecedent are from Early Middle English:

268)

*Ac he hafde many wimmen hi-hafd to his bedde,/ **Bi woche** he hadde
on Hue twenti sones bliþe,*

*'But he had had many women as his bedfellow, by whom he had alive
twenty blithe sons' (Brut (Otho) 1343-4; Fischer *CHEL* II: 297)*

Relative pronouns developed from interrogative pronouns, a process that is well attested in a number of other Germanic and Romance languages. A point of contact is the use of interrogative pronouns in indirect questions such as *She asked who struck him*. This was a context that favoured interrogatives to turn into relatives.

The *wh*-relative pronouns (*who(m), whose, what, which*) began to be used at the beginning of the Middle English period but they were very rare in the 12th and 13th century. *Which* began to replace *that* only in the 15th century.

Chaucer still used *that* in 75 % of all cases, but in Caxton the use of *that* was reduced to 50 per cent (see Mustanoja 1960: 197ff.).

There was sometimes no relative pronoun at all connecting the relative clause to the main clause. **Zero relatives** were most common in subject position in Middle English, as was the case in Old English:

269)

I know no knyght in this contrey [0 /] is able to macche him

‘...I know no knight in this country [who] is able to match him.’

(Malory *Works* 377.35-6; CMEPV)

Omission of the relativizer was only possible when the finite verb of the relative clause was a stative verb or *to be*. These **zero-subject relative** constructions therefore closely resemble the zero-type still acceptable in colloquial Present-day English, which is introduced by *there is* or *it is*, as in: *There is a woman [0] wants to see you*.

Zero-object relative clauses also begin to appear in Middle English, usually involving the verb *clepen* ‘call’ or *callen*:

270)

Beside a toun [0] men clepen Baldeswelle

close to a town people call Baldeswelle.’

(Chaucer *Gen. Prol.* 619; Benson 1987: 33)

A new construction in Middle English is the **infinitival relative clause** with a *wh*-relativiser:

271)

She has no wight to whom to make hir mone

She has no creature to whom to make her moan

‘She has no one to whom she can complain’

(Chaucer *Man of Law* 656; Benson 1987: 96)

This type of non-finite relative clause appeared in the 14th century. Previously, the *to*-infinitive had been used by itself, without a relative pronoun.

4.5.4. Adverbial clauses

In Middle English the language began to develop more specific markers for each type of subordinate clause. According to Fischer et al. (2000: 101), three main developments may be observed.

The rise of simple subordinators

The main developments concerning subordination are that the Old English correlative pairs disappear and the conjunctions are distinguished from the

adverbs. Thus, *þa...þa...* becomes *when ... then ...*, and *nu ...nu* becomes *now that...now*. At the same time inversion begins to disappear as a marker of the relation between main and subordinate clause.

***That* as a general indicator of subordination**

The old phrasal conjunctions, which consisted of a preposition and a noun, are replaced by more explicit subordinators. Thus, the OE *þe hwile þe* becomes *whilst that* and later *whilst*, and the phrasal conjunction *by the cause that* develops into *because* which came into use in the Late Middle English period and caught on very rapidly.

At first *that* is found in conjunctive phrases of the type: *by (the) cause that, for the cause that*, etc., but already in Chaucer's time *by-cause (that)* was the more usual form to introduce adverbial clauses of cause:

272)

And it is drye & no thing fructuous **be cause þat** it hath no moysture...
(*Mandev.* (Tit) 26.23-4; Fischer *CHEL* II: 346)

That begins to be seen as a general indicator of subordination, used after original prepositions (*after that, for that, till that*), and adverbs (*so that, now that, sif that*). Because *that* served as a subordinator in a number of different subordinate clauses (temporal, causal, final or consecutive), it is not always clear what type of subordinate clause we have under analysis (temporal in (273a) or concession in (273b):

273)

- a. ***Þat*** *Troilus...þis torfer beheld.../ He lyght down full lyuely leuyt his horse...*
That Troilus...this harm beheld. He alighted down very quickly left his horse...
'When Troilus saw this harm afflicted., he alighted very quickly of his horse'
(*Destr. Troy* 7435; Fischer et al. 2000: 102)

- b. ***But that*** *science is so fer us biforn,/ We mowen nat.../ It overtake, it slit away so faste*
But that science is so far us before/we can not/it overtake it slips away so fast
'But because science [i.e. alchemy] is so far beyond us, we cannot catch up with it, it slips away so fast'
(Chaucer *Canon's Yeoman* 680; Benson 1987: 271)

Similarly, the conjunction *for* is ambiguous between purpose or clause, *till that* may combine final (or consecutive) and temporal aspects and *so (that)* can be both conditional and consecutive.

Fischer (*CHEL* II: § 4.6.3.) provides a detailed account of all types of adverbial clauses and their typical subordinators in Middle English. Some of

the innovative features of the conditional and the temporal clauses will be briefly mentioned here.

Thus, the most common subordinator in Middle English conditional clauses is (3)*if (that)*; it can be correlated with *ever* to indicate future:

274)

And **if** that **evere** ye shul ben a wyf,/ Foryet nat Palamon,...
(CT 1.2796-7 (1: 2792-3))

The (3)*if (that)* clause is often accompanied by a correlative element in the main clause: *than(ne)*, *then(ne)* (cf. OE *þonne*):

275)

For **if** so were I hadde swich myschaunce/ That I in hire ne koude
han no plesaunce,/ **Thanne** sholde I lede my lyf in avoutrye...
(CriV.1433-5 (5: 189-91))

Whan (that) may introduce a temporal clause that refers to a single occasion; sometimes *that* by itself is found:

276)

þat Toilus [sic] in þe toile þis torfer beheld,.../ He lyght doun full
lyuely leuyt his horse,/ And dressit to Dyamede...
'When Troilus saw this harm [afflicted] in the battle, ...he alighted
very quickly, left his horse and set upon Diomedes...
(Destr.Troy (Htrn) 7335-8)

Whan (that) is also used to denote repeated action or a generalisation (cf. OE *þonne*):

277)

Ful many a deyntee hors hadde he in stable,/ And **whan** he rood,
men myghte his brydel heere/ Gynglen...
(CT 1.168-70 [1: 168-70])

Generalising *whan* is also encountered in the following forms: *whan that so ever*, *whan so that*, *ever whan that*, or it is preceded by *ay* or *alwey*:

278)

Yblessed be God that I have wedded fyve!... Welcome the sixte,
whan that evere he shal. (CT 111.44-5 12:44-5))

The regular conjunction to express overlap in time is some form of (originally nominal) *while*: (the) *whyle(s)* (*thai*), *therwhyle*, *ivhilst*:

279)

...þei holden hem self blessed & saf from all periles **whil þat** þei han hem
[owl's feathers] vpon hem...
(Mandev. (Tit) 149.5-6)

Non-finite adverbial clauses

In Middle English, as in Present-day English, the non-finite verb in adverbial clauses can take three forms: infinitive, present and past participle. The infinitive typically expresses purpose, while the two participles usually denote the circumstances under which something takes/has taken place; this relates them most closely to a temporal clause or one of manner:
280)

Unto his chambres was he led anon/ **To take** his ese and **for to have**
his reste,/ With al his folk, **to don** what so hem leste.
(LC If 1111-13; Fischer *CHEL* II: 362)

In a similar way, past or present participles denoting attendant circumstances can take on causal, final, concessive, etc. meaning:
281)

But slep ne may ther in his herte synke,/ **Thynkyng** how she,.../ A
thousand fold was worth more than he wende.
(*Troilus* 111. 1538-40)

Further reading

For an overview of the current research into the developments of infinitival constructions in ME, see Fischer et al. (2000: 211-283).
Find more on the structure and distribution of infinitive complements in Fischer (*CHEL* II: § 4.6.2.) and more on relatives clauses in Fischer (*CHEL* II: § 4.6.1.)
Data on the type of mood used in subordinate clauses can be found most conveniently in Mustanoja (1960: 454–73).

Further general reading on Middle English

General introductory reading on the morphology and syntax of ME in Barber et al. (2009: ch.7) and other textbooks.
Find detailed work on Middle English syntax in Mustanoja's (1960) and Visser's (1963-73) historical grammar.
Comprehensive accounts of ME morphological and syntactic issues in *Cambridge History of the English Language* 1992.
An analysis of four short Middle English texts, both in verse and in prose, to illustrate the main developments in syntax during the ME period, in Smith (2012: ch. 28).

Study assignment 4.5.

1. Discuss the position of the negative marker in infinitive constructions:

- a. *that they..(are)..worthy of pite wel more worthy **nat to ben** hated*
that they .. are.. worthy of pity even more worthy not to be hated
(*Chaucer's Boethius* 449.C2.379; Han & Kroch 2000)

- b. *And herfore monye men vson wel **to come not** in bedde*
 and therefore many men are-accustomed well to come not in bed
with schetis, but be hulude aboue the bed
 with sheets but be covered above the bed
 (Wycliffite Sermons I,479.641; CMEPV)
- c. *Ha! What it es mykell to be worthi lovyng and **be noght loved!***
 ha what it is much to be worth loving and be not loved
 (Rolle's Form of Living 88.52; Han & Kroch 2000)
- d. ***to conforme noght his will** to Gods will, **to gyf noght entent** till*
hes prayers
 to conform not his will to God's will, to give not heed to his prayer
 (Rolle's Form of Living 99.263; Han & Kroch 2000)

2. Read the following ME examples and decide whether *þa* is an adverb or a conjunction:

- a. *þa þe king Stephne to Engaland com, **þa** macod he his gadering*
 when the king Stephen to England came, then made he his council
 'when King Stephen came to England, (then) he held his council'
 (The Peterborough Chron.56; Burrow & Thurville-Petre 1992: 53)
- b. *þa he hafden al his iweden, **þa** leop he on his steden*
 When he had gear, then leapt he on his steed
 'when he had his gear, (the) he leapt on his steed'
 (Lazamon: Brut 25; Burrow & Thurville-Petre 1992: 53)

3. Comment upon the structure of the following relative clauses selected from Chaucer:

Thise riotoures thre, of *which* I telle. (C 661)
 All thinges *whiche* that I have sayd. (2245)
 He *which that* hath no wyf, I hold hym shent [ruined]. (E 1320)
 Smale houndes hadde she *that* she fedde. (A 146)

Summary

In the transition from Old English to Middle English, the marking of subordination underwent crucial changes. In Old English subordination was strongly marked syntactically. The different word order in the subordinate

clause in comparison with the main clause, the use of the subjunctive mood and the conjunctions were all signals of subordination.

In Middle English, subordination was lexically marked because word order was no longer distinctive in subordinate clauses (all clauses had the same SVO order) and the subjunctive mood was gradually falling out of use.

As far as subordinating links are concerned, the complementisers *þe* and *þat* are frequently encountered in many types of subordinate clause.

New developments can be noted in non-finite complement clause types; especially the use of the bare versus the *to*-infinitive and the emergence of new complement types such as the *for to* infinitive construction. The massive increase in *to*-infinitives in Middle English is due to a corresponding decrease in subjunctive *that* -clauses.

The relative clause underwent a number of important changes in this period, notably, the introduction of interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns. The subordinate clauses, whether finite or non-finite also have a number of new features, regarding the use of tense, mood and specific subordinators, for instance, the Old English conjunctive phrases become fossilised and are replaced by more simple ones.

In Old and Middle English the written language appears to have been closer to the spoken language, which has always made heavier use of parataxis (coordination) than of hypotaxis (subordination). It is only at the end of the Middle English period, with the development of a written standard, that the written language began to make more extensive use of complex structures under the influence of both French and Latin prose styles.

Part III

EARLY MODERN ENGLISH 1550 – 1700

The major changes that took place in the structure of English in the course of the Middle English period were: the reduction of the system of inflectional endings and the reorganisation of word order patterns. The general trend was toward the use of analytic constructions instead of synthetic ones.

The effects of these developments on English syntax can be clearly noticed in the first two centuries of the Modern period, from about 1500 to about 1700. The language of most sixteenth-century texts was characterised by a richness of variant forms and constructions, inherited from Middle English; in seventeenth-century writing, the abundance of variants was gradually reduced, and the eighteenth-century texts resemble the present-day language.

Thus, the general trend of the syntactic developments in Early Modern English is a movement from greater variability and lack of organisation towards a more orderly state.

5.1. The Noun Phrase

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the structure of the NP becomes more fixed. Rissanen (*CHEL* III: § 4.2.6.) examines the main word order patterns in the NP.

Instances of the sequence of the quantifiers *some* or *any*, or a numeral, and the definite determiner, common in Middle English, can be found even in Early Modern English, although mostly with superlatives or (with *any*):

282)

my father...was reckon'd **one The wisest prince** that there had reign'd by
many A year before.

(Shakespeare *Henry VIII* II.iv)

Another sequence available at that time was that of an indefinite preceding a possessive adjective:

283)

That I haue said to **some my standers by**

(Shakespeare *Troilus and Cressida* IV.v Quarto)

A common construction, related to the previous one, is the combination of the demonstrative *this* (or, rarely, *that*) and the possessive adjective:

284)

So far from complying from **this their inclination**

(Fielding *Tom Jones* I.ix 73)

The relative freedom in combining determiners and quantifiers was inherited from Middle English, and some patterns go back Old English (see sections 2.3.1, 4.3.1).

5. 1.1. The genitive case

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the distribution of the *s*-genitive and the *of*-genitive developed roughly to what it is in Present-day English and the eighteenth-century normative tendencies contributed to the final establishment of the system.

As shown in Rissanen (*CHEL* III, § 4.2.5.), the *s*-genitive is preferred with human nouns and when it stands in a subjective relation to the head:

285)

A **Prince's love** is like the lightnings fume.

(Chapman *Bussy D'Ambois* III.i)

Here, the subjective genitive phrase reflects the normal sentential order. *Prince's* corresponds to the subject of the clause: 'The Prince loves someone'. Furthermore, the inflectional genitive is commonly used in certain expressions quantifying time or space:

286)

we haue **an houres talke** with you.

(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* II.i)

somewhat more then **four miles distance** from Carlile

([HC] John Taylor 128 Cii)

The *of*-genitive is favoured with inanimate nouns and when the modifier stands in an objective relation to the head:

287)

You were also (Iupiter) a Swan, for **the loue of Leda**

(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* V.v)

where the genitive phrase reflects the normal clausal structure: 'You love Leda'.

Fischer (*CHEL* II, § 4.2.4) points out that the survival of the *s*-genitive to indicate a subjective relation and the preference for the *of*-genitive to show an

objective relation can be explained by the normal order of the elements in the sentence: the subject normally precedes and the object follows the verb.

5.1.2. The adjective

In the course of the Early Modern English period, there seems to be a trend from postmodification to premodification, as Rissanen (*CHEL* III, § 4.2.6.2.) notes, which is probably chiefly due to French or Latin influence: most noun + adjective combinations contain a borrowed adjective and the whole expression is often a term going back to French or Latin:

288)

Whiche they call **a tonge vulgare and barbarous**

(More, *Complete Works*: VI 333)

There is also more freedom in the position of the adjective with determiners. The adjective can precede a possessive adjective:

289)

good my Lord (sayd he) I hope you know . . .

([HC] Perrott 37)

he hard the E. of Essex cry for all your **good my maisters**, that .

([HC] Trial of Essex 21)

This construction is rapidly disappearing in Early Modern English and is mostly restricted to formulas of address.

The main change concerning the adjective was **the regularisation of comparison**. In Old and Middle English, for the most part, regular adjectival comparison was by suffixes (see section 1.1.5.). In later Middle English a periphrastic comparison began to appear, using *more* and *most* + adjective. (see section 3.1.3.)

In the sixteenth-century periphrasis and suffixation occur as simple alternatives in marking adjective comparison. Thus, in the Epistle to his *Orthographie* (1569) Hart writes *easilier*, *more brief* beside *more substantiallye*, *greater*, and this variation persists until the end of the seventeenth century. (cf. Lass 2006: 95)

Both options – to use suffixation or periphrasis in adjective comparison – are available through the seventeenth century, but by the first decade of the eighteenth century the modern restrictions are already emerging, i.e. adjectives longer than two syllables take analytic comparison (*more beautiful*).

Comparatives and **superlatives** in Early Modern English can be doubled: *most unkindest*, *most worst*, *more richer*, *more better* and *worser*. A search for *more* followed by an adjective ending in *-er* in Shakespeare's First Folio produces 24 examples and *most* is followed 7 times by an adjective ending in *-est* (cf. Gelderen 2006: 170):

290)

This was the **most vnkindest** cut of all.

(*Julius Caesar* III, II, 277)

for the **more better** assurance

(*Midsummer Night's Dream* III, i, 21)

the **worsser** welcome

(*Othello* I, i, 94)

The 'double comparison', i.e. periphrasis and suffixation in the same construction was common in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries. By the end of the seventeenth century it was obsolete and stigmatized (cf. Lass *CHEL* III: 158). Aside from minor details, then, the outlines of the modern system of adjective comparison are clear by the 1750s.

5.1.3. The rise of the inflected genitive pronoun *its*

The most important development in the use of the pronouns in Early Modern English are the introduction of the inflectional possessive pronoun *its* and the generalisation of the second-person pronoun *you*.

Only one pronominal form was introduced into Early Modern English, the possessive *its*. It was motivated by animacy, the distinction between personal and non-personal reference, which also largely lay behind the distinction between the *-s* genitive and the *of*-construction.

The possessive *its* first appears in the later sixteenth century, being first attested in 1598 '*for its owne sake*' in OED and it seems to be based on grammatical analogy: the genitive inflection *-s* is added to the pronoun *it*. The spelling with an apostrophe is illustrated in an excerpt from John Taylor's *Pennyles Pilgrimage*:

291)

I was faine to wade ouer the Riuer of Annan in Scotland, from which Riuer the County of Annandale, hath **it's** name.

(HC, John Taylor, *Pennyles Pilgrimage*, 1630: 128; Nevalainen 2006:77).

The new variant *its* spread as a possessive determiner in the first half of the seventeenth century, becoming the norm in the second half of the century. Unlike the determiner, the independent possessive pronoun *its* is peripheral even today.

5.1.4. The generalisation of the pronoun *you*

The other notable change is the gradual loss of singular *thou* (*thee*, *thy*, *thine*), in favour of the originally plural *you* (*ye*, *you*, *your*, *yours*). Thus, the number distinction between the second-person singular and plural was lost.

This gradual process started in Middle English, when the plural *you* spread as the polite form in addressing one person. Social inferiors addressed their superiors by using *you*. *Thou* retreated to the private sphere, but could surface in public discourse when emotions ran high.

The variation in the use of the second-person pronouns *thou* and *you* is attested in the correspondence preserved from the Early Modern English period. Throughout the period *you* vastly outnumbers *thou* in personal letters, which reflect everyday language use (cf. Nevalainen 2006, § 6.3.). The contexts where *thou* typically occurs is in seventeenth-century correspondence between family members expressing their mutual affection. The excerpt below is from Henry Oxinden's letter to his beloved wife:

I read **thy** Letters over and over and over, for in them I see **thee** as well as I can. I am **thine** as much as possibly. I hope our Children are well. My service to all **you** think fitting to speake it to.

(HC, Henry Oxinden, 1662: 274; Nevalainen 2006: 79)

The pronoun *thou* continues to be used in regional dialects until the present day especially in the north and west of England (cf. Trudgill 1999: 92–3). By the eighteenth century *thou* is no longer an option in ordinary speech, though it remains in special registers like poetry and prayer.

Another change that simplified the Early Modern English second person pronoun system was the loss of the subject form *ye* when the object form *you* was generalised in the subject position. This levelling of case forms took place in the sixteenth century, spreading from informal contexts to more formal ones.

Further reading

On the nominal inflectional morphology in EModE, see Cowie (2012: ch. 38.1).

For a detailed examination of the structure of the noun phrase, see Rissanen (CHEL III: 4.2.)

The development of the case system has been studied by van Kemenade (1987).

On the development of the uses of *this* and *that* from Early Modern English on, see Poussa (1992).

For the generalisation of *you* and the rise of *its*, see Nevalainen (2006: 6.3.)

The substitution of the second person plural forms *ye*, *you* for the singular form *thou*, is also discussed by Lass (CHEL III; ch.3.)

Study assignment 5.1.

1. The following examples have been selected from Rissanen (CHEL III: 205). Analyse word order in the NPs written in *italics*:

- a. *some the greatest States-men o'the kingdom.*
(Jonson *Magnetick Lady* I.i)
- b. *wch curtesie yor honor would alwaies kindlie acknowledge towards
himselpe & anie his frendes as they should haue anie neede to use yor
honors fauor.*
([HC] Edmondes 393)
- c. *This his goodnes stood not still in one or two*
([HC] Ascham, 280)

2. Lass (2009: 98) notes that while *thou* is the pronoun of normal address, there is a shift to *you* when strangers, business matters, social superiors are involved. Analyse the use of the second person pronoun in the following letter written by Henry Oxinden to his wife (1622):

I did write to *thee* by the Friday post . . . My mind is with *thee* howsoever I am forced to be absent from *Thee*. I see *thy* care and vigilance and thank *Thee* . . . I have spoken with Sir Tho: Peyton twice and find him in such passions as I have no manner of hopes of his assistance; he doth me twice as much hurt as good; some bodie hath incensed Him very much against me, *you* may guesse who hath done it, the partie being not far from *you*.

Wherby *you* may the lesse wonder of the Indifferent Ladie's not giving *you* a better answer . . . I amat more expence than *you* can imagine . . . I read *thy* letters over and over, for in them I see *thee* as well as I can . . . In extreme hast I rest *Thine* inexpressibly . . .

3. Comment on the developments in the use of pronouns in the following:

Iu. O *Romeo, Romeo*, wherefore art thou *Romeo*?
Denie thy Father and refuse thy name:
Or if thou wilt not, be but sworne to my Loue,
And Ile no longer be a *Capulet*.
Rom. Shall I heare more, or shall I speake at this?
Iu. 'Tis but thy name that is my Enemy:
Thou art thy selfe, though not a *Mountague*,

(Iaggard I. and Blount E., 1623 with original title: *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies*.)

4. Below is a computer-generated list (*concordance*) given in Nevalainen (2006: 23) which presents all instances of the two subject forms, *ye* and *you*, that Roger Ascham uses in a passage of *The Scholemaster*

(1570), one of the texts included in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (HC).

Each line begins with information encoded in the electronic text and contains the period of writing (E1=1500–1570), text category (IS=secular instruction), and page reference to the source text.

E1 IS/ 183: him, and saie here **ye** do well. For I assure
E1 IS/ 184: the best allurements **ye** can, to encorage him to
E1 IS/ 214: your selfe, whether **ye** wold, that your owne son
E1 IS/ 215: in aige, if euer **ye** thinke to cum to this
E1 IS/ 215: I am cum vnto, lesse **ye** meete either with
E1 IS/ 215: But will **ye** see, a fit Similitude of
E1 IS/ 215: to worthinesse, if euer **ye** purpose they shall cum
E1 IS/ 214: som happines: and whan **you** do consider, what
E1 IS/ 215: in yougthe, I was, as **you** ar now: and I had

Comment on the frequency of occurrence of the two forms of the pronoun in subject position.

Summary

In Early Modern English the basic word order patterns in the noun phrase are inherited from Middle English. However, certain changes can be traced in the structure of the noun phrase: there is less freedom in combining various premodifying elements such as demonstrative and possessive pronouns and the adjective tends to appear in premodification mainly. Though in earlier English adjectives had both periphrastic and inflectional forms, they undergo regularization of comparison, i.e., the length of the adjective becomes relevant in comparison, with polysyllabic adjectives taking periphrastic forms in *more* and *most*.

More notable are the changes affecting the pronominal system in Early Modern English, namely, the development of a new neuter genitive singular *its* at the end of the sixteenth century, and a radical remodelling of the second-person system.

The structure of the noun phrase in Early Modern English greatly resembles Present-day English.

5.2. The Verb Phrase

Early Modern English is characterised by a further **loss of inflections** and an increase in the number of prepositions and auxiliaries (grammaticalisation), as expected of a language becoming more analytic.

English verbs were affected by more changes than nouns in the Early Modern period. The third person present-tense singular suffix *-(e)th* gave way to *-(e)s* by the middle of the Early Modern period. There was also a great deal of variation in the *tense* forms of irregular verbs, and new developments were under way in the mood and aspect systems.

5.2.1. Verbal inflections

The verbs *be* and *have* distinguish the first, second and third person in the present tense in the singular (*am, art, is; have, hast, hath/has*), but not in the plural (*be/are; have*).

Verbs preserve inflections in the 2nd and 3rd person, singular; in all other persons, singular and plural, the verbal paradigm being as in Present-day English:

	2 nd	3 rd
present	thou pray(e) st	he/she pray eth →prays
past	thou prayed st	he/she prayed
pres/past perf.	thou hast/hadst prayed	he/she hath →has/had prayed
pres/ past progr.	thou art/wert praying	he/she is/was praying

The originally northern *are*-form replaced *be* in the plural in the course of the sixteenth century, but the southward diffusion of *-(e)s* took longer. At the end of the sixteenth century *-(e)th* and *-(e)s* can be found side by side in the same text, as in the extract from one of Queen Elizabeth's letters to King James VI of Scotland:

293)

that a question may, upon allegiance, be demanded by yourselfe of the mastar Gray, whether he **knoweth** not the prise of my bloude, wiche shuld be spild by bloody hande of a murtherar, wiche some of your nere-a-kin did graunt. A sore question, you may suppose, but no other act than suche as I am assured he **knowes**, and therfor I hope he wyl not dare deny you a truthe (CEEC, Queen Elizabeth I, 1585: ROYAL 1, 11; Nevalainen 2006: 91)

Past/ past participle verb forms

Throughout the Early Modern English period there was a great deal of variation in the past-tense and past-participle forms of irregular verbs. Lass (1994: 97) shows that in some verbs the levelling of the past-tense singular

and plural in Middle English increased the number of available forms. The following data, from Nevalainen (2006: 93), illustrate the alternative past participles of *help*. In this case it was the regular *-ed* form that survived in Late Modern English:

294)

And so had god **holpen** them, yt ye mischief turned vpon them yt wold haue done it.

(HC, Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III*, 1514–18: 53)

Many be **holp** by this bathe from scabbes and aches.

(HC, John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, 1535–43: 142)

Yff I had remayned with you, I wolde have **helped** him in this case;

(CEEC, Edmund Grindall, 1579: HUTTON, 61)

The *-en* participles tended to be generalised with *break (broken)*, *eat (eaten)*, *get (gotten)*, *speak (spoken)*, *take (taken)* and *write (written)*, but they were far from being fixed by the end of the Early Modern period. *Gotten*, for instance, was preserved in American English, while the shorter form *got* was generalised in British English.

Much more variation in the strong verbs was recorded in seventeenth century, when certain verbs had up to three possible past-tense and past-participle sets of forms. An example is the verb *choose* with the forms (*chose – chose; chose – chosen; chosed – chosed*).

5.2.2. Periphrastic verbal constructions

Periphrastic verbal constructions indicating tense, aspect or voice, already established in the Middle English period, undergo further changes. The progressive *be-ing* construction was only consolidated in the Early Modern period.

As with so many syntactic developments, the seventeenth century is the decisive period in the development of the progressive.

5.2.2.1. Perfect HAVE/BE

The perfect auxiliary HAVE gradually extends its domain in Middle English, and in the sixteenth century it is the only auxiliary with transitive verbs and the prevailing one with non-mutative intransitives. It varies with BE with mutative intransitive verbs.

From the beginning of the Modern English period onwards the predominance of auxiliary HAVE is almost complete. However, the perfective auxiliary BE was still in use, being normally preferred with verbs of motion

(for example: *arrive, come, fall, go, ride, run, sail*) and change of state (for instance: *become, change, grow, turn, wax* ‘grow’). The verb *come* is illustrated in an example from Nevalainen (2006: 94):

295)

Al thes **are come** (sayde he,) to see yow suffer deathe; there ys some here that **ys come** as farre as Lyengkecon [Lincoln], but I truste ther commynge shal be yn vayne.

(HC, Thomas Mowntayne, *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation* 1553: 203)

In the perfect, HAVE spread at the expense of BE, but BE was common with verbs of motion and verbs of change of state, and this continued to be the case even in Early Modern English:

296)

‘Worcester **is stolne** away by Night: thy Fathers Beard **is turn’d** white with the Newes’
(Shakespeare, *Henry IV Part I*)

Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 215) points out that the linguistic factors which affect the choice of the auxiliary with motion verbs are: the general tendency to prefer HAVE when attention is focussed on the action indicated by the verb; with BE, the emphasis on the state following or the result achieved by the action. Thus, the verb *fall* may be encountered with both auxiliaries:

297)

shaking together all the filings that **had fallen** upon the sheet of Paper underneath.
([HC] Hooke 46)

I **am faln** into this Discourse by accident.

([HC] Walton 294)

In the Late Modern English HAVE gains ground steadily at the expense of BE, although even at the end of the eighteenth century BE is the more common auxiliary with intransitives. The final establishment of *HAVE* as the auxiliary of the (plu)perfect takes place in the early nineteenth century.

The main reason for the loss of perfective BE is the heavy functional load of BE, as this verb was not only used as the copula but also in the *BE -ing* structure and in the passive. The Early Modern English increasing use of BE as auxiliary of the passive may have given an impulse to the generalisation of perfect HAVE.

The growth of the present perfect is accompanied by the development of more complex verb forms (cf. Elsness 1997: 340). Thus, the first **passive present perfect** constructions with HAVE were recorded in the period 1350 – 1400, as were the first passive variants of the **pluperfect with have** and the first **perfect infinitive** constructions. The first **perfect -ing constructions**

occur in 1550 – 1600, while the first **progressive perfect forms** do not appear until 1750 – 1800.

It is interesting to note that verbs undergoing grammaticalisation to auxiliaries started to be **contracted** at the end of the Middle English period. The same tendency can be noticed in patterns with a modal followed by the auxiliary HAVE. Gelderen (2006:172) illustrates this usage with examples from *The Cely Letters*, the *Paston Letters*, the late 17th century John Bunyan and a typical sentence from a university essay:

298) *and so myght Y a done syn I come vnto Calles*
'and so might I have done since I came to Calais'
(George Cely 1478).

it xuld a be seyde
'It should have been said'
(Paston Letters, I, #131, a1449).

Chris... I thought you **would a come** in by violent hand or **a took** the Kingdom by storm.

Mer. Alas, to be in my Case, who that so was, **could but a done** so? ...
as I, that **would not a knocked** with all their might
(Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress* ii,203/191).

That argument **should of** been made differently.

Such patterns of reductions of auxiliaries after modals continue until Modern English and have survived as dialectal forms.

5.2.2.2. Progressive: BE-ing

The combination of *be* and the present participle goes back to Old English, but its meaning then was not necessarily aspectual. The progressive proper develops in the Middle English period (see Fischer, *CHEL* II 4.3.3.1).

In Early Modern English the most common progressive tense forms are the **present** and the **past**, but this construction can also be found in other tenses, with modal auxiliaries and in non-finite constructions.

The active form was still typically used with a passive sense. For instance, the progressive construction in the following example could be paraphrased as 'is being made':

299) my french hood is bought already, and my silke gowne **is a making**,
likewise the Goldsmith hath brought home my chayne and bracelets:
(HC, Thomas Deloney, *Jack of Newbury*, 1619: 70; Nevalainen 2006: 95)

The (plu)perfect progressive was ‘a well-established and not infrequently used idiom’ as early as the fifteenth century (Visser 1963-173, §2148); non-finite forms, too, are attested in Middle English, as in the following examples from Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 217):

300)

For often hee **hath bene tempering** [interfering improperly] with me
([HC] Harman 70)

This is a Creature...so impudent, that it **will be intruding** itself in every
ones company. ([HC] Hooke 21)

boeth the ploughes **muste** styll **be doynge**, as mooste necessarye for man.
([HC] Latimer 26)

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the use of the progressive is still unsettled (cf. Rissanen *CHEL* III: 4.3.1.4.). In Shakespeare’s plays, for instance, there are simple verb forms in contexts in which Present-day English would use the progressive: Polonius asks, *What do you read, my Lord?* (*Hamlet* II.ii), while Achilles uses *What are you reading?* in (*Troilus and Cressida* III.iii).

The verb *be* can be regarded as a grammaticalised aspectual indicator in the verbal system by 1700 (Strang 1982: 429). The set of progressive forms in all tenses, active and passive, is fully developed around the end of the eighteenth century.

5.2.2.3. Future auxiliaries

In the early sixteenth century, both *shall* and *will* are freely used to indicate pure future. *Will* gradually became the only marker of the future in the third person, and started to be commonly used even in the first person. The following late seventeenth-century examples from Rissanen (2006: 212) show that the use of *shall/will* as future markers was not strictly regulated:

301)

For aught I know **I will** continue with her in the winter and in the meantime
I can see her often. ([HC] Elizabeth Oxinden 333)

Ven. Yet I begin to be weary; . . .

Pisc. Well Sir, and **you shall** quickly be at rest.

([HC] Walton 216)

This variation implies that the grammaticalisation of the periphrastic future was not quite completed in Early Modern English. Besides, future actions

could be expressed by verbs in the present simple or progressive, as in Present-day English.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, the progressive construction ***be going to*** developed a special meaning indicating *future time*, more precisely the future fulfillment of a present intention:

302)

Sr John Walter **is going to** be married to my Lady Stoel, weh will be very happy for him.

(HC, Anne Hatton, 1695: 214; Rissanen 2006: 223.)

The new construction is an instance of grammaticalisation, a process in which lexical material comes to be fixed in a given grammatical function. In Present-day English *going to* has grammaticalised even further and has been reduced to *gonna* (*we're gonna go there*).

5.2.3. Modal verbs

The history of (pre)modals is marked by the loss of their notional meanings and gradual development of modal meanings (see Rissanen *CHEL* III: 4.3.4.).

Modal verbs were originally lexical verbs in Old English (see section 1.2.1.1.) and they continued to have these 'non-auxiliary' features as late as Early Modern English, namely they could be used in non-finite forms and without a following infinitive, although these uses are restricted both syntactically and collocationally. The use without an infinitive, excluding post-auxiliary ellipsis, is common only in (concrete or metaphorical) expressions of motion:

303)

Sister farewell, I **must** to Couentry

(Shakespeare *Richard II* I.ii; Rissanen *CHEL* III: 233)

This use wanes in the seventeenth century but can occasionally be found even today, in archaising contexts.

5.2.4. The subjunctive mood

From Old English on, there have been alternative ways to express modality (see Görlach 1991: 112). Besides the subjunctive, various (pre)modal verbs started to be used to express hypothetical contexts in Middle English. The loss of verbal inflections paved the way for another development related to Early Modern English verbs, namely, that the Old and Middle English subjunctive endings are being replaced by modal auxiliaries and infinitival complements:

304)

and wishing [**for** those hands **to take off** his melancholy bargain].
(1681 Dryden, from Visser 1963-73:2248)

The Early Modern English is a period of variation between subjunctive forms and auxiliary periphrasis.

In Early Modern English the subjunctive was commonly prompted by certain hypothetical and volitional contexts. These include *that*-clauses in demands and suggestions, intentions and wishes, etc. Some of these are illustrated with the subjunctive *be* in:

305)

After that a childe is come to seuen yeres of age, I holde it expedient that he **be** taken from the company of women:

(HC, Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouvernour*, 1531:23;
Nevalainen 2006: 96).

Even hypothetical main clauses could take a subjunctive in Early Modern English, although it was more typical of subordinate clauses of concession or condition.

The subjunctive *were* occurs in a hypothetical main clause, as in (a), and *were* and *be* in the subordinate clauses, as in (306b) (examples are from Nevalainen (2006: 97)):

306)

- a. *Sam*. That **were** strange, if they should die of naturall causes, and fall out so fit at the time after he was sent?

(HC, George Gifford, *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraftes*, 1593: E2r)

- b. Lastly, it maketh his will to be no will, **as though** his goods **were** not his owne: for nothing is ours but that which wee haue rightlie got: and therefore wee say, It is mine by right, **as though** it **were** not ours, **vnles** it **be** ours by right.

(HC, Henry Smith, *Of Usurie*, 1591: D7v)

The loss of distinctive endings for the subjunctive was probably the main reason for the replacement of the subjunctive forms by auxiliary periphrasis. This development was supported by the general trend towards analytic constructions in Middle English.

Further reading

In comparison to the noun phrase, the syntax of the EModE verb has been more extensively studied. Denison (1993) traces the major historical developments of the English verb phrase.

Practically all textbooks look at the variation between the third-person endings *-(e)s* and *-(e)th*. Lass (1994) compares past tense (=preterite) and past-participle forms of strong verbs in the *Helsinki Corpus* and contemporary EModE grammars.

On the verbal inflectional morphology in EModE, see also Cowie (2012: § 38.2.).

On developments in the verbal periphrasis, see Seoane 2012: § 39.4)

Elsness (1997) explores the development of the perfect aspect in earlier English.

Kytö (1991) gives a detailed account of the development of the auxiliaries *can*, *may*, *shall* and *will* in Early Modern British and American English.

For a useful summary of alternative ways to express modality, see Görlach (1991: 112).

Study assignment 5.2.

1. Lass (1994) found the following past-participle forms for *get* in Early Modern English in the HC: *got*, *gotten*, *getten*; for *help*: *helped*, *holpen*, *holp*; for *speak*: *spoken*, *spoke*, *spake*; and for *write*: *written*, *writ*, *wrote*. Using either *The Harvard Concordance* (Spevack 1973) or electronic Shakespeare, identify the past-participle forms of these verbs found in Shakespeare's plays. Which variant is more frequently encountered for each verb?
2. Comment upon the full verbs in the example below from a treatise on witchcraft. Decide whether *will* is a lexical verb or a modal. To find out how the two forms developed and how they are historically related, see the OED entry for *will*, v.1, under B, significations and uses.

My wife hath had fiue or sixe hennes euen of late dead. Some of my neighbours wishe me to burne some thing aliue, as a henne or a hogge. Others will me in time to seeke helpe at the handes of some cunning man, before I haue any further harme.

(HC, George Gifford, *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraftes*, 1593: B1r)

3. Comment upon the properties of the modal verbs in the following sentences from Denison (1993: 306):

By the feith I shall to god by the faith I owe to God
(c1530 *Crt. Of Love* 131 (OED s.v. *shall*. B.1b))

The way right wel he could.
'the way very well he knew'
(1600 Fairfax, *Tasso.iv* 180(OED s.v. *can* v.B.1b))

Summary

The transformation of English into an analytic language continues in the Early Modern English period. In syntactic terms, this transformation leads to an increasingly fixed word order and the introduction of **grammatical words**. Examples of grammatical words being formed are: the directional *to* becoming a dative case marker for nouns phrases and the establishment of auxiliary verbs as markers of aspect and voice.

As far as the verbal system is concerned, many features of northern origin were assimilated in the southern dialects, such as: **third-person present-tense** singular suffix *-(e)s* and the present plural form *are* of the verb *be*.

Despite the fluctuation in the form of strong and weak verbs, **the perfective structure** was well established in Early Modern English. All types of verbs in the *be* perfect have been gradually moving over to the *have* perfect, a process effectively completed in the nineteenth century. The preference changed in the course of the Late Modern period, when *have* replaced *be*.

New periphrastic systems also evolved as a result of grammaticalisation, including the **progressive aspect** (*be* + *-ing*) and *be going to* as an indicator of future time in the seventeenth century.

In the mood system, the subjunctive was losing ground as many of its functions were taken over by **modal auxiliaries**.

The seventeenth century is viewed as a crucial period in the development of the English verbal system.

5.3. Word order developments at clause level

The most important Early Modern developments in the structure of the clause are the establishment of the subject–verb order in most statement types and the regularization of *do* in questions and negations. In negations, the particle *ne* disappears and double negation becomes unacceptable in formal contexts.

In Early Modern English an expressed subject became obligatory in most contexts and there was a movement from impersonal to personal subjects.

5.3.1. Subject-verb inversion

Since syntactic functions of subject or object were no longer marked by case endings, it became necessary to signal these relations by means of word-order.

The pattern established in declarative sentences was verb-medial: subject–verb–object (SVO). The placement of the core elements in the sentence became more fixed during the Early Modern period. The major developments took place in declarative sentences.

In the sixteenth century, **inversion** often took place after initial adverbial elements such as *here, now, then, therefore, thus* and *yet*. It was particularly common when the verb phrase consisted of an auxiliary and a main verb:
307)

the Brayne is eyther too drye or too moyst, **then can it** not worke his kinde: for **then is the body** made colde: **then are the spirites of lyfe** melted and resoluēd away: and **then foloweth feebleness of the wittes, and of al other members of the body, and at the laste death.**

(HC, Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, 1548: 33–4; Nevalainen 2006: 113)

This pattern of inversion triggered by sentence-initial adverbials largely decreased in the Early Modern English period.

With negative **particles** and **adverbs**, such as *never, neither, nor*, the inverted order seems to become a rule in the seventeenth century, with other adverbials with a negative force, such as *seldom, hardly*, somewhat later (see Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 265)):
308)

Never was there anye man that layed anye thyng to my charge.
([HC] Mowntayne 207)

I am not noble, yet I am a gent: **neither** am I a sword man.
([HC] Essex 15)

I do repeat it, my Lord, . . . I never did know Nelthorp, nor **never** did see him before in my Life, nor did I know of any body's coming, but Mr. Hicks . . .
([HC] Lisle 122 Cii)

hardly can we discerne the things that are on earth . . .
([HC] Hooker 5)

The last remnant of the verb-second constraint can be noticed in examples of inverted word-order with an adverbial modifier, an object or a predicative in sentence-initial position (cf. Nevalainen 2006: 114):
309)

And **in this penauce lyued Robert** vii yeres or there aboute . . .
(*Robert the Deuyll*, c. 1500: 192 (Bækken 1998: 62))

These words spake Jesus in the treasury.
(*The Gospel according to St John*, 1611: 152 (Bækken 1998: 63))

Universal was the mourning for him, and the eulogies on him .
(*The Diary of John Evelyn*, 1680–2: 148 (Bækken 1998: 65))

These changes reflect the establishment of the subject–verb–object order in English.

Intervening elements are not easily allowed to break the close bond between the main verb and the object following it. Adverbials will therefore have to go either at the beginning or the end of the sentence or, in the case of those closely attached to the verb, before the main verb.

In Early Modern English, the order varies in the same way as with non-negative adverbials. Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 266) points out that the factors influencing the order seem to be the same as with sentence-initial adverbs: the weight of the subject, auxiliary predicate, stylistic and rhythmic factors, etc.: 310)

Thys dyd I here hym saye

([HC] Mowntayne 210)

But none did I so much admire as an Hospitall for their lame soldiers

([HC] Evelyn 24)

Ellegård (1953:192) confirms that this kind of inversion entered the language quite suddenly in the sixteenth century, and that for sentences without another auxiliary it was ‘almost wholly achieved’ by means of the auxiliary verb *DO*. (see also Denison 1993: 460)

5.3.2. *DO*-periphrasis

The emergence and development of the auxiliary *do* took place in Middle and Early Modern English. At the earliest stages of development, up to the fifteenth century, it was mainly used in affirmative statements; in questions and negations, it becomes common as late as the sixteenth century. The main theories of the origin of *do*-periphrasis are the following:

(1) *do*-periphrasis develops from the causative use of the verb (*He did write a letter* ‘He caused a letter to be written’), or

(2) it developed from the ‘substitute’ use of *do*, through the weakening of its basic meaning. (cf. Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.3.3.5).

a. Affirmative statements

In the sixteenth century, *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements is favoured in the records of court trials.

311)

evil Men, who as thou **didst** complain went unpunished

([HC] Boethius Preston 181; Rissanen *CHEL* III: 240)

The decrease in the popularity of *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements was as rapid as its rise. The decline took place in the seventeenth century.

b. Questions

During the Early Modern period, *do* first spreads to negative questions, then to affirmative questions, as illustrated in the following examples from the 16th c. supplied by Nevalainen (2006: 108):

312)

Why **do ye not knowe** my speache? Even because ye cannot abyde the
hearynge of my wordes.

(HC, William Tyndale (transl.), *The New Testament*, 1534: VIII, 20)

Seest thou not his eyes, how they bee fylled with blood and bytter teares?

(HC, John Fisher, *Sermons*, 1521: 400)

Both types of questions allowed either use of *do*-periphrasis or non-periphrastic inversion in the same text, as illustrated below:

313)

Do you bring me hither to trie mee by the Lawe, and will not shewe me the
Lawe?

(HC, *The Trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton*, 1554: 71)

Come you hither to checke us Throckmorton; we will not be so used, no,
no.

(HC, *The Trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton*, 1554: 64)

In questions, and especially in negative interrogatives, *do* became the rule by the end of the seventeenth century.

The occurrence of *do*-questions rapidly increased in the sixteenth century is parallel to the development of *do* in affirmative statements. Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 244) illustrates the use of both non-periphrastic inversion and *do*-periphrasis in the following instance:

314)

what became of the kynge of Castell . . . **made he** ony recovery, or **dyd he**
close hymselfe in ony of his townes.

(Berners *Froissart* IV 282)

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the majority of *yes–no* questions are formed with *do*. Non-periphrastic inversion continues longer in *wh*-questions:

315)

What **doe you call** him?

(Shakespeare *Henry V* III.vi)

What **say'st thou**?

([HC] *Lisle* 122 Ci)

The slower development of *do*-periphrasis in *wh*-questions may be due to the fact that the object is often the initial interrogative pronoun. By the eighteenth century the use of *do* in questions is very close to Present-day English.

c. Negative sentences

The earliest instances of *do*-periphrasis in negative sentences appear in the late fourteenth century. The rapid increase in *do*-negation in the sixteenth century is parallel to the development of *do* in questions, although it is somewhat later.

From the seventeenth century on, its proportionate share increases steadily in comparison with the combination of the simple verb in the negative, and the usage is established in the following century. Non-periphrastic negation is, however, not uncommon even in the eighteenth century:

316)

I **speake not** nowe to simple men.

([HC] Essex 14)

The way I have mentiond, if I **mistake not**, is the only one to obtaine this.

([HC] Locke 54)

In negative statements the process was slower, reaching the frequency of about 60 per cent of the cases at the end of the seventeenth century in most verbs. (cf. Nevalainen 2006)

5.3.3. Impersonal constructions

The purest type of impersonal verbs are the weather verbs (predicates with zero-arguments). In Early Modern English they are always used with the dummy subject *it*:

317)

it rayned pel mel and blew hilter skilter

([HC] Madox 139, Rissanen 1999: 250)

The reasons for the loss of the subjectless impersonal constructions have been summarised in Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.3.1.2). The loss of the system of inflectional endings of nouns and personal pronouns blurred the distinction between oblique and subjective forms. At the same time, the loss of verbal endings supported the presence of a syntactic subject. The semantics of the impersonal verbs and analogy with the majority of the verbs – the personal ones – must also be taken into account.

5.3.4. The passive voice

The passive voice can be traced back to Old English, when only the direct object could be fronted to subject position (see section 2.1.5.). The Early Modern English passive was rarely used to promote indirect objects to the subject position, however, **indirect passives** became more frequent towards the end of the Early Modern period (see Denison 1993: 103–23).
318)

There is so slow a progress made in ordering the dismal ceremony of the Queens funeral, that I cant ges when it will be finishd. **I was told** this day that the heralds had yet a quarter of their work to do . . .
(HC, Anne Hatton, 1695: 212; Nevalainen 2006: 111)

According to Mustanoja (1960: 440) the subjectivisation of the indirect or prepositional object was made possible by the disappearance of the formal difference between the accusative and the dative.

The subjectivisation of a **prepositional object**, with a stranded preposition, was probably supported by the development of phrasal verbs of the type *to give up*. In these constructions the link between the particle/preposition and the following noun is loose, and their separation is more natural than in the case of prepositional phrases proper:
319)

my life was despaired of
(Smollett *Roderick Random* XXXIV 192; Rissanen *CHEL* III: 253)

Complex prepositional passives arrived much later than ordinary prepositional passives. Passive forms of phrasal prepositional verbs do not appear until the seventeenth century:
320)

I understand there there [sic] was a servant of yours, and a kynsman of myne as myschevously **made away with**
(c1613 (1502) *Plumption Let.* 130 164.11; Denison 1993: 154)

In the sixteenth century, the **agent phrase** was introduced by the preposition *of* or by the more frequently used preposition *by*. *Of* was often used with abstract and mental activity verbs, and *by* with verbs referring to more concrete actions and events. But there were also verbs that could take both. For instance, the verb *receive* in a passage from the diary of the young King Edward VI (from Nevalainen 2006: 110):
321)

The marquis du Means, conte d'Anguien, and the constable's son **wer received** at Blakheth **by** my lord of Rutland, my lord Gray of Wilton, my lord Bray, my lord Lisle, and divers gentlemen . . .

(HC, Edward VI, *The Diary of Edward VI*, 1550–2: 264)

The lord Cobham, the secretary Petre, and sir Jhon Mason cam to the French king to Amyens, going on his journey, wher thei **were received of** al the nobles, and so brought to thear loginges...

(HC, Edward VI, *The Diary of Edward VI*, 1550–2: 268)

More complex periphrastic constructions allowed sequences of auxiliaries that marked aspect and voice, such as perfect *have* + passive *be*. Visser (1963-73: &2163) records the participial form of a passive present perfect from the end of the sixteenth century:

322)

Shee said, it might very well be, **having bene** many times **taken** one for another.

(1590 Sidney, *Arcadia* 48.40; Denison 1993: 427)

Early Modern English also marked the early stages of the **get-passive**, but it was in the Late Modern English that this type of passive construction was commonly used, as exemplified in Denison (1993: 420):

323)

So you may only save your life, but **get rewarded** for your roguery
(1731 Fielding, *letter Writers*, II.ix.20;)

I **got supplied** with bread, cheese and a pint of wine.

(1814 D.H.O'Brien, *CAptiv. & Escape* 113 (*OED*))

Shortly after passive *get* entered the language it began to occur with preceding auxiliary verbs, including modals and DO, as in Denison's (1993: 435-7) nineteenth century examples:

324)

The first sky-lambent blaze if Insurrection **is got damped** down;
(1837 Carlyle, *Fr. Rev.* I VII.x.281)

One learns also that the royal Carriages **are getting yoked**

(1837 Carlyle, *FR.Rev.* I VII. vii.i.268.14)

I only hope the Master's work **may be got done** by bedtime.

(1870 Alford in *Life* (1873) 457 (*OED* s.v. *bedtime*))

5.3.5. Negation

In the course of the Early Modern period, two main developments took place: loss of multiple negation and marking negative polarity of the sentence by placing the negator close to the auxiliary.

The disappearance of multiple negation.

The changes affecting negation patterns can be traced back to Old English, when *ne* was the main sentential negator, which could co-occur with other negative elements in multiple concord. In Middle English it was frequently reinforced with *not* (a reduced form going back to *nought*). This two-part negator, *ne . . . not*, could be accompanied by other negative elements, such as *never*. In the fourteenth century *not* progressively replaced *ne* as the sentential negator.

As far as **multiple negation** is concerned, the other negative forms accompanying *not* (*not . . . never/nothing*) were replaced by non-assertive forms (*not . . . ever/anything*), especially in the written language. Nevalainen (2006: 112) illustrates these developments in two translations of the same passage from Boetius. The first version is Chaucers' translation in the 14th c English:

325)

Thanne is sovereyn good the somme and the cause of al that oughte ben desired; forwhy thilke thing that withholdeth **no** good in itselfe, **ne** semblance of good, it **ne** mai **not** wel in **no** manere be desired **ne** requerid.

(HC, Geoffrey Chaucer (transl.), *Boethius*, 1380s: 433.C2)

In Chaucer's version sentence negation markers *ne* and *not* co-occur with constituent negation *no* (*manere*) in the same clause; *ne* is also used as a conjunction meaning 'nor'.

In the seventeenth-century translation of the same passage, Richard Preston uses a negative co-ordinating conjunction (*neither . . . nor*), followed by the non-assertive form *any*, not by another negative element:

326)

Good then, is the Cause why all things are desired; for that which **neither** in Reality **nor** Shew doth retain **any** thing of Good, is by **no** means to be desired:

(HC, Richard Preston (transl.), *Boethius*, 1695:139)

Multiple negatives persisted longest in coordinate and additive constructions (*nor/not . . . neither*). In other contexts they gave way to single negation followed by non-assertive forms, which is the norm of Standard English today. The vast majority of the writers in the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC) used the incoming pattern by about 1600. Shakespeare's use of it is illustrated in:

327)

and the Boy **neuer** neede to vnderstand **any** thing; for 'tis **not** good that children should know **any** wickednes . . .

(HC, Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1623: 46.C1)

Double or multiple negation was common in the sixteenth century. The second of two conjoined negative clauses particularly often has the so-called global negation, i.e. the negative element is repeated in every possible constituent in the sentence:

328)

that **no** woman has; **nor** neuer **none** Shall mistris be of it,
(Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* III.i)

Double negation seems to decline in writing in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The position of the sentence negator *not*

Another process completed in the Early Modern English period was marking the **negative polarity** of the sentence by placing the negator *not* close to the auxiliary, and even fusing the two.

The position of *not* was originally postverbal. This was natural as *not* strengthened the preverbal *ne*. In Early Modern English, after the loss of *ne*, there is a tendency to place *not* before the verb, possibly associated with a wish to express negation early in the sentence. Visser (1963: &1440) suggests that around the time of the changeover, c1500 – c1700, a sort of intermediate pattern became moderately common. Denison (1993: 451) provides examples that illustrate the developments in placing the negator *not*:

329)

She **not denies** it
(163(1598-9) Shakespeare, *Ado* IV.i.173)

However, rare occurrences of post-verbal *not* can still be encountered in the seventeenth century:

330)

But **saw not** Betty
(1667 Pepys, *Diary*, VIII 514.2 (1 Nov))

By the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century patterns with a modal followed by NOT are already the norm:

331)

... her breakfast **would not** stay on her Stomach also
(1787 Woodforde, *Diary*, II 301.30 (3 Feb))

In Late Middle English the standard way of negating lexical verbs in the present or past simple was to insert an empty operator, the dummy auxiliary DO and the negator NOT:

332)

Briton **did not** return till 4 this Afternoon. . .
(1787 Woddforde, *Diary*, II 296.3 (18 Jan))

Forms showing the fusion of modals with the negator *not* and loss of vowel in *not* are first recorded at the very end of the sixteenth century. Denison (1993: 309) lists the dates of the earliest occurrences of modals in the negative: 1628 *shouldn't*, 1647 *won't*, 1597 *can't*, c1631 *mayn't*, 1664 *sha'nt* / 1668 *shan'not*, 1694 *cou'dn't* / 1800 *couldn't*, 1704 *wou'dn't* / 1828 *wud-n't* / 1836 *wouldn't*, 1741 *mustn't*, 1789 *needn't*, 1837 *oughtn't*, 1840 *daren't*, 1848 *dusrstn't*, 1865 *mightn't*, 1886 *usen't*.

The syntax of most sixteenth-century still reflected the heritage of Middle English. A number of developments, both gains and losses, marked the Early Modern English period, especially in negation patterns and inversion.

Further reading

For the history of the auxiliary *do*, see Ellegård's classic work (1953). See Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 239ff.) for an authoritative descriptive overview of variation in the use of auxiliary *do* in EModE.

On developments in negation patterns in EModE, see Seoane (2012: § 39.6).

Study assignment 5.3.

1. Comment on the type of subject-verb inversion in the following:

- a. *Nott only was this couple* unfortunate in the children, butt in one another
... (Halkett 19; Rissanen 1999: 265)
- b. *Seldom is shooting* named, and yet it dyd the moste good in warre
(Ascham *Toxophilus* 76; Rissanen 1999: 265)
- c. What say you, Scarlet and John?
(*Merry Wives of Windsor* I, i, 155)
- d. *Nor do we* find him forward to be sounded,
But with a crafty madness keeps aloof.
(Shakespeare, *Hamlet* III, i, 8)

Summary

In Early Modern English the subject–verb–object order was firmly established as the basic word-order type. Though subject/verb inversion was relatively common in many sixteenth-century genres, the verb typically followed the subject in Early Modern English declarative sentences.

At the same time, the use of the **passive** to rearrange the information conveyed by the subject and the object gained ground in new constructions.

The regulation of word-order supported the **rise of periphrastic *do***: in interrogatives, the presence of an auxiliary prevented the inversion of the subject and the main verb, and in negatives it maintained the verb–object order. The introduction of *do* and other auxiliaries into the verb phrase formed part of the analytic tendency of English to mark such verb-phrase features as tense, mood and polarity in the auxiliary. The frequency of *do* in affirmative statements in Early Modern English could be linked with this tendency.

But perhaps the major change affecting the patterning of negation was the disappearance of ***multiple negation***. In this process the syntactic use of negative determiners, pronouns and adverbs was replaced by the corresponding non-assertive forms.

5.4. Complex sentences

The basic principle in the change of English word order is from an essentially verb-final to a clearly verb non-final language (see Fischer *CHEL* II 4.8). The major developments are the shift of the finite verb of subordinate clauses from final to non-final position and the establishment of subject–verb–object order in declarative sentences.

The word order change in subordinate clauses began in Old English and was established in Middle English. By the end of the Middle English period, the postverbal position of the object seems to be the rule.

In Early Modern English the more relevant changes concern the use of conjunctions in complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. This section is mainly concerned with types of subordinators that became the norm in Early Modern English.

5.4.1. Finite complement clauses

Complement clauses commonly occur in the object position with *verba dicendi et sentiendi*, i.e. verbs indicating saying, thinking, knowing or other mental activities.

The most common links introducing complement clauses are *that*, in negative contexts *lest*, and in interrogative clauses the *wh*-pronouns:

333) I am afferd **lest** the said offer beinge so speciouise at the first heringe was
oonly made to get therby sum money of your Grace . . .
([HC] Tunstall 137)

The zero link, i.e. combining the main and the complement clause without an expressed conjunction, occurs as early as Old English and becomes common in late Middle English. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth century the use of zero in object clauses increases steadily and reaches a peak at the end of the century (Rissanen *CHEL* III: 285).

The following examples illustrate the use of the subjunctive, the auxiliary periphrasis, and the indicative in complement clauses:
334)

I doubt he **be** not well that hee comes not home:

(Shakespeare *Merry Wives of Windsor* I. iv)

I began to think, How if one of the Bells **should fall**?

(Bunyan *Grace* §33)

I am afferd lest the said offer beinge so specious at the first heringe **was** oonly made to get therby sum money of your Grace . . .

([HC] Tunstall 137)

5.4.2. Infinitival complement clause.

In the early sixteenth century, the bare infinitive in object position is more common than in Present-day English, but later it becomes largely restricted to positions after auxiliaries *shall*, *will*, *can*, *may*, *must*, *do*, and, occasionally, *need* and *dare*, to combinations with certain verbs indicating causation or physical perception (*make*, *see*, *hear*), and adjectives (*lief*, *better*, *best*, etc.).

Fischer (1990: 226–309) divides the constructions where the finite verb and the infinitive are separated by the object of the finite verb (also called ‘accusative + infinitive’) into groups according to the semantics of the matrix clause verb: causative and perception verbs; verbs of persuasion and command; and *verba sentiendi et declarandi* (wishing, saying, etc.: ‘learned’ accusative + infinitive). The two first-mentioned types are common from Old English on; the learned accusative + infinitive construction develops in Middle English. With verbs of perception the construction without *to* predominates, but with other verbs *to* frequently occurs:

335)

he desyred no lenger to lyue / than to **see his Lordes & commons to haue** hym in as great awe and drede as...

([HC] Fabyan 168V Ci)

I have **heard some foreiners to blame** us English-men for neglecting..

([HC] Hoole 3: Rissanen *CHEL* III: 287)

The infinitive markers *to* and *for to*

The variation between *to* and *for to* as infinitive markers goes back to Middle English. *For to* initially indicates purpose, but in Middle English this meaning faded and the choice between the two infinitive markers is ‘mainly a question of lexical preference or style’ (Fischer *CHEL* II, 4.6.2.2). In Early Modern English sixteenth century, *for to* becomes outdated:

336)

it is necessarie for to haue thys ploughinge for the sustentacion of the
bodye . . . ([HC] Latimer 25)

In Old English, the **passive infinitive** mainly occurs after a (pre)modal auxiliary (the type *it can be found*). In Middle English its use becomes more varied and in Early Modern English it is common after the verb *be*, after nouns and adjectives (Rissanen *CHEL* III: 289):

337)

Than fyrst is **to be knowen**, what tyme thou shalt put thy rammes to thy
ewes; ([HC] Fitzherbert 42)

The development of the passive in these contexts may have been influenced by Latin.

The perfect infinitive, i.e. the type *(to) have* + past participle, becomes frequent from the fourteenth century on. Early Modern English instances support Fischer’s (*CHEL* II, 4.6.2.4) argument that the perfect infinitive is associated with the non-realisation of action rather than tense relations; hence it is common in clauses of unfulfilled condition, hypothesis, wish, intention, etc. The perfect infinitive can have the same functions in the sentence as the present infinitive:

338)

... althoughe **to haue written** this booke either in latin or Greke...had bene
more easier ... neuerthelesse ...

(Ascham *Toxophilus* Dedication; Rissanen *CHEL* III: 290)

5.4.3. Relative clauses

The relative link commonly used at the end of the Middle English period was *that*, although there was a tendency to prefer *which* in non-restrictive clauses. The inflected forms *whom*, *whose* were common with personal antecedents in non-restrictive clauses.

As early as the sixteenth century *wh*-pronouns are well established in all types of non-restrictive relative clauses, although the relative particle *that* is still common in oral discourse.

In the sixteenth century, a ‘pleonastic’ *that* may be appended to the *wh*-relatives and relative adverbs:
339)

Who that redeth the boke of Exodi shall finde the charitie of this man
wonderfull. ([HC] Elyot 151)

This use of *that*, which was common in Middle English, becomes obsolete in the seventeenth century.

The spread of the *wh*-forms was supported by the heavy functional load of *that* (which also occurred as a determiner, a demonstrative or a component of complex subordinators). When the connection between the antecedent and the relative link was loose, the meaning of *that* was most likely ambiguous. Consequently, the *wh*-forms seem to be first established in contexts of loose relative link – in continuative and sentential relative clauses (cf. Rissanen *CHEL* III: 4.6.2.2.).

In addition to the three relative links mentioned above, the relative clause could be appended to the main clause by zero, i.e. without an expressed relativiser:

340)

But it is not rumour **can make men guiltie**, much lesse entitle me, to other
mens crimes. (Jonson *Volpone* Epistle 18)

There are also less common relative links, like *as* and *but*. *As* is mainly used with *such* and occasionally with *same*:

341)

. . . that noe man might preach, but **such as** should be allowed by authority:
([HC] Hayward 5)

5.4.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are traditionally classified on a semantic basis analogously to other adverbials. In Middle English and even in Early Modern English the number and variation of conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses is more extensive than in present-day language.

A more general marker of subordination is *that*. It functions not only as a relative particle, but also as a conjunction in Old English and early Middle English. *that* was part of subordinating links consisting of a preposition, the demonstrative pronoun *þæt* ‘*that*’ and a conjunctive element (*þæt* or *þe*), as in *for þam þe*, *for þy þæt* ‘for’, ‘because’. In Middle English, these groups are simplified, but *that* still often follows the conjunction.

In the sixteenth century, *that* can be found at least with *after*, *as*, *because*, *before*, *beside(s)*, *for*, *if*, *since*, *sith*, *though*, *(un)till*, *when* and *while*, as in the following examples from Rissanen (*CHEL* III: 303):

342)

yf **that** yow can so doo, paye your chargys of the howsse,
([HC] Mowntayne 207)

After that I had told him many consideracions why he had no cause so to say: “Well,” said he, . . .

([HC] Roper 35)

I thought my self I might not well do so, **because that** in my conscience this was one of the cases, in which I was bounden

([HC] More *Letters* 505)

The role played by subordination has increased in the course of the history of English. Rissanen (*CHEL* III 4.6.2.) provides an account of the structure and linking of the subordinate clauses in Early Middle English. This section will briefly point to the main developments in various types of adverbial clauses.

In **clauses of purpose or result** the common link is the simple *that*. Because of its heavy functional load, this conjunction was often preceded by elements signaling purpose or result more obviously, such as *so*, *to the intent/end* (recorded since the fifteenth century), and *in order* (recorded since the eighteenth century). Examples of final clauses are:

343)

go to thy bedde and slepe, and be vppe betyme, . . . **that** thou mayste be all the shorte wynters day about thy busynes.

([HC] Fitzherbert 101)

to the intent that they might be ye [5the] easier had, Mr Speaker invited them to dinner

([HC] Aungier 24)

In order (...) *that* probably originates in the prepositional expression indicating either purpose or, in a more general way, ‘in regard to’, ‘in reference to’, first attested in the sixteenth century:

344)

In order . . . that the Resemblance in the Ideas be Wit, it is necessary . . .
(Addison *Spectator* no. 62 I 264)

Examples of consecutive clauses are:

345)

Then Il’d shrieke, **that** euen your eares Should rift to heare me,
(Shakespeare *Winter’s Tale* V.i)

your eye may iudg without muche declaracion, **so that** I shall not neede to make more exposition therof . . .

([HC] Record Fo. 2 r)

The developments of the **causal clauses** have been examined in Traugott (*CHEL* I: 4.5.5) and Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.6.3.2) for Old English and Middle English usages. In Early Modern English the most common conjunctions introducing causal clauses of new information are *for* (*that*) and *because* (*that*):

346)

king Edwardes lyne shoulde not any longer reigne vpon them, both **for that** thei had so farre gone, that it was now no surety to retreat, as **for that** they thought it for the weale vniuersal to take that wai although they had not yet begonne it.

([HC] More *Richard III* 79)

Less frequently occurring links are *forbecause*, *as*, *for why* and *in that*. Clauses of given information are introduced by *that*, *now* (*that*), *since*, *sith*, *sith(ence)*, *since* from the ME temporal *sithen(s)*, *sin*, (from OE *sipþan*) (note that these conjunctions are connected with temporality:

347)

For sith almightie God the father woulde gyue hys moste dearely beloued sonne vnto suche an horrible death, . . . thou mayest bee sure that he hateth sinne very much.

([HC] Fisher 398; Rissanen *CHEL* III: 307)

The mood of the causal clauses is mostly indicative. The most common Early Modern causal conjunction is *for*. It goes back to Old English groups in which it functions as a preposition.

In **conditional** or **concessive clauses** (with inversion) the subjunctive or auxiliary periphrasis is the rule, as in Present-day English

348)

and if euer it **came** soo to / that he shulde resygne his Kyngelye mageste / he sayde his mynde was to resygne to the Duke of Herforde

([HC] Fabyan 168V Ci)

If he **should** nowe **take** any thinge of them, he knewe, he said, he should do them greate wronge . . .

([HC] Roper 41)

In case (*that*) emerges in Middle English and steadily gains ground in Early Modern English:

349)

to which Scholars may be removed and kept apart, **in case** they be sick . . .

([HC] Hoole 226)

The intensifying *all* plays an important role in the formation of concessive links. It is combined with *though* in Middle English, and by the end of the period it had lost most of its emphasising force. *For all* (*that*) and *all if* 'even though/if' are less common combinations indicating concessivity. The phrase

for all (that) can be found throughout the Modern period; *all if* instances are recorded in Barclay's texts in the sixteenth century:

350)

How many of this Citie **for all that** they are Vsurers, yet would be counted honest men . . . ([HC] Smith B2 v)

All if I would, it were but shame.

(1514 Barclay *Cyt. & Uplandyshe*. 41 [OED s.v. *all* adv. C10b])

The time denoted by the main clause can be previous or subsequent to, or simultaneous with, the time denoted by the **temporal clause**. Some subordinators (*until, since*, etc.) limit the duration of the time indicated by the main clause. As in Present-day English, simultaneous time is mostly indicated by *while(s)*, (*the*) *whilst*:

351)

laboureth to lyue and not to die, **whiles** they may haue strengthe to contynue. ([HC] Boethius, Colville 79)

The Accuser may be drawn to Practice, **whilst** he is in Person.

([HC] *Raleigh* 212 Cii)

Clauses introduced by *as soon as* and *no sooner (...) but/than* indicate the temporal proximity of two actions or events. According to Fischer (*CHEL* II 4.6.3.4), *no sooner (...) than* does not occur in Middle English. The earliest instances found in the Helsinki Corpus date from around 1600:

352)

as soone as he was gon in to the house this poller [5rogue] lad the horse awaye . . . ([HC] *Merry Tales* 147)

When the time denoted by the main clause follows the time denoted by the subordinate clause, the typical conjunctions are *after* and *sith(ence)*, *since* and, when proximity between the events is indicated, *as soon as* is used.

Clauses of comparison are introduced by subordinators that are similar to PDE subordinators. Clauses of similarity are initiated by *as* or *like* which is, however, less common than *as*:

353)

Ye have said **lyke** a noble lady ought to say.

(1530 Berners *Arth. Lyt. Bryt.* 520 [OED s.v. *like* adv. (conj.) B6a])

As can be strengthened by *such* or *right*:

354)

if his Highnes might inwardlie see my true minde **such as** God knoweth it is, it wolde (I trust) sone aswage his high displeasure.

([HC] More, *Letters* 509)

In the seventeenth century, the compound subordinator *like as* becomes less common.

Clauses of comparison can indicate either equality or inequality. The former are typically introduced by *as*, the latter by *than*:

355)

my closet is so full stored and **so fine, as** I would never desire to have it better.
([HC] Pepys 7 409)

some for malice or ignorance will take things **otherwise than** they are spoken
([HC] Smith E3 r)

The role played by subordination has increased in the course of the history of English. In Early Modern English an important factor influencing the structure of complex sentences was classical rhetoric that brought coherence and organisation to the written styles of English.

Further general reading on Early Modern English

Introductory reading in Barber et al. (2009: ch. 8). For a concise and informative book-length introduction to Early Modern English, see Görlach (1991) that covers the period 1500 – 1700 and contains an appendix with a wide selection of texts of various kinds. Excellent introductory reading, in Gelderen (2006: §7.3, 7.4), who incorporates in the textbook electronic resources and links to specialized sites.

On Shakespeare's language, see several introductions, among them, Blake (2002) and Hope (2003). Of the numerous other works on Shakespeare's language, Blake (1983) is the most useful from the syntactician's point of view.

A useful tool for studying words in context is *The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare* compiled by Spevack (1973).

A comprehensive reference work covering English from 1476 to 1776 is Volume 3 of *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (1999, ed. Roger Lass).

Visser's (1963-73) monumental *Historical Syntax* offers a solid basis for all studies of the development of the English verb syntax.

Lightfoot (1979) deals with a number of important developments ranging from Old to Early Modern English. The overall survey of English historical syntax is Denison (1993).

Further general reading on Late Modern English

On Late Modern English grammar, there are introductory textbooks (Beal 2004: 66-86), Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009; ch 5), Görlach (2001: 98-129) and (1999a: 65-91).

There are also new (editions of) language histories of English that have added a chapter or section on the Late Modern period (e.g. Barber et al. 2009), who provide fully updated print and web references directing students to the latest research.

Late Modern syntax has received outstanding and fairly comprehensive coverage in a book-length chapter of the *Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. III Chapter 4 (Rissanen 1999) and Vol. IV Chapter 3 (Denison 1998).

Contributions to the study of the changes in the NP, VP and complementation patterns in Late Modern English, mainly based on corpus research are gathered in Hundt (2014). Kytö, Rydén, Smitherberg (2006) is a collection of articles on 19th century English.

Study assignment 5.4.

Read the following excerpt from *The Love Letters of Dorothy Osborne* (edited by Edward Parry in 1901) which are available at <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/osborne/letters/letters.html>

Comment on morphological features (e.g. pronominal forms or verbal endings), syntax (e.g. word order), identify subordinate clauses and underline subordinators.

Dorothy Osborne (1627–1695) and William Temple come from ‘gentle’ but impoverished families. When they fall in love, their families are not happy. Her letters to him before their marriage survived in a collection held in the British Library:

SIR,—That you may be sure it was a dream that I writ that part of my letter in, I do not now remember what it was writ, but seems it was very kind, and possibly you owe the discovery on't to my being asleep. But I do not repent it, for I should not love you if I did not think you discreet enough to be trusted with the knowledge of all my kindness. Therefore 'tis not that I desire to hide it from you, but that I do not love to tell it; and perhaps if you could read my heart, I should make less scruple of your seeing on't there than in my letters.

(*Early Letters. Winter, 1652-3, Letter 17*)

Summary

The language of most sixteenth-century still reflects the heritage of Middle English. A number of developments, both gains and losses, mark the Early Modern English period.

In the nominal system, the periphrastic genitive gains prominence. In the pronominal system, the second-person singular pronoun *thou* disappears from most contexts of use.

The Early Modern English period, particularly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, witnesses developments that result in the establishment of the Present-day English verbal system. The most noticeable of these affect

the modal verbs and the auxiliaries marking aspect and voice; the auxiliary *do* is introduced to negative and interrogative clauses. At the end of the eighteenth century, various combinations of tense, mood, voice and, to a certain extent, aspect can be systematically expressed by sets of auxiliaries and endings.

Syntactically, important changes take place at the level of the clause – the demise of multiple negation and of the impersonal constructions – and at the level of the complex sentence – the emergence of new infinitival constructions. Some of these changes are shared by most varieties of English, while others, such as multiple negation, have come to be associated with the rise of the standard language.

By 1700 the language has reached the state of considerable homogeneity characteristic of the 18th century.

Answer key

Part I. Old English

1.1. The Noun Phrase

Answers: 1.1.1.-1.1.3.

1.

sg	pl	sg	pl
N. guma	guman	tunge	tungen
G. guman	gumena	tungan	tungena
D. guman	gumum	tungan	tungum
A. guman	guman	tungan	tungan
sg	pl		
N. giest	giestas		
G. giestes	giesta		
D. gieste	giestum		
A. giest	giestas		

2. b, d, c, f, e.

3.

a) sg Nom fem; b) sg Acc masc; c) sg Nom neuter; d) sg Dat neuter; e) sg Nom masc; f) sg Dat fem; e); g) sg Acc fem; h) sg Dat masc; i) sg Gen fem; j) pl Nom neut; k) pl Acc masc.

4.

Ðā wæs æfter manigum dagum þæt sē cyning cōm tō þæm ēalande, and hēt him ūte setl gewyrcean;...

dagum inflectionally marked for dat. plural

sē cyning zero-inflection, preceded by definite, determiner in the Nom case

þæm ēalande case-marked by means of the Dat sg inflection *-e* and definite determiner in the Dat. Case

Answers: 1.1.5.

Strong declension		Masc	neuter	feminine
Sg	Nom.	glæd	glæd	gladu, -o
	Gen.	glades	glades	glædre
	Dat.	gladum	gladum	glædre
	Acc.	glædne	glæd	glade
	Instr.	glade	glade	
Pl.	Nom.	glade	gladu, -o, -e	glada, -e
	Gen.	glædra	glædra	glædra
	Dat.	gladum	gladum	gladum
	Acc.	glade	gladu, -o, -e	glada, -e

1.2. The Verb Phrase

Answers 1.2.

2.

The motion verb *come* occurs with the perfect auxiliary BE in the present and past and once in the future. There is only one instance when perfective HAVE is used.

2.1. Grammatical relations

Answers 2.1.

1. a. Noun–Genitive; b. split genitives c. Genitive–Adjective

2.

a) him	Experiencer: Dat. – Gen.
b) we	Experiencer: Nom. – Gen.
c) se mæssepreost	Experiencer: Nom. – Gen.
d) God	Experiencer: Dat. – Nom.
e) ðe	Experiencer: Dat. – Nom.

4.

a. NP – Prep; b. NP – Prep, c. prep – NP. PPs are head last in a. and b., i.e. the preposition follows its complement; head-first in c.

2.3. Word order at phrase level

Answers 2.3.

1.

a. quantifier + possessive + adjective + N; b. demonstrative + possessive + N ; c. quantifier + *opre* + adjective + N ; d. QP + Poss.P + AP + head N

2.

a. N+poss; b. N+num; c. N+modifier (*-weard*); d. N+num; e. N+dem +Adj

3.

a. coordinated Subjects; b. coordinated Objects; c. apposition

2.4. Word order at clause level

Answers: 2.4.

3.

a. adverbial modifier + pron. Su + finite verb + IO + non-finite verb

Although the clause is organised according to the V2 principle, the pronominal subject is allowed to appear in preverbal position (in contrast, nominal subjects can only appear in postverbal position).

b. interr. pron. + finite verb + pron. Su + IO + DO + non-finite verb +PO

The pronominal subject is inverted with the finite verb because of the verb-second requirement in *wh*-questions.

4.

a. the finite verb *mæge* is moved from final position to the left to a position where it has a DO on the left side and a PO on the right

b. the finite verb *mihton* is fronted to the left to a position immediately following the subject.

2.5. Subordinate clause

Answer 2.5.

1.

a) the invariant relative particle *þe*; b) the pronominal relativiser. *se*; c) relative attraction

2.

a. conditional clause, subordinator *gif*, verb-last principle

b. comparative clause, subordinator *þonne*, verb-last principle

Part II. Middle English

4.2. The reduction of verbal inflections

Answers 4.2.

1.

a. lexical vb.+ direct object 'that faith'; b. auxiliary with a deleted infinitive of a verb of motion; c. lexical vb. + direct object

4.

a. substitute, b. causative, c. substitute, d. auxiliary, e. emphatic auxiliary, f. lexical.

4.3. Word order at phrase level

Answers 4.3.

1. a. quant + *other* + part. adj. + noun; b. noun + quantifier + adjective.

2.

a. [The Wife of Bath]'s tale

b. [King Priam of Troy]'s son

c. [this king of Troy]'s son

d. [The Archbishop of York]'s grace

4.4. Word order at clause level

Answers 4.4.

1.

a. adverbial + finite verb + Subj + non-finite + adverbial

b. adverbial + finite verb + Subj + non-finite + PO

c. topicalized DO + finite verb + Subj + non-finite + IO + adverbial

d. adverbial + finite verb + Subj + non-finite ...+ Po

e. adverbial + finite verb + Subj + DO + non-finite

2.

Examples of vestigial V2 in the sentences begin with a non-subject negative phrase require a modal or a form of *do* in second position. V2 in modern English is also triggered by *only*-phrases:

a. I have never in my life seen such a disaster. b. I will vote for him under no circumstances. c. He has written not a single verse in all that time. d. I have seen such tulips only in Holland. e. He has written only a single book in all that time. f. I will accept that only under exceptional circumstances.

If this tendency were to become more pronounced over time, then vestigial V2 would eventually die out in usage.

5.

a. There are three markers of negation: negative adverb in sentence-initial position; contracted negative form of the verb *be*; constituent negation: negative pronoun

b. sentence negation marked by *ne* in preverbal position constituent negation twice: marked by *na* + indefinite pronoun *one*; marked by the adjective *nenne* in postnominal position (agreeing in gender, number and case with the noun it modifies)

4.5. Subordination

Answers: 4.5.

1.

a. passive infinitive: ***not-to-verb*** order; b. active infinitive: ***to-verb-not*** order; c. passive infinitive: ***(to)-be-not-verb*** (past part); d. active infinitives: ***to-verb-not***.

2.

þa is an adverb because the main clause is governed by the V2 principle

Part III. Early Modern English

5.1. The Noun Phrase

Answers 5.1.

1.

a. numeral + definite article + superlative + noun

b. indefinite pronoun+ possessive + noun

c. demonstrative + possessive + noun

4.

This line concordance shows that usage was variable in the second half of the 16th century, the traditional subject form *ye* occurs in seven cases out of nine, but the author also used the incoming form *you* twice.

5.3. Word order at clause level

Answers: 5.3.

1. a, b, d, inversion with negative particles and adverbs; c. inversion of lexical verb in wh-question.

GLOSSARY OF LINGUISTIC TERMS

This glossary aims only to give brief working definitions of the more important or difficult linguistic terms used in this work,

ablaut [Ger., off-sound] – a vowel variation (as in English *sing, sang, sung, song*) caused by former differences in syllabic accent.

accusative case – grammatical case usually exhibited by a noun phrase often functioning as the direct object of the verb, and usually expressing semantically the patient of the action that the verb denotes.

affix – a bound morpheme which adds lexical or grammatical information to a root or stem. An affix may be a prefix or a suffix.

agreement – formal relation between two elements, so the form of one element is required to correspond with the form of the other.

analytic language – a language in which the grammatical function of a word is conveyed by its auxiliaries and word order.

apposition – a grammatical construction in which two noun phrases, are placed side by side, with one of them serving to define or modify the other. The two noun phrases are said to be *in apposition*, (e.g. in the phrase *my friend John* the name *John* is in apposition with the word *friend*). Each of the two component noun phrases involved is also called an **appositive**, a sequence of two constituents with the same grammatical role and semantic reference, e.g. *I, Henry Smith, do declare...*

aspect – a grammatical marking in the verb that indicates whether the action or state denoted by a verb is still in progress (progressive aspect: *I am sleeping*) or completed (perfect/perfective aspect: *I have slept*.).

auxiliary verb – a set of verbs which have primarily grammatical meaning and which are associated with a following lexical verb.

case – grammatical category expressing the relationship of a noun phrase to the verb in its clause.

clitic – a small word which becomes attached to an adjacent and a more important word.

comparative linguistics (originally **comparative philology**) – a branch of historical linguistics that is concerned with comparing languages in order to establish their historical relatedness. Languages may be related by convergence through borrowing or by genetic descent.

comparison – grammatical category associated with adjectives. Many English adjectives distinguish basic or ‘positive’, ‘comparative’ and ‘superlative’ forms (e.g. *hot, hotter, hottest*).

complementiser – a type of conjunction which is used to mark one clause

as dependent on another.

compound subject or **coordinate subject** – consists of two or more nouns or pronouns joined by a conjunction or preposition, which together form the subject of a single verb.

conjugation – the creation of verb forms derived by inflections that mark person, number, tense, aspect, mood, voice. Conjugated forms of a verb which show a given person, number, tense, etc. are called *finite* forms. In many languages there are also one or more *non-finite* forms, such as the infinitive or the gerund.

conjugation table or a **verb paradigm** – a table giving all the conjugated variants of a verb in a given language.

coordination – a relation between two syntactic units of equal status that are linked together.

dative – grammatical case usually exhibited by a noun phrase often functioning as the indirect object of the verb.

declension – a set either of nouns or of adjectives which share the same paradigm.

definite / indefinite declension – Old English adjectives had two declensions; where the adjective was preceded by a demonstrative or possessive it followed the definite declension, and elsewhere it followed the indefinite declension.

determiner – a word that expresses the reference of a noun, i.e. ‘determines’ the meaning of the noun. The class includes the definite article (*the*) and the indefinite article (*a/an*), demonstrative adjectives (*this/these, that/those*), possessive adjectives (*my/your/her/his/our* /*their*), and quantifiers (*few, little*);

conjoining – linking together of words, phrases or clauses which are of equal status

co-reference – the reference in one expression to the same referent in another expression. In the following sentence, both *you's* have the same referent: “*You said you would come.*”

declension – in some languages, the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives for categories such as case, gender, and number.

conjugation – the set of forms associated with a verbal lexeme.

determiner – the cover term for articles (*a, the*), demonstratives (*this, that*) and **quantifiers** (*few, three*)

experiencer – the animate entity affected by the action or state expressed by the verb.

finite – a verb which is marked for **tense** and number and has a subject

finite clause – a clause which contains a subject and a finite verb.

gender (grammatical/ natural) – a grammatical category not influenced by the sex of the referent, it may be distinguished as ‘grammatical gender’,

contrasting with 'natural gender', where the sex of the referent determines the gender. The gender to which an animate noun belongs may be determined by sex, but for most nouns in Old English gender was semantically arbitrary.

genitive – grammatical case usually exhibited by a noun phrase when the phrase is used in a possessive function.

gloss – a note made in the margins or between the lines of a book, in which the meaning of the text in its original language is explained, sometimes in another language. As such, glosses can vary in thoroughness and complexity, from simple marginal notations of words one reader found difficult or obscure, to entire interlinear translations of the original text and cross references to similar passages.

grammaticalisation – the attribution of grammatical character to a lexical word. An example of grammaticalisation in the history of English is the sequence of changes through which modal verbs were transformed from main verbs to auxiliary verbs.

impersonal construction – sentences which have no nominative subject and whose verb is in the 3rd person singular.

Indo-European – the language reconstructed by linguists which is assumed to be the ancestor of most European languages (e.g. English, Latin, French, German, Russian) and some Asian languages (e.g. Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian).

infinitive, inflected – special form of the Old English **infinitive** which occurs when governed by the preposition *to*.

inflection – the changes in the form of a word to express grammatical function and meaning. Some classes of word have preserved their system of inflection better than others in Modern English; verbs, for example, distinguish *tense*, past (-*ed*) from present, and third *person* (-*es/-s*) from other persons; nouns distinguish *number*, singular from plural (-*s*). The inflectional system to distinguish *case* has for the most part been greatly simplified. Only the genitive marker ('*s*) has been preserved.

instrumental – a **case** used when the noun phrase exhibits functions such as 'association with', but such functions often shown by the dative rather than the instrumental. The instrumental is also used in a variety of idiomatic expressions.

interlinear gloss – a gloss, usually word-by-word, of a text which is written between the lines of an original text in another language, the word glosses appearing above the corresponding words in the original.

macron – a short straight line placed above a vowel to indicate that it is pronounced long.

modality – a term referring to attitudes of obligation, necessity, truth and

- belief, in PDE usually restricted to modal verbs *can, may, must, shall, will* and to sentence adverbs such as *apparently*.
- mood** – the cover term for indicative and subjunctive. The choice may be controlled by specific syntactic constructions or the semantic function of expressing doubt, hypothesis or unreality.
- morphology** – area of grammar concerned with the structure of words and with relationships between words that involve the **morphemes** that compose them.
- negative concord** – negation falls not only on a verb phrase but also on any other appropriate element in the clause, as in non-standard present-day English *I didn't see nothing*.
- number** – grammatical category associated especially with nouns. In English, 'plural' and 'singular' numbers are distinguished inflectionally (e.g. 'cats' versus 'cat'). In Old English there was also a dual category, occasionally used with pronouns and adjectives.
- paradigm** – the set of forms belonging to a single word or grammatical category; **conjugation** refers to the paradigm of a verb and it gives information about tense, aspect, mood, etc.; **declension** refers to the paradigm of a noun, adjective or pronoun and it contains information about number, case and gender.
- phrasal verb** – a verb + particle combination which acts syntactically and semantically as a single unit, cf. PDE *look up* 'search for' and the verb + preposition construction *look up* 'raise one's eyes'.
- phrase** – a syntactic constituent headed by a lexical category, i.e. a noun, adjective, verb, adverb, or preposition.
- pidgin** – a language which develops as a contact language when groups of people who speak different languages try to communicate with one another on a regular basis. A pidgin usually has a limited vocabulary and a reduced grammatical structure.
- pied-piping** – movement of the preposition to front position in *wh*-questions and relative clauses.
- preposition stranding** – the preposition remains in situ in *wh*-questions and relative clauses.
- preterite** (also **praeterite**) – the grammatical tense expressing actions which took place in the past. The term is often specifically used in morphology to refer to the past tense forms of a verb.
- preterite-present** – a class of verbs in which the original preterite comes to acquire present tense meanings and where subsequently a new **preterite** is formed. Thus, OE *witan* 'know', L *novi* 'I know' (not etymologically related) are both preterite in form but present in meaning.
- pro-verb** – a verb form that may be used instead of a full verb phrase, e.g. *do*

psychological verbs –express emotional states. They take two arguments, an Experiencer and a Theme (of emotion) in two configurations:

Experiencer – Theme (*admire, love, hate, like, etc.*)

Theme – Experiencer (*amaze, please, surprise, etc.*)

quantifier – expresses amount or number: *every, some, one*

relativiser – a grammatical marker introducing a relative clause, e.g. PDE *that* or *who, which*.

‘quirky’ subject – is a linguistic phenomenon of the Icelandic language whereby verbs constrain the cases of their subjects, e.g. a NP in the Dative case functioning as a subject in a sentence.

relative particle – an element which has the function of a **complementiser** used to introduce a relative clause.

root – the lexical morpheme at the core of a word to which affixes are added, which cannot be divided into smaller units. Such a morpheme is always a member of a lexical category, i.e. noun, verb, etc. It can function as a stem, and it may combine with derivational and inflectional affixes.

root clause – main clause

stranding – when an element is left unattached to or moved out of its construction.

synthetic or **inflected language** – a language in which the grammatical function of a word is conveyed chiefly by its inflections or endings

syncretism – a single inflected form corresponds to more than one set of morphosyntactic features.

subjectless clause – a clause whose verb takes a 3rd pers. sg. inflection (no matter what NP arguments are present) and which lacks a nominative NP.

syncretism (inflectional syncretism) – indicates a single form fulfilling two or more different functions. Thus, syncretism is found even in English, whose inflectional morphology (system of different word-forms) is simple in comparison with many languages.

synthetic language (also **inflecting language**) – a language where an inflectional affix typically represents several morphemes.

topic – the element which is given in a sentence, usually in the preceding discourse, while the comment is new.

transition from synthetic to analytic – in the course of the history of English, morphological case and agreement gradually disappear. At the same time, auxiliaries, determiners, pronouns and prepositions become more frequent, and the word order becomes fixed. These changes are often described as transforming the language from synthetic (lacking auxiliaries, etc.) to analytic (having auxiliaries, etc.), the strictness of word order compensating for the lack of case and agreement endings, and the introduction of auxiliaries compensating for the loss of

inflection for tense and aspect. Thus, Old English has morphological case and agreement but relatively few auxiliaries, determiners, pronouns and prepositions; Modern English has very little case and agreement but many auxiliaries, determiners, pronouns and prepositions that occupy fixed positions.

verb-fronting – verb-subject order (VS), also inversion in questions and negative-initial sentences.

voice – expresses relationships between the subject and the object, hence the categories active and passive.

weight – the amount of phonological material contained in a word.

word order – sequence in which words occur; of particular interest in Old English is the position of the verb.

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- OED = *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989), 2nd edn, ed. J. A. Simpson/ E. S. C. Weiner; additions (1993–7), ed. John Simpson and Edmund Weiner with Michael Proffitt; 3rd edn (in progress Mar. 2000), ed. John Simpson; *OED Online* (<http://dictionary.oed.com>), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CORPORA

- AC = Archer Corpus (A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers).
- BNC = British National Corpus (100 million words) distributed by Shogakkan Company.
- FLOB = The Freiburg update of the Lancaster/Oslo/Bergen Corpus. A Corpus containing about 1 million words of British English in 1991. (Included in ICAME).
- HC = *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, Diachronic Part*, ed. by Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö & Palander-Collins. (Included in ICAME).
- CEEC = Corpus of Early English Correspondence. 1998. Compiled by Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, Jukka Keränen, Minna Nevala, Arja Nurmi & Minna Palander-Collin at the Department of English, University of Helsinki.

CAMELIA BEJAN

ENGLISH WORDS: STRUCTURE, ORIGIN AND MEANING

Affixation
Compounding
Clipping
Borrowing
Neologism
Collocation
Idiom
Synonymy
Antonymy
Homonymy
Polysemy
Lexical field



Collection: Language, Culture & Creativity
General editor: Mihai A. Stroe, PhD, DrHabil

1

English words: structure, origin and meaning **A linguistic introduction**

Acquiring knowledge about the words of a language involves understanding how words are created, how they have evolved over time, how they relate in meaning to each other, and how they are dealt with in dictionaries. These are the main goals that this textbook, designed for undergraduate students of English as a foreign language, aims to accomplish. Drawing on insights from the linguistic research that has been carried out lately, it covers those areas of language study, which normally fall under the headings of lexical morphology, etymology and lexical semantics. Special attention is paid to word-building processes, word history and word meaning, with a view to clarifying terminology and putting it to practice in the empirical analysis of language facts.

Camelia Bejan
Associate Professor of Linguistics, Ovidius University, Romania

English words:
structure, origin and meaning
A linguistic introduction

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List of abbreviations

Languages

AmE	American English
AusE	Australian English
BrE	British English
NZE	New Zealand English
Gmc	Germanic languages
L	Latin
OE	Old English
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English

Lexical categories

A	adjective
Adv	adverb
N	noun
Num	numeral
P	preposition
V	verb

Syntactic phrases

NP	noun phrase
VP	verb phrase
AP	adjective phrase
AdvP	adverb phrase
PP	preposition phrase

Other notational conventions

//	slashes identify spoken sounds using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet
[]	square brackets identify components in the structure of the word or syntactic phrases
>	yields or produces
*	an asterisk indicates an ungrammatical example
§	section in a chapter

Foreword

The areas of language study covered in this book are those which conventionally fall under the headings of lexical morphology, etymology and lexical semantics. Special attention is paid to three main topics related to the study of words: word-building processes, word history and word meaning.

This textbook is based on a survey of the main descriptive linguistic research that has been done over the past 40 years or so. It is not written in the perspective of a particular theoretical framework, but draws on insights from various research traditions, with a view to clarifying terminology and putting it to practice in the empirical analysis of language facts. We rely both on introductory sources, such as introductions to linguistics, textbooks, linguistic encyclopaedias and dictionaries of linguistic terms, as well as, on more advanced studies, such as handbooks, monographs and articles. The book is structured as follows.

The first chapter covers both major and minor word-formation processes in English. It gives an overview of affixational and compounding patterns, as well as an insight into the more peripheral word-formation types, such as: clipping, blending, conversion, back-derivation, change of stress, and so on.

The second chapter deals with the main issues related to the origins of words, the wide range of lexical borrowings into the English language, as well as the creation of short-lived, trendy neologisms, all viewed as essential stages in the moulding of the English word-stock. The diachronic view on the vocabulary of the language provides answers to questions related to the etymological diversity of the present-day English lexicon.

The third chapter is concerned with different approaches to the analysis of word meaning and with the semantic relations which a lexical item contracts with other lexical items. Priority is given to the syntagmatic sense relationships established in collocational patterns and in idiomatic expressions. The focus is then on the multifaceted paradigmatic sense relationships of hyponymy, synonymy, antonymy, homonymy, polysemy, etc. Finally, we take a brief look at dictionaries, as the ultimate word-books that supply the readership with essential information concerning word meaning and usage.

Using this book

Conceived for undergraduates of English as a Foreign Language, the textbook assumes an upper-intermediate level of English and little prior knowledge of linguistics and covers a wide range of lexicological topics, mainly approached from a traditional, descriptive standpoint, with frequent reference to modern techniques used to explore the lexicon of English, such as online dictionaries and language corpora.

The material is organized in three chapters, with clearly delimited sections that are interspersed with exercises, grouped in self-assessed tests. Some introductory material is covered in each section, to give students the theoretical tools they will need to analyse the English vocabulary. Some of the exercises require dictionary consultation or online searching. Students can control their learning success by comparing their results with the answer key provided at the end of the book. Each section ends with recommendations for further reading that steer the students' attention to the main bibliographical sources for the linguistic topic under discussion. The main linguistic terms, when first defined and discussed, are set in boldface type, and are included in a glossary, at the end of the book, that is meant to help students refresh memory whenever they need. The bibliography is geared to the annotated suggestions for Further reading.

The book can be used as a textbook for a course on word-formation, origin and meaning, as a source-book for teachers, for student research projects, as a book for self-study by more advanced students (e.g. for their exam preparation), and as an up-to-date reference concerning selected lexicological topics in English for a more general readership.

The main teaching goals that it aims to achieve are to increase the undergraduate students' awareness of the structure and meaning of the lexical items belonging to the wordstock of the English language and to develop their language skills. Later on, as professionals, they will benefit from the knowledge and skills acquired – for instance, by being able to draw information from a wide range of general or specialised dictionaries and all available corpora of the English language – in their attempts to cope with the professional demands of teaching English as a foreign language, interpreting or translating.

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1. Word-formation

The definition of the word

The average speaker of a language knows from 45,000 to 60,000 words which are stored in his/her memory in the so-called mental lexicon, i.e. the lexicon in the human mind. But what exactly is a word? How can a word be defined?

In everyday language, the term 'word' is used intuitively for a basic element of language. From a linguistic perspective, the word is characterised by different traits depending on the theoretical background. Thus, the word can be defined on the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic level:

(a) on the phonetic-phonological level:

words are the smallest segments of sound (a speech sound or a series of speech sounds) which have the function of **phonemes**. For example, the word *cat* consists of three phonemes /kæt/. Words usually have one main stress, marked by an acute accent: *téxtbook*, *análysis*, *understánd*. Words can be theoretically isolated by word accent and boundary markers like pauses.

(b) on the orthographic-graphemic level:

words are uninterrupted string of letters, preceded by a blank space and followed either by a blank space or by a punctuation mark in writing or print, for example, there are five words and three punctuation marks in the following: *His sister, Jane, arrived late.*

The term 'word,' in these senses, is often referred to as the **orthographic word** (for writing) or the **phonological word** (for speech). A neutral term often used to subsume both is **word form**.

(c) on the morphological level:

words are characterised as basic linguistic units consisting of **morphemes**. Words have morphological structure; they are made up of a base with various derivational and/or inflectional elements. For instance, the word *players* consists of three morphemes PLAY + -ER + -S. Words can be described as the result of applying specific rules of **word-formation** (e.g.

derivation, compounding, conversion). They are structurally stable and cannot be divided (e.g. *greenhouse* is form-preserving, no item can be inserted in its structure). Words belong to certain classes (noun, verb, adjective, determiner, etc.) which are called **parts of speech** or **word classes**.

(d) on the lexical-semantic level:

words are the smallest, relatively independent carriers of meaning that are codified in the **lexicon**. The word expresses a **semantic concept**, for instance *a boy* is 'a young male human,' *a house* is 'a building.' The technical term used to indicate the smallest unit of meaning is **lexeme**. **The lexeme** (also **lexical item**) is an item of the vocabulary and, as such, would be listed in a dictionary. A language's inventory of lexemes forms the **lexicon** of that language.

(e) on the syntactic level:

words are the smallest permutable and substitutable units of a sentence. Words are considered to be 'syntactic atoms,' i.e. the smallest elements of the sentence. Words occur in certain positions in the sentence, which are determined by the syntactic rules of the language. For example, *the* is a determiner, and it can only occur in noun phrases [_{NP} *the man*], [_{NP} *the old man*]; *ashamed* is an adjective and it can only appear in predicative position, never in attributive position (*The boy is ashamed. *an ashamed boy*).

According to Lyons (1981: ch. 2), the main criteria to define a word are: phonological and semantic identity, morphological structure and syntactic mobility.

The study of words is the target of more than one field of linguistic endeavour. The branch of linguistics that studies words, their meanings and relations (lexical fields), and changes in their form and meaning through time is known as **Word study** in American English or as **Lexicology** in British English. The lexicological study draws on research from other linguistic disciplines:

- **Lexical morphology** that studies the internal structure of words and word-building processes;
- **Lexical semantics** that examines word meaning and fixed word combinations (phraseology);
- **Lexicography** that deals with the writing or compilation of lexicons or dictionaries.

Lexicologists may specialize either in the synchronic or in the diachronic study of language, however, priority is given to the synchronic description. In lexical morphology and lexical semantics the synchronic approach is used, while in etymological research the diachronic approach prevails.

Further reading

Useful discussions of the notion of word can be found in introductions to the basics of morphological analysis, as well as in textbooks, such as the more elementary Bauer (1983), Katamba (1993), Plag (2003) and the more advanced Matthews (1991), and Carstairs-McCarthy (1992).

The aims of the study of word-formation

Word-formation investigates and describes the processes involved in building new complex words on the basis of already existing linguistic resources. It looks at the structure of the vocabulary from a historical-genetic or synchronic-functional aspect. Its main tasks are:

- a. classification of the elements of word-formation, such as simple or complex words, base morphemes, derivational elements (affix, prefix, suffix);
- b. description of the principles according to which the formations can be ordered structurally;
- c. description of the semantic aspects of the processes involved in word-formation.

Word-formation deals with the description of the structure of both nonce words and neologisms (occasional vs usual word-formation), as well as of set words (usual form, lexicalization). These must be viewed as two sides of the same phenomenon, for new words can arise only according to the already existing prototypes in the lexicalized vocabulary of the language.

The main word-formation processes in English are:

- derivation (the creation of new words through prefixes or suffixes attached to a free morpheme (*mis-* + *understand*, *read* + *-er*, *un-* + *read* + *-able*)
- composition (compounds of several free morphemes: *fire* + *man*, *bath* + *room*), and
- conversion (the change of word class of a stem: *camp* (noun) > *camp* (verb)).

Clippings, abbreviations, and blends are seen as peripheral processes of word-formation, in which different patterns of shortening of existing words are concerned. A key term in the analysis of word structure is ‘the morpheme.’

The morpheme

From the point of view of their structure, words appear to be divisible into smaller units, called **morphemes**. The morpheme is generally defined as the smallest indivisible component of the word having a meaning of its own. For example:

<i>true</i>	is a single morpheme
<i>untrue</i>	contains two morphemes: UN-+TRUE
<i>untruthfulness</i>	contains 5 morphemes: UN-+TRUE+-TH+-FUL+-NESS

Morphemes are the meaningful elements of a word. They cannot be equated with syllables. Morphemes can be related to a particular meaning or grammatical function (e.g. plural or past tense), while syllables are chunks into which words can be divided for the purposes of pronunciation.

On the one hand, a single morpheme can have more than one syllable. For instance, the disyllabic *river*, *harvest*, the trisyllabic *gorilla*, or the quadrisyllabic *asparagus* realise just a single morpheme. On the other hand, there are sometimes two or more morphemes in a single syllable, as in:

<i>kissed</i>	KISS + ‘PAST TENSE’
<i>sings</i>	SING + ‘PRESENT TENSE’ + ‘SINGULAR’
<i>cats</i>	CAT + ‘PLURAL’
<i>men’s</i>	MAN + ‘PLURAL’ + ‘POSSESSIVE.’

This is the representation of a morphosyntactic word as a base plus the relevant grammatical categories or morphosyntactic categories (e.g. number, case, gender in nouns; tense, aspect, mood, number, person in verbs)

Some morphemes like *boy*, *orange*, *cat* can stand alone, as separate words, and are therefore called **free morphemes**. Words consisting of single free morphemes are called **simple words**. Other morphemes cannot occur as words: UN-, -NESS, -ER, -S, -ED, -ING, etc. Such morphemes that function only as parts of other words are known as **bound morphemes**. Words that are made up of a central meaningful element and bound morphemes are called **morphologically complex words**.

Further reading

For further discussion of the basic concept of ‘morpheme’ consult an introductory text such as Bauer (1990), Matthews (1991). Definitions of morphological terms are also given in Bauer et al (2013: §2.2.).

On the properties of morphemes, see Minkova and Stockwell (2013: 64–76), Katamba (1993: ch.3), among many others.

Self-assessed test 1.

1. Identify the morphemes in the following words and state whether they are free or bound: *learners*, *played*, *books*, *boy’s*, *painful*, *unhappiness*.
2. Give the meaning of the morpheme *-s* in the following examples:

Despair dogs him day after day.

Check out all the dogs available for adoption online.

A video can aid a lot in recognizing a dog’s body language.

Dogs’ eyes are placed on the sides of the head.

When he is very hungry, he wolfs his food.

1.1. Affixation

Morphologically complex words are made up of a main meaningful component (root/base) and bound morphemes (affixes, inflections). Consider, for instance, the morphologically complex word *teachers* and *unhappy*:

<i>teach</i>	+	<i>-er</i>	+	<i>-s</i>
root/base		suffix		inflection

<i>un-</i>	+	<i>happy</i>
prefix		root

The word *teachers* is formed of the basic morpheme *teach* to which two bound morphemes are added: *-er* and *-s*. The morpheme *teach* is the root or the base of the complex word, *-er* is a suffix and *-s* an inflection, while the word *unhappy* consists of a root and a prefix.

Thus, the components of the morphologically complex words can be briefly defined as:

- **root** (also **base**) is the basic morpheme from which a word is derived, the indivisible central part of a word; the irreducible core of a word.

- **affix** (prefix or suffix) is a bound morpheme added to a stem or root in order to build a new word.
- **inflection** is a bound morpheme added to a stem in order to signal grammatical relationships, such as plural, past tense or possession.

1.1.1. The distinction between affixes and inflections

To distinguish between affixes and inflections, let us look at the range of words (lexemes) derived from the base *human*:

root + affixes	word class
<i>human</i>	noun
<i>human-ity</i>	noun
<i>human-ism</i>	noun
<i>human-istic</i>	adjective
<i>human-itarian</i>	adjective
<i>human-itarian-ism</i>	noun
<i>human-ize</i>	verb
<i>human-ly</i>	adverb
<i>non-human</i>	adjective
<i>inhuman</i>	adjective

All these different words are the result of affixation. Affixes produce new lexemes, also called **derived words** or **derivatives**. Since derived words are made up of two or more morphemes, they are **polymorphic**. Affixes change the word class to which the base belongs. They may have not only a final position, but also an initial position, hence the labels: prefix and suffix.

Let us now consider the various forms of the lexemes *human* and *humanize*:

nominal inflections:

<i>humans</i>	-s	to mark plurality
<i>human's</i>	's	to show genitive case

verbal inflections:

<i>humanizes</i>	-(e)s	to mark 3rd person sg., present tense
<i>humanized</i>	-ed	to show past simple
<i>humanizing</i>	-ing	to mark the present participle

It is obvious that inflections encode grammatical categories: nominal categories (number and case) and verbal categories (tense, person). They do

not produce new words, but different forms of the same word. Inflections can only occur at the end of the words, while affixes are attached either on the left or on the right of the base, as prefixes or suffixes respectively (cf. also Plag 2003: 14–17).

In short, affixes produce new lexemes from other lexemes, inflections create word-forms of known lexemes. While affixes are relevant semantically, inflections are relevant syntactically.

Lexeme vs. word form.

For the sake of clarity, it is useful to insist at this point on the distinction between the terms **lexeme** and **word form**. The **lexeme** (also **lexical item**) is an item of the vocabulary. It is the smallest unit in the meaning system of a language. In a dictionary, each lexeme has a separate entry or sub-entry, for instance: *human*. Affixes form new lexemes, like *humanity*, *humanize*, each with a separate dictionary entry. Lexemes constitute the lexicon of the language, a huge complex structure in the minds of the language users.

The **word forms** are all the inflected forms of a word, such as *humanizing*, *humanized*, *humanizes*, that belong to the lexeme *humanize*. Thus, we say that a verb is inflected for tense (*humanized*), a noun is inflected for number (*humans*) or case (*humans' plans*).

Root vs. stem

Another important distinction to be made is that between the terms **root** and **stem**, as elements that operate in the structure of the word.

A root is the base form of a word which cannot be further analysed without total loss of identity. It is that part of the word left when all the affixes are removed. In the word *readership*, for example, removing *-er* and *-ship* leaves the root *read*. From a semantic point of view, the root generally carries the main component of meaning in a word.

On the other hand, a stem is that part of a word to which affixes or inflections are added. Stems may be simple, compound or complex. For instance, *read* is a simple stem to which the suffix *-er* is added to derive the word *reader*; in its turn, *reader* may serve as a complex stem to which the suffix *-ship* can be attached to yield a new word, *readership*.

A simple stem consists solely of a single root morpheme (as in *read*, *boy*), a compound stem is made up of two root morphemes (as in *book reader*, *boyfriend*), and a complex stem comprises a root morpheme plus a derivational affix (as in *readership*, *boyhood*, *boyish*).

Let us now use these terms to analyse the structure of the word-forms *boys* and *readers*:

boy + -s = boys
 root/base
 simple stem + plural inflection

read + -er = reader + -s = readers
 root/base
 simple stem + suffix complex stem + plural inflection

In the word-form *boys*, the plural inflection -s is attached to the simple stem *boy*, which is a bare root, that is, the irreducible core of the word. In the word-form *readers*, the plural inflection is added to a complex stem, *reader*, which consists of a root *read* and the suffix -er, which forms agentive nouns. As can be noticed, a stem may be either identical with the root or derived from a root with the help of a suffix, in which case it is called **complex stem**.

Further reading

On morphology generally, and particularly on inflections, see Bauer (1990). The distinction between inflections and affixes is briefly explained in textbooks introducing students to the field of morphology, such as Aronoff and Fudeman (2011: 2.4). See also Bauer et al's *Reference guide* (2013: ch. 24) on the same topic, and find more advanced reading suggestions in ten Hacken (2014: §2.4.)

For intermediate-level reading on morphological issues cross-linguistically, see also Katamba (1993).

Self-assessed test 1.1.1.

1. Indicate for each base/root whether it takes an affix (prefix/ suffix) or an inflection: *toys, listened, reassessment, girls, 'fatherly, uncover, singing, disarms, sorrowful, oxen, alumni, finest*.
2. In each of the following groups of word forms, identify those that are forms of the same lexeme
 - (a) *sing, singer, singing, sang, sung*
 - (b) *woman, woman's, women, womanly*
 - (c) *perform, performs, performance, performing, performer*
 - (d) *written, wrote, writer, rewrites, writing*
3. Consider the following words: *birds, repayment, speaks, speakers, undecidedly*.
 - a. Identify the lexical category (N, V, A, Adv)

- b. Each word contains more than one morpheme. List all the morphemes and indicate whether they are free or bound.
- c. Indicate for each affix whether it is derivational or inflectional.

1.1.2. Criteria for the classification of affixes

An affix is a bound morpheme that attaches to a base. Affixes can be classified according to their position with regard to the base, into **prefixes**, attached to the left of the base and, **suffixes**, to the right. The data-base for the study of suffixes has traditionally been the reverse dictionary (e.g. *Reverse English dictionary* 1999), while for the study of prefixes any large dictionary (e.g. *Oxford English dictionary*) can provide the relevant information. Affixes can also be grouped according to their function, origin, the part of speech that they form, productivity and meaning.

1.1.2.1. The function of affixes

Affixes that change the class of the word to which they are added are called **governing derivational affixes**:

earth + -en	> earthen	N + suffix > A
legal + -ize	> legalize	A + suffix > V
en- + code	> encode	prefix + N > V
dis- + able	> disable	prefix + A > V

Affixes that do not change the word class, determining only a change of meaning, are known as **restrictive derivational affixes**. They may be prefixes or suffixes:

mis- + fortune	> misfortune	prefix + N > N
self- + confident	> self-confident	
kitchen + -ette	> kitchenette	N + suffix > N
hero + -ism	> heroism	

1.1.2.2. The origin of affixes

Both prefixes and suffixes may be grouped etymologically into: native and non-native.

English is a language that has had a long history of contact with and borrowing from other languages such that the vocabulary and the processes by which words are formed can be classed as **native** (or **Germanic**) and **non-native** (also **Latinate** or **learned**).

The English language is descended from a West Germanic language originally spoken along the North Sea coast in modern Friesland. The Anglo-Saxon invaders brought to England various dialectal versions of this language. With the Viking invasions in the 8th century, another layer of Germanic, but North Germanic, was added to the West Germanic fundamentals. Words and word-formation processes preserved from these Germanic origins are called **native** (see ch. 2). Examples of native affixes are the following:

Prefixes of Germanic origin:

counter-	counterattack, counterfire
for-	forbid, forgive
fore-	forefather, foreman, foresight
mis-	misassociate, misapprehend, misvalue
out-	outgrowth, outpost, outdated
over-	overcharge, overdue, oversimplify
re-	rewrite, review
under-	undereducate, underground, undersecretary
up-	upgrade, uplift, uproot
with-	withdraw, withstand

Suffixes of Germanic origin

Many affixes of Germanic origin such as *-ly*, *-hood*, *-less*, *-dom* were independent words in Old English. They formed compounds with other free morphemes, but later their fusion became so complete that they were turned into (reinterpreted as) suffixes, i.e. bound morphemes:

-dom	freedom, officialdom
-hood	manhood, priesthood
-ly	godly, daily

Other affixes of native origin, like: *-ing*, *-ful*, *-ship*, *-er*, had the status of affixes in Old English, as well. Examples in present-day English are:

-er	hacker, networker
-ful	restful, spiteful
-ing	wedding, winnings
-ish	boyish, womanish
-ness	greatness, selfishness
-ship	authorship, scholarship
-th	growth, width
-ward	backward, skyward
-wise	clockwise, likewise
-y	booky, classy, smoky, sunny

In 1066 England was invaded by the Normans and French became the official language, replacing English for two centuries. Throughout this period a huge number of French words were added to the English vocabulary.

Meanwhile English was still used by the lower classes, and thus it remained free from the influence of French on the grammatical system. Documents prove that in the 14th century English was again the mother tongue of all England. During the Renaissance, a great number of Latin and Greek words were added to the English vocabulary in order to improve it and make it fit for modern usage.

Eventually sufficient words containing particular affixes were borrowed so that a pattern could be perceived in English and new words were coined containing these non-native affixes. At that point those affixes became part of the English language. These patterns are called **non-native** (cf. Bauer et al 2013: 35). Examples of affixes of foreign origin are:

Prefixes of Latin origin:

bi-	bifocal, bimonthly, biweekly
co-	co-author, coedit, coheir
de-	decaf, decompose
dis-	disagree, disconnect
em-, en-	empower, enable, enthrone
in-	inaccurate, inadequate
il-	illegal, illegitimate
im-	imperfect, imprecise
ir-	irrecoverable, irreducible
non-	noncombatant, nonconformist
pre-	pre-eminent, pre-natal

re-	rebuild, recall, remake
self-	self-command, self-commitment, self-schooled
sub-	subdivide, subspecies
super-	supersonic, superstructure
trans-	transliterate, transoceanic

Suffixes of Romance (Latin, French, Italian) origin:

-able	bankable, copyrightable
-al	recital, renewal
-an, -ian	syntactician, phonetician
-ation	formation, hibernation
-ee	assignee, grantee
-ence	patience, resistance
-ese	journalese, Japanese
-ess	lioness, waitress
-ette	kitchenette, novelette
-(i)fy	intensify, simplify
-ic	allergic, syntactic
-ical	economical, fanatical
-ism	colloquialism, terrorism
-ity	faculty, university
-ive	additive, attractive, constitutive
-ize/ -ise	moralize, moralise
-ment	judgement, puzzlement
-or	actor, conductor
-ous	ceremonious, righteous

Prefixes of Greek origin:

anti-	antibody, anti-inflationary, antithesis
aut(o)-	autograph, authentic, autonomy
bio-	biography, biohazard
geo-	geomorphology, geopolitics
hydro-	hydrodynamics, hydroelectric
hyper-	hyperbole, hyperfiction, hypertext
macro-	macroscopic, macrosociology
micro-	microwave, microprocessor
psycho-	psychobiology, psychodrama, psychogenesis
tele-	telebanking, telecommute, teleshopping, teleworking

Suffixes of Greek origin:

-graphy	lexicography, photography
-ic	periodic, magnetic
-ism	alphabetism, womanism
-logy	musicology, phraseology
-phobia	claustrophobia, arachnophobia

Many affixes of Greek or Latin origin were independent words in the source language. When borrowed into English, these words became prefixes or suffixes, also known as **combining forms** (see section 1.2.4.5.), for instance: *aer*, *aero* became a prefix in: *aerobic*, *aeroplane*, *aerosole*, etc. Similar examples include:

Greek word > prefix

megas ‘very large’	megatrends, megamarket, megaprojects
photo ‘light’	photocell, photography
tekhnologia prefix ‘techno-’	techno-rock, techno-wizzard
pseudo	pseudo-cultivated, pseudo-professional

Latin word > prefix

ager ‘field’	‘agri-, agro-’	agriculture
bio ‘life’		biodiversity, bio-chemistry

Affixes of foreign origin were borrowed as parts of certain loans in earlier English. During a later stage, speakers began to combine foreign affixes with native roots and native affixes with foreign roots as well, and formed **hybrids** with the following pattern:

- +/- Germanic prefix + foreign stem +/- Germanic suffix
- +/- foreign prefix + Germanic stem +/- foreign suffix

Hybrid word-formation became quite common in Middle English, as shown by the first attestation of the following derived words:

native root + French suffix	French root + native affix
talkative (1432)	colorless (1380)
loveable (1340)	joyful (1290)
wizard (1440)	mannerly (1375)

In modern English, etymologically Germanic affixes often freely attach to Latinate roots, as schematized in Harley (2006: 165):

[[[Stem] - (Latinate Affix)] - (Germanic Affix)]
nerv + *-ous* + *-ness*
 stem Romance suff. Gmc.suff.

If a word has both Latinate and Germanic derivational affixes, the Latinate ones will occur inside the Germanic ones.

Further reading

More on classifications of affixes, in Adams (2013: ch.3, ch.4), Hulban (2001: 64–76) and others. On hybrid formation, see Minkova and Stockwell (2009: 45).

Self-assessed test 1.1.2.2.

1. Decide whether the derivational affixes in the following examples are governing (change the word class) or restrictive (do not change the word class):

Example:	<i>boy</i> > <i>boyish</i>	N > A	governing
	<i>write</i> > <i>rewrite</i>	V > V	restrictive

<i>alcohol</i> > <i>alcoholic</i>	<i>arrive</i> > <i>arrival</i>
<i>picture</i> > <i>picturesque</i>	<i>wife</i> > <i>ex-wife</i>
<i>clear</i> > <i>clearance</i>	<i>like</i> > <i>dislike</i>
<i>virtue</i> > <i>virtuous</i>	<i>translate</i> > <i>translation</i>
<i>do</i> > <i>undo</i>	<i>moral</i> > <i>moralise</i>
<i>develop</i> > <i>development</i>	<i>moral</i> > <i>amoral</i>

2. Classify these affixes in terms of origin, distinguishing between those borrowed from Latin or French and those inherited from Germanic. Provide one example for each:

-able; -full; -it; -vie; -less; -lee; -ness; re-; -the; un-.

3. The following lexemes are the result of double affixation: *wickedness, restlessness, unhappiness, uneasiness, uncomfortable, unwelcoming, uncomfortable, unselfish, unconquerable, immoderately*. State to what part of speech they belong, the origin of the affixes and identify the hybrids.

Example:

unchangeable – Gm. prefix + foreign root + Gmc. Suffix = hybrid

4. Identify the suffixes in the following lexemes and match the groups of lexemes to the patterns of double suffixation:
 - a. non-native + non-native suffixes
 - b. native (Germanic) + native suffixes
 - c. non-native suffix + native suffix
 1. usefulness, carelessness, foolishness, friendliness
 2. sequentialness, responsiveness
 3. Christianity, recreational, negativity

1.1.2.3. Affixes grouped according to the word class they form

Depending on the class to which the derived word belongs, suffixes are called **nominalisers** (or noun formatives), if the derived word is a noun, **adjectivisers** (or adjective formatives), if the result of derivation is an adjective, **verbalisers** (or verb formatives) and **adverbialisers** (or adverb formatives):

Nominalisers may be added to a verb or an adjective stem:

Verb stem + Nominaliser > Noun

marry	+	-age	>	marriage
arrive	+	-al	>	arrival
drive	+	-er	>	driver

Adjective stem + Nominaliser > Noun

free	+	-dom	>	freedom
American	+	-ism	>	Americanism
kind	+	-ness	>	kindness

Nominal affixes are employed to derive from verbs and adjectives abstract nouns that denote actions, relations, properties or qualities and proper nouns.

Adjectivisers are attached to a noun or a verb stem. Derived adjectives are the result of the following productive patterns:

Noun Stem + Adjectiviser > Adjective

sentiment	+	-al	>	sentimental
custom	+	-ary	>	customary

beauty	+	-ful	> beautiful
woman	+	-ish	> womanish
friend	+	-less	> friendless
fun	+	-y	> funny

Verb stem + Adjectiviser > Adjective

eat	+	-able	> eatable
distrust	+	-ful	> distrustful

Verbalisers are added to a noun or an adjective stem, as shown in the following patterns:

Noun stem + Verbaliser > Verb

length	+	-en	> lengthen
idol	+	-ise	> idolise

Adjective stem + Verbaliser > Verb

black	+	-en	> blacken
American	+	-ise	> americanise

Adverbialisers are affixes attached to adjective or noun stems:

Adjective stem + Adverbialiser > Adverb

slow	+	-ly	> slowly

Noun Stem + Adverbialiser > Adverb

end	+	-long	> endlong
sky	+	-ward	> skyward
clock	+	-wise	> clockwise

Further reading

For a systematic and extensive account of the derivation of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, see Bauer et al's reference work (2013: ch.12–ch.15).

1.1.2.4. Affix productivity

The property of an affix to take part in coining new words is called **productivity**. It is given by the frequency with which an affix is employed in the language and with which speakers use it in order to create new words. According to this criterion, affixes are regarded as productive (also called active), semi-productive and unproductive (see Adams 2013: 146–153).

The most productive affixes can be added to almost any stem in order to form new words. For instance, the suffix *-er* can attach to an indefinite number of verbal bases: *teacher, worker, employer, reader, buyer*, etc.

Unproductive affixes are no longer used to form new derivatives. For example, the suffix *-th* can attach to a small number of specified words (*true, warm, wide*, etc.) to produce *truth, warmth, width*, but it cannot attach to any other words beyond this set.

Here is a list of prefixes and suffixes grouped according to their productivity:

Prefixes

Productive:	<i>anti-, ex-, extra-, dis-, de-, mis-, non-, out-, re-, self-, sub-, under-</i>
Semi-productive:	<i>ante-, arch-, com-, co-, counter-, hyper-, in-, mid-, neo-, pro-, post-, sub-, super-, semi-, trans-, ultra-, up-, vice</i>
Unproductive:	<i>en-, fore-, with-</i>

Suffixes

Productive:	<i>-able, -an, -ed, -er, -ic, -ist, -ism, -ing, -ish, -ize, -ly, -less, -ness, -tion</i>
Semi-productive:	<i>-ate, -dom, -ful, -hood, -ee, -er, -ette, -ling, -let, -ship, -ward(s)</i>
Unproductive:	<i>-ance, -age, -ent, -sion, -cy, -en, -ify, -ive, -ary, -some, -th.</i>

However, only four of the productive affixes yield large numbers of lexemes, namely adverb-forming *-ly*, negative adjectival *un-* and nominal *-ness* and *-ing*. Productivity is usually associated with the idea of dynamism in language.

The frequency of occurrence of certain affixes can be measured with the help of large electronic text collections, called **corpora**. For the English language, **The British National Corpus** (abbreviated as BNC) is such a collection of texts and conversations from all kinds of sources, which is available on the internet. We can look up the frequency of words in the BNC, by checking the word frequency list provided by the corpus compilers. Thus, the frequency of derived words can be examined by looking at words with certain suffixes. For instance, Plag (2003: 50) identifies 20 derivatives in *-able*, from which *acceptable, advisable* and *admirable* have the highest frequency, while *absorbable* and *actualisable* are low-frequency words. Words that occur only once in a corpus are called

hapax legomena, or shortly **hapaxes**. *Absorbable* and *actualisable* are hapaxes. A hapax is a rare word or some invention by an imaginative speaker.

In modern medical English, affixes of Greek or Latin origin are very productive. For instance, the suffix *-itis*, borrowed from Greek, where it marked the feminine of adjectives, is used to form names of diseases, especially inflammatory ones: *appendicitis*, *bronchitis*, *hepatitis*, *cephalitis*, *arthritis*, *dermatitis*, etc.

In scientific technical language, there are several productive prefixes: *tele-* (*telecommuting*, *telenursing*, *teleconsulting*, *telecare*), *nano-* (*nanotechnology*, *nanomaterials*, *nanotube*, *nanosystems*), *e-* (*e-mail*, *e-books*, *e-gold*, *e-card*, *e-health*, *e-museum*) and *euro-* (*Eurobond*, *Eurodollars*, *euromoney*). Main brand symbols also facilitate the creation of new derivatives: for instance, since the launch of iMac by Macintosh in 1998, a range of brand names appeared by analogy: *iMovie*, *iBook*, *iPod*, *iLife*, *iPhoto*, *iDVD*, *iWeb*, *iTunes*.

Further reading

On ways of measuring productivity, see Plag (2003: 44–68); on the analysis of the factors that block productivity, see Katamba and Stonham (2006: 75–81).

On corpus-based studies of affix productivity in English, see Plag (1999: ch.5), Baayen and Renouf (1996), Plag (1999: ch. 5), or Plag et al (1999).

Book-length studies of mainly structural aspects of productivity are Plag (1999) and Bauer (2001), which also contain useful summaries of the pertinent literature.

1.1.2.5. The semantics of affixes

Affixes have widely generalized meanings, considerably different from the meanings of the root morphemes. Certain affixes can be grouped according to some common semantic traits (cf. Bauer & Huddleston 2012).

1.1.2.5.1. A semantic classification of prefixes

Prefixes belong to the following meaning groups: negative prefixes, size prefixes, supportive and opposing prefixes, reversative and deprivative prefixes, prefixes of location, temporal prefixes and status prefixes:

a) **supportive and opposing prefixes:**

The supportive meaning is conveyed by the prefixes:

pro-	pro-American, pro-life
co-	coexist, co-driver, cooperate

Opposition is expressed by *anti-*, which is very productive, and *counter-*:

anti-	antibody, anti-war, anti-social, anti-abortion
counter-	counteract, counter-example, counter-attack

b) reversative and deprivative prefixes:

The reversative sense indicates the act of undoing a previous act of doing something, while the deprivative sense means removing something:

de-	decontaminate, defrost, decentralise
dis-	disinvite, disqualify, disengage
un-	unlock, unmask, unbutton, undress

c) negative prefixes are used to assign a negative meaning to an adjectival stem:

a-	amoral, asymmetry, apolitical
dis-	discontent, disown, disconnect, dislike
in / il /	inalienable, insane, incomplete, illogical
im / ir-	improper, impossible, irrelevant
non-	non-conformist, non-smoker
un-	unfair, unproductive

The prefix *in-* has the alternant forms *il-*, *im-*, *ir-*, depending on the first sound of the base to which it attaches. These are phonologically distinct variants of the same morpheme, called **allomorphs**; they have similar, but not identical sounds. The *in-* variant appears for vowel-initial words, like *alienable*, and for words that begin with the consonants /t, d, s, z, n/. On words that begin with the consonants /m, p/, we find *im-*. Words that begin with /l/ or /r/ are prefixed with the *il-* or *ir-* allomorphs respectively.

Negative *in-* is no longer productive, while *a-* and *dis-* are now rarely used. *Non-* has a high degree of productivity, but *un-* is the most productive negative prefix. *Un-* and *non-* also attach to noun bases: *unemployment*, *unrest*, *non-member*, *non-resident*, *non-adherence*.

d) prefixes of location assign the meaning of location to the stem:

in front and before: <i>ante-</i> and <i>pre-</i> (Latin), <i>fore-</i> (Gmc.)	
ante-	antechamber, ante-room
fore-	forehead, forefinger
above and over:	
over-	overshadow, overcoat

super-	superstructure, superstar
below, beneath:	
under-	underground, underclothes
sub-	subway, subcontract, sublet
inside/ internal:	
in-	intrinsic, indoors, inroad
mid-	midfield, midstream, midbrain
outside/external:	
extra-	extracranial, extramural
out-	outdoor, outcast, outhouse
between:	
inter-	intergalactic, interstellar
beyond, through:	
trans-	transcontinental, transatlantic

e) **size prefixes** are used to aggregate the meaning of a stem with a size concept. Augmentative prefixes indicate larger size or high degree:

hyper-	<i>'extra, special'</i>	hypersensitive, hyperactive
mega-	<i>'very large'</i>	megastar, megastore
macro-	<i>'large'</i>	macrocosm, macro-economics
out-	<i>'to do sth. better, faster'</i>	outgrow, outlive, outrun
over-	<i>'too much'</i>	overdo, oversimplify
super-	<i>'above, more than, better'</i>	supermarket, superman
ultra-	<i>'beyond, extremely'</i>	ultraviolet, ultra-modern

Diminutive prefixes are very productive. They indicate small size or lower degree:

micro-	microcomputer, microscope
mini-	minibus, miniskirt, minigolf
sub-	subhuman, substandard
under-	undercook, underprivileged

f) **temporal prefixes** can assign the meaning of time-relatedness to the stem:

	before/ in advance/ former
ante-	antenatal, antedate
fore-	foretell, foreshadow, foresee
pre-	pre-war, pre-school, preview

ex-	ex-president, ex-husband
during/ after/ new	
mid-	mid-afternoon, midwinter
post-	post-war, post-election
re-	rebuild, reuse, re-evaluate
neo-	neo-colonialism

g) **professional status prefixes** indicate status or position in a hierarchy:

arch	archbishop, archangel
co-	co-author, co-founder, co-presenter
pro-	proconsul
vice-	vice-president

h) **prefixes of quantification** can aggregate the meaning of a stem with a count concept:

uni- / mono-	unisex, monotheism, monoplane
bi- / di-	bilingual, bicycle, dioxide
multi- /poly-	multinational, polysyllabic
semi-	semicircle, semiautomatic

1.1.2.5.2. A semantic classification of suffixes

In recent morphological research, attention has been paid to the meaning conveyed by suffixes when attached to various types of roots.

a) **Noun-forming suffixes**

Collectivity suffixes derive nouns from nouns:

-dom, -ism, -ery: *brotherhood, friendship, jewellery*

Gender-marking suffixes

-ess indicates ‘a female being’ or an occupation: *actress, stewardess, waitress, heiress*

Diminutive affixes suggest small size, affection, informality.

-ette ‘objects of lesser value’: *articlette, cigarette, storyette*

- let, -ling** ‘small animals’: *piglet, duckling, spiderling*
-ie or -y ‘smallness’: *birdie, doggie, kiddy, puppy*

The suffix *-ie/-y* is the most productive diminutive marker, especially in Scottish, Australian and New Zealand varieties of English. It is found in hypocoristics (pet names): *Billy, Jimmy, Susie*. It is attached to nouns denoting adult persons, usually family members: *daddy, auntie, Betty* with an emotional colouring. It is also found in embellished clippings (see section 1.3.1.): *hanky, nightie, tummy* to mark informal style.

Person or instrument suffixes are added to verbal or nominal roots:

- ant/ -ent** *assistant, informant, president, resident*
-ard, -ling, -ster *drunkard, weakling, gangster* (express disapproval)
-ee *employee, divorcee, nominee*
-er (-or/-ar) *painter, player, organiser*
 grinder, boiler, pointer, eraser, silencer (instrument)
 author, doctor, tailor
 Londoner, New Yorker (inhabitants of a place)
-ist *contortionist, racist, baptist, economist, pianist*
-ster *gangster, mobster, gamester* (negative connotation)

Action/ state / process suffixes

Numerous suffixes added to **verbal stems** form abstract nouns meaning an activity or the result of the activity expressed by the verb:

- al:** *refusal, arrival, referral, committal, cathedral*
-ance, -ence: *performance, ignorance, reference, convergence,*
-ation/-tion/-sion/-ion: *education, organisation, confusion*
-ing: *painting, singing, building, ignoring*
-ment: *announcement, commitment, development,*
-ship, -hood *kingship, motherhood, priesthood*

However, these suffixes are not freely interchangeable. Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: 51) argues that some verbs may take only one suffix, others select more suffixes to convey different abstract meanings. For example, the verb *perform* allows the derivation of a single abstract noun, *performance*, not **performal* or **performance*.

On the other hand, some verbs allow a choice of suffixes (e.g. *commit* > *commitment, committal, comission*), but the nouns thus formed are not synonymous. The verb *commit* may occur with different meanings, for

example ‘to commit a crime,’ ‘to commit an accused person for trial,’ or ‘to commit oneself to a task,’ but, of the three nouns, only *commission* corresponds to the first meaning of the verb, only *committal* to the second, and only *commitment* to the third.

Some suffixes used to derive nouns from adjectives mean basically ‘having the property’ expressed by the base adjective:

-ity:	<i>purity, equality, ferocity, sensitivity, humidity,</i>
-ness:	<i>goodness, tallness, fierceness, sensitiveness,</i>
-ism:	<i>radicalism, conservatism, absenteeism, biculturalism,</i>

Of the three suffixes, *-ness* is the most widely applicable and productive.

b) Adjective-forming suffixes

Suffixes attached to proper nouns:

-(i)an	<i>Elizabethan, Lutheran, Freudian</i> (personal names) <i>African, Australian, European</i> (continents) <i>Mexican, Moroccan, Belgian, Peruvian</i> (countries)
-ic	<i>Celtic, Icelandic, Arabic</i>
-ish	<i>Danish, Polish, Scottish</i>

Further suffixes that commonly form **adjectives from verbs**, with their basic meanings, are:

-able/ -ible	<i>breakable, readable, reliable, watchable</i>
-ent, -ant	<i>repellent, expectant, conversant,</i>
-ive	<i>repulsive, explosive, speculative, contemplative,</i> <i>prohibitive, repetitive, vegetative</i>

The suffix *-able* conveys a meaning like that of a modal in a passive construction: *breakable* means ‘sth. that can be broken’; *-ent* and *-ive* relate to the active voice: *explosive* ‘sth. that can explode.’

Suffixes that form **adjectives from nouns** are more numerous. Here are some examples with the meaning ‘full of, having the quality of’:

-ful:	<i>joyful, hopeful, helpful, meaningful</i>
-al:	<i>original, normal, personal, national</i>
-ish:	<i>boyish, loutish, waspish, selfish,</i>
-ic/ -ical:	<i>classic, classical, economic, economical, historic,</i>

-less	<i>joyless, hopeless, helpless, meaningless, spouseless, reckless</i>
-ous:	<i>advantageous, poisonous, courageous, androgynous, contemporaneous.</i>

Several of the pairs of adjectives ending in *-ic* or *-ical* exhibit differences in meaning (see section 3.4.3.).

c) Verb-forming suffixes

Suffixes that form verbs from adjectives or nouns are:

-ate:	<i>captivate, domesticate, hyphenate, assimilate, integrate</i>
-en:	<i>broaden, sicken, hearten, heighten, lighten, moisten, sharpen, straighten</i>
-ify	<i>simplify, beautify, personify, crucify, magnify, solidify, specify</i>
-ise/-ize	<i>legalise, urbanise, divinise, computerise, hospitalise, televise</i>

With adjectival bases the meaning is ‘to make sth. have a quality’ expressed by the adjective. With noun bases, there is no single generalized meaning. Note that there are two variant spellings for a single suffix *-ise/-ize*. Both spellings are used in BrE, AmE has *-ize*, while AusE and NZE increasingly favour *-ise*.

1.2.2.6. Double/ multiple affixation

Many complex words contain more than one prefix or suffix (cf. Plag 2003: 25–55). In some patterns the presence of an affix triggers the addition of another one. Therefore, there are cases when two suffixes are attached to the same root, or when both a prefix and a suffix are attached to a root in order to form a new word:

Two prefixes may be attached to the same stem to make new words:

ex-vice-president	‘sb. who is no longer a vice-president’
anti-pro-government	‘sb. who is against being pro-government’
pro-anti-government	‘sb. who is for being against the government’
anti-counter-espionage	‘sb. who is against counter-espionage’

Two suffixes are added to the same root in:

root + <i>-ian</i>	+ <i>-ism</i> :	Hegelianism, Cartesianism
root + <i>-ify</i>	+ <i>-ation</i> :	purification, certification
root + <i>-ize</i>	+ <i>-ation</i> :	civilization, organization
root + <i>-ate</i>	+ <i>-ation</i> :	contemplation, incarnation
root + <i>-able</i>	+ <i>-ity</i> :	attainability, inflammability
root + <i>-al</i>	+ <i>-ize</i> :	commercialize, industrialize
root + <i>-ivi</i>	+ <i>-ity</i> :	relativity, productivity
root + <i>-ivi</i>	+ <i>-ness</i> :	objectiveness, obsessiveness
root + <i>-less</i>	+ <i>-ly</i> :	deathlessly
root + <i>-al</i>	+ <i>ly</i> :	accidentally

A prefix and a suffix are attached to the same root in:

<i>un-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-en</i> :	unabridged, unaccustomed
<i>un-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-ing</i> :	unapproving, unbending
<i>un-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-able</i> :	unobtainable, unacceptable, unreadable
<i>de-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-ize</i> :	dehumanize, demoralize
<i>un-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-ment</i> :	unemployment
<i>dis-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-er</i> :	discoverer
<i>de-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-ate</i> :	deactivate
<i>de-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-ate</i> :	dearticulate
<i>dis-</i>	+ root	+ <i>-ous</i> :	disadvantageous

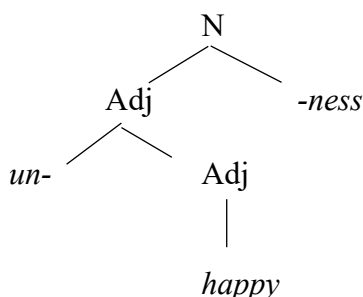
Not all existent patterns are productive. Some of them are preferred over others. For example, the pattern *root* + *-able* + *-ity* is more productive than *root* + *-able* + *-ness* and *root* + *-ive* + *-ness* is more productive than *root* + *-ive* + *-ity* (see section 2.3.2.).

Thus, complex words are created by **concatenation**, i.e. by linking together bases and affixes as in a chain. Information about the order of affixation can be given in terms of a **labelled bracketing**, where each pair of brackets is labelled to indicate the word class of the string (N, V, A, etc.):

<i>desire</i>	[desire] _V = root/ stem 1
<i>desirable</i>	[[desire] _V able] _A = stem 2
<i>undesirable</i>	[un [[desire] _V able] _A] _A = stem 3
<i>undesirability</i>	[[un [[desire] _V able] _A] _A ity] _N

Another way of representing this information is in terms of a branching **tree diagram**, where each branch has at most two branches. Each node corresponds to a pair of brackets (see Harley 2006: 127):

[[un- [happy]_A]_{A-ness}]_N



The question is what principles governing suffix ordering are concerned. Booij (2005: 71) shows that within a sequence of derivational affixes, the input constraints often predict which order is the correct one. For instance, the ordering of suffixes in *readability* would be:

read + -able > readable + -ity > readability
 verb + -able > adjective + -ity > noun

The suffix order in *read-abil-ity* is determined by the fact that the suffix *-ity* selects adjectives as bases and creates nouns, whereas *-able* takes verbs as inputs in order to form adjectives. Therefore, *-able* must be attached before *-ity*.

Affixation is one of the main word-formation processes that enlarge the vocabulary of the English language.

Further reading

For more detailed surveys of English affixation, see Bauer & Huddleston (2012: 1667–1716), Lieber (2005: 383–418), Greenbaum (1996:434) and Katamba (1994: ch. 4), among others.

For a complete list of the derivational resources of English, see Marchand (1969), who catalogues all prefixes and suffixes in use in mid-twentieth-century English.

For further classifications of affixes, see Minkova and Stockwell (2009: 101–107), Katamba and Stonham (2006: 48–55) and others. On Latinate roots in English, see Ayers (1986).

Bauer et al (2015) deals with the formation and semantics of complex words. On the structure of complex words, especially affixation and compounding, see Adams

(2013). On rules governing suffix ordering, see Katamba and Stonham (2006: ch.6) and Bauer et al (2013: ch.21).

Online dictionary of affixes

The online dictionary *Affixes: the building blocks of English*, available at: <http://www.affixes.org> is based on Quinion, Michael. 2002. *Ologies and Isms: word beginnings and endings*. This dictionary contains more than 1,250 entries for all types of affixes that occur in English: *prefixes, suffixes, combining forms and infixes*, illustrated by some 10,000 examples. Combining forms, functioning as prefixes or suffixes (such as: *bio-*, *cyber-*, *-icide*, *-algia*) account for much of the scientific and technical terminology.

Self-assessed test 1.1.2.3 –1.1.2.6

1. Match the groups of words to the appropriate linguistic labels for the suffixes involved in the derivation of these words:

- a) *originate, classify, symbolize*
- b) *orphanage, nationhood, despotism, robbery*
- c) *forgetful, defiant, advisor, restrictive*
- d) *peaceful, spacious, hearty, ghostly, boyish*
- e) *intensify, solidify, amplify*

1. denominal abstract-noun-forming suffixes
2. denominal adjective-forming suffixes
3. deverbal adjective-forming suffixes
4. denominal verb-forming suffixes
5. deadjectival verb-forming suffixes

2. Group the following derivatives in *-able* into:

a. noun + *-able*:

b. verb + *-able*:

peaceable, fixable, actionable, breakable, companionable, readable, saleable, marriageable, provable, reasonable, perishable, impressionable, fashionable, knowledgeable, serviceable

3. The suffix *-ly* mainly derives adverbs from adjectives: *quick* > *quickly*, but it can also be used to derive adjectives from other

words. Comment on the base of derivation in the following examples: *manly, friendly, stately, womanly, weekly, goodly, northerly, ghostly, deadly, simply, definitely*.

4. *Pre-* serves as a prefix to several categories of words. Identify the categories of words to which *pre-* has been attached: *precondition, precultural, prenatal, prepack, preplan, preselect, prewash*.

5. The suffix *-er* is polysemantic. It conveys the meanings of: Agent, Patient, Instrument, Experiencer, Action, Locative. Match the deverbal nouns to the meaning groups:

baker, atomizer, writer, hearer, diner, disclaimer, blotter, mower, printer, feeler, sleeper, northerner, villager; insider, outsider, air-freshener, designer, explorer, Londoner, farmer, swimmer, blender, waiver, lover, lemon-squeezer, steamer, amuser, toaster, New Yorker, admirer.

6. Consider the root *-dict-* meaning ‘speak, say’ which is found in: *dictate, contradict*. Comment on the type of affixation in each and use these words as the input for further affixation.
7. Comment on the structure of the following complex words, identifying the root, the stem, the affixes: *insufferable, unreheated, ministerially, disapprovingly, carelessness, misstatement*.
8. Analyse the structure of the complex words with double affixation using labelled brackets: *humanitarianism, musically, enchantment, likelihood, revaccination*.
9. Consider the following words: *atheism, circulation, coldness, craftsmanship, fashionable, hopeful, kingdom, neighbourhood, refreshment, waiter*.

- a) For each word identify its lexical category (N, V, A, Adv).
- b) Each word contains more than one morpheme. List all the morphemes and indicate whether they are free or bound.
- c) Indicate for each affix whether it is derivational or inflectional.
- d) State the origin and explain the meaning of the suffixes.

10. Match the following groups of hyphenated derivatives to the appropriate rule:

- a) *anti-inflammatory, co-ordinate, de-energize*
- b) *psycho-active, semi-automatic*
- c) *re-discover, mega-mega-rich*
- d) *re-cover vs. recover, re-sign vs. resign, re-form vs. reform, re-mark vs. remark*
- e) *pre- and post-operatively, pro- and anti-government forces*

- 1. to avoid identical vowels
- 2. to separate one prefix from another
- 3. to disambiguate words with the same spelling (homographs)
- 4. to show coordination of prefixes
- 5. to avoid sequences of different vowels

11. Use brackets to represent the order of combination of prefixes and suffixes in the complex words: *institutionalisation, redecorating, carelessly, disapproval, fictionalisation*.

12. For each of the following derivational affixes, find five words that contain the affix. (You can use an electronic dictionary, e.g. www.onelook.com). State whether the stem to which the affix is attached is bound or free: a. *-dom*; b. *-ship*; c. *-ous*; d. *-hood*; e. *-age*

1.2. Compounding

Compounding (also known as **composition**) is a process of coining new words by combining two or more than two stems or roots:

blackboard (two-member compound)
communication technology equipment (three-member compound)

The first element of a compound is analysed as a stem and not as a word, that is why inflections on the first constituent are commonly absent (for example, the plural inflection *-s* occurs on the second component, not on the first: *blackboards*, not **blacksboard*. Only case and number inflections survive on the first component of a compound in a few instances.

The **genitive** inflection is recognizable in a few compounds of the type: *craftsman, craftswoman, sportsman, townspeople, tradesman, statesman*

and in compounds as set phrases: *a day's hunt, a good day's work, a goodnight's sleep, a half hour's drive, a minute's silence, a moment's hesitation, a morning's wait, barber's shop, cat's paw*, etc.

The **plural** inflection is recognizable in the spaced compounds: *arms race, communications network/ officer/ problem/ satellite/ specialist/ system, customs barrier/ co-operation/ house/ officer/ union, fast goods, goods circulation/ train/ truck, sports agent/ car/ centre/ page, special needs children*.

1.2.1. The meaning of compounds

Compounds may be **compositional**, when the meaning of the compound is determined by the meanings of its parts, or **non-compositional**, when the meaning of the compound is not the predictable sum of the meanings of its components. The meaning of many compounds is based on the sum of the meanings of the component words. The basic meaning is rendered by the last element, while the first one specifies some additional meaning: e.g. *fox-hunter* is 'a hunter specialised in hunting foxes,' and *wolf-hunter* is 'a hunter who usually hunts wolves' (see Adams 2014: 82–86). Similarly, *classroom, evening-gown, sleeping-car*, etc. These are also called **non-idiomatic compounds**.

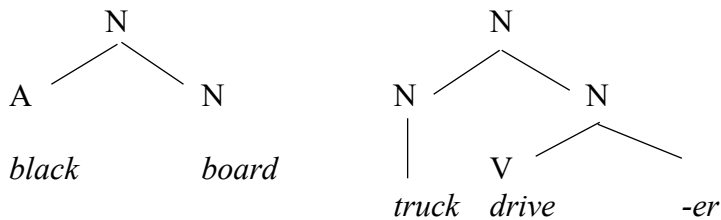
However, there are compounds in which one of the components has changed its meaning: *blackboard* (it is neither a board, not necessarily black), *football* (a game), *lady-killer* (not a killer but a man fascinating women). There are also compounds whose meaning cannot be deduced from the meaning of the components: *ladybird* (is not a bird, but an insect), *tallboy* (is not a boy, but a piece of furniture), *bluebottle* (may denote either a plant or an insect, but not a bottle), *man-of-war* (war ship) (cf. Antrushina 1999: 108). Compounds included in these two groups are known as **idiomatic compounds**.

1.2.2. Synthetic vs. root compounds

Two forms of compounds are often distinguished: **synthetic** (or **verbal**) **compounds** and **root compounds**.

Verbal compounds are the ones in which the second stem is derived from a verb with one of the affixes (agentive *-er*, nominal and adjectival *-ing*, and the passive adjectival *-en*): *truck driver, gift-giving, windblown, waste disposal*. In root compounds (or primary compounds, the second stem is not verbal (*file cabinet, blackboard, red hot*)).

The structures attributed to the two types of compounding can be visually represented as labelled trees:



The structural analysis shows that root compounds like *blackboard* consist of two stems combined as one, with the compound, as a whole, bearing the category and morphosyntactic features of the right-hand stem. In contrast, in synthetic compounds, deverbal nouns, like *driver* are compounded with another stem (*truck*), the derived word forming the head of the compound, (cf. Selkirk 1982: ch.2).

Synthetic compounding is highly productive in English, as is the root compounding of nouns. Consider the following examples of **synthetic** nominal compounds:

- a. sword-swallower, heart-breaker, church-goer
- b. money-changer, typesetter

The analysis of such compounds seems to be problematic between two interpretations:

sword + [swallow + -er]
 [sword + swallow] + -er

One interpretation might be that derivation in *-er* takes place first [*swallow* + *-er*] and the compounding *sword-swallower* second, but in English *swallower* and *goer* are not established words, they are possible, but they do not occur as words of their own.

Another option would be to analyse these compounds as being the result of compounding [*sword* + *swallow*] first, followed by derivation in *-er* (*sword-swallower*). This analysis is also inadequate because verbal compounding is not a productive process in English, and hence compounds like *sword-swallow* or *heart-break* do not exist in the language.

What can be noticed here is that the use of one word-formation implies the use of another word-formation process. The possible words *swallower*

and *breaker* are used as the heads of nominal compounds. The term **synthetic compounding** is traditionally used to indicate that this kind of word-formation looks like the simultaneous use of compounding and derivation.

Such conflation of compounding and derivation is also found for other types of word-formation, as illustrated by *blue-eyed*, *short-sighted*, etc., in which the adjective + adjective compounding is conflated with the formation of denominal adjectives (note that *eyed* itself or *sighted* is not an established word of English).

Noun incorporation is a similar process that involves the combination of a noun and a verb into a verbal compound: *mountain-climbing*, *word-processing*. Noun incorporation is used primarily to form nouns that express an activity.

Synthetic compounding and noun incorporation can be seen as the simultaneous use of compounding and derivational morphology in coining a new compound. (cf. Booij 2005: §4.5.)

1.2.3. Endocentric vs. exocentric compounds.

From the point of view of the relationships between the terms of the compound, compounds can be grouped into **syntactic** and **asyntactic** compounds.

1.2.3.1. Syntactic compounds express in a condensed form the syntactic relationships in a sentence. Syntactic compounds can be classified according to the semantic and grammatical relationships holding between the elements that make them up into: endocentric and exocentric.

Endocentric compounds have at least one head or centre, on which the first component is dependent, e.g. *truck driver* has the head *driver* on which the stem *truck* is dependent. The referent of the compound is always the same as the referent of its head, for instance: *a truck driver* is a kind of driver. Thus, semantically, these compounds are hyponyms (see section 3.3.1) of the head (*a truck driver* is a hyponym of the term *driver*). Endocentric compounds are of three main types.

Attributive compounds, such as *windmill*, *greenhouse*, *sky blue*, *icy cold*, have a modifier-head, structure in which the left-hand member somehow modifies the right-hand member.

Coordinate compounds contain two heads: *bitter-sweet*, *typist-clerk*, *composer-conductor*, *fighter-bomber*, *deaf-mute*, *boyfriend*. The compound is made up of two stems of equal importance, meaning ‘both...and...’ (*deaf-*

mute means ‘He is both deaf and mute’; a *producer-director* is both a producer and a director and a *fighter bomber* is equally a fighter and a bomber). The relationship between the stems is that of coordination. Both stems are equally sharing head-like characteristics. Such compounds in which the components are of equal status are also called **dvandva** (the Sanskrit name) ‘**appositional**’ or **copulative compounds**.

Subordinative compounds contain one element that is interpreted as the argument of the other, usually the relation is that between a verb and its object, for instance: *truck driver* is equivalent to ‘he drives a truck’ (verb + object). Typically, in such compounds one stem is a verb or is derived from a verb; these are the so-called synthetic compounds:

hand mixer, lion tamer	(suffixation in <i>-er</i>)
truck driving, food shopping	(suffixation in <i>-ing</i>)
meal preparation, home invasion	(suffixation in <i>-ation</i>)
cost containment	(suffixation in <i>-ment</i>)

Most of the compounds are both formally endocentric (they belong to the same word class as their second component) and semantically endocentric (the compound is a hyponym of the grammatical head).

By contrast, in **exocentric syntactic compounds**, also called **bahuvrihi compounds** (the Sanskrit name), neither stem is a head. The referent of the compound is not the referent of the head, for instance: *bluejacket* means neither ‘blue’ nor ‘jacket,’ but a person, ‘a seaman in the Navy.’ Exocentric compounds may also be of all three types:

- a) **attributive compounds** like *air head*, *meat head*, *bird brain*, *lazybones*. do not refer to types of heads or brain, but to types of people, usually stupid or disagreeable people. For instance, an *air head* is not a kind of head, but a person with nothing but air in her head. Similarly, a *redhead* is ‘a person with red hair,’ a *flat-foot* is a ‘policeman (slang)’ and an *egghead* is an ‘intellectual.’ The compound is not a hyponym of one of its elements, and thus appears to lack a head or perhaps to have a head (or ‘centre’) external to the compound itself.
- b) **coordinative compounds** (*parent-child*, *doctor-patient*), the compound as a whole refers to a relationship (e.g. between a parent and a child or a doctor and a patient).
- c) **subordinative compounds**: *pickpocket* is not a kind of pocket, but rather a person who picks pockets (verb + object); *cut-throat* is not a

kind of throat, but a person competing with others in an unpleasant way (verb + object).

Headless or exocentric compound nouns do not reflect a productive pattern in modern English. There is only a relatively small number of compounds of this type in English.

1.2.3.2. Asyntactic compounds in which the usual grammatical patterns are obscured; the members of the compound do not combine in syntactic constructions, e.g. *in-and-in* ‘breeding carried out repeatedly among closely related individuals of the same species to eliminate or intensify certain characteristics.’

Further reading

On the classification of compounds, see Bisetto and Scalise (2005), Lieber (2010: §3.4), Lieber (2009: ch.18).

For a clear classification of the various classes of endocentric compounds, see Bauer et al’s (2013: ch.20) reference work on English morphology. On exocentric compounds, see Bauer (2005b).

Advanced reading on the structure of words and the system of rules for generating that structure, in Selkirk (1982).

Self-assessed test 1.2.2.-1.2.3.

1. Decide whether the following are synthetic or root compounds:
dog walker, windmill, hand washing, hard hat, homemade, ice cold, red hot.
2. Decide whether the following compounds are endocentric or exocentric: *bookseller, blockhead, turncoat, spoil-sport, bird watch.*
3. State whether the head occurs on the left-hand or on the right-hand of the compound. Which pattern is less frequently encountered?

attorney general, wind screen, mother-in-law, daydreamer, notary public, sales receipt, hardworking, gamekeeper.
4. Classify the italicized compounds according to the syntactic relationship between the constituents into attributive, coordinative and subordinative compounds:

*house-hunting, secretary-stenographer, horse-riding,
lawn-mower, hero-martyr, wristwatch, scientist-explorer,
book shelf, lighthouse, shop-clearance, blue blood*

1.2.4. Compounds vs. phrases

When the final component is a noun, the need arises to distinguish between compounds and syntactic phrases. (Note that compound verbs and adjectives cannot be mistaken for phrases).

Similarities between compound nouns and noun phrases

Compound nouns have two properties that indicate that, to a certain extent, they are like syntactic phrases:

- a. The process of compounding can be applied recursively to compounds:

compounds	noun phrases
ice-cream	[the destruction]
ice-cream maker	[the destruction of the city]
ice-cream maker society	[the destruction of the city in two days]

Just as syntactic phrases can be expanded by increasing the number of the constituents, so can compounds be combined to form other compounds with triple or multiple components. This property is called **recursiveness**.

The analysis of the structure of the compounds with three or four constituents is dependent on the way the compound is built. Compounds made up of three constituents may be ambiguous between two interpretations, depending on whether the base meaning is derived from the last component, as a single word or as two words:

American history [teacher] ‘a teacher who teaches American history’
 American [history teacher] ‘a history teacher who is American’
 silver anniversary [ring] ‘a ring for the silver anniversary’
 silver [anniversary ring] ‘an anniversary ring made of silver’

- b. The relations between the constituents of a compound resemble the relations between the constituents of a sentence:

truck-driving	predicate-argument	He drives a truck.
apprentice-welder	apposition	The welder, an apprentice, is my son.
a file cabinet	head-modifier	a brown cabinet

The relation between the elements of the compound *truck-driving* resembles the predicate-argument relation in the equivalent clause: *He drives a truck*. In the compound *apprentice-welder* the relation between the components is similar to an appositive one. In the compound *file cabinet*, *file* modifies *cabinet*, just like *brown* modifies *cabinet* in the noun phrase [*a brown cabinet*].

Distinctions between compounds and phrases

As compounds and syntactic phrases have certain common characteristics, linguists have decided upon several criteria to distinguish between them. They are as follows:

a. Spelling

Compounds can be spelt solidly, as two separate words or can have a hyphenated spelling, in which case they are also called **hyphenes**:

solid compound	spaced compound	hyphenated compound/ hyphene
pickpocket basketball	breakfast room fair copy	lion-hearted long-distance-runner

Solid or closed compounds most likely consist of short (mono-syllabic) words that often have been established in the language for a long time: *housewife*, *lawsuit*, *wallpaper*, *basketball*, etc.

The **spaced or open compounds** consist of newer combinations of usually longer words, such as *distance learning*, *lawn tennis*, etc.

In **hyphenated compounds** two or more words are connected by a hyphen. These are either compounds that contain affixes, such as *house-build(er)* and *single-mind(ed)(ness)*, or adjective-adjective compounds and verb-verb compounds, such as *blue-green* and *freeze-dried*. Compounds that contain articles, prepositions or conjunctions, *mother-of-pearl* and *salt-and-pepper*, are also often hyphenated.

Usage in the US and in the UK, differs and often depends on the individual choice of the writer rather than on a rule; therefore, open, hyphenated, and closed forms may be encountered for the same compound noun, such as the triplet:

<i>girlfriend</i>	is the spelling given by <i>Collins Concise dictionary of the English language</i> and the 9th edition of the <i>Concise Oxford dictionary</i>
<i>girl friend</i>	is the spelling provided in <i>Webster's third new international dictionary</i>
<i>girl-friend</i>	in the 7th edition of the <i>Concise Oxford dictionary</i>

Whether a compound is open, hyphenated or solid is a reflection of the degree to which it has been accepted as a lexeme by the speakers of English. Dictionaries may differ on spelling, but there seems to be a tendency to reduce hyphenation.

However, lack of consensus and uniformity in the spelling of certain compounds in English makes this criterion less reliable. In contrast, noun phrases are spelt as separate words: [NP *the pretty girl*].

b. The phonological criterion

In compound nouns the primary stress falls on the first word and the second word gets secondary stress, while in noun phrases both content words receive primary stress:

Compound nouns	Phrase
a 'blackbird 'a kind of bird'	[NP a 'black 'bird] 'a bird that is black'
a 'bluebell 'a kind of spring flower'	[NP a 'blue 'bell] 'a bell that is blue'
a 'blackboard	[NP a 'black 'board] 'a board that is black'
a 'redcoat 'a soldier'	[NP a 'red 'coat] 'a coat that is red'
a 'redskin 'an American Indian'	[NP 'red 'skin] 'skin that is sunburnt'

c. The morphological criterion

In compound nouns the first component is grammatically invariable, the plural ending is attached to the whole, while in noun phrases, both components can be inflectionally marked:

Compound	Phrase
tallboy - tallboys 'piece of furniture'	[NP the tallest boys]

Compounds have morphological integrity, i.e. the elements of a compound cannot be split up by other words, nor can they be modified by *very*. For example, the adjective *American* cannot intervene between the first and the second element of the compound, but it can be inserted in the noun phrase:

Compound	Phrase
a truck driver	[_{NP} a careful driver]
*a truck American driver	[_{NP} a careful American driver]

Furthermore, the degree adverb *very* can intensify the adjective in the noun phrase, but it cannot be used with a compound:

Compound	Phrase
*very blackbirds	[_{NP} very black birds]
*very blackboard	[_{NP} very black boards]

d. Word order

The order of the components in a compound is fixed, while the order of the constituents in a phrase is free. For example, the adjectives and the nouns in the noun phrases below can be replaced, but the replacement of the components in compounds is not possible:

Compound	Phrase
a blackbird	[_{NP} a black bird]
*a greenbird	[_{NP} a green bird]
	[_{NP} a white animal]
a redcoat	[_{NP} a red coat]
*a greencoat	[_{NP} a green coat]
	[_{NP} a red scarf]
	[_{NP} a red cap]
	[_{NP} a brown jacket]

e. The semantic criterion

Compounds have an idiomatic meaning. Two compounds built on the same combinatory pattern and using words belonging to the same semantic field do not have a similar meaning or, at most, they share only one sense:

sunstruck	‘affected or touched by the sun’
moonstruck	‘marked by mental unbalance’

It can be noticed that the combinatorial pattern of these compounds is: **noun + past participle**. The nouns belong to the same semantic field of ‘celestial bodies,’ but the resulting compounds have different meanings.

Similarly, the following compounds have the identical structure: **noun + Agent noun** and involve the use of nouns belonging to the semantic field of ‘wild animals’:

wolf-hunter	‘person who hunts wolves’
fox-hunter	‘person who hunts foxes’
lion-hunter	‘a person who seeks the company of celebrities’

Nonetheless, the compound *lion-hunter* has a meaning based on a metaphorical extension of the noun *lion*, typically associated with the idea of power and strength.

Further reading

For further discussions on the reliability of the criteria used to distinguish between compounds and phrases, see Plag (2003:137–142); Hulban (2001:77–87), Katamba and Stonham (2006: 306–334) and for the theoretical developments in the study of synthetic and root compounds, see Lieber (2005: 376–392).

Self-assessed test 1.2.4.

1. Explain how recursiveness accounts for the formation of the compounds:

radiation safety training manual
marina designer training program
airline cabin crew member
business project management training services
project designer training course
patent infringement lawsuit
swine flu vaccine patent lawsuit

2. The following triconstituent compounds are ambiguous between two readings. Use brackets to provide the two interpretations and make up sentences to illustrate each meaning:

<i>Ideal Home Exhibition</i>	<i>student film society</i>
<i>long term contract</i>	<i>Old English teacher</i>
<i>police dog trainer</i>	<i>kitchen towel rack</i>

3. Group the following compounds and account for their spelling:

- a) solid: *tablecloth*,
- b) spaced: *breakfast room*,
- c) hyphenated *heart-disease*,

the armed forces, background, class-consciousness, dress circle, first-offender, Highlander, light-minded, lipstick.

4. Find reasons to prove that the examples in a) are compounds and those in b) are noun phrases:

- a) *sweetheart, cotton-plant*
- b) *sweet taste, cotton dress*

1.2.5. An inventory of compounding patterns

In traditional lexicology compounds are grouped by the word class to which they belong (cf. Plag 2003: 181–207; Bauer & Huddleston 2012: §19.4). Compounds usually have two components, each belonging to one of the lexical categories/ word classes: noun, adjective, verb, preposition, etc. The compound itself may belong to the lexical category Noun, Verb or Adjective.

1.2.5.1. Compound nouns (also **nominal compounds**) have nouns as their heads. The most frequent patterns include the combinations: noun + noun, adjective + noun, preposition + noun, verb + noun.

Noun-centred compounds have a noun in final position, functioning as head:

- a. **noun + noun**: *ashtray, birdcage, bedtime*. This is the most productive kind of compounding in English.
- b. **adjective + noun**: *grandmother, mainland, small talk*. This pattern is still productive, evident from relatively recent compounds as: *software, hardware, hotline*, etc.
- c. **verb + noun**: *driveway, payday, swimsuit, hovercraft, chewing-gum, living-room, drinking-water*. In such compounds the verbal element takes the *-ing* affix and depends on the noun (*living-room* means ‘a room for living’).

Verb-centred compound nouns.

The central element is a verb, simple or derived, and the relation between the parts is typically that between a verb and its complements in a clause:

- a. **verb + noun**: *pickpocket, breakwater, scarecrow*. The noun part corresponds to the object of an equivalent clausal construction (*It breaks the water.*). This compounding pattern is no longer productive.
- b. **noun + verb** (without suffix): *earthquake, sunset, waterfall*. The noun corresponds to the subject of the equivalent clause (*earthquake* means ‘the earth quakes’).
- c. **noun + deverbal noun** (in *-er*): *stage-manager, songwriter, dishwasher, screwdriver, lawn-mower, city-dweller, freedom-fighter, theatre-goer*. The suffix *-er* shows that the whole compound denotes the person or the thing corresponding to the subject of the clausal construction (*songwriter* means ‘He writes songs’).
- d. **noun + verbal noun** in *-ing*: *brainwashing, housekeeping, shop-lifting*
- e. **verb + preposition**: *breakthrough, runaway, take-off, look-out, drop-out*. This pattern is still productive. Most often the verb and the preposition occur adjacently in a clause (*drop-out* means ‘He is going to drop out of the race’).
- f. **preposition + verb**: *intake, outlook, overflow, offspring*.
- g. **deverbal noun in -er + preposition**: *passer-by, runner-up, onlooker, bystander*. The nominalizing suffix *-er* gives an agent interpretation to the compound (*passer-by* means ‘He passes by.’)
- h. **verbal element** takes *-ing*: *summing-up, upbringing, uprising*.
- i. **adjective + verb** in *-er*: *best-seller, free-thinker, loud-speaker*.

1.2.5.2. Compound adjectives (also adjectival compounds)

Adjective-centred compound adjectives:

- a. **noun + adjective**: *ice-cold, paper-thin, snow-white, steel-blue, ankle-deep, shoulder-high, skin-deep, burglar-proof, car-sick, user-friendly, self-confident, self-conscious, self-evident*. Most compound adjectives convey a comparative/ intensifying meaning: *ice-cold* means ‘cold as ice,’ ‘thin as paper,’ measurement ‘the water was deep’(productive), or correspond to an adjective with complement construction ‘proof against burglars.’ Some are compounds with *self* as a first constituent.

- b. **adjective + adjective:** *bitter-sweet, deaf-mute, Swedish-Irish, dark-blue, red-hot, pale-green, icy-cold*. Either the two adjectives have equal status in coordinative compounds (*bitter-sweet* means ‘bitter and sweet’), or the first adjective conveys an intensifying meaning in subordinative compounds (*icy-cold* means ‘very cold’).

Verb-centred compound adjectives:

- a. **noun + present participle** as head: *breath-taking, heart-breaking, cost-cutting, thought-provoking, law-abiding, theatre-going*. This pattern is very productive. The noun corresponds to the object in a clausal equivalent (*cost cutting* means ‘They cut the costs’) or to the object of a preposition (*law-abiding* means ‘to abide by the law’).
- b. **adjective/adverb + present participle:** *easy-going, hard-working, strange-looking*
- c. **noun + past participle:** *home-made, drug-related, safety-tested, new-born, self-taught, self-appointed, self-posessed, plain-spoken, short-lived, well-behaved*. This is a highly productive pattern; compounds generally correspond to passive constructions (*home-made* means ‘it was made at home’); some compounds have active voice equivalents (*well-behaved* means ‘he behaves well’).

1.2.5.3. Compound verbs

There are fewer compound verbs than compound nouns and adjectives. Many of the compound verbs are formed by other word-formation processes than compounding, namely back-formation and conversion (see sections 1.7., 1.4.). The main patterns of compounding are:

- a. **noun + noun:**
 back derivation: *baby-sit, brainwash, ghostwrite*
 conversion: *whitewash, daydream*
- b. **preposition + noun/verb:** *outgrow, overcharge, overflow*
- c. **verb + verb:** *cook-chill, freeze-dry*

The largest class of compounds in English is that of compound nouns (more precisely, the noun-noun compounds), which account for almost 90% of the total number of compounds.

Further reading

Bauer (1998b) deals with the distinction between phrases and compounds.

For the discussion of the distinguishing features of the different types of compounds, see Adams (2014: ch.6, ch.7, ch.8), Bauer (2006: 459–497), Plag (2003: 142–162), Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: ch.6).

Bauer & Huddleston (2012: 1646–1666) provide descriptive overviews of a wide range of more or less common compounding patterns.

Self-assessed test 1.2.5.

1. Match the groups of compound verbs to the compounding patterns:

V + V; P + V; Adv + V; A + V; N + V.

- a. *sidestep, manhandle, proof read*
- b. *stir-fry, dry-clean, freeze-dry, drink-drive*
- c. *overrate, underline, outrun*
- d. *whitewash, blacklist, deep-fry, shortcut, blindfold*
- e. *downsize, upgrade*

2. Group the following compound words according to their structure:

*first-offender, fur-lined, Highlander, late-comer,
light-minded, stocking, weavers, three-cornered,
treasure-seekers, warm-hearted.*

N + N + -er:	<i>week-ender</i>
A + N + -er:	<i>left-hander</i>
V + V + -er:	<i>go-getter</i>
Adv + V + -er:	<i>new-comer</i>
N + V + -er:	<i>theatre-goer</i>
Num + N + -er:	<i>first-nighter</i>
A + N + -ed:	<i>broad-shouldered</i>
N + N + -ed:	<i>doll-faced</i>
Num + N + -ed:	<i>two sided</i>

1.2.6. Neo-classical compounds

In neo-classical compounding one or both constituents of a word are roots borrowed from Greek and Latin that do not correspond to lexemes, so-called **combining forms**:

- a. *bio-logy, psycho-logy, socio-logy, geo-graphy, tomo-graphy*

- b. tele-camera, tele-gram, tele-kinesis, tele-phone, tele-vision
- c. bureau-crat, magneto-metry, magneto-hydro-dynamic

Combining forms are divided into initial combining forms (*bio-*, *psycho-*, *socio-*, *geo-*, *tomo-*), and final combining forms (*-logy*, *-graphy*).

In (a) the compounds consist of two combining forms. The compounds in (b) show that combining forms can be followed by lexemes. In the case of *television*, for instance, the combining form *tele-* is followed by the lexeme *vision*. In (c) a lexeme is followed by a final combining form, for instance in *bureaucrat*, the first constituent *bureau* is a lexeme, unlike *-crat*. Most words when used in the first position of a neo-classical compound have a linking vowel *o*, as in *magneto-metry*.

Neo-classical compounds are different from normal compounds in that the meanings of the constituent parts cannot be derived from the meaning of corresponding lexemes. The reason why such words are neo-classical compounds is that in most cases they have not been borrowed as a whole directly from the classical languages Greek and Latin. Instead, they have been coined in the course of time by combining these root morphemes. In fact, neo-classical compounding has given rise to a huge pan-European lexicon. European languages share huge parts of the set of neo-classical compounds which are used in science, government, culture, and business.

A lot of initial combining forms have been created by means of truncation. A good example is the pan-European initial combining form *euro-* that is a truncation of the word *Europa*. Other examples of such truncations are *afro-*, *compu-*, *crea-*, *cine-*, *cyber-*, *digi-*, *docu-*, and *flexi-* that are all used very productively to coin new words in most European languages (see Booij 2005: §4.3). In scientific and technical language one of the most productive compound elements is *digital* (*digital signal*, *digital control*, *digital physics*, *digital television*, *digital monitor*, etc.)

In short, neo-classical compounding is a very important source of new words, even though it does not combine lexemes, and therefore does not possess the same degree of semantic transparency as regular compounds. The observations on neo-classical compounding lead to the conclusion that it is not always easy or possible to decide if a complex word is a case of compounding or of derivation. In the domain of neo-classical compounding the boundary between compounding and derivation is blurred.

Further reading

Introductory reading and good practice on the use of Latin and Greek morphemes in technical and scientific terminology, in Denning et al (2007: ch. 8, ch.9, ch.10). Neo-classical word-formation is discussed in Bauer (1998a), among others.

Further reading on main word-formation processes

For introductory reading on productive lexical processes in present-day English, see Hickey (2006).

For an overview of the literature on the productive word-formation processes (affixation, compounding and conversion) in English, see Lieber (2005: 375–428); on the productivity of the main word-formation processes, see also Carstairs-McCarthy 2002: ch. 8).

Self-assessed test 1.2.5

1. *Cyber-* has become a popular prefix during the 1990s. It has been attached principally to nouns to form new nouns, as in *cyberspace*. Look up the prefix in Quinion's (2002) on-line dictionary available at: <http://www.affixes.org>. List the words that use the prefix *cyber-*, identifying the examples of *cyber-* being prefixed to a lexical category other than a noun. Give the meanings of these words.
2. Find out the origin and the meaning of the following combining forms: *eco-*, *nano-*, *-pathy*, *-phobia* and supply examples of words. (Check with <http://www.affixes.org>).
3. Each of these neo-classical compounds contains at least one bound Graeco-Latin combining form. With the help of a dictionary, identify a meaning for each such combining form, and find another word that contains it: *nanometre*, *polyphony*, *leucocyte*, *omnivorous*.
4. Find the meaning of the two-combining forms that produce the neo-classical compounds: *astronaut*, *bibliography*, *xenophobia*, *pseudonym*, *antipathy*, *anthropology*.

Example: *astro* (star) + *naut* (sailor) = *astronaut*

5. Give the Greek-derived technical terms with the following meanings. Identify the combining forms and give their meanings:
 - a. 'study of skin diseases'
 - b. 'flying dinosaur with wing membrane connected to an elongated finger'
 - c. 'a small ruling class having the whole political power in their hands.'

1.3. Clipping

Derivation and **composition** are word-building processes based on addition. In contrast, **clipping** (also known as **shortening** or **contraction**) is a process of shortening the word form, and involves cutting off part of an existing word or phrase to leave a phonologically shorter sequence. The word undergoing clipping is known as a **prototype** (or **original**), while the resulting word is a **clipped form** (or the **residue**).

1.3.1. Types of clippings

In clippings, a multisyllabic word is reduced in size, usually to one or two syllables. Traditionally, three types of clipping have been identified: aphaeresis, syncope and apocope:

fore-clipping (or **aphaeresis**): the loss of initial syllable

airplane > plane
exchange > change
omnibus > bus

syncope or **medial clipping**: the loss of syllable in medial position (unproductive today)

fantasy > fancy
spectacles > specs

back-clipping (or **apocope**): loss of syllable in final position (very productive)

advertisement > ad
bicycle > bike
cinematograph > cinema
dormitory > dorm
taximeter > taxi
condominium > condo

In terms of productivity, back-clipping is the most common type.

Plain clippings are almost always monosyllabic: *lab*, *doc*; they consist of the clipped form. There are also **embellished clippings**, in which other

operations are applied to the clipped form to produce a new word (clipping followed by suffixation). These are common in informal AusE. (cf. Bauer & Huddleston 2012: 1636) with the suffix *-er*+plural inflection, the suffix *-ie/-y* or the suffix *-o*:

bathers	<	bathing shorts	
swimmers	<	swimming shorts	
barbie	<	barbecue	journos < journalists
pollie	<	politician	garbo < garbage collector
rellies	<	relatives	

1.3.2. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is a special form of clipping consisting of the omission of the head in a compound. Ellipsis involves the shortening of an existing compound to the modifier element that comes to take on the meaning of the whole compound:

final examinations	>	finals
jet-propelled plane	>	jet
soap opera	>	soap
public house	>	pub

Ellipsis of the head in a compound can be accompanied by back-clipping of the first term, the modifier:

graduate-student	>	grad
public house	>	pub
zoological garden	>	zoo

Ellipsis, back-clipping and suffixation can be combined to coin new words:

grandmother	>	granny
moving picture	>	movie
talking picture	>	talkie

1.3.3. Truncation

Truncation is a process in which the relationship between a derived word and its base is expressed by the lack of phonetic material in the derived word (cf. Plag 2003: 116).

Truncated names are the result of clipping:

Elizabeth	>	Liz	(fore- and back-clipping)
		Beth	(fore- and medial clipping)
Patricia	>	Pat	(back-clipping)
		Trish	(fore- and back-clipping)
Evelyn	>	Eve	(back-clipping)
		Lyn	(fore-clipping)

All truncated names are monosyllabic. The material surviving truncation may be the first syllable (*Albert* > *Al*, *Alfred* > *Alf*), the second syllable, if it is primarily stressed, (*Adolphus* > *Dolph*, *Augustus* > *Guss*), or even the secondarily stressed syllable (*Abigail* > *Gail*, *Adelbert* > *Bert*).

Truncation may operate in connection with suffixation. Truncations can be the input to **diminutive formation**. Diminutives occur in two orthographic variants in *-y* or *-ie*, which are pronounced identically:

Andrew	>	Andy	(back-clipping and <i>y</i> -suffixation)
Patricia	>	Patty	
Rebecca	>	Becky	
Suzanne	>	Suzy	
Albert	>	Bertie	(back-clipping and <i>ie</i> -suffixation)
Angela	>	Angie	
Australian	>	Aussie	
aunt	>	auntie	
David	>	Dave, Davey	

Truncated names can be distinguished from *-y* diminutives, both semantically and formally. Truncated personal names have an affective load and function as **hypocoristics** (names of endearment). In many cases, the stressed syllable of the full form is the core of the truncated name, which consists of one or two syllables (the acute accent indicates word stress):

Dave	<	Dávid	Liz	<	Elízabeth
Kate	<	Kátherine	Sue	<	Súsan

Diminutives (*sweetie*, *auntie*) convey, in addition to familiarity, a positive attitude towards the person or thing referred to (see Schneider 2003 for discussion). Formally, truncated names are monosyllabic, while diminutives are disyllabic.

1.3.4. Abbreviation

Abbreviation (also called **alphabetism** or **initialism**), like truncation and blending, involves loss of material. It is defined as a process of shortening words, based on a reduction of an apocope type (see Minkova and Stockwell 2009: §3.5.).

Abbreviations are commonly formed by taking the initial letters of multi-word sequences to make up a new word, which is pronounced as a combination of the alphabet letters:

anno Domini	>	A.D., AD
Bachelor of Arts	>	BA
before Christ	>	B.C.
Doctor of Medicine	>	MD
Master of Arts	>	MA
Member of Parliament	>	MP
European Community	>	EC

Developments in the field of computer science have given rise to an increasing number of abbreviations:

AT	<	advanced technology
CD-ROM	<	compact disc read-only memory
EDP	<	electronic data processing
MS-DOS	<	Microsoft Disc Operating System
PIF	<	Program Information File
IBM	<	International Business Machines

Abbreviations may preserve several non-initial letters, but the abbreviated word is pronounced entirely:

avenue	>	Ave
company	>	co.
incorporated	>	inc.
lieutenant	>	Lieut.
manuscripts	>	MMS
road	>	Rd.
street	>	St.
saint	>	St.

Latin words are also frequently abbreviated, some are read in their original forms or in English:

abbreviation of the Latin words			English equivalent
c.f.	/ˈsi: ˈef/	confer	compare
e.g.	/ˈi: ˈdʒi:/	exempli gratia	for example
et. al	/et æl/	et alia	and others
i.e.	/ˈai i:/	id est	that is
etc.	/it ˈsetrə/	et cetera	and so on
viz.	/ˈvɪz/	videlicet	namely

Some abbreviations can be ambiguous, they can have different readings depending on the situational context in which they are used. Thus, the abbreviation *AA* may stand for one of the following phrases: *Alcoholics Anonymous*; *anti-aircraft*; *Architectural Association*; *Automobile Association*.

In some abbreviations one term is reduced to the initial letter, the other one undergoes regular clipping. Such reductions are meant to avoid confusion:

BLitt	<	Bachelor of Letters/ Literature
BSc	<	Bachelor of Science
PhD	<	(Lat.) <i>Philosophiae Doctor</i> , Doctor of Philosophy

The use of the full stop as a marker of abbreviation is subject to variation. However, its omission is more common in BrE than in AmE. Certain abbreviations can be encountered with different spellings: *PhD*, *Ph.D.*, *DPhil*, *B.Sc.* or *BSc*, *B.S.*, *BS*, and so on.

An increasing number of abbreviated terms have turned into acronyms, becoming established, institutionalised words. **Acronymization** turns phrases into initial letters of the words in those phrases and then interprets these initials phonologically. Thus, the phrase *Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome* provides the acronym *AIDS* (also *Aids*) which is pronounced as a regular word, not as a sequence of letters. Similar examples are:

NATO	/neɪtəʊ/	<	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
UNESCO	/jʊˈneskəʊ/	<	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
scuba	/ˈsku:bə/	<	self-contained underwater breathing apparatus
radar	/ˈreɪdɑ:/	<	radar radio detection and ranging

Widespread use of electronic communication through mobile phones and the Internet during the 1990s allowed for a noticeable rise in colloquial abbreviation. Recent abbreviations are simply based on some very common phrase. This has become a main feature in text-messaging, also known as SMS (short message service) language. Some commonly used acronyms on texting are:

<i>b4</i>	<	before	<i>brb</i>	<	be right back
<i>gr8</i>	<	great	<i>idk</i>	<	I don't know
<i>lol</i>	<	laughing out loud	<i>ruok</i>	<	Are you ok?

In more recent times, the proliferation of initialisms and acronyms has been enhanced by the increasing number of computer abbreviations: e.g. *http* Hypertext Transfer Protocol, *DRAM* dynamic random-access memory, *CPU* Central Processing Unit.

Further reading

For further orthographic and phonetic properties of abbreviations, see Plag (2003: 126–129), Adams (2013: 141–143), and others.

Acronyms current in present-day American English can be found in *NTC's dictionary of acronyms and abbreviations* (1993). More comprehensive dictionaries of acronyms also include international and technical terms.

See also *Acronyms, initialisms & abbreviations dictionary* published by Gale. The 41st edition in 2009 lists over a million entries.

The online *Abbreviations and acronym finder* (www.acronymfinder.com/) boasts over 4,195,000 definitions in its database.

Self-assessed test 1.3.

1. Trace back the origin of the clipped words below and explain how they are formed: *info*, *disco*, *van*, *limo*, *stereo*, *specs*.
2. Give the full form of the following abbreviated words. Indicate their pronunciation as well: *E.F.L.*, *E.S.L.*, *K.O.*, *R.P.*, *ZIP (Code)*, *NASA*, *CIA*, *ESSE*, *FBI*, *FAQ*, *WYSWYG*, *atv*, *yuppie*, *woopie*.
3. Match the following abbreviations, commonly used in the field of IT, with the full form:

BIOS
LAN

Microsoft Network
Random Access memory

RAM	Drive
DRV	local area network
MSN	Dynamic Data Exchange
INI	Basic Input/Output System
DDE	Initialisation

1.4. Conversion

Conversion (also known as **zero derivation**) is a word-building process which involves shifting a word from a word class into another word class, or to put it differently, changing the lexical category of a word. Conversion serves to coin new lexemes on the basis of existing ones. (cf. Bauer & Huddleston 2012: 1640–1644). Thus, the conversion of nouns to verbs is illustrated below:

bed	>	to bed	‘to put to bed’
bottle	>	to bottle	‘to put in a bottle’
bomb	>	to bomb	‘to throw bombs on’

Most cases of conversion involve nouns, verbs and adjectives. The input category can also be an adjective or a verb, while the output category is a verb or a noun, respectively:

Verb to noun conversion

V.	to crowd	>	N.	a crowd
	to cheat	>		a cheat
	to approach	>		an approach
	to laugh	>		a laugh

Noun to verb conversion

N.	echo	>	V.	to echo
	orphan	>		to orphan
	box	>		to box
	can	>		to can

Adjective to noun conversion

A.	poor	>	N.	the poor
	blind	>		the blind
	comic	>		a comic
	professional	>		a professional
	medical	>		a medical

Often the resulting noun is equivalent to a noun phrase consisting of an adjective + an understood noun, as in *medical* ('a medical examination'), *comic* ('person/periodical'), *regular* ('customer/soldier'). Some of these belong to informal style: *local* ('pub'), *royal* ('member of the royal family'). Other adjectives, related to time, like *daily*, *weekly*, *monthly*, convert to nouns denoting periodicals (*Daily Mirror*, *Daily Telegraph*).

Adjective to verb conversion

A. clean	>	V. to clean
calm	>	to calm
dry	>	to dry
empty	>	to empty
smooth	>	to smooth

This pattern of conversion has been productive for a long time. The meaning of the resultant verb is to 'become ~,' or 'make ~,' e.g. *to calm* means 'to become calm,' *to clean* means 'to make sth. clean.'

Verbs resulting from conversion can be grouped according to the meaning of the noun. Thus, verbs may be converted from nouns that denote:

- parts of the body: *elbow* > *to elbow*, *eye* > *to eye*, *face* > *to face*
- human beings, family relationships and professions: *man* > *to man*, *father* > *to father*, *doctor* > *to doctor*
- animals and plants: *dog* > *to dog*, *flower* > *to flower*
- tools and weapons: *gun* > *to gun*, *pencil* > *to pencil*
- musical instruments: *trumpet* > *to trumpet*, *pipe* > *to pipe*
- an experience or a feeling: *pity* > *to pity*, *hunger* > *to hunger*
- production and reproduction: *copy* > *to copy*, *fax* > *to fax*
- location: *cage* > *to cage*, *garden* > *to garden*
- verbs denoting a period of time: *winter* > *to winter*, *honeymoon* > *to honeymoon*
- natural phenomena: *rain* > *to rain*
- liquids and substances: *milk* > *to milk*, *sugar* > *to sugar*
- computer jargon: *format* > *to format*, *interface* > *to interface*, *database* > *to database*
- removal or adding: *butter* > *to butter*, *dust* > *to dust*, *gas* > *to gas*

But how can the direction of conversion be established? How do we distinguish between the base word and the converted word? Plag (2003: 110–112) suggests the following criteria to determine the directionality of conversion:

- a. to look at the history of the language. The etymology of the word can be checked in an etymological dictionary. For instance, from the pair *crowd* and *to crowd*, historically, the verb was first attested in 937 (see *The Oxford English dictionary*). Later the verb was converted into a noun.
- b. to investigate the semantic complexity of the two words: the converted word is semantically more complex than the base word, or it is semantically dependent on the base, for instance, the noun *bottle* and the verb *to bottle*. The verb depends for its interpretation on the noun, *to bottle* means ‘to put in a bottle.’ The verb requires the existence of the concept of bottle. Similarly, the verb *to party* depends on the noun *party* (*to party* means ‘to have a party,’ while *party* means ‘a social occasion when people get together to have a good time’), so the noun *party* is the basic word.
- c. to examine the frequency of occurrence: the noun *water* is more frequent than the verb *to water*, which indicates that the base is the noun, similarly the verb *drink* is more frequent than the noun *drink*, showing that the noun is converted from the verb.

Thus, the problem of the directionality of conversion can be solved by combining historical, semantic and frequential evidence.

Productivity

The word-building process of conversion is extremely productive today (Minkova and Stockwell 2009: 9); we can *chair a meeting*, *air our opinions*, *stage a protest*, *e-mail the students*, *storm the gates*, *fish in troubled waters*, and so on. The most productive pattern in English is noun to verb conversion: *e-mail* > *to e-mail*, *google* > *to google*, *microwave* > *to microwave*, etc.

One kind of conversion that frequently results in a new lexeme is the **conversion of a proper name** (see section 1.8. on eponyms). This kind of conversion is often used to refer to an invention or discovery of the person whose name it is. The converted word occurs as a noun (*sandwich*, *watt*, *diesel*) or sometimes as a verb or adjective (*to dieselize*, *platonic*).

Another instance of this type of conversion is the use of the official trademark proper name of a company as a common noun (referring to all products of that type) or as a regular verb. Some famous cases are *Kleenex* for facial tissue, *Xerox* for photocopying (*I’ll be xeroxing in the library*). A recent one is the verb *to google*, meaning to execute an Internet search on a term, from the name of the dominant search engine, Google (*We googled the new applicant to check her background*).

Further reading

See also Plag (1983: §5.1.). More advanced reading in Lieber (2005: 418–422), Bauer (2005a) and Bauer & Valera (2005).

Self-assessed test 1.4.

1. Identify the converted word and the base word in the following pairs of examples:
 - a. *He majored in History.*
He graduated with a major in History.
 - b. *They e-mailed all students.*
They sent e-mails to all students.
 - c. *Demonstrators clashed with the police.*
There was a clash between the demonstrators and the police.
 - d. *He cleaned his shoes.*
His shoes were clean.
 - e. *He forgot to pickle the hamburger.*
He likes home made pickles.
 - f. *The committee laid the bill on the table.*
The committee tabled the bill.

2. Find the converted word and state what type of conversion it illustrates:
 - a. *I'll text her a message when I get home.*
 - b. *Where do the locals eat?*
 - c. *She bikes to school every day.*
 - d. *They usually have a fine-minute run before breakfast.*
 - e. *He calmed the excited dog.*
 - f. *The royals arrived in Canada.*
 - g. *One of our friends will join us for a chat.*
 - h. *He was a popular TV comic.*
 - i. *The two computer systems are able to interface with each other.*

1.5. Phonological modification

This word-building process involves shifting the stress in a word. This phenomenon is peculiar in words of Romance origin naturalized in English (borrowed and adapted to the language). Verbs and adjectives borrowed from Romance retained their original stress, while nouns came to have the

stress on the first syllable, as in Germanic languages. This fact brought with it a difference in stress between nouns on the one hand and verbs and adjectives on the other hand:

NOUN	VERB
`conduct	con`duct
`contract	con`tract
`convert	con`vert
`digest	di`gest
`export	ex`port
`increase	in`crease
`permit	per`mit
`project	pro`ject
`produce	pro`duce
`reject	re`ject
`subject	sub`ject
`survey	sur`vey
ADJECTIVE	VERB
`abstract	ab`stract
`perfect	per`fect
`present	pre`sent

Some pairs of words with identical spelling are differentiated not by stress, but by **vowel quality**:

V or N	compliment	document	implement
V or N	certificate	estimate	graduate
V or Adj	deliberate	legitimate	separate

The syllable *-ment* is pronounced /*ment*/ in the verb, /*mənt*/ in the noun. The suffix *-ate* is pronounced /*eit*/ in the verb and /*ət*/ in the noun or the adjective. In all examples the final vowel of the noun or adjective is reduced to /*ə*/ while the verb has an unreduced vowel or diphthong, in other words, the end part of the verb is phonologically stronger than that of nouns or adjectives (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2012: 1638).

Thus, in English it is common to indicate the resultative nominalization by shifting the accent from the stem to the prefix. This process is still productive with verbs prefixed with *-re*: *re`make* (V)/`*remake* (N), *re`write* (V)/`*rewrite* (N).

Self-assessed test 1.5.

1. Illustrate phonological modification starting from the lexemes: *decrease, import, object, present, protest, rebel, suspect, torment*.

Indicate whether the two lexemes, the noun and the verb, identical in spelling, are differentiated by stress and vowel quality.

2. Read the following examples paying attention to the stressed syllable:

Those children are addicted to video games.

My grandfather is a jazz addict.

He has made rapid progress in maths.

Are you progressing in your piano studies?

They complimented the prince on the birth of his son.

He had never learned to receive a compliment gracefully.

The child drew a perfect circle.

You can perfect a painting with some additional brush strokes.

1.6. Blending

This word-formation process shares with truncations a loss of orthographic material. Blends (also called **telescope** or **portmanteau words**) are the fusion of the forms and meanings of two lexemes. They are words that combine two (or rarely three) words into one, deleting material from one or both source words. The structure of a blended compound may include: a whole word and a splinter (part of a morpheme) or two splinters (cf. Lehrer 2007: 117):

work	+	alcoholic	>	workaholic	(word + splinter)
chocolate	+	alcoholic	>	chocoholic	(splinter + splinter)

Blends may be the result of shortening existing compounds:

motor-camp	>	mocamp
science-fiction	>	sci-fi
motor-hotel	>	motel

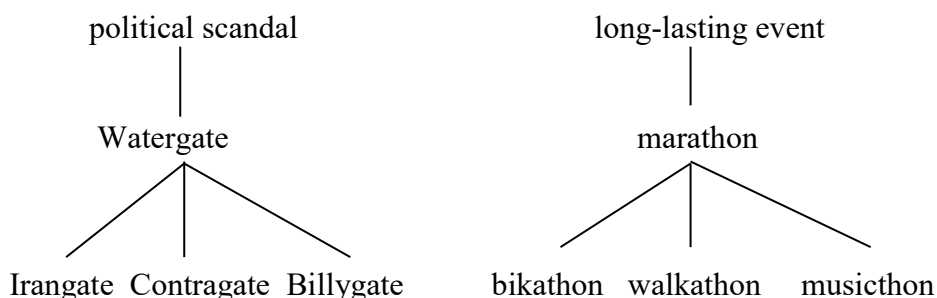
In these abbreviated compounds the first word functions as a modifier of the second: *a motor camp* is a camp for motorists.

Blends may be the outcome of shortening a combination of two base words:

breakfast	+	lunch	>	brunch
channel	+	tunnel	>	chunnel
Spanish	+	English	>	Spanglish
smoke	+	fog	>	smog

These blends share the properties of the referents of both elements: *brunch* is both breakfast and lunch, *smog* is both smoke and fog. It is always the initial part of the first word that combines with the final part of the second element.

A splinter that is frequently used may become a combining form. Combining forms are final like *-holic* in *workaholic*, *chocoholic* and initial like *e-* (*e-tail*). Other examples of final combining forms are: *-gate* meaning ‘political scandal’ found in *Irangate*, *Billygate*, *-thon* ‘long-lasting event’ in *bikathon*, *telethon*, *walkathon*, and *-ade* ‘fruit drink’ in *Powerade*, *limeade*. Lehrer (1998: 3) argues that the relation between blends (*Irangate*) and their source word (*Watergate*) is very often that between a hyponym and a superordinate (see section 3.3.1.):



The original word that gives rise to the new combining form (the splinter) becomes the superordinate of new formatives.

Besides combining forms in final position, there are also combining forms in initial position. Thus, critics of McDonald's Corporation have coined neologisms like *McGreedy*, *McGarbage*. *McJob* refers to low-paying employment with little chance of advancement. *McMansions* are large assembly-line houses in new developments.

Blends are very popular in journalism, advertising and technical fields (especially names) and tend to belong to a more informal stylistic level.

Further reading

More on blending in Lehrer (2007), Bauer & Huddleston (2012: §2.4.), Plag (2003: 121–126); for a review of the literature on blending, see Bauer (2012).

Self-assessed test 1.6.

1. Identify the stems in the following clipping compounds with a complete first stem and a clipped second stem: *cheeseburger*, *snowmobile*, *milkaholic*, *toytoon*.
2. Identify the stems of the following clipping compounds with a clipped first stem and a complete second stem: *biogas*, *e-commerce*, *e-security*, *eco-friendly*, *medicare*.
3. Find the blends with a complete first stem and a clipped second stem formed from the following:

<i>baby + kidnap</i>	<i>bold + audacious</i>
<i>slang + language</i>	<i>tank + bulldozer</i>
4. Give the blends with a clipped first stem and a complete second stem starting from the following:

<i>air + bus</i>	<i>electronic + cash</i>
<i>flexible + time</i>	<i>helicopter + skiing</i>
5. Find the blends with a clipped first stem and a clipped second stem, resulting from the following:

<i>fantastic + fabulous</i>	<i>European + bureaucrat</i>
<i>multiple + university</i>	<i>smoke + haze</i>
<i>television + broadcast</i>	<i>transmitter + receiver</i>

1.7. Back derivation

Back derivation or back formation, is the reverse of derivation. Derivation produces new words by adding affixes, while back derivation forms new words by deleting a final sequence of phonemes that seems to be a suffix. It is mainly involved in the derivation of verbs from nouns. There are two major sources of back-formation:

- (a) nouns (including compound nouns) ending in *-er/-or/-ar* or *-ing*
- (b) nouns ending in *-tion* or *-ion*.

Thus, agent nouns (i.e. nouns that denote the agent of an action) are the result of the derivation from verb stems by attaching the suffix *-er* (the arrow indicates the direction of derivation):

build	>	builder
work	>	worker
play	>	player

By analogy it was supposed that other agent nouns ending in *-er/ -or* also have corresponding verbal stems. The direction of derivation is from the noun to the verb:

to baby-sit	<	baby-sitter
to butch	<	butcher
to burgle	<	burglar
to sculpt	<	sculptor
to typewrite	<	typewriter
to edit	<	editor
to sightsee	<	sightseeing
to brainstorm	<	brainstorming
to brainwash	<	brainwashing

The misinterpretation of other noun forms ending in *-tion/-sion* enlarged the number of verbs coined by back-formation:

to electrocute	<	electrocution
to legislate	<	legislation
to assassinate	<	assassination
to televise	<	television
to transfuse blood	<	blood transfusion

Miscellaneous examples of back derivation are:

to enthuse	<	enthusiasm
to diagnose	<	diagnosis
to reminisce	<	reminiscence

This word-formation process based on shortening is especially favoured by speakers of American English.

In short, back derivation is a process of forming new words by clipping already existing words. The new words are formed by misunderstanding the structure of the word. This misinterpretation is due to analogy and ignorance of the etymology of the word (cf. Adams 2013: 136–138).

Many back-formations never gain real legitimacy (e.g., *enthuse*, *elocute*), some are aborted early in their existence (e.g., *ebullit*, *frivol*), others have a jocular effect (in AmE), as do *burgle*, *effuse*, *emote*, *laze*, and others. Still, many examples have survived respectably, among them *collide*, *diagnose*, *donate*, *edit*, *elide*, *grovel*, *orate*, *peeve*, *resurrect*, and *sculpt* (cf. Garner 2003).

Self-assessed test 1.7.

Compare the words in the two columns below. Comment on their formation, pointing out the original word and the derived one:

<i>to automate</i>	<i>automation</i>
<i>greed</i>	<i>greedy</i>
<i>to housekeep</i>	<i>housekeeper</i>
<i>to sleepwalk</i>	<i>sleep-walking</i>
<i>to thought-read</i>	<i>thought-reading</i>

1.8. Eponymy

Eponyms are new words based on names of real people, imaginary or mythological creatures or places (see Minkova and Stockwell 2009: 19–22).

Eponyms based on names of real people:

<i>cardigan</i>	(19th century Earl of Cardigan, a style of waistcoat that he favoured)
<i>diesel</i>	(Rudolf Diesel, German mechanical engineer, inventor of the the internal combustion engine that uses crude oil in the 1890s)
<i>leotard</i>	(Jules Leotard, French acrobat, who in the late 1800s, often performed in a skin-tight one-piece body suit)
<i>mesmerize</i>	(Franz Anton Mesmer, a German physician of the late 1700s, famous for his theory of animal magnetism)
<i>nicotine</i>	(Jacques Nicot introduced tobacco in France in 1560)
<i>sandwich</i>	(18th century the Earl of Sandwich, British nobleman, who brought bread and meat together to the gambling table)

Eponyms based on names of mythological characters:

- atlas* (Atlas, a Greek god)
morphine (Morpheus, the Greek god of sleep and of dreams)

Eponyms based on geographical names:

- jeans* (from the Italian city of Genoa, where the cloth was first made)
cheddar (a village in Somerset where cheese was produced)

The number of eponyms in scientific language is very large, since new discoveries are often named after their discoverers, for instance in chemistry, newly discovered elements: *Einsteinium* (Es), *Mendelevium* (Md), *Nobelium* (No), etc.; in physics *ohm*, *ampere*, *watt*, *roentgen*, *hertz*, *joule*, *faraday*; in medical English, procedures, instruments, symptoms and techniques have been named after the persons who first discovered a disease.

The main word-formation processes involved in the production of eponyms are: conversion, suffixation, composition.

Conversion produces the largest number of non-terminological eponyms. The input units are exclusively proper nouns and, typically, conversion produces common nouns: *béchamel*, *biro*, *casanova*, *macadam*, *praline*, *shrapnel*. The output units have the potential of becoming input bases in further processes of word-formation: *boycotter*; *dieseling*, *dieselize*, *dieselization*; *ohmic*; *Shylockian*, *Shylocky*, *to shylock*, *shylocker*. (cf. Lalić 2004: 64–65)

Suffixation is the most productive process, particularly in scientific terminology, notably in biology, chemistry and mineralogy. Most eponyms derived by suffixation are names of plants, bacteria, chemical substances and minerals:

- ite: minerals: *allanite*, *dawsonite*, *fergusonite*, *pickeringite*
- ia: plants: *begonia*, *dahlia*, *gardenia*
- ium: chemical elements: *curium*, *einsteinium*, *rutherfordium*
- ize: to subject to a process: *galvanize*, *mesmerize*, *pasteurize*
- ism: principles, doctrines or practices: *Buddhism*, *Calvinism*, *chauvinism*, *Darwinism*
- ic: in the style of: *Platonic*, *pyrrhic*, *quixotic*, *Sapphic*

Composition is very frequent and productive. Here are some examples: *loganberry*, *youngberry*, *saxophone*, *daguerreotype*. (cf. Lalić 2004: 66)

New eponyms are being formed all the time as there seem to be no restrictions on the productivity of eponymous formations. Theoretically, any personal name can be used as a common noun, but many of these never become established.

Further reading

More on word-formation processes involved in eponymy in Lalić (2004). For eponyms in specialised languages, see, for instance, dictionaries of medical eponyms: Rodin and Key (1989), Firkin and Whitworth (2001).

Self-assessed test 1.8.

1. Identify the suffixes involved in the formation of the following eponyms: *einsteinium*, *Benedictine*, *Kafkaesque*, *Clintonite*, *rutherfordium*, *Rappist*, *Ursuline*, *daltonism*, *Hussite*, *masochism*, *sadism*, *Blairist*, *Robinsonesque*, *fuchsia*.
2. Search the internet for the story behind the following eponyms, or look up the eponyms in Manser's dictionary (1998): *maverick*, *boycott*, *poinsettia* (a Christmas plant), *Alzheimer's disease*, *biro*, *clementine*, *diesel*, *saxophone*.

1.9. Reanalysis

Reanalysis is a type of blending that involves **resegmentation** of a word. In reanalysis words receive a different structural analysis: a derived word is reanalysed as a compound and then a part of this compound (a splinter) is involved in the formation of new compounds.

The classical example is the resegmentation of the word *hamburger*, which initially meant a special kind of food originating from the German town of Hamburg. The noun was derived in compliance with the rules of suffixation in German, namely, to indicate the origin of something, the suffix *-er* is attached to the name of the town. However, speakers of English, unaware of the origin of this word, recognizing the stem *ham*, reinterpreted the word as a compound of *ham* and *burger*:

[Hamburg] -er	>	[ham + burger]	>	beef + burger
derived word		compound-like word		compound
derivation	→	resegmentation	→	compounding

The reanalysed structure serves as a model to produce new words: *beefburger*, *cheeseburger*, *fishburger*, *chickenburger*, *veggieburger*, *beefburger*, *oysterburger*, etc. Thus, *burger* has been reinterpreted as a noun (as in *Burger King*). It is not a suffix, but a noun used as a head of nominal compounds, meaning a special kind of food.

A similar type of reanalysis is shown in *turkeyfurter* from *frankfurter*:

[Frankfurt] -er	>	[frank + furter]	>	turkey + furter
derived word		compound-like		compound
derivation	→	resegmentation	→	compounding

Such compound-like words based on blending enter the English language as neologisms. (cf. Szymanek 2005: 435)

1.10. Reduplication

In **reduplication** new words are made by doubling a stem, either without any phonetic changes, as in *bye-bye*, or with variation of the root vowel or consonant, as in *ping-pong*, *chitchat* (this second type is called **gradational reduplication**) (cf. Katamba and Stonham 2006: 177; Matthews 2007: 337).

Reduplication produces **pseudo-compounds** that can be grouped according to the criterion of form into: reduplicative compounds proper, ablaut combinations and rhyme combinations.

In the case of **reduplicative compounds proper** (or **exact reduplication**), the base (or the reduplicant) is fully repeated, as in *bye-bye*. Most examples are illustrative of the so-called baby talk: *choo-choo*, *night-night*, *no-no*, *pee-pee*, *poo-poo*.

Ablaut reduplication consists in changes in the root vowel: *bric-a-brac*, *criss-cross*, *dilly-dally*, *ding-dong*, *flim-flam*, *kitty-cat*, *knick-knack*, *jibber-jabber*, *mish-mash*, *ping-pong*, *pitter-patter*, *riff-raff*, *see-saw*, *shilly-shally*, *tick-tock*, *tittle-tattle*, *wishy-washy*.

Rhyme combinations involve the shifting of a consonant, to form some special rhyme: *chick-flick*, *chock-a-block*, *claptrap*, *gang-bang*, *fuddy-duddy*, *fuzzy-wuzzy*, *hanky-panky*, *happy-clappy*, *arum-scarum*, *higgledy-piggledy*, *hob-nob*, *hobson-jobson*, *hocus-pocus*, *hodge-podge*, *hoity-toity*, *hokey-pokey*, *hubble-bubble*, *hurly-burly*, *itsy-bitsy/itty-bitty*, *jeepers-creepers*, *lardy-dardy*, *lovey-dovey*, *nitty-gritty*, *okey-dokey*, *pell-mell*, *razzle-dazzle*, *rumpy-pumpy*, *shilly-shally*, *slim-jim*, *super-duper*, *teenie-weenie*, *tilly-nilly*, *toogie-woogie*, *topsy-turvy*, *walkie-talkie*, *wingding*.

In other words, repetition of the bases in compounds of this kind involves copying the rhyme in the rhyme motivated compounds, and

copying the consonants and altering the vowel in ablaut motivated compounds. This type of word-building is greatly facilitated in modern English by the vast number of monosyllables (cf. Antrushina 1999: 118).

Stylistically speaking, most words made by reduplication represent informal groups: colloquialisms and slang. e. g. *walkie-talkie* ('a portable radio'), *riff-raff* ('the worthless or disreputable element of society'; 'the dregs of society'), *chi-chi* (sl. for *chic* as in a *chi-chi girl*).

Further reading

On reduplication, as phonologically motivated compounding, see Bauer & Huddleston (2002: 1666) and Bauer (1983).

Self-assessed test 1.10

1. Comment on and classify the following pseudo-compounds according to the form into reduplicative compounds proper, ablaut combinations or rhyme combinations:
 - a. Inge's sugary words, her Scandinavian *sing-song* flowed back through his memories.
 - b. He wanted to say, '*Fiddle-de-dee*,' had he not known that Gordon, in less ridiculous words, would have shared Else's feelings.
 - c. I've got a mortal dislike of *crunchings and munchings* and all such noise, it's my one little *fiddle-faddle*.
 - d. You haven't heard *boogie-woogie* till you've heard him.
 - e. Let's get down to *the nitty-gritty*; *the nitty-gritties* of the negotiations.
 - f. The hotel we stayed in was absolutely *tip-top*.
 - g. Oh, *honeybunny*, we need to leave now.
 - h. Time for bed, children! Okay, Mom, *night-night*!
 - i. Why is there such *hugger-mugger* about the project?
 - j. The rain *pitter-pattered* on the roof.
2. Consider the following reduplicatives. Group them in word classes and comment on other word-formation processes involved in their production. Match the reduplicatives with their meanings:

bric-a-brac, n.

chitchat, n.

claptrap, n.

dilly-dally, v.

din-din, n.

higgledy-piggledy, adv.

<i>hugger-mugger</i> , n.	<i>humdrum</i> , adj.	<i>hurly-burly</i> , n.
<i>knick-knack</i> , n.	<i>mish-mash</i> , n.	<i>pitter-patter</i> , adv.
<i>teeny-weeny</i> , adj.	<i>wiggle-waggle</i> , v.	<i>willy-nilly</i> , adv.
<i>wishy-washy</i> , adj.		

- a. conversation about things that are not important.
- b. stupid talk that has no value
- c. confused mixture of different kinds of things, styles, etc.
- d. ornaments and other small decorative objects of little value
- e. very small, or connected with teenagers
- f. 1) secrecy; 2) confusion
- g. to make something move from one side to another or up and down
- h. 1) a rapid series of light tapping sound; 2) make or move with a series of light tapping sounds
- i. in an untidy way that lacks any order
- j. to take a long time to do something, especially to make a decision
- k. 1) whether one wants to or not; 2) carelessly, without planning
- l. dinner
- m. 1) not having clear or firm ideas or beliefs; 2) not bright in colour
- n. a small decorative object in a house.
- o. a very noisy and busy activity or situation
- p. boring and always the same

Further reading on word-formation processes

General introductions to word-formation processes in English can be found in Adams (2013), Lieber (2010: ch.3), Minkova and Stockwell (2009: 7–23), Brinton and Brinton (2010), Finegan (2012: ch.2), among others.

For a diachronic approach to English word-formation processes, see Marchand (1969) and Hughes (2000).

More detailed treatments of words and word structure can be found in Plag (2003) and Katamba (1994); a recent survey in Bauer & Huddleson (2012: 1621–1721). For a wider view of compounds, looking beyond the English language, see Bauer (2001). Advanced reading on word-formation processes in Lieber (2005).

On the productivity of lexeme-formation processes, see Lieber (2010: ch. 4).

Self-assessed test on word-formation. Revision.

The following terms are associated with computer or internet use. For each item, identify its lexical category and comment upon the word-formation process (compounding, derivation, shortening/ clipping, acronymization,

conversion, blend, reduplication, etc.) and provide a brief definition, if possible:

cyberenthusiast, cyberspace, FAQ, to e-mail, smileys, software, to download, browser, keyboard, cluelessness, electronic commerce, mumbo-jumbo, zig-zag

Example: *chatgroup* – noun, compound,
‘a group of people talking together via the Internet.’

Summary

The chapter opened with a discussion of the definition of the word. We distinguished between word forms and lexemes. Word forms are concrete words occurring in speech and writing (*plays, playing, played*), while lexemes are abstract dictionary items like *play*.

The next section introduced the segmentation of words into morphemes, the smallest abstract units of meaning or grammatical function.

Then we have provided an account of the major word-formation processes in the English language, affixation and compounding. Both derived words and compounds have an internal structure that may be visually represented in the form of tree diagrams. Compounds may be attributive, coordinative, or subordinative, and within these categories compounds may be further analysed as endocentric or exocentric. We have also looked at conversion, a shift in the category of a lexeme with no change other than an occasional change of stress.

Less traditional word-building processes include clipping, which is often accompanied by blending, initialisms, acronyms and back-formation, which add to the lexical stock of present-day English.

Throughout the chapter, we have highlighted issues related to the productivity of word-formation processes and we have supplied information concerning online resources for study.

2. Word origin

In this chapter, we will highlight the importance of studying the history of words. Against the background of a brief outline of the history of the English language, we will learn about the sources of much of the present-day English vocabulary, about the effects of language contact on the evolution of the language. Over the centuries, the extensive borrowing of lexical items from other languages into English, as well as the on-going process of creating new words have greatly contributed to the constantly evolving nature of the English vocabulary.

2.1. The native stock of words

The vocabulary of the English language is far from being homogeneous. It consists of two layers – the native stock of words and the borrowed stock of words.

The native words belong to the original English stock, as known from the earliest available manuscripts of the Old English period. The native words are further subdivided into those of the Indo-European stock and those of Common Germanic origin.

The oldest layer is that of the words having cognates in the vocabularies of different **Indo-European languages**. It has been noticed that they fall into definite semantic groups, such as: terms of kinship: *father, mother, son, daughter, brother*; words naming objects and phenomena of nature: *sun, moon, star, wind, water, wood, hill, stone, tree*; names of animals and birds: *bull, cat, crow, goose, wolf*; parts of the human body: *arm, ear, eye, foot, heart*, etc. Some of the most frequent verbs are also of the Indo-European common stock: *bear, come, sit, stand* and others. The adjectives of this group denote concrete physical properties: *hard, quick, slow, red, white*. Most numerals also belong here.

A noticeably greater part of the native vocabulary layer is formed by words of the **Common Germanic stock**, i.e. of words having parallels in German, Norwegian, Dutch, Icelandic, etc. It contains a greater number of semantic groups and it includes: nouns like *summer, winter, storm, house, room, coal, shirt, shoe, care, evil, hope, life, need, rest*; verbs: *bake, burn, buy, drive, hear, keep, learn, make, meet, rise, see, send, shoot* and many more; adjectives: *broad, dead, deaf, deep*; and many adverbs and pronouns (see section 2.2.).

Words belonging to the native word-stock occur in a wide range of patterns, have a high frequency and are highly polysemantic; they are often monosyllabic and productive in forming new words and set expressions. For example, *watch* < OE *waecan* is one of the 500 most frequent English words. It may be used as a verb in different sentence patterns or as a noun; as a stem in derived words (*watcher*, *watchful*, *watchfulness*), in compounds (*watch-out*, *watchword*, *watch-dog*), or in set expressions (*be on the watch*, *watch one's step*, *keep watch*, *watchful as a hawk*), etc.

Numerically the native stock of words comprises only 30 % of the total number of words in the English vocabulary, while up to 70% of the English vocabulary consist of loanwords.

2.1.1. Etymology and onomastics

Etymology is the study of the origin of words. The term *etymology* derives from the Greek root *etymos*, meaning 'true.' In linguistics, the term **etymon** is used to refer to a word or morpheme from which a later word is derived. For example, the Latin word *candidus*, which means 'white,' is the etymon of the English word *candid*; or, the Greek *oktopous* is the etymon of the English word *octopus*.

Etymology can trace the history of words, the changes in form and meaning, it can tell whether the word is native or borrowed. For instance, the adjective *sad* is an Old English word that originally had the meaning 'satisfied.' The meaning 'sorrowful' was first recorded before 1300. Its spelling underwent changes: Old English *sead* > Middle English *sad* > Modern English *sad*. Another example is the adjective *anguished*, borrowed from Old French, early in the 14th c. The adjective *sad* is a word of Germanic origin, while the adjective *anguished* is of Romance origin.

Etymology plays an important part in the history of names, i.e. those words or phrases that uniquely identify persons (*The Beatles*), animals, places (*London*), concepts or things (cf. Crystal 1995: 140–155; Durkin 2009: ch. 9). Thus, for instance, several place names in Britain are of ancient Celtic origin (*Thames*, *Avon*) or of Roman origin (notably place names including: *-port*, *-chester* or *street* (*Davenport*, *Manchester*, *Colchester*, *Stratford*); other places have become known by the family of the tribal group that would settle in a locality (*Reading* 'place of Reada's people,' *Dagenham* 'Dacca's homestead') and the largest number of place names relate to topography, i.e. they include nouns denoting hills, valleys, rivers, woods, fields (*Windhill*, *Redcliff*, *Hazelwood*). Similarly, the etymology of the county names in Britain reveals their Anglo-Saxon

origins: *Norfolk* ‘people living in the north,’ *Suffolk* ‘people living in the south,’ *Essex* ‘territory of the East Saxons,’ etc.

Family names can be grouped etymologically into: names derived from a place (*Wood, Street*) or from an occupation (*Cook, Clark, Smith*), names expressing kinship (*Johnson, Watkins, Robertson*) and nicknames related to a physical or moral feature (*Long, Little, Fox, Brown, Young, Rich*).

2.1.2. Semantic change

Etymology is essential in studying the changes in the meaning of the words. The meaning of the words borrowed into English from Latin or Greek can differ from their modern meaning. Semantic change is possible because human beings have the capability to form associations between different concepts, mainly based on metaphor and metonymy.

The **metaphorical shift** involves an association between concepts based on resemblance: the Greek word *galact* meaning ‘milk’ is the etymon of *galaxy* and *galactic*. The metaphor lying behind this semantic change is that centuries ago people thought that the stars looked like milk spilled across the sky and created the word *galaxy* to refer to these stars.

The **metonymic shift** involves an association based simply on a close connection in every day experience, such as: a container – content relation (*bottle > coke; can > juice*), a whole – part relation (*car > wheels; house > roof*) or a representative – symbol relationship (*king > crown; the president > The White House*). For instance, in the Old English period, the horns of animals were used for making musical instruments. Because of this close association between the musical instrument and the material out of which the instrument was made, a shift of meaning took place and *horn* became the name of the musical instrument itself.

When a semantic shift occurs, the meaning of the word undergoes narrowing, widening, amelioration or degeneration (cf. Denning et al 2007; Durkin 2009: ch. 8; Harley 2006: §4.8).

a. Narrowing (also specialisation)

A lexeme with a broad, general meaning may become restricted or specialised in meaning; for instance, the Greek morpheme *bibl* originally meant ‘book.’ It preserved this general meaning in *bibliography, bibliophile* but it also refers to a specific book *The Christian Bible* in words such as *biblical*.

A similar example is the narrowing of *deer* from ‘animal’ in Old English to ‘deer,’ a particular type of animal, in Middle English. This happened

because in the Middle English period, the French borrowing *beast* came to be commonly used for the meaning ‘animal,’ and *deer* came to be restricted to its current meaning. (Later on, the word *animal* was borrowed from Latin, with its modern meaning, and pushed *beast* into a narrower meaning as well.) (cf. Harley 2006)

Likewise, *meat* shows a slow process of change in its history within the English language from ‘food in general’ to ‘flesh of an animal (as food)’ and *knight* from ‘boy, lad’ in Old English to a mounted soldier serving under a feudal ruler in Middle English.

b. Widening (also extension, generalisation)

A lexeme with a narrow, specialised meaning may acquire a more general meaning. The Latin word *toxicum* ‘poisoned by arrow’ is the etymon of the word *toxin*, with a widened meaning including all kinds of poison.

Similarly, the word *bird* (of OE origin) used to mean just ‘young fowl,’ but it gradually came to have its broader, modern meaning, which includes all fowl both young and old. Similarly, *manage* (of Middle Italian origin) used to mean specifically ‘handle a horse,’ but now it means handling anything difficult successfully.

Related to broadening is **bleaching**, where the semantic content of a word becomes reduced as the grammatical content increases, for instance in the development of intensifiers from adverbs such as *awfully*, *terribly*, *horribly* (e.g. *awfully late*, *awfully big*, *awfully small*) or *pretty* (e.g. *pretty good*, *pretty bad*) (Durkin 2009: §8.6).

c. Amelioration

A lexeme with an unpleasant meaning may get in time a neutral or a positive meaning. For instance, the Latin morpheme *dexter* ‘on the right’ with a neuter meaning, has come to have a positive connotation in words like *dexterity* and *dexterous* ‘skill’ or ‘cleverness.’

The adjective *nice* has undergone amelioration; it used to have the negative meaning ‘stupid, simple,’ and now it means ‘nice.’ *Fond* underwent a similar change: in Shakespeare’s time, it meant ‘foolish, crazy, dazed’; over time it came to mean ‘dazed with love.’ From there it just came to mean ‘in love with’ and then ‘affectionate towards,’ losing the negative sense entirely.

Hyperbole may lie at the basis of amelioration. The earliest meaning of *awesome* was ‘inspiring awe, dreadful.’ Today, *awesome* has become a word descriptive of wonderful things. According to *The Oxford English dictionary*, this meaning is first found in the 1980s. Similarly, the word

terrific used to mean ‘causing terror,’ now it means just the opposite of what it once meant.

Words which describe things as being very good or very bad are often words which change their meanings rapidly, because overuse of a particular word makes it feel weak and a new hyperbole is required.

d. Degeneration (also pejoration)

A lexeme may develop a negative sense of disapproval. For example, the Latin word *sinister* ‘on the left’ was neutral in meaning, but over time it came to mean ‘evil.’ Another example is the word *silly* which meant ‘happy’ or ‘blessed’ in Old English. In Middle English, the meaning changed to ‘innocent,’ then ‘feeble-minded’ or ‘ignorant.’ Today it means ‘foolish.’

Generally speaking, semantic changes are often the outcome of a mental association, usually involving metaphor (resemblance) or metonymy. Semantic changes can also be characterised in terms of their consequences. Narrowing or specialisation takes place when the meaning becomes more specific, and widening or generalisation is the reverse. Melioration happens when a word takes on more positive connotations, and pejoration is the opposite.

Further reading

For the study of the origin and development of words, see Durkin (2009). Ayto’s (2005) dictionary reveals the historical links between English words.

The best place to learn more about the etymology of English words, and even to discover new connections between words, is in the pages (printed or electronic) of historical and etymological dictionaries, such as: *The Oxford dictionary of English etymology* (1966), *The Oxford English dictionary* (1994), *The Middle English dictionary* (1952–2001) (online version: *Middle English compendium*: <http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/mec/>) and as an online resource, see also *Online etymology dictionary* (<http://www.etymonline.com>).

Self-assessed test 2.1.

1. Use the *Online Etymology dictionary* to trace back the origin of each word in the sentence: *The King of England wrote poems*.
Example: *the* = definite article, late Old English *þe*
2. Decide whether the result of the semantic shift is narrowing, degeneration, widening, or amelioration:
 - a. OE *mete* ‘any food’ > ModE *meat* ‘animal flesh’

- b. OE *bouchier* ‘one who slaughters goats’ > ModE *butcher* ‘one who slaughters animals’
 - c. OE *steorfan* ‘to die (of any cause)’ > ModE *starve* ‘to die from hunger’
 - d. ME *vilein* ‘feudal serf, farmer’ > ModE *villain* ‘a wicked or evil person’
 - e. ME *marshall* ‘groom for horses’ (literally ‘horse slave’) > ModE *marshall* ‘high ranking office’
3. Trace back the semantic change undergone by the words:
fair, fear, fowl, bird, lord, silly.
 4. Look up the following words in an etymological dictionary or search online at: [<http://www.dictionary.com>] to find out whether they are of native, Anglo-Saxon origin, or of foreign origin:

happy, easy, comfortable, able, rest, conquer, moderate

2.2. The borrowed stock of words

Loanwords (or **borrowings**) are words adopted by the speakers of one language (*borrowing language*) from a different language (*source/donor language*). Words may be directly borrowed from another language (e.g. the English word *omelette* was borrowed from French *omelette*), or indirectly, when a word is passed from one language to another, and then to another [e.g. *kahveh* (Turkish) > *kahva* (Arabic) > *koffie* > (Dutch) > *coffee* (English)]. If a word is directly borrowed the chances of its undergoing radical phonological modification are significantly less than those of a word that is indirectly borrowed. Besides changes in phonemic shape, a borrowed word may also undergo modification in spelling, paradigm or meaning according to the standards of the English language.

Borrowing is a consequence of cultural contact between two language communities. Borrowing of words can go in both directions between the two languages in contact, but often there is an asymmetry, such that more words go from one side to the other. In this case, the source language community has some advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth. For example, the Germanic tribes in the first few centuries A.D. adopted numerous loanwords from Latin as they adopted new products via trade with the Romans. Few Germanic words, on the other hand, passed into Latin.

The actual process of borrowing is complex. Generally, some speakers of the borrowing language know the source language, too. They use words from the source language in everyday situations. In time, more speakers become familiar with a new foreign word. The new word becomes conventionalised, i.e., part of the conventional ways of speaking in the borrowing language. At this point the word is called a **borrowing** or a **loanword**.

Conventionalisation is a gradual process in which a word becomes more familiar to more people. The newly borrowed word gradually adopts the sound and the inflections of the borrowing language as speakers who do not know the source language accommodate the loanwords to their native language. Borrowed words may also form compounds or derivatives in the borrowing language. In time, people in the borrowing community do not perceive the word as a loanword at all. (cf. Durkin 2009)

English has gone through many periods in which large numbers of words were borrowed from other languages. These periods coincide with times of major cultural contact between English speakers and those speaking other languages.

2.2.1. Major periods of borrowing

The early political history of England is one of repeated conquest and subordination. These political events brought about radical changes in the language between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1500, a span of time in which Modern English was created out of Old English.

The language spoken by the inhabitants of the British Isles before the Roman conquest of Britain in A.D. 43 belonged to the Celtic family. Latin did not replace the Celtic language in Britain, but there were certainly many people in Roman Britain who habitually spoke Latin. By 410 the Roman occupation had come to an end. In mid-5th century the country was invaded and settled by the Germanic tribes known as the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, who spoke Germanic dialects. The earliest form of English, Old English, developed from these dialects.

I. Old English Period (450–1100)

Words of Latin and Celtic origin were borrowed into the vernacular during the Old English period. The greatest influence of Latin upon Old English was occasioned by the introduction of Christianity into Britain in A.D. 597. Churches and monasteries were built and schools were established in most

of them. A few words related to church and its services were borrowed at this time.

Latin borrowings into Old English:

OE. *apostol* 'apostle, messenger' (Lat. *apostolus* < Gr. *apostolos*)

OE. *casere* 'emperor'

OE. *ceaster* 'city' (Lat. *castra* 'camp')

OE. *maegester* 'master' (Lat. *magister*)

OE. *martyr* 'martyr' (Late Latin *martyr* < Gr. *martyr*)

After the conquest of the Celtic population by the Anglo-Saxons few Celtic words survived in the language chiefly in place and river names, for instance: the kingdom of *Kent* owes its name to the Celtic word *Canti* or *Cantion*, the name *London* most likely goes back to a Celtic designation, *York* was originally a Celtic word; *Thames*, *Avon* and other river names are of Celtic origin (cf. Baugh & Cable 1993: 72–104). A few ordinary words were learnt by the Anglo-Saxons through every day contact with the natives: *binn* ('basket, crib'), *bratt* ('cloak'), and *brocc* ('brock or badger'), geographical names: *crag*, *luh* ('lake'), *cumb* ('valley') and *torr* ('projecting rock'). The influence of the Celtic was negligible, because the relation of the Celt to the Anglo-Saxon was that of a submerged race, not able to make any notable contribution to the Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Scandinavian borrowings

At the end of the 8th century, Scandinavians ('Vikings') began raids on England, followed later by settlement. Many place names, personal names, and general vocabulary from Scandinavian languages (Danish and Norwegian dialects) were borrowed during the period of the Danelaw (9th–10th centuries). However most of the loanwords from Scandinavian first appeared in the written language in Middle English. The Scandinavian words that entered the English language are related to everyday life: *anger*, *cake*, *call*, *egg*, *fellow*, *gear*, *get*, *give*, *hit*, *husband*, *kick*, *kill*, *kilt*, *kindle*, *law*, *low*, *lump*, *raise*, *scorch*, *score*, *scrape*, *scrub*, *seat*, *skill*, *skin*, *skirt*, *sky*, *sly*, *take*, *they*, *them*, *their*, *ugly*, *want*, *window*, *wing*.

Many place-names of Scandinavian origin typically end in: *-by*, *-thorpe* ('village'), *-thwaite* ('an isolated piece of land'), *-toft* ('a piece of ground'): *Whitby*, *Westby*, *Linthorp*, *Bishopsthorp*, *Applethwaite*, *Brimtoft*, *Langtoft*.

II. Middle English Period (1100–1500)

French borrowings

The Norman invasion of 1066 provided the impetus for an influx of vocabulary from Anglo-Norman, the dialect of Old French spoken in England by the new ruling classes. This infusion laid the basis for the hybrid English language of today. English borrowed lots of words related to:

- Law and government: *attorney, chancellor, country, court, crime, defendant, evidence, government, jail, judge, jury, noble, parliament, plea, prison, revenue, state, tax, verdict*;
- Church: *abbot, chaplain, chapter, clergy, friar, prayer, preach, priest, religion, saint, sermon*;
- Nobility: *baron, baroness; count, countess; duke, duchess; marquis, marquess; prince, princess; viscount, viscountess; noble, royal* (in contrast with the native words: *king, queen, earl, lord, lady, knight*);
- Military: *army, artillery, battle, captain, company, defence, enemy, marine, navy, sergeant, soldier, volunteer*;
- Cooking: *beef, boil, broil, butcher, dine, fry, mutton, pork, poultry, roast, salmon, stew, veal*;
- Culture and luxury goods: *art, bracelet, clarinet, dance, diamond, fashion, fur, jewel, painting, satin, ruby, sculpture*;
- Other: *adventure, change, charge, courage, devout, dignity, enamour, fruit, letter, literature, magic, male, female, mirror, pilgrimage, question, regard, special*.

The French borrowings in the Middle English period also include a huge number of words ending in *-age, -ance/ -ence, -ant/ -ent, -ity, -ment, -tion* or prefixed by *con-, de-,* and *pre-*.

Sometimes it is hard to tell whether a given word came from French or whether it was taken directly from Latin. Words for which this difficulty occurs are those in which there were no special sound and/or spelling changes of the sort that distinguished French from Latin.

French and Latin were used in written documents and spoken in official contexts. The clerks who drafted and copied records all day in Latin and French were mostly speakers of English and moved freely from one

language to another according to the nature of their work and the company in which they found themselves.

The variety of French that emerged in England and was in use for several centuries was **Anglo-French**, the lexis of which showed numerous lexical and semantic differences from the French spoken on the continent. In the late Middle English period, and especially in the early 15th century, the use of (Anglo-)French within England showed considerable decline (cf. Durkin 2009: ch. 5).

III. Early Modern English Period (1500–1650)

The Renaissance brought about the beginnings of a huge influx of Latin and Greek words, many of them learned words imported by scholars proficient in those languages (cf. Minkova and Stockwell 2009: ch.3). Scholars conducted academic work in a form of Latin known as Neo-Latin, or Renaissance Latin. To a well-educated Renaissance person Latin was like a second language. Classical Greek was another source of learned words during this period, though the path of entry of Greek words into English is very often indirect, through the vocabulary of Latin or French.

Latin loanwords:

- *abdomen, anatomy, area, compensate, discus, disc/disk, excavate, expensive, fictitious, gradual, habitual, insane, meditate, notorious, peninsula, physician;*

Greek loanwords (many of these indirect, via Latin):

- *anonymous, atmosphere, autograph, catastrophe, climax, comedy, critic, data, history, pneumonia, tragedy;*
- Greek bound morphemes: *-ism, -ize.*

Arabic loanwords (indirect borrowings from the Arabic of the Moors occupying Spain in the Middle Ages into Spanish and then passed over to French and English):

- via Spanish: *algebra, zenith, algorithm, almanac, alchemy, admiral;*
- via other Romance languages: *orange, sugar, zero, coffee;*

IV. Modern English (1650 to the present)

This has been a period of major colonial expansion, industrial and technological revolution, and American immigration.

Words from European languages

French continues to be the largest single source of new words outside of very specialised vocabulary domains (scientific/technical vocabulary, still dominated by classical borrowings).

- high culture: *ballet, champagne, chic, cognac*;
- war and military: *brigade, battalion, cavalry, grenade, infantry*.

Spanish

- *alligator, canyon, embargo, guitar, marijuana, mosquito, ranch, tornado*.

Italian

- *arsenal, balcony, broccoli, macaroni, motto, piano, opera, soprano, opera, stanza, studio, umbrella, viola, violin*;
- from Italian American immigrants: *cappuccino, espresso, pasta, pizza, ravioli, spaghetti, zucchini*.

Dutch, Flemish

- shipping, naval terms: *commodore, cruise, dock, freight, leak, reef, skipper, smuggle, yacht*;
- art: *easel, landscape, sketch*;
- food and drink: *booze, brandy(wine), cookie, cranberry, gin, waffle*.

German

- *noodle, sauerkraut, schnitzel*;
- 20th century German loanwords: *blitzkrieg, zeppelin, U-boat, delicatessen, hamburger, frankfurter, kindergarten, (apple) strudel*.

Words from non-European languages

English speakers have always adopted loanwords from the languages of whatever cultures they have come into contact with. Following increasing interaction with peoples from outside Europe from the 16th century onwards, many words were borrowed from their languages. Here is a short list of words borrowed from languages spoken in other parts of the world:

Hindi

- *bungalow, jungle, pyjamas, punch (the drink), shampoo*.

African languages

- *banana* (via Portuguese), *banjo*, *gorilla*, *jazz*, *zebra*, *zombie*.

American Indian languages

- *avocado*, *cacao*, *cannibal*, *canoe*, *chipmunk*, *chocolate*, *chili*, *hurricane*, *maize*, *moccasin*, *potato*, *tobacco*, *toboggan*, *tomahawk*, *tomato*;
- (plus thousands of place names, including *Ottawa*, *Toronto* and the names of more than half the states of the U.S., including *Michigan*, *Texas*, *Nebraska*, *Illinois*).

Japanese

- *geisha*, *karaoke*, *kimono*, *samurai*, *sumo*, *sushi*, *tsunami*.

Approximately 70% of the English vocabulary are said to be loanwords (cf. Crystal 1995: 27). While some words immediately reveal their foreign origin, other words have become so common in English that it is difficult to imagine that they were borrowed in the first place.

2.2.2. Loan shifts and loan-translations

Another process related to borrowing is that of adapting native words to the new meanings, also known as **loan-shift**. An example from the early Christian era in England is *Easter*, which had earlier been used for a pagan festival, also in spring, in honour of Eostre, the goddess of dawn. Other loan shifts in English include: *God*, *heaven*, and *hell*. The Anglo-Saxons did not borrow the Latin word *deus*, because their native Germanic word *God* was a satisfactory equivalent. Similarly, *heaven* and *hell* express concepts not unknown to Anglo-Saxon paganism and are therefore English words, not loanwords.

Loan translations (or **calques**) show a replication of the structure of a foreign language word or expression by use of synonymous word forms in the borrowing language, e.g. English *beer garden* is a calque on German *Biergarten*, *devil's advocate* 'one who advocates the opposing side' is a calque on Latin *advocatus diaboli*.

Calquing is the word-formation process in which a borrowed word or phrase is translated from one language to another, that is why calques are also referred to as root-for-root or word-for-word translations.

Further examples of common English words, calqued from foreign languages are:

blue-blood (1809)	< <i>sangre azul</i> (Spanish)
commonplace (1540s)	< <i>locus commūnis</i> (Latin)
flea market (1910)	< <i>marché aux puces</i> (Fr.) ('market with fleas')
free verse (1869)	< <i>vers libre</i> (French)
loanword (1860)	< <i>Lehnwort</i> (German)
long time no see	< <i>hǎo jiǔ bu jiàn</i> (Chinese)
wisdom teeth (1880)	< <i>dēntes sapientiae</i> (Latin)
scapegoat (1530)	< <i>azazel</i> , read as <i>ez ozel</i> (Hebrew)

Calques can appear not only through a word-for-word loan translation, but also through a loose loan translation: *brotherhood* for Lat. *fraternitas*, as a translated noun + suffix.

While, in the case of borrowing, a foreign word and its meaning are adopted wholesale into the other language as a loanword, loan shifts and calques emerge when the language is adapted to new concepts.

Further reading

Introductory reading on the history of the English language, in Finegan (2012: ch.13). Elementary reading on word origin in English, in Jackson (1988: ch.2).

Find out more about the origin of words and language change from Minkova & Stockwell (2009: ch.2, ch.3); Katamba (1994); Baugh & Cable (2012) – among others.

Useful, though somewhat outdated, overviews of the history of borrowing in English, in Serjeantson (1961). More advanced readings in the various volumes of the *Cambridge history of the English language* (Hogg 1992; Blake 1992; Lass 1999; Romaine 1998).

Hughes (2000) explores the role of social factors in shaping the development of the English lexicon. On lexis in Middle English, see Kastovsky (1992); and in Early Modern English, see Nevalainen (1999).

On the mechanisms of borrowing in earlier English, see Durkin (2009: ch. 5, ch. 6), and Katamba (1994: ch.10), among others. For advanced reading, see the theoretical account in Antilla (1989: 154–178).

Online sources

OnIED (*Online etymology dictionary*). 2004. (<http://www.etymonline.com>)

OED Online (Oxford English dictionary online). 2004. (<http://dictionary.oed.com/>), based on the 2nd edition of 1989 and updated quarterly with about 1000 new and revised entries.

For a bibliography of etymological dictionaries and books, see also:

<http://www.takeourword.com/bibliography.html>

The *World Loanword Database* (abbr. as WOLD) provides mini-dictionaries of about 1000–2000 entries of 41 languages from around the world, with comprehensive information about the loanword status of each word. Data on loanwords in British English is given in a sub-database of 1505 entries (cf. Grant 2009).

Self-assessed test 2.2.

1. Identify the native word and the borrowed word in each of the following pairs. You may use an etymological dictionary, or you may look for other clues to their origins (the structure of the word, the frequency of occurrence):

*chew / masticate; vend / sell; eat / consume;
malady / sickness; emancipate / free; deadly / mortal;
old / antique; sad / dejected; tell / inform.*

2. Here are pairs of words. Using a good dictionary, find out for each word in each pair whether the root was inherited via Germanic or was borrowed from some other source:
a) *fragile, frail*; b) *dual, two*; c) *nose, nasal*; d) *legal, loyal*
3. Look up the words in an etymological dictionary. State for each word whether it is:
 - a. native/Germanic word (i.e., one present in the Old English period);
 - b. if it is not native, indicate the source language and when it was borrowed, in the Old English, Middle English, or Modern English period:

a. <i>time</i>	b. <i>skirt</i>	c. <i>king</i>	d. <i>courage</i>
e. <i>anatomy</i>	f. <i>anger</i>	g. <i>poem</i>	h. <i>canoe</i>
i. <i>landscape</i>	j. <i>stanza</i>	k. <i>beef</i>	l. <i>hamburger</i>
4. For each donor language match the loanwords into Modern English to the semantic fields suggested:

French: a) high culture; b) war / military.

Spanish: a) war; b) animals.
 Italian: a) architecture; b) music; c) literature; d) food.

French: *ballet, bastion, brigade, battalion, cavalry, cabernet, champagne, chic, cognac, grenade, infantry.*

Spanish: *armada, alligator, barricade, canyon, coyote, embargo, mosquito, mustang.*

Italian: *balcony, broccoli, casino, cupola, duo, fresco, fugue, gazette (via French), macaroni, madrigal, motto, piano, opera, prima donna, soprano, stanza, studio, violin.*

From Italian American immigrants:

cappuccino, espresso, pasta, pizza, ravioli, spaghetti, spumante, zucchini.

2.3. Neologisms

The term ‘neologism’ is used for newly-coined words (e.g. *webisode*, a blend of *web* and *episode*) or new senses of an existing word (e.g. *to wikipedia* used as a verb, meaning ‘to conduct a search on the website Wikipedia’ converted from the proper noun Wikipedia ‘a free-content online encyclopaedia.’

Neologisms are constantly being introduced into language (Lehrer 2003), often for the purpose of naming a new concept in domains that are culturally prominent or that are rapidly advancing, such as: electronic communication and the Internet.

2.3.1. Neologisms and nonce-words

A **neologism** is a word which has lost its status of a nonce-formation but is still one which is considered new by most members of a speech community. (cf. Fischer 1998). A **nonce-formation** is a word which is created and used by a speaker who believes it to be new (Bauer 1983); once a speaker is aware of having used or heard a word before, it ceases to be a nonce-formation. Neologisms contribute to language growth and language change. Neologisms are coined for various reasons:

a) In some cases, words are coined to satisfy the need to express a concept. Thus, in printing and media, very often a new concept arrives on the scene and it is necessary to create a new word or phrase with which to express it. The Internet has produced dozens of neologisms: *cookie, cybercafé,*

emoticon, FAQ, hypertext, spamming, webcam, web-enabled, server, bitcoins, augmented reality.

The website *logophilia.com* lists hundreds of new words noticed in print and electronic media, and is adding them all the time. For instance, the postings for January 2010 are the following:

vegangelical	n. An extremely zealous vegan who is eager to make other people believe in and convert to veganism. [Blend of <i>vegan</i> and <i>evangelical</i> .]
obesogen	n. A chemical that leads to obesity by increasing the production and storage capacity of fat cells; an environmental trigger that causes obesity.
wheredunit	n. A murder mystery or detective story where the location of a crime plays a central role.
nontroversy	n. A false or non-existent controversy
manufactroversy	n. A contrived or non-existent controversy, manufactured by political groups who use deception and specious arguments to make their case.

b) New words are devised not just to express a new concept but also to make a serious or playful comment on a new phenomenon:

nannycam	affluent people who employ a nanny to look after their children sometimes don't trust them. So, they conceal a tiny video camera in a toy or some other place where it can spy on their nanny.
permalancer	a freelancer worker who has worked so long for one company as to become in effect a permanent employee.
plutography	the genre of writing that focuses on the lives and lifestyles of the very wealthy
slackademic	a perpetual student - the academic life as a way of avoiding real work.

c) Another large collection of words occurring in journalistic style are created mainly for entertainment or pleasure:

chatterati	where the chattering classes and the so-called literati meet: TV personalities and chat-show hosts, newspaper columnists, and others
evangineer	someone who has the evangelistic urge to change the world and the technological skill with which to do it.
paperazzi	the reporters from tabloid newspapers who chase after celebrities just as their photographer colleagues, the paparazzi, do.

Another website, *Word Spy*, looks for fresh words and phrases that appeared at least three times in print or online, especially in newspapers, magazines,

and books. Thus, for instance, for November 2016, it highlights the coined word *thrisis* giving its meaning and etymology:

thrisis n. a period of age-related anxiety, stress, and self-doubt experienced by some people in their thirties.
etymology: *thirties* + (*mid-life*) *crisis*

A great number of the new words that are coined will not survive for long. They are subject to fashion and so only have a short life.

On the other hand, there are words in English created for a single occasion, **nonce-words**, to solve an immediate problem of communication. Examples of nonce-words are: *afterhaps* ‘subsequent happenings,’ *copywrong* ‘the disregard for copyright law,’ *eleventeen* ‘twenty-one,’ etc.

English is still growing, with almost 800 neologisms added to the working vocabulary of the language every year. Over half of the new items come from combinations of old ones, but there continues to be a lot of borrowing from other languages.

2.3.2. Neologisms and word-formation

Neologisms are based on different word-building processes: compounding, clipping, abbreviations, blending, or combinations of these.

Suffixation is still the primary source of new complex words in English such as: *bullyable*, *wrongish*, *tabloidification*. Some currently used derivatives allow formal variation, i.e. they occur as morphological doublets (rival forms) that share the same base but involve two distinct affixes, for instance, doublets in *-ness* and *-ity* such as *prescriptiveness* / *prescriptivity*. Usually, one of the rival forms eventually takes over and becomes established while the other variant sinks into oblivion or the doublets may acquire specialised meanings, as in *economic* / *economical*.

Compounding has also contributed a lot of recent vocabulary items to present-day English, such as *expert file*, *data cruncher*, in the field of computing, and an increasing number of neo-classical compounds with recently popular initial combining forms *bio-*, *eco-*, *cyber-*. Conversion produces mainly verbs, from nouns and adjectives (*to rear-end*, *to silicone*, *to source*, *to stiff*). (cf. Szymanek 2005: 441)

There is a tendency for neologisms to become shorter. That is why acronyms like *scuba* and *ID*, clippings like *lab* (< *laboratory*, *labrador*) and *vet* (< *veterinarian*, *veteran*), and some blends like *fortran* (< *formula* + *translation*) and *transceiver* (< *transmitter* + *receiver*) are shortened for

efficiency. The formation of blends and acronyms is a characteristic of late 20th-century English. (cf. Ayto 1999, *Twentieth-century words*).

However, Lehrer (2003) notes that what is unusual about most new blends and other trendy neologisms is that they don't increase efficiency. In fact, they create more effort to interpret – at least at first, until readers and hearers have figured out what the source words are and what they mean. *Cocacolonization* (< *Coca cola* + *colonization*) is easy to get, but *squangle* (< *square* + *angle*) and *narcoma* (< *narcotic* + *coma*) are harder to process than the whole compounds.

The rapid extension of popular culture and global communication has led to an explosion of new words. Speakers of English today are subjected to a torrent of new words and phrases, many of which are at first sight incomprehensible and few of which will survive long enough to make it into a dictionary.

Dictionary-based and corpus-based methods of studying lexical growth

For a search of neologisms in English, see the following dictionaries:

The Oxford dictionary of new words (1997) and Green (1991) *Neologisms: new words since 1960*; as well as Ayto's 1999 dictionary: *Twentieth-century words*, which is aimed at a wider audience. The most important material on lexical innovations is available in Algeo 1991 (*Fifty years among the new words: a dictionary of neologisms 1941-1991*).

For a corpus-based study of neologisms based on acronyms, blends and clippings, see Fischer (1996).

For corpus-based studies of neologisms with a more theoretical orientation, including an interest in the productivity of the word-formation processes, see Plag et al (1998) and Plag (1999).

Online sources

For an up-date on neologisms in English, see freely available sources, such as: *logophilia.com* (available at: <https://wordspy.com>); *word spy* (available at: <https://www.wordspy.com>). These were not designed as research tools for linguists but nevertheless provide very interesting and pertinent data.

Further reading

You can find more on lexical change in the 20th century in Mair (2006: ch.3).

On the latest trends in English word-formation, see Szymanek (2005: 429-448).

Self-assessed test 2.3.

1. Analyse the structure of the following neologisms and decide on the type of blending involved in their production:

bookvertising, aerobat, cyborg, boatel, smist, Eurovision, triathlete, robomb, travelogue, computeracy, pictionary, internet, amtrac, avionics, paratroops

- a. blending with clipped first element
 - b. blending with clipped second element
 - c. clipped first element + clipped second element
2. Decide on the word-formation process in the following neologisms:
accessorise, gadgeteer, laseronic, robotics, sanforise, urbanologism
3. Identify neologisms and comment on the word-formation process involved in their coining:
 - a. *I wikipediaed the article on science and learned about the scientific method.*
 - b. *Dancing teenagers flash mobbed the store.*
 - c. *The cost to spam an advertisement in thousands of news groups is typically less than \$50/Spamming.*
 - d. *You have probably heard of “vlogging,” or “video blogging” before.*
 - e. *White foods – essentially, “bad carbs” like sugar and baked goods made with white flour – have been fingered as a culprit in America's obesity epidemic.*
4. Look at the words and phrases that are listed on the website of the American Dialect Society (<http://www.american dialect.org/>) in the section “Word of the Year.” Are any of these neologisms related to a specific social, cultural or political event that took place last year and was widely debated on? Is any of these words going to become widely used? Try to predict which neologisms will quickly be forgotten, and which will last for a longer period of time.

Summary

In this chapter, attention has shifted to the origin of words and the expansion of the English vocabulary through borrowing and new word creation.

Knowledge about the history of the words is essential in understanding issues related to the present-day English word-stock, such as onomasiology and semantic change.

The differences between Old English and Modern English are largely the result of a series of events in the history of the country that brought the English language into contact with other European languages, often as a subordinate language. Over the centuries, English expanded its vocabulary by extensively borrowing lexical items, mainly from French. Borrowing accounts for the noteworthy diversity of etymological sources of the present-day English vocabulary. However, the core vocabulary, namely the commonest and most basic words used in English today, is of Germanic origin.

The modern English vocabulary reflects not only the effects of significant borrowing but also the process of new word-formation. We have considered the ways in which, using the internal resources of the language, speakers are able to produce an indefinitely large number of new words, that are either transient, as nonce-words, or make their way into the dictionaries, as established neologisms.

3. Word meaning

In this chapter, we will focus on issues related to the meaning of lexemes. The linguistic discipline that systematically studies the meaning-related properties of lexemes is known as **lexical semantics**. It examines the meaning of:

- a. **simple words**, that cannot be broken down into smaller meaningful parts (like *cat*, *boy*, *book*, *house*);
- b. **morphologically complex words** whose meaning is not predictable from the meanings of the parts, including compounds (like *bluebottle* meaning ‘a plant or an insect,’ not a bottle); and
- c. **set phrases** whose meaning is not compositional, such as phrasal verbs like *give up* ‘quit’ and idioms like *hit the roof* ‘become suddenly very angry’ or *in a nutshell* ‘briefly’ (Note that set phrases function like individual lexemes).

First, we will distinguish between connotation and denotation in the meaning of words, then we will look at the two types of sense relations established among lexemes: the syntagmatic ones, found in collocations and idioms, and the paradigmatic ones, involving synonymy, antonymy or hyponymy. We will highlight their role in structuring the vocabulary and their relevance in the lexicographic research and in the creation of computerized linguistic resources. Next, we will consider another mode of structuring the vocabulary – the thematic grouping of words into lexical fields – and we will examine the components of meaning shared by such groups of thematically related lexemes. Finally, we will deal with the dictionary meaning of lexemes, as given in dictionary definitions, and we will provide a brief survey of the dictionary types available for research.

3.1. Denotation and connotation

The meaning of a lexeme can be analysed in terms of denotation and connotation. **Denotation** is that part of the meaning of a word or phrase that relates it to phenomena in the real world or in a fictional or a possible world. Denotative meaning may be regarded as the **central** or **core meaning** of a lexical item. It is often equated with **referential/ descriptive meaning**.

Connotation is given by the additional meanings that a word or phrase has, beyond its central meaning. These meanings reveal people's emotions, mental states and attitudes towards what the word or the phrase refers to. Connotation is sometimes referred to as **affective/ attitudinal meaning** or **emotive meaning**, as shown in Leech (1981): "The connotations of a language expression are pragmatic effects that arise from encyclopaedic knowledge about its denotation (or referent) and also from experience, beliefs, and prejudices about the contexts in which that expression is typically used." For example, the noun *child* has the denotation 'a young human being' and the connotation 'affectionate,' 'amusing,' 'lovable,' 'sweet,' 'noisy,' 'irritating.' The adjective *lonely* has the denotative meaning 'alone, without company' and the emotive connotation 'melancholic, sad.' The adjective *celebrated* has the denotation 'widely known' and the evaluative connotation 'for special achievements in science and art.' The verb *to shudder* means 'to tremble' and it has the emotive connotation 'with horror, disgust.' The meaning of a lexeme is, in part, its relation to other lexemes of the language. Each lexeme is linked in some way to numerous other lexemes in **sense**. There are two intersecting kinds of linkage among lexemes: syntagmatic and paradigmatic.

The **syntagmatic** relation is the mutual association of two or more words in a sequence so that the meaning of each is affected by the other(s); There is a certain mutual expectancy between the main lexemes in a sentence. For instance, in the sentence: *He settled his dispute with the management.*, our linguistic intuition tells us that *settle* tends to occur with *dispute* and not with **war* or **fight* and *dispute* is expected to be followed by a noun denoting a human participant, not an object (**with a gun*). Expectancies of this kind are known as collocations.

The **paradigmatic** (or **substitutional**) relation is a relation of choice. We choose from among several words that might fill the same blank: the words may be similar in meaning or have little in common, but each is different from the others. For instance, instead of saying *He settled his dispute with the management.*, we can say: *He settled his argument/ disagreement with the management.* or *He settled his dispute with his neighbours/ villagers/ colleagues.* Certain constituents of the sentence can be replaced by other words, similar in meaning or different. All these options can be visualised as follows:

He settled his dispute	with the management.
argument	the villagers
disagreement	his neighbours.
issue	his colleagues.

The syntagmatic sense relations are understood sequentially and thus are related to the horizontal dimension, while the paradigmatic or substitutional sense relationships are shown vertically.

Both paradigmatic and syntagmatic sense relations are relevant to the analysis of word meanings in a lexical field (see section 3.5.1.) and to identify semantic features in the componential analysis of meaning (see section 3.5.2.)

Further reading

Elementary reading on lexical semantics in Finegan (2012: 195–207) and other introductions to linguistics.

See Lyons (1977: ch. 7) on reference, sense (his term for *meaning*) and denotation; on syntagmatic and paradigmatic sense relations, see Leech (1981); Cruse (2000: ch.8, ch.9); Cruse (2003: §5.1., 5.2).

Self-assessed test 3.1.

1. Give the denotation of the following words and compare your definition to the definition given in a monolingual English dictionary (e.g. *Oxford English dictionary*):
hand, fish, milk, red, pregnant, follow.
2. Comment upon the connotations of the following words:
candle, flower, bird, faraway, milk, pig, tram, chariot.
3. Comment on the differences in the connotation of the following synonyms: *home, residence, domicile, abode.*

3.2. Syntagmatic sense relations

Sense relations are syntagmatic when they are established between words that are able to co-occur with each other in meaningful sequences. Typically, syntagmatic sense relations hold between words of different categories, such as verbs and nouns or adverb, prepositions and nouns, etc. Collocations and idioms are the main types of syntagmatic lexical relations.

3.2.1. Collocations

Meaning is more than denotation and connotation. Word meaning is influenced by the context in which that word occurs. The tendency of words

to occur together repeatedly is called **collocation**. Collocation refers to the restrictions on how words can be used together, for example, which prepositions are used with particular verbs, or which nouns and verbs are used together. The verb *perform*, for instance, is used with the noun *operation*, but not with *discussion* (*to perform an operation*, but not *to perform a discussion*).

Lexical items which are ‘collocated’ are said to be **collocates** of each other; thus, *perform collocates with operation*, or, *perform* and *operation* are collocates. Collocations are **strong** when the words are closely associated with each other:

The girl has auburn hair.

The young man felt deliriously happy. (extremely happy)

Auburn only collocates with words connected with hair (*curls, locks*), *deliriously* is strongly associated with *happy*, not with *glad, content, sad*.

Weak collocations, on the other hand, are made up of words that collocate with a wide range of other words: *broad* collocates with *agreement* in *to be in broad agreement with sb.*, but also with other words: *a broad avenue, a broad smile, broad shoulders, a broad accent* (strong accent), *broad hint* (strong hint). Or, another example, the adjective *big* is used in collocation with a noun denoting a happening or an event: *a big accomplishment/ decision/ disappointment/ failure/ improvement/ mistake/ surprise*. Strong and weak collocations form a continuum, with strong and weak collocations at the ends.

Most collocations lie somewhere between them. The potential of items to collocate is known as their **collocability** or **collocational range**. (cf. Crystal 1995: 160) For example, the verbs *have, do, make, come, go, get* have a high potential of collocability, they frequently occur in collocations:

have a bath/ have a drink/ have a haircut/ have a holiday/ have a problem/ have a relationship/ have a rest/ have lunch/ have sympathy;

do business/ do nothing/ do someone a favour/ do the cooking/ do the housework/ do the shopping/ do the washing up/ do your hair/ do your homework;

make a difference/ make a mess/ make a mistake/ make a noise/ make money/ make progress/ make room/ make trouble.

As a type of syntagmatic lexical relation, collocations are linguistically predictable to a greater or lesser extent.

Some words have no specific **collocational restrictions** – grammatical words such as *the, of, after, in*. They can collocate with any noun. By contrast, there are many totally predictable restrictions, as in *eke + out, spick + span*, and these are usually analysed as idioms, clichés, etc.

Another important feature of collocations is that they are formal (not semantic) statements of co-occurrence; e.g. *green* collocates with *jealousy* (as opposed to *blue* or *red*), even though there is no referential basis for the link.

Classification of restricted collocations

There have been three main attempts to classify restricted collocations. The first type is based on the syntactic characteristics of the collocation, the second on its semantic characteristics and the third on the commutability of its elements. In the first type, restricted collocations are classified according to the word classes in which their elements appear. Hausmann (1989: 1010), for example, divides collocations into six types:

adjective + noun	(<i>heavy smoker</i>)
(subject-)noun + verb	(<i>storm – to rage</i>)
noun + noun	(<i>piece of advice</i>)
adverb + adjective	(<i>deeply disappointed</i>)
verb + adverb	(<i>severely criticise</i>)
and verb + (object-)noun	(<i>stand a chance</i>)

Benson et al (2009) make the distinction between ‘lexical collocations,’ in which two lexical elements co-occur, and ‘grammatical collocations,’ in which a lexical and a more grammatical element (such as a preposition) co-occur. They add the combinations:

noun + preposition	(<i>interest in</i>)
preposition + noun	(<i>by accident</i>)
adjective + preposition	(<i>angry at</i>)

The second type of classification is based on the semantic characteristics of the combination. For instance, Cowie (1992: 6) examines verb-noun collocations and distinguishes between verbs with a ‘figurative,’ a ‘delexical’ and a ‘technical’ (or ‘semi-technical’) meaning. Corresponding collocations would be *deliver a speech, make recommendations, try a case*.

The classification based on commutability established by Howarth (1996: 102) is also restricted to verb-noun collocations. He identifies five types, exemplified as follows:

1. freedom of substitution in the noun; some restriction on the choice of the verb: *adopt/ accept/ agree to a roposal/ suggestion/ recommendation/ plan*;
2. some substitution in both elements: *introduce/ table/ bring forward a bill/ an amendment*;
3. some substitution in the verb; complete restriction on the choice of the noun: *pay/ take heed*;
4. complete restriction on the choice of the verb; some substitution in the noun: *give the appearance/ impression*;
5. complete restriction on the choice of both elements: *curry favour*.

This classification brings to attention the number of elements that are restricted in their commutability and the degree of restriction.

Cranberry Collocations

A special type of collocations is that of cranberry collocations, that include rare fossil words (*amok, cahoots, umbrage*, etc.), with one attested occurrence, or words that have been borrowed from other languages or varieties. Examples of cranberry collocations are:

amok	run amok
cahoots	in cahoots with someone
dint	by dint of something
dudgeon	in high dudgeon
footsie	to play footsie with somebody
kibosh	put the kibosh on something
kith	kith and kin
umbrage	take umbrage

Other cranberry collocations look less peculiar, because the cranberry items have compositional or familiar morphemic structures, but nevertheless now occur only in fixed strings:

accordance	in accordance with something
amends	make amends (for something)
gunpoint	at gunpoint
irrespective	irrespective of
outset	at/from the outset
retrospect	in retrospect
triplicate	in triplicate
unbeknownst	unbeknownst to someone

Historically, cranberry elements had more general uses, but they became more or less obsolete. In the case of *dudgeon*, for instance, OED suggests that from the time of its earliest citation in 1573 the word was typically found with the preposition *in* and often after an adjective such as *high*, *great*, or *deep*. The uses of the word have atrophied until only one form really remains (*in high dudgeon*) (cf. Moon 1998: 77–80).

Collocations and dictionaries

The presence of collocations in dictionaries has been a matter of discussion for some years (Cowie 1981; Benson 1990; Hausmann 1991). There has been a general consensus that collocations need to be more systematically treated in dictionaries, as they are the building blocks of natural-sounding English and essential tools for learners of English who need to access information concerning the lexical environment of words. The knowledge of the restrictions on lexical combinability is part of a L2 competence and should be successfully mastered by learners.

The first large dictionary of English phrases produced by native speakers was *The Oxford dictionary of current idiomatic English* (Cowie & Mackin 1975). Basically, it treated phrasal verbs – multiword units consisting of a verb and a particle and/ or a preposition, e.g. *run into*, *take to*, *put up with*. Then the *Longman dictionary of English idioms* appeared in 1982, followed by *The BBI combinatory dictionary of English* (Benson, Benson & Ilson) in 1986 and Kjellmer's three volume *Dictionary of English collocations* in 1994. *The BBI combinatory dictionary* supplies information about word combinations on several levels, including syntax (for instance, complementation patterns of verbs). Lexical collocations are arranged by grammatical patterns, e.g. transitive verb + noun (*commit treason*), adjective + noun (*strong tea*).

Kjellmer's typology of collocations is based on the grammatical structure of the collocations such as "noun phrase" or "verb phrase + object."

A more recent dictionary of collocations is *The Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English* (2002), or *Online collocations dictionary*, (available at: <http://oxforddictionary.so8848.com>), aimed at upper-intermediate to advanced level. The dictionary contains over 150,000 collocations for nearly 9,000 headwords. It is based on the 100 million word British National Corpus. Internet searches were made to ensure most up-to-date usage for fast changing areas of language like computing. Examples show how the collocations are used in context, with grammar and register information where helpful. It is meant to be a companion volume to the *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary*.

Collocations and corpora

Patterns of collocations are much more readily understood with the help of a computerized corpus of texts. An examination of the concordances for the lexeme *child* would return the following results (for lack of space, the sample has been shortened to only 14 examples).

Table 1

1 accomplish admission of a child to a school to which he is den
2 tter of copying **another** child who can. After it has been see
3. Yet the highly **anxious** child suffered a tremendous disadvan
4 tal schools, and **expand** child health care and general medica
5 deral funds granted **for** child welfare services in foster hom
6 s of their passage **from** child to adult, and permits their fo
7 tart training a **healthy** child at the age of seven days. Most
8 e no harder to bear **her** child here in such pleasant surround
9 ale or female, adult **or** child) on a separate card (fiche).Th
10 e treatment for **parent-child** relationship problems compared
11 er's thigh- a **sleeping** child's head, covered with light hai
12 ;he ran wild with **the** child gangs of the neighbourhood, and
13 itable footage of **your** child taking its first steps, you ha
14 ty of "play" to a **small** child: he plays "house" or "doctor"

Table 1 shows a selection of entries for the word *child*. The samples are taken from the Brown Concordancer. Such patterns can be very helpful in highlighting meanings, including parts of speech (*child* is a noun), syntactic phrases (*child* occurs in noun phrases [_{NP} *the highly anxious child*]), inflections (*child's head*), word-formation (e.g. compounding, as in: *parent-child*, *child welfare services*, *child health care*) and patterns of words that co-occur frequently (the adjectives *healthy*, *small* co-occur with the noun *child*).

Table 2

1 uld he ever visit here when he was a kid"? Linda Kay asked.
 2 out. Then, in the fifth, Anniston's kid catcher caught onto
 3 w her she was a gawky, badly dressed kid whose arms were too
 4 ditional lines, it probably has more kid appeal than any oth
 5 appy offered Ernie a cigarette. Nice kid, Ernie thought, too
 6 e? But then he had said, "All right, kid, if that's how you
 7 h you luck when you try scaring that kid". Suddenly he grin
 8 d those of Jesse James and Billy the kid, and Bill Tilghman
 9 loor, his legs driving him hard. The kid hit the bigger man
 10 n across the street, talking to the kid. They've found some
 11 nd him. Hans had his fingers in the kid's mouth. "Now he'll
 12 ad smack you in the eye. We used to kid him by saying he on
 13 s so at the Marine base. A New York kid, a refugee from one
 14 "Grosse? You ain't kidding me- the kid don't know the name
 15 oat winked at his six cronies. "The kid has no manners, boys

Table 2 shows a selection of entries for the word *kid* from Brown Concordancer. Apparently, synonymous words can be substituted for one another. For instance, the words *kid* and *child* are considered synonyms. However, corpora show that these words are not easily substitutable. In Table 2 several sentences would not allow the substitution of *kid* for *child*, for example: in colloquial English (sentences in 5, 6), or in dialectal English (sentences 13, 14) *kid* occurs with a negative, derogatory connotation. By contrast *child* is more formal in usage and it occurs more frequently in compounds (T1: 4, 5, 9, 10). Although substitution for one another is possible in several sentences (T1: 7, 11, 13, 14; T2: 3, 7, 10), these would sound odd and convey a different connotation. Such lists with sample sentences provide a great deal of information about the morphological, syntactic and semantic behaviour of any word or phrase.

Similar sample sentences of KWIC (key word in context) entries can be obtained from the British National Corpus. Up to fifty example sentences are chosen randomly from the 100 million word resources of the British National Corpus.

Further reading

For an overview of the main research on collocations and a detailed account of the two main approaches to collocations, Sinclair's (1991) frequency-based approach, and Cowie's (1981, 1994) phraseological approach, see Nesselhauff (2005: 11–24). For an account of collocations in terms of syntagmatic and paradigmatic lexical relations, see Moon (1998).

For examples of collocations, see dictionaries, especially: *The BBI combinatory dictionary of English* (2009) and *Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English* (2002).

Self-assessed test 3.2.1.

1. Indicate the collocations of the verb *to lay* and of the adjectives *great* and *large*.
2. Look at the right-hand lexical collocates of the verb *enjoy* in *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) and in *British National Corpus* (BNC). Give 5 examples of collocating adjectives and 5 of collocating nouns in each corpus.
3. Give as many collocations of the verbs *have*, *come*, *get* as you can think of. Then check with a dictionary.
4. Consult the *BBJ combinatory dictionary of English* on-line and select the collocations of the nouns *decision*, *question*, *talk* and of the verbs *to arrive*, *to deny*.
5. Give the meaning and the etymology of the fossil words:
amok, *cahoots*, *kibosh*, *kith*, *unbeknownst*, *umbrage*, *retrospect*
6. Find examples of verbal, adverbial and nominal collocates for the emotion adjectives: *frightened*, *sad*, *worried* and group them into the following types:
 - a. verb + adjective: *to look frightened*
 - b. adverb + adjective: *extremely frightened*
 - c. adjective + noun: *a frightened man*

For patterns (a) and (b) use *The online collocations dictionary*, (available at: <http://oxforddictionary.so8848.com>), for pattern (c) search on the *British National Corpus*.

7. Examine the table with the collocations of the lexeme *child*:
 - a. determine what words can co-occur with *child*, either preceding or following it.
 - b. name all the immediate constituents of which *child* is an element.

Example: 1 [*admission of a child*] – noun phrase
10 *parent-child* – compound

3.2.2. Idioms

Most linguists define **idioms** as multi-word or polylexemic expressions (i.e. containing several lexemes), whose meaning cannot be deduced from the meaning of its constituents, for instance: *to kick the bucket* means ‘to die,’ or *It’s raining cats and dogs.* means ‘it is raining heavily.’

Commonly, idioms or **phrasal lexemes** [Lyon’s term (1981)] can be matched with non-idiomatic phrasal expressions, with which they are identical in form:

We’ll come at 6 for the surprise party – now don’t spill the beans!

(figurative meaning)

He knocked the jar over and spilled the beans.

(literal meaning)

The phrasal lexeme has a figurative metaphorical meaning, different from the literal meaning of the non-idiomatic phrasal expression

A distinction among idioms concerns the degree of their transparency. Since the meaning of an idiom is not made up of the meanings of its constituents, idioms are considered largely **opaque**. Idioms can be more or less opaque, or, conversely, more or less transparent. In transparent idioms, such as *to leave the cat out of the bag*, the literal meaning is available, whereas in an opaque idiom such as *to kick the bucket* the literal interpretation is not available, none of the constituents can be mapped onto a referent.

Prototypical idioms have two principal characteristics: they are **non-compositional** and **syntactically frozen**.

3.2.2.1. Non-compositionality

Idioms are non-compositional in the sense that their global meanings cannot be predicted on the basis of the readings of their constituents. For instance, it is not possible to understand the meaning of *to pull someone’s leg* ‘to tease sb.’ on the basis of the standard readings of *pull* and *leg*.

Until the late 70, the main trend in idiom analyses was to view these expressions as non-compositional items, whose meaning is arbitrary and does not have anything to do with the meaning of the constituents. However, research in the past twenty years has shown that a large group of idioms are **partially compositional** in nature, i.e. the meaning of the constituents is connected to the meaning of the idiom. They may contain

one or more lexemes with a conventional meaning or a metaphorical reading.

Idioms can be grouped into three classes depending on how the literal word meaning of the constituents contribute to the meaning of the idiom:

- a. decomposable idioms: a part of the idiom is used literally: *question in to pop a question* 'to make a proposal of marriage to a woman';
- b. abnormally decomposable idioms: the referents of an idiom's parts can be identified metaphorically, for instance *buck in: to pass the buck* 'to evade responsibility';
- c. semantically non-decomposable idioms: the meanings of the constituents do not contribute at all to the figurative meaning: *to kick the bucket* 'to die.'

The idiomatic meaning of many idioms is motivated by metaphor, metonymy or folk understanding. As illustrative examples let us consider the set of body part idioms. Out of 1200 idioms in English 200 are based on nouns denoting parts of the human body, of which 68 contain the word *head*, 62 the word *eye* and 61 the word *heart*, etc. The meaning of many idioms with the noun *head*, is based on:

a) **metaphor**

Several idioms are based on the generalized metaphor **container**, which conceptualizes the head as a vessel of ideas and certain emotions.

The head is a **container** and the ideas are physical objects:

to get/ put ideas into one's head ('to make unwelcome suggestions')
to get something into one's head ('to start to believe sth.')
to put out of one's head ('to stop thinking or worrying about sth.')
to have rocks in one's head ('to have a low mental ability')
to have a thick head ('to be stupid'); (the head is visualized as a sieve through which ideas cannot pass)

The head is the **repository of emotional states** in the idioms:

to get a big/ swelled head ('to be overly self-confident or conceited')
one's head swells ('to think very highly of oneself')
to go to one's head ('to make one conceited')
to give someone a big head ('to flatter sb. excessively')

The following idioms are related to the concepts of **anger** or **calmness**:

hothead ('a person who often acts too hastily/ an impetuous person')
to lose one's head ('to lose one's self-control')
to keep a level head ('to remain calm and sensible')
to keep a cool head ('to stay calm in a difficult situation')

The head is viewed as the seat of **conceit** in the idioms:

to hold one's head high up ('to be very confident and proud')
to be head and shoulders above sb. ('greatly superior to')

b) **metonymy** is at the basis of idioms in which the head stands for **mental ability**:

to have a good head for doing something
 ('to have a natural ability to do sth. well')
to have a good head on one's shoulders ('to be intelligent')
to use one's head ('to think, to reason out one's actions')
to put their heads together ('to consult together')

c) conventional knowledge (also **folk understanding**) includes everyday information about the properties of the head:

to be soft in the head indicates low mental ability that is felt to be similar to the soft spot of a baby's head.
to be bone-headed from the neck up ('to be completely stupid'); if bone replaces brain, then the person cannot possess any mental ability.

Also, common gestures involving the head may acquire an idiomatic meaning in:

to scratch one's head ('to wonder')
to shake one's head ('to give a negative response')

Origin of idioms

The origin of specific idioms has been a subject of much speculation and folk etymology. Among the idioms with an indisputable origin are those

found in the Bible (e.g. *throw pearls before the swine, fall from grace, give up the ghost* ‘die’ from King James Bible). These idioms tend to be found in many of the languages into which the Bible was translated.

Many other idioms originate in specific domains: *pull one’s punches, go the distance* (boxing), *have an ace up your sleeve, let the chips fall where they may* (gambling), and *fall on one’s sword, bite the bullet* (warfare). (see more in Flavell & Flavell 1992)

3.2.2.2. Syntactic frozenness vs. flexibility

As multi-word expressions, idioms occur in phrases of various types - noun phrase, preposition phrase, adjective phrase, verb phrase, adverb phrase:

[_{NP} a piece of cake]
 [_{NP} a slap in the face]
 [_{PP} in a nutshell]
 [_{PP} on the double]
 [_{AP} free with one’s money]
 [_{AdvP} as often as not]

Most verb-based idioms occur in one of the following two patterns:

verb + PP	verb + NP
[_{VP} beat [_{PP} around the bush]]	[_{VP} miss [_{NP} the boat]]
[_{VP} step [_{PP} on the gas]]	[_{VP} hold [_{NP} your horses]]
[_{VP} fall [_{PP} on one’s sword]]	[_{VP} do [_{NP} a snow job]]

or as clauses: *It’s raining cats and dogs. The balloon goes up.*

From a syntactic point of view idioms were considered as syntactically frozen structures until the ‘70s. Later linguists argued that not all idioms are rigid constructions. Some idioms can undergo grammatical transformations, while others cannot. Idioms differ to the degree to which they can tolerate morphological and syntactic operations.

Syntactic flexibility

Some idioms do permit a degree of internal change, and are somewhat more literal in meaning than others. Parts of some idioms can be quantified,

Note that ‘*Pete pulled Bill’s left leg/injured leg*’ is syntactically perfectly possible, but the adjectival modification destroys the idiomatic meaning for the original expression.

Moreover, the noun *place* in the idioms *to know one’s place* and *to keep someone in his place* can be modified by *rightful* or *proper*, but in other idioms, like *all over the place*, *to fall into place* and *to go places* no modification is allowed:

He knows his rightful place.
 They keep him in his proper place.
 Everything fell into place.

Occasionally, some idioms can take a **quantifier** to modify a nominal component, e.g. *to look a horse in the mouth* ‘to be grateful’:

She has looked a horse in the mouth.
 That’s the third horse [she has looked in the mouth this year].
 quantifier relative clause

Note that the idiom *occurs* has been relativised around the nominal constituent *horse*.

c) passivisation

Some idioms can be passivized, others cannot. One part of the idiom, the post-verbal noun, can be separated from the remainder through the syntactic operation of passivisation. For instance, with the idiom *to bury the hatchet*, it is possible to move the noun *hatchet* to subject position to form a passive sentence that preserves the idiomatic meaning. Similarly, *to pull the string* ‘to manipulate’ can also undergo passivisation:

The hatchet was buried.
 Strings were pulled for Mary to get the job.

But other idioms, like *to kick the bucket*, cannot be turned into passive:

Kim kicked the bucket.
 *The bucket was kicked by Kim.

Note that ‘*the bucket was kicked by John*’ is syntactically acceptable, but the passivisation operation destroys the idiomatic meaning for the original expression. In the passive form, only the literal reading is available.

d) topicalisation

Parts of idioms may be emphasised through **topicalisation** or **clefting**. In topicalisation, a post-verbal noun may be moved to a pre-subject position, as with the idiom *to find skeletons in sb.'s closet* 'to find out embarrassing secrets' in the example from Nunberg et al (1994):

You might find skeletons in his closets.
His closets, you might find skeletons in.
 topicalised object

Emphasis on a component can also be achieved in a cleft construction (cleft sentences have a fixed structure: *it/that* + BE + emphasised constituent + relative clause). Thus, the noun *basket* is emphasised by separating it from the remainder of the idiom and moving it to focus position:

I've put all my eggs into one basket
 That's the basket [into which I've put all my eggs].
 focus position

e) pronominalisation

A nominal component can be pronominalised (i.e. replaced by a pronoun), for instance, in the verbal idiom *to cry one's eyes out* 'to cry very hard' the noun *eyes* may be replaced by a personal pronoun:

Ann cried her eyes out, when he left her.
 Ann cried her eyes out on Tuesday, and she cried them out again on Sunday.

f) ellipsis

Components of idioms can undergo **ellipsis**; an example is *to keep close tabs on sb.* 'to keep sb. under observation' in which the noun *tabs* can be omitted to avoid repetition:

The FBI kept close tabs on Kim.
 The FBI kept closer tabs on Kim [than they kept _ on Sandy].
 (ellipsis in a clause of comparison)

In short, the structure of certain idioms can be affected by such syntactic transformations as:

- a. passivisation
- b. modification by adjectives, quantifiers or relative clauses
- c. components of idioms can be emphasised through topicalisation
- d. components of idioms can be pronominalised or deleted in ellipsis patterns.

The extent to which an idiom can undergo syntactic and morphological operations while at the same time retaining its idiomatic meaning can be expressed in terms of the number and types of grammatical operations that an idiom is capable of tolerating. This degree can indicate the amount of frozenness of an idiom. Idioms can be classified on the basis of their degree of frozenness, from very frozen to very flexible.

A kind of frozenness hierarchy has been proposed by Fraser (1970). In this hierarchy, an idiom at a given level of such a hierarchy, capable of tolerating a given operation, can also tolerate all operations that are allowed by idioms 'below' that level.

Examples of idioms with greater syntactic flexibility are: *to take advantage of sth.* and *to let the cat out of the bag* 'to reveal a secret carelessly or by mistake.' The idiom *to take advantage of sth.* allows for one component to be separated from the remainder through some syntactic operation (passivisation or relativisation):

They regretted that they had taken advantage of the situation.

They regretted [that advantage had been taken of the situation].

(passivisation)

They regretted the considerable advantage [that had been taken of the situation].

(modification)

(passivisation, relativisation)

There are instances when an idiom can be encountered in various patterns:

Let the cat out of the bag. (contraction *out+of*)

The cat is out of the bag.

The cat was let out of the bag. (passive)

The cat that was let out of the bag. (relative clause)

Let the fluorescent cat out of the polythene bag. (adjectival mod.)

Syntactic flexibility is highly variable and idioms can range between full flexibility and full rigidity. Idioms with a certain degree of flexibility are analysed as decomposable idioms.

Idioms in British English and American English

There are some distinctions between idioms in BrE and AmE, although the majority of idioms are common to both varieties. Variations can be noticed in form and usage.

a) Variations in form

Moon (1998: 133ff) points to lexical distinctions between British and American data in connection with the data in *Collins Cobuild dictionary of idioms* (CCDI). For example, it is shown that the verb may vary when one compares idioms in the two languages:

cut a long story short (BrE)
make a long story short (AmE)
wash your dirty linen/laundry in public (BrE)
 (also *do* your dirty washing in public)
air your dirty linen/laundry in public (AmE)

There are also a few cases in Moon's investigation where British and American English have parallel idioms with similar meanings, usages and source domains but there are lexical differences:

a storm in a teacup (BrE)
a tempest in a teapot (AmE)

burn your *bridges* (BrE and AmE)
 burn your *boats* (BrE)

Even more common is the variation of noun or noun modifier between idioms in the two languages:

throw a *spanner* in the works (BrE)
 throw a (*monkey*) *wrench* in the works (AmE)
 'cause problems that prevent sth. from happening'

In the following idiom, the BrE variant includes a possessive adjective, while the AmE one does not:

take things in *one's* stride (BrE)
 take things in stride (AmE)

- male-female relations: *men and women, mother and father, mummy and daddy, husband and wife, Mr and Mrs, ladies and gentlemen;*

- food combinations: *bread and butter, fish and chips, food and drink;*
- time expressions: *years and years, day and night, night and day.*

Recurrent **adjective and adjective** binomial phrases indicate:

- demographic/ institutional attributes: *economic and monetary, economic and social, political and economic, social and cultural, personal and social.*
- opposite or complementary attributes: *formal and informal, initial and final, old and new, positive and negative, primary and secondary, strong and weak.*

Verb and verb binominals frequently include the verbs *to come* and *to go*: *come and stay, go and get, go and see*, etc.

Adverb and adverb binominals have a directional or a temporal meaning: *in and out, up and down, there and then.*

Trinominals are rare: *here, there and everywhere, blood, sweat and tears.*

Idioms in dictionaries

Dictionaries of idioms provide information on the meaning and usage of idioms in BrE and/ or AmE:

- *Cambridge international dictionary of idioms* (1998) covers BrE, AmE and AusE. and it is based on the Cambridge International Corpus. It contains 7000 idioms, arranged alphabetically, with notes on the history of idioms.
- *NTC's thematic dictionary of American idioms* (1998) is arranged in 900 themes.
- *Oxford idioms dictionary for learners of English* (2006) includes 10,000 British and American idioms that are frequently used by native speakers. Simple definitions help learners understand what the idioms mean and corpus-based examples show how idioms are used in everyday English.
- *Collins Cobuild dictionary of idioms* (1995) relies on the data from the Bank of English corpus and deals with 4400 idioms.
- *Longman American idiom dictionary* (1999) defines 4000 idioms.

Idioms online

To discover the meanings and origin of idioms, access: <http://www.phrases.org.uk/>.

On the most widespread idioms that share the same lexical and semantic structure across many languages, see <http://www.widespread-idioms.uni-trier.de/>
 You can go to the British National Corpus (<http://www.natcorp.ox.at.uk/>), type in an idiom and you will be given up to 50 examples of its use.
 Use a search engine (e.g. <http://www.google.co.uk/>), type in an idiom in double inverted commas to get a list of sites including that idiom.

Further reading

For a straightforward account of non-compositionality and syntactic frozenness, see Fellbaum (2011: 441–456).

On literal vs. figurative meaning, see Cacciari (1993: 27–52). On the connection between figurative meanings of idioms and culture, see Piirainen (2007).

For a discussion of types of binominals and their use in different registers, see Biber et al (1999: 1029–1036).

More on collocations, idioms and binominals, in Gramley and Pätzold (2004: ch.3).
 For a detailed treatment of fixed expressions, including idioms, see Moon (1998).

Self-assessed tests. 3.2.2.

1. Make up sentences to illustrate the difference in meaning, when the following phrases are used as:
 - a) free word collocations;
 - b) phraseological units.

best man, burn one's fingers, keep one's head above water, show somebody the door, to cry over spilt milk, the last straw.

Example: *break the ice*:

- a) He told her a joke **to break the ice**.
- b) Ice breakers are *ships* designed to *break ice* and make way in extremely cold climatic regions.

2. Label the transformations that occurred in the structure of the following idioms:

Idiom	transformations	comment
They buried the hatchet.	It seems that the hatchet was buried.	

	The hatchet seems not to have been buried yet by those journalists.	
Sam ate his heart out over Jane.	Sam ate his heart out over Jane on Wednesday, then he ate it out over Ann on Thursday.	
	Sam ate his heart out over Jane, and Dan ate HIS out over Ann.	
Bob cried his eyes out.	Bob cried his eyes out on Tuesday, and Dan cried HIS out on Sunday.	
His words had touched a nerve.	The mere mention of John had touched a very raw nerve indeed.	
He won't pull the strings for you.	Those strings, he won't pull for you.	
They planned to cook his goose.	My goose is cooked, but yours isn't.	
They pulled Pete's leg.	Pete's leg was pulled continually.	

3. Comment on the differences between the AmE and the BrE versions the following idioms:

BrE	AmE
<i>the icing on the cake</i>	<i>the frosting on the cake</i>
<i>fight like cat and dog</i>	<i>fight like cats and dogs</i>
<i>weep buckets</i>	<i>cry buckets</i>
<i>take the biscuit</i>	<i>take the cake</i>

4. Newspaper headlines often employ idioms to draw the readers' attention. Find five examples of idioms in newspaper headlines by using a search engine (<http://www.google.co.uk/>):

Example: *burn a hole in the pocket*

Renting your house could burn a hole in your pocket.

(Louise McBride 23. September, 2012)

<http://www.independent.ie/business/personal-finance/renting-out-your-house-could-burn-a-big-hole-in-your-pocket-28812982.html>

5. Identify the type of binominals occurring in the following examples:

- a) *There's nothing important in those cupboards, just a few odds and ends.*
- b) *People travel from far and wide to see the birthplaces of the Beatles.*
- c) *The next match is make or break for us. If we lose we'll have no chance of winning the league.*
- d) *For some old people loneliness is part and parcel of everyday life.*
- e) *The rules and regulations in prisons are very strict.*
- f) *There's always lots of hustle and bustle at the market on Wednesdays.*
- g) *Follow the course and step by step you will learn how to create web pages.*
- h) *Let's toss a coin to see who starts. You call: heads or tails!*
- i) *She doesn't enjoy living in the country side. She is a city person, through and through.*

6. Examine the entry for the verb *to eat* and the noun *heart* in three different dictionaries of your choice (if possible, a learner's dictionary, a dictionary of idioms and a dictionary of collocations) What information does each dictionary provide on collocations and idioms?

3.3. Paradigmatic sense relations

Paradigmatic sense relations hold between words of the same category and are characterised in terms of hierarchy (hyponymy, meronymy), similarity (synonymy) or contrast (antonymy).

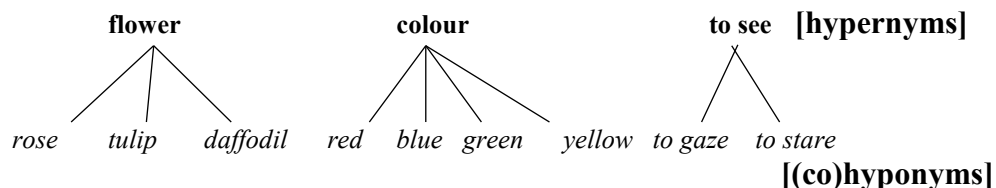
The organisation of words into classes and subclasses is known as **lexical taxonomy**. It is based on the meaning of words, not on their form. The main semantic relationships involved are hyponymy and meronymy, which may be used for classification.

3.3.1. Hyponymy

Hyponymy refers to a set of related lexemes whose meanings are instances of a more general lexeme. This relation is often defined as one of inclusion.

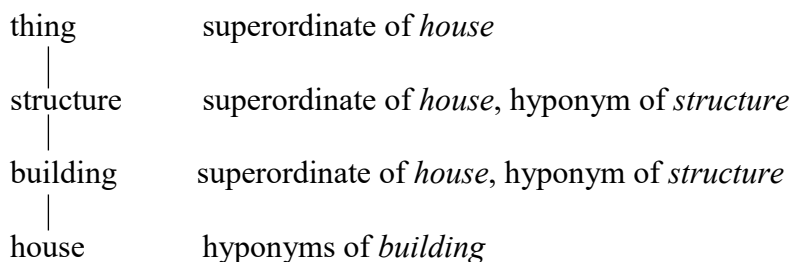
Such a sense relationship exists between the nouns *rose*, *tulip*, *daffodil* and *flower*, the adjectives *red*, *blue*, *green*, *yellow*, and the noun *colour*, or between the verbs *to gaze*, *to stare* and *to see*.

The more specific term is called a **hyponym**, the more general word is a **superordinate**, also referred to as **hypernym**, or **hyperonym**.



The term **superordinate** (introduced by Lyons 1977) is often preferred in place of the alternative **hypernym** (Fellbaum 1998), which is less favoured due to its phonetic similarity to *hyponym*. Two hyponyms sharing the same superordinate are called co-hyponyms. Co-hyponyms are generally incompatible in sense, for instance: *rose* and *tulip* are co-hyponyms of *flower*, but they are incompatible (**A rose is a tulip*). Therefore, the entities denoted by hyponyms represent a subclass or subset of the superordinate term. That is why the phenomenon is sometimes referred to as **inclusion**: ‘An X is a kind of Y’ – *A daffodil is a kind of flower*. (cf. Crystal: 2008)

Griffiths (2006: 48) notes that a superordinate at a given level can itself be a hyponym at a higher level:



Thus, *house* is a hyponym of the superordinate *building*, but *building* is, in its turn, a hyponym of the superordinate *structure*, and, in its turn, *structure* is a hyponym of the superordinate *thing*.

Hyponymy is a transitive relation, if, for instance, *house* is a hyponym of *building*, and *building* is a hyponym of *structure*, then *house* is a hyponym of *structure*. In addition, it should be noted that a word can be both a hypernym and a hyponym: for example, *building* is a hyponym of *structure* and a hypernym of *house*.

Hyponyms and hypernyms may have multiple layers, as in the following examples (cf. Israel 2014: 167), where *fry* is a hyponym of the hypernym *cook*, but *fry* itself is a hypernym for some other types of frying:

hypernym: *cook* hyponyms: *bake, boil, grill, fry, steam, roast*
 hypernym: *fry* hyponyms: *stir-fry, pan-fry, sauté, deep-fry*

Hierarchies engendered by hyponymy may be cross-cutting (cf. Cann 2011: 458). This involves that certain words may be hyponyms of more than one superordinate, depending on diverse features of affinity taken into consideration. In other words, they can be members in different hyponym hierarchies.

Hyponymy and lexicography

Hyponymy is a paradigmatic sense relation essential in structuring the vocabulary of a language. Hyponymy is particularly important to lexicography because it is the core relationship within a dictionary. Due to social and cultural norms, specific of each language, hyponymy tends to impose a certain hierarchy on the lexicon.

Dictionary headwords are usually defined by providing a hypernym, the meaning of which is contained in the meaning of its hyponyms, as part of their definition, to which a number of various individual features are added, as in the following illustrations excerpted from the *Merriam-Webster dictionary for learners of English*:

flower: a small plant that is grown for its beautiful flowers
rose: a flower with a sweet smell [...] that grows on a bush [...]
daffodil: yellow flower that blooms in the spring [...]

colour: a quality such as red, blue, etc., that you see when you look at sth
red: having the colour of blood
blue: having the colour of the clear sky

As can be noticed, the lexeme *flower* is defined as ‘a plant’ (a hypernym), the lexeme *rose* as ‘a flower’ (a hypernym). Thus, the lexeme *flower*, in its turn, functions as a hypernym in the definition of the lexeme *rose*. Similarly, the definition of the lexeme *colour* includes ‘quality’ (a hypernym). Often it is possible to trace a hyponymy path in the lexicon, as hypernyms become increasingly abstract.

building	hyponym of <i>structure</i> , superordinate of <i>house</i>
house	hyponym of building

4. Identify the levels (basic, superordinate, subordinate) in the following groups of words:

- a. *apple, fruit, Granny Smith*
- b. *garment, trousers, jeans*
- c. *chair, wheelchair, furniture*
- d. *bread-knife, cutlery, knife*
- e. *crockery, saucer, plate*

Example: superordinate basic subordinate
 fruit > apple > Granny Smith

5. The following words are hyponyms of *tableware*. Draw a hierarchical diagram of the words to illustrate the taxonomic relations between them. Identify basic-level words:

bread-knife, whisky glass, knife, tea-spoon, bowl, cheese-knife, platter, cutlery, fork, mug, wine-glass, tea-cup, tea-pot, spoon, cup, saucer, glassware, soup-spoon, glass, crockery, plate, fish-knife.

3.3.2. Meronymy

Besides synonymy and antonymy, there is another widely recognised paradigmatic sense-relation – **meronymy** – which involves a ‘part-whole’ relation: *line < stanza < poem*:

meronym		holonym
finger	<	hand
nose	<	face
blade	<	knife
hard disk	<	computer
page	<	book
collar	<	shirt
wheels	<	car

The word referring to the part is called **meronym** and the word referring to the whole is called **holonym**. The names of sister parts of the same whole are called **co-meronyms**. Notice that this is a relational notion: a word may be a meronym in relation to a second word, but a holonym in relation to a

third. Thus, *finger* is a meronym of *hand*, but a holonym of *knuckle* and *fingernail*.

The number of identified subtypes of meronym or part<whole relations varies. Cruse (1986: 157–180) distinguishes two main types: **necessary** meronyms, such as *ear*<*body*, and **optional**, such as *handle*<*door* (since a handle is not always a part of a door).

Iris et al (1988) define three subtypes of meronyms: **whole>segment** relation (*month*>*day*, *bread*>*slice*); **whole>functional component** (*car*>*engine*, *door*>*handle*) and **collection>member** (*pride*>*lion*, *crew*>*captain*).

Winston et al (1987) argue for the existence of six meronymy types:

Component < Integral Object	<i>pedal</i> < <i>bicycle</i> ; <i>punchline</i> < <i>joke</i>
Member < Collection	<i>member</i> < <i>committee</i> ; <i>card</i> < <i>deck</i>
Portion < Mass	<i>slice</i> < <i>pie</i> ; <i>grain</i> < <i>rice</i>
Stuff < Object	<i>flour</i> < <i>cake</i> ; <i>glass</i> < <i>bottle</i>
Place < Area	<i>oasis</i> < <i>desert</i> ; <i>London</i> < <i>England</i>
Feature < Activity	<i>swallowing</i> < <i>eating</i> ; <i>dating</i> < <i>adolescence</i>

Meronymy must not be confused with **hyponymy**, although some of their properties are similar: for instance, both involve a type of ‘inclusion,’ co-meronyms and co-taxonyms have a mutually exclusive relation, and both are important in **lexical hierarchies**. However, they are distinct: *a dog* is a kind of animal, but not a part of an animal; *a finger* is a part of a hand, but not a kind of hand.

Further reading

For a detailed account of meronymic hierarchies, see Cruse (1986: ch.7) and Murphy (2003: 230–236).

Self-assessed test 3.3.2.

1. Draw a diagram based on meronymy to show *have* relationships among the following words:

- a. *leg, hoof, knee, paw, dog, horse, mane, tail, claw*
- b. *brick, wall, flat, building, door, handle, nail*

The lines connecting the words should represent the *have* relation (the possessed is part of the possessor: e.g. *The dog has a tail*).

2. Identify the type of meronymic relation (cf. Winston et al 1987) that holds between the terms, and make up short sentences to illustrate this relation:

<i>wheels < car</i>	<i>chapters < book</i>	<i>Belgium < NATO</i>
<i>juror < jury</i>	<i>ship < fleet</i>	<i>phonology < linguistics</i>
<i>officer < army</i>	<i>slice < bread</i>	<i>yard > mile</i>
<i>martini > alcohol</i>	<i>water > hydrogen</i>	<i>baseline < tennis court</i>
<i>bike > steel</i>	<i>fence < garden</i>	<i>bidding < playing bridge</i>
<i>running < playing football</i>		

3.3.3. Synonymy

Synonymy is defined as similarity of meaning. **Synonyms** are lexemes that have the same or almost the same general sense and are interchangeable at least in some contexts.

3.3.3.1. Absolute synonymy vs. near-synonymy

Distinction is made between full (complete or absolute synonymy) and incomplete synonymy.

Absolute or **full synonyms** require an absolute identity in meaning, for instance: *sweater / pullover*, *begin / commence* and *false / untrue*. Perfect synonyms are rarely encountered, because there are few lexemes which could substitute for each other in all possible contexts:

He wore a blue sweater / pullover.

The concert began/commenced with a traditional hymn.

Near-synonyms are words very similar in meaning, but not identical, not fully intersubstitutable, and varying in their shades of denotation, connotation, emphasis, or register. Cruse (1986: 265–270) and others call near-synonyms **plesionyms** ('almost synonyms').

Partial synonymy is sometimes confused with near-synonymy. **Partial synonyms** are those that do not exactly match in some aspect (denotative, expressive, collocational), whereas near-synonyms do not exactly match particularly in their denotations. Thus, all near-synonyms are partially synonymous, but not all partial synonyms are near-synonymous (cf. Lyons 1995). Lexemes like *feminine* and *womanly* would be called near-synonyms in linguistic semantics, which means that they are very similar but not

entirely identical in meaning. Incomplete or near-synonyms are used in dictionary definitions (*to write / to put down*). Examples of near-synonyms are: *joyful / cheerful*; *heighten / enhance*; *injure / damage*; *idle / inert / passive*.

The differences in meaning between synonyms can be **regional**, **stylistic**, or **emotional**. For example, the synonyms *truck* and *lorry* are used in different dialects (*truck* in AmE / *lorry* in BrE). The pair *sandwich / butty* are synonymous in BrE, but the first is standard English, the latter is regional English. The synonyms *ear* and *lug* denote the same body part but *ear* is standard English, while *lug* is Scots and dialectal. There may be a stylistic difference between synonyms, for example: *insane / loony* (formal – informal); *delay* and *procrastinate* both mean to put off doing something, but *delay* is a neutral term while *procrastinate* is typical of formal written English. There may be an emotional connotation attached to one of the synonyms, for example: *youths* and *youngsters* are synonyms, *youths* is less pleasant than *youngsters*.

The meaning of the synonyms may overlap, but they appear in different combinations. For instance, *freedom* and *liberty* are commonly treated as synonyms in the sentence: *She is enjoying her freedom/ liberty*. but *freedom* can appear in certain combinations (*freedom of expression*, *academic freedom*), in which it cannot be replaced by *liberty* (**liberty of expression*, **academic liberty*). Equally, the meaning of *liberty* is not fully contained in the meaning of *freedom*, because the meaning in: *She took a real liberty*, is peculiar to *liberty*, and not available for *freedom*.

Printed and online thesauri

Synonymous terms are listed in dictionaries of synonyms, also called thesauri. A **thesaurus** is a reference work that lists words grouped together according to similarity of meaning. Unlike a dictionary, a thesaurus entry does not give the definition of words. Some of the best-known printed thesauri are: *American heritage dictionary of the English language* (2006), *Merriam-Webster's dictionary and thesaurus* (2006) *The Oxford dictionary of synonyms and antonyms* (2007).

Synonymous terms can also be searched online. **WordNet** is an electronic thesaurus, a semantically organized lexical database of English. The basic relation in WordNet is synonymy. Words are grouped into **synsets** (i.e., groups of synonyms), as would be found in a thesaurus. If a word has more than one sense, it is represented in more than one synset. Nouns and verbs are represented in hierarchical structures, while adjectives

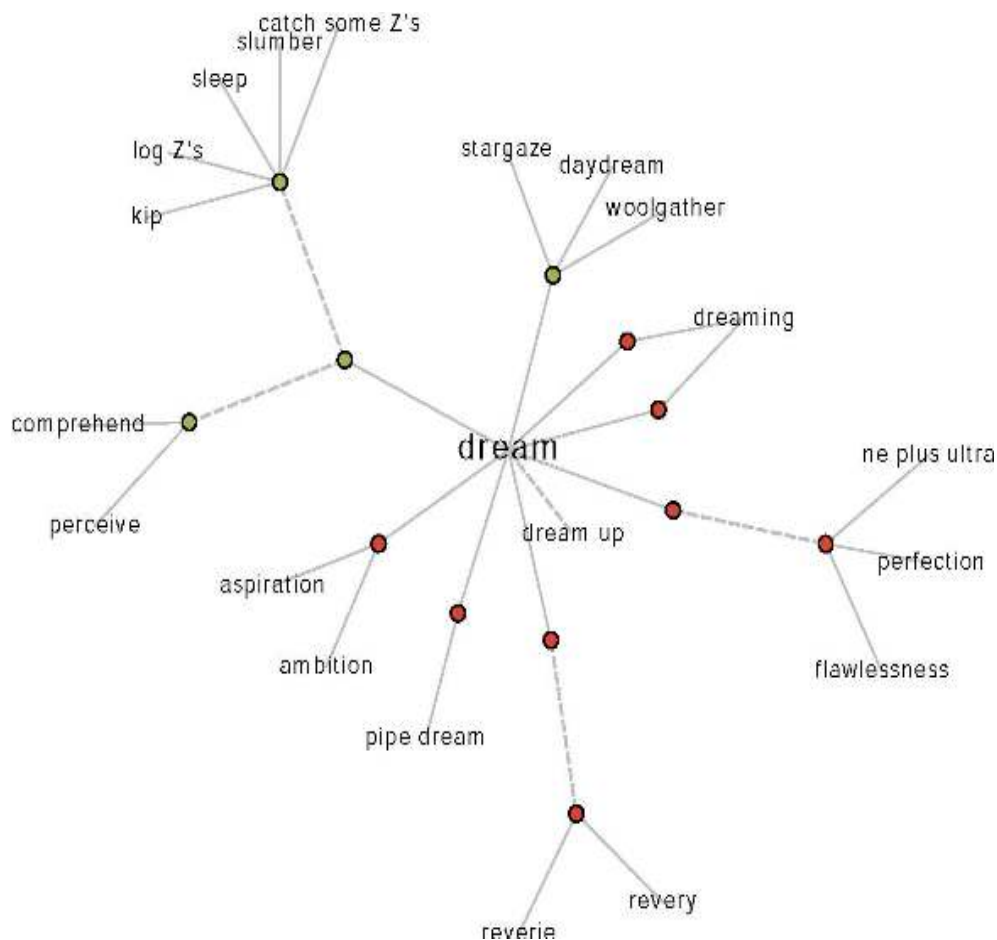
are represented in a non-hierarchical format. For instance, a search for the noun *child* would return the following synset:

- S: (n) **child**, kid, youngster, minor, shaver, nipper, small fry, tiddler, tike, tyke, fry, nestling (a young person of either sex) “*she writes books for children*”; “*they're just kids*”; “*‘tiddler’ is a British term for youngster*”
- S: (n) **child**, kid (a human offspring (son or daughter) of any age) “*they had three children*”; “*they were able to send their kids to college*”
- S: (n) **child**, baby (an immature childish person) “*he remained a child in practical matters as long as he lived*”; “*stop being a baby!*”
- S: (n) **child** (a member of a clan or tribe) “*the children of Israel*”
(WordNet. Princeton University, 2010. <http://wordnet.princeton.edu>)

WordNet is a useful tool for writers, students, language learners, and anyone who needs a definition, a synonym, or a broader view of a word or phrase.

An extension of WordNet is **VisuWords**, which allows one to see a visual interpretation of the WordNet links for words. Each visual map shows the possible meanings and synsets for the central word and the relationships between them all. This online dictionary and thesaurus allows you to look up words to find their associations with other words and concepts. It produces diagrams reminiscent of a mind map or spider gram of how words associate. All the words connected to the same meaning are synonyms. Meanings are represented by color-coded circles to indicate their part of speech. There are four parts of speech represented in the Visual Thesaurus: verb (green), adverb (pink), adjective (orange) and noun (blue).

Antonyms, pairs of words that express opposite concepts, are connected by dashed red lines. Meanings are connected to other meanings by dashed lines. The following diagram is what comes up when you plug *dream* into the search engine:



(VISUAL THESAURUS, available at: <http://www.visualthesaurus.com>)

NOUNS

dream, dreaming

a series of mental images and emotions occurring during sleep

dream, dreaming

imaginative thoughts indulged in while awake

dream, aspiration, ambition

a cherished desire

dream, pipe dream

a fantastic but vain hope (from fantasies induced by the opium pipe)

dream

a state of mind characterized by abstraction and release from reality

dream

someone or something wonderful

"I had a dream about you last night"

"he lives in a dream that has nothing to do with reality"

"his ambition is to own his own business"
"I have this pipe dream about being emperor of the universe"
"he went about his work as if in a dream"

VERBS

dream, woolgather, daydream, stargaze

have a daydream; indulge in a fantasy

dream

experience while sleeping "She claims to never dream"

"He dreamt a strange scene"

(VISUAL THESAURUS, available at: <http://www.visualthesaurus.com>.)

Further reading

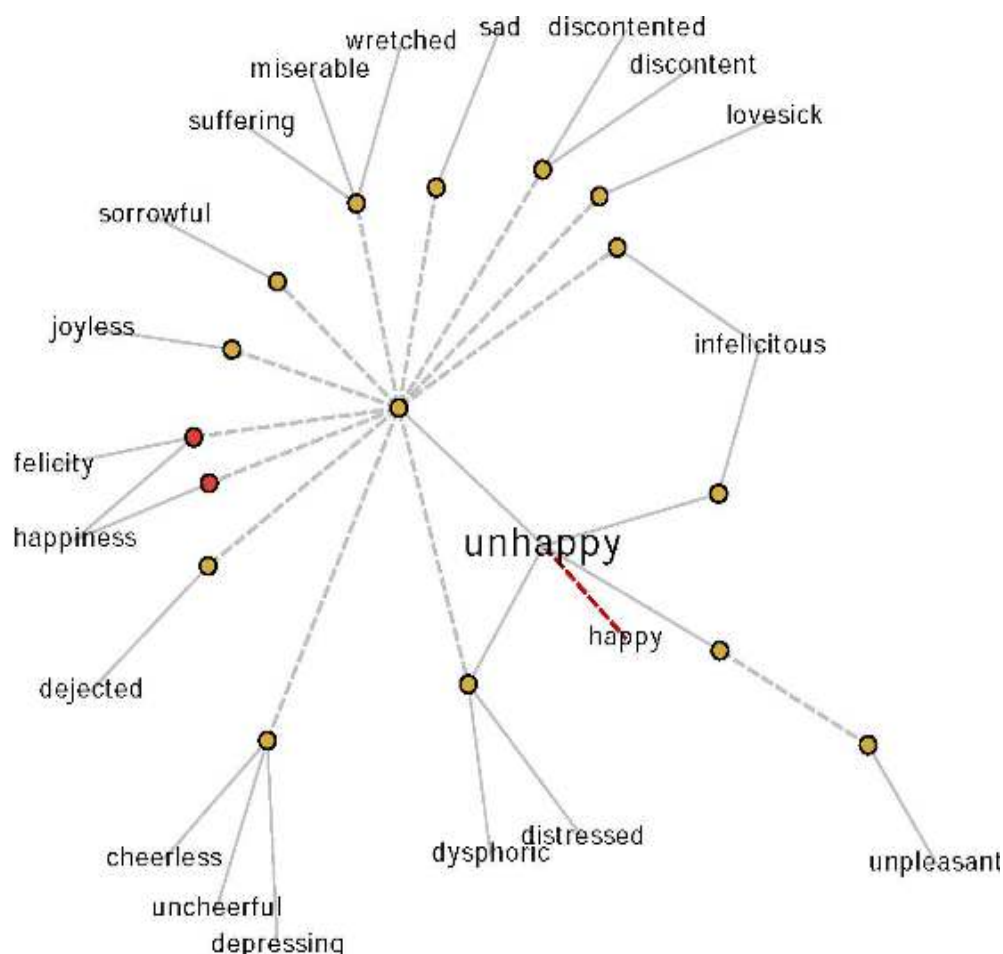
On the merits of WordNet as an electronic thesaurus and a computational tool, as well as on certain problems related to this project, see Murphy (2003: 3.4.2.).

Self-assessed test 3.3.3.1

1. Identify differences in meaning and usage between the following near-synonyms:

*feminine / womanly; (AmE) awesome / (BrE.) wicked;
stubborn / obstinate; mercury / quicksilver.*

2. The graph below is the synset of the word *unhappy* from **Visuwords**, a free online graphical dictionary, linked to Princeton University's WordNet. Give the synonymic series of the adjective, the corresponding nouns and the antonyms.
3. Using Visuwords find the synset of 5 words of your choice, then comment on the difference in meaning between the synonymous terms.



(VISUAL THESAURUS, available at: <http://www.visualthesaurus.com>)

3.3.3.2. Distinguishing among the terms in a synonymic series

Synonyms are grouped in **synonymic series**. The words included in a synonymic series belong to the same grammatical category, i.e. all of them are nouns, or all of them are verbs, etc. Synonymic series can be studied with the help of dictionaries that explicitly differentiate between members of near-synonym groups. For example, *Webster's new dictionary of synonyms* (Gove 1984), which discriminates among approximately 9,000 words in 1,800 near-synonym groups.

Here is an entry abridged from this dictionary that distinguishes between the terms of the synonymic series: *error, mistake, blunder, slip, lapse, faux pas, bull, howler, boner*:

Error implies failure to take proper advantage of a guide. **Mistake** implies misunderstanding; it expresses less severe criticism than error. **Blunder** is harsher than mistake or error; it commonly implies ignorance or stupidity. **Slip** carries a stronger implication of inadvertence than mistake, and often, connotes triviality. **Lapse**, though sometimes used interchangeably with slip, stresses forgetfulness; thus, one says *a lapse of memory* or *a slip of the pen*, but not vice versa. **Faux pas** is most frequently applied to a mistake in etiquette. **Bull**, **howler**, and **boner** are rather informal terms applicable to blunders that typically have an amusing aspect.

In a synonymic series, one of the terms acquires a dominant position and in dictionaries of synonyms it becomes the headword.

The **dominant term/synonym** (or the **prototype**) expresses the most general meaning, all the other members of the series adding some specific features. The meaning of the dominant term is equal to the denotation common to all the members of the synonymic group. Here are examples of dominant terms with their synonymic groups:

to surprise	—	to astonish, to amaze, to astound
to tremble	—	to shiver, to shudder, to shake
to make	—	to produce, to create, to fabricate, to manufacture
angry	—	furious, enraged
fear	—	terror, horror

As can be noticed, the dominant synonym is a typical basic vocabulary item, with a broad generalized meaning, that expresses the meaning common to all terms in the series, without any connotation.

If the dominant term in a synonymic series is a polysemantic word (e.g. the noun *object* has two meanings), then it is included in two synonymic series:

thing, object, article
intention, aim, purpose, end, object, goal, objective

In many cases a **general word** (e.g. *to clean*) has as its equivalents only **specialised words**, which are called ideographic synonyms:

to clean — to cleanse, to clear, to wash, to dust, to purify, to purge,
to wipe

Synonymic series must be regarded as ‘open series’ especially in literary works, as a writer’s imagination cannot be restricted by the limits imposed by dictionaries of synonyms.

Self-assessed test 3.3.3.2.

1. Find the prototype in the following groups of synonyms and give reasons for your choice:

Example: *to depart, to quit, to leave, to clear out, to retire.*

dominant: *to leave*

reasons: it is the general word; it is neutral both stylistically and emotionally and it can stand for each of its synonyms in most uses.

- handsome, lovely, beautiful, pretty, comely, good-looking*
- to inquire, to ask, to question, to interrogate*
- fright, fear, consternation, panic, alarm*
- courage, bravery, fortitude, valour, gallantry*
- powerful, forceful, potent, forcible*
- affection, emotion, sentiment, feeling, passion*
- position, location, situation, site, spot, station, place,*
- just, equitable, fair, impartial, unbiased, dispassionate*
- chase, follow, pursue, trail, tag, tail*

2. Explain the difference in meaning between the following synonymous terms. Check your answers by looking up the word *hate* in a dictionary of synonyms, such as *The Merriam-Webster dictionary of synonyms and antonyms* (2008):

hate, detest, abhor, abominate, loathe

3. Arrange the following words into synonymic groups, headed by the dominant word indicated. Point out the semantic feature(s) shared by them, as shown for group 1:

lack, ghost, affair, absence, scandal, privation, business, spirit, slander, want, defect, apparition, back-biting, concern, thing, detraction, phantom, matter, phantasm, calumny.

1	2	3	4
<u>lack</u> absence privation want defect	<u>ghost</u>	<u>concern</u>	<u>calumny</u>

group 1: The prototype is ‘*lack*.’ The feature shared by the synonymic group is “something wanted that is insufficient or absent.”

group 2:

group 3:

group 4:

4. Look up the words: *calmness*, *scholarly*, *loyal*, *to allow*, *clearly* in Visuwords, to find their associations with other words and concepts. Identify synonymic series, the differences in meaning between the terms of a series, as well as antonyms.

3.3.3.3. Synonymic distributions

Differences between or among synonyms are marked by differences in **lexical distribution**, i.e. they can occur in the same contexts or not. For example, *accident* and *chance* can be used interchangeably in: *to happen by accident/ chance*, but they are not synonymous in other contexts in which they cannot be substituted for each other. Thus, only *accident* can be used in the following: *a traffic accident*, *a cerebral accident*, *an accident of appearance*, *to meet with accident*. While *chance* can only appear in: *to leave things to chance*, *to take one's chance*, *a game of chance*, *chances of peace*, etc. Another example is the pair of synonyms *rancid* – *rotten* that may collocate (co-occur) with different words; *rancid* can only collocate with *butter/ bacon*, while *rotten* collocates with *eggs*. Restrictions of this type are called **collocational restrictions**.

Syntactic variation arises from the different syntactic properties of the synonyms. For example, *sick* and *ill* are both used predicatively (e.g. *She is sick/ill*), but only *sick* can be an attribute (*a sick man*, **an ill man*) or can be part of a compound (*trainsick*, *carsick*, *airsick*, *seasick*), while the term *ill* is not used in compounds (**trainill*, **carill*). Another example, is that of the near-synonyms: *ajar* and *open*. The adjective *ajar* may be used predicatively, not attributively (*The door is ajar*; **the ajar door*), whereas the adjective *open* may be used in either position (*The door is open*; *the open door*). Restrictions of this type are called **syntactic restrictions**.

Words and phrases can have **correlative synonymic relations**, that is they can be reciprocally related, for example:

- a. Phrasal verbs can be correlated with single word verbs:
to give out / to distribute

to give up / to surrender
to take off / to remove

- b. Idiomatic phrases may be synonyms of one or several words:

to take for granted / to assume
to pull someone's leg / to tease
to make a hole in a bottle of brandy / to drink a lot of brandy
to take the bull by the horns / to attack a problem without fear

- c. Correlative relations of synonymy can also be established among idiomatic expressions that show comparison, called **similes**:

to be as blind as a bat / to be as blind as a beetle
/ to be as blind as a mole
to be as black as ink/ coal / midnight / pitch / soot
to be as hard as a rock/ bone / flint / iron / nails
to be as drunk as a lord / a newt / an owl.

These are essentially frames with fossilised lexis; their function is to intensify adjectives. The traditional structure is:

(as) + ADJECTIVE + as + NOMINAL GROUP

However, in the following cases, noun variations are associated with different meanings of the adjective and different contexts, therefore such similes are not synonymous:

clear as a bell (of sounds)	clear as crystal/day (of information)
good as gold (of behaviour)	good as new (of condition)
mad as a hatter (insane)	mad as a hornet (angry)
white as a ghost/sheet (frightened)	white as a sheet (white in colour)

Similes are generally infrequent and pairs of synonymous similes are few.

Further reading

On the distinction between absolute synonyms, cognitive synonyms and plesionyms, see Cruse (1986: ch.12).

See Löbner (2002: 46) for the distinction between total synonyms (with identical descriptive, social and expressive meaning) and partial synonyms (sharing some meaning parts).

Self-assessed test 3.3.3.3.

1. Use the following synonymous words in sentences of your own, paying attention to their distributional opposition and comment upon the syntactic restrictions that you notice.

Example: *sick, ill* My brother is *ill/sick*.

She paid a visit to the *sick* old man.

The adjective *ill* can only be used predicatively; while the adjective *sick* can appear either in predicative position or as an attribute modifying a noun.

to tell, to say *house, home*

to steal, to rob *bare, naked*

to like, to enjoy *lonely, alone*

island, isle *still, yet*

2. Comment on the lexical distribution of the synonymic pairs:

a) *After dinner, we had a ripe/ mature Camembert cheese.*

She's a very mature person. (not a ripe person)

b) *The Danube is very broad/ wide at its mouth.*

He speaks with a broad Irish accent. (not a wide accent)

c) *They filled the small ditch with good soft earth/ soil.*

The drone fell back to earth due to battery failure. (not back to soil)

d) *The classy hotel stands in a superb location at the side/ edge of the lake.*

I mean we are literally on opposite sides of the world (not edges). She is in Colorado and I am in Australia.

3. Identify the type of correlative synonymic relations:

gain the upper hand / win; be in two minds / hesitate;

to be as black as coal / to be as black as midnight;

put up with / tolerate; put on / wear;

4. State whether the italicised words are prototypes or superordinates (or hyperonyms):

a. odour, scent, *smell*, bouquet, fragrance, perfume

b. ripe, mature, *adult*, grown-up

- c. cutlery, tea-pot, coffee-pot, sugar-bowl, *silver*;
- d. forks, knives, spoons, *cutlery*;
- e. to prohibit, *to forbid*, to interdict;
- f. *clear*, transparent, lucid, limpid;
- g. *clothes*, dress, attire, apparel, vesture;

3.3.3.4. Sources of synonymy

The English word-stock is extremely rich in synonyms which can be accounted for diachronically (borrowings and neologisms) and synchronically (technical terms, euphemisms and slang words).

1. Etymology

Synonymy can be approached both from a synchronic and from a diachronic point of view. The diachronic study is significant in clarifying the sources of synonymy and the status of words in contemporary English.

English displays a wide range of synonyms because its vocabulary comes from two primary sources: Old English, the language of the Anglo-Saxon invaders in the 5th and 6th centuries; and French or Latin, through the Norman conquest in the 11th century and the influence of the classical Latin following the 15th century Renaissance. (see section 2.2.).

In most cases, the native word is felt as neuter, being preferred to the foreign word in everyday conversation. In other cases, the native word bears the mark of spontaneity or of a psychological state:

Saxon words	Latin equivalents
<i>motherly and fatherly</i>	<i>maternal and paternal</i>
(higher emotive potential)	(polite conversation)
<i>friendship</i>	<i>amity</i>
(sincere and intense feeling)	(formal)

The specialisation of terms depends on the etymological criterion. For instance, in the pair of synonyms *righteous* and *just*, the word *righteous* is of Latin origin and it means ‘correct behaviour from the viewpoint of religious beliefs,’ while *just* is of Anglo-Saxon origin and its meaning is ‘imposing a moral viewpoint.’ Similarly, the French terms: *pork*, *beef*, *veal*, *venison* have specialised to denote the meat, while the Anglo-Saxon terms: *swine*, *bull*, *cow*, *calf*, *deer* denote the animals.

Synonymous words with different origins are organized in **double** or **triple scales of synonymy**. The language from which the word was borrowed is indicated (e.g. French), but not the origin of the etymon, which may be Greek or Latin.

Double scale in synonymy

In English, there are countless pairs of synonyms in which a native, Anglo-Saxon term co-exists with a term of Latin, French or Greek origin:

native	French	native	Latin
answer	reply	hearty	cordial
ask	request	lucky	fortunate
buy	purchase	player	actor
help	aid	wire	telegram
world	universe		
yearly	annual		

The native word is informal, while the borrowed term is learned. Native words are warmer, homelier than borrowed words in emotive meaning.

Triple scale in synonymy

A triple scale includes words of Anglo-Saxon origin and their synonyms borrowed from French, Latin or Greek:

native (Germanic)	French	Latin/Greek
abide	endure	tolerate
ask	question	interrogate
bold	impudent	audacious
breach	infringement	violation
begin	commence	initiate
choice	preference	predilection
dear	precious	valuable
dwell	reside	inhabit
end	finish	conclude
foretell	prophecy	predict
strength	power	energy

The native term is the simplest and most ordinary of the three terms. The Latin term is the learned one, whereas the French term stands between the native word and the Latin word.

Stylistically, native English words are informal. Words borrowed from French may be more formal or more literary than the native English words. Words borrowed from Latin may be academic words, technical words, or very formal words and those of Greek origin are nearly always technical words.

The same distinction between native and non-native near-synonyms is noticeable with phrasal verbs and verbs of French or Latin origin. The phrasal verb is less formal, the simple verb is formal:

They gave out the surplus food.

They distributed the surplus food.

2. Neologisms

Neologisms enrich the language and often lead to synonymy. Neologisms are newly coined words or phrases that may be commonly used in everyday life (see section 2.3.). They can be completely new words, new meanings for existing words or new senses in existing words. Here are some examples of neologisms that are finding their way into present-day English language.

Social Networking and Technology Neologisms

- google:** To use an online search engine as the basis for looking up information on the World Wide Web.
- 404:** Someone who's clueless. From the World Wide Web error message 404 Not Found, meaning that the requested document could not be located.
- spam:** Flooding the Internet with many copies of the same message, in an attempt to force the message on people who would not otherwise choose to receive it.
- app:** Software application for a smartphone or tablet computer.
- noob:** Someone who is new to an online community or game.
- troll:** An individual who posts inflammatory, rude, and obnoxious comments to an online community.
- ego surfer:** A person who boosts his ego by searching for his own name on Google and other search engines.

Popular Culture Neologisms

- Brangelina:** used to refer to supercouple Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie.
- BFF:** stands for best friends forever. Used to state how close you are to another individual.
- chilax:** to calm down or relax, it is a slang term used when someone is starting to get uptight about something that is happening.

Neologisms point to the evolving nature of the English language.

3. Euphemisms

Euphemisms are also a source of synonymy. Euphemisms are words or phrases that avoid direct reference to taboo subjects. In such cases the denotation remains the same but the connotations are different:

standard word	euphemism
chaotic	unformed
illiterate	uneducated
mad	mental case
poor	underprivileged
fat	chubby
die	expire

There are words which are easy targets for euphemistic substitution (cf. Antrushina 1999: 210–216). The word *lavatory* has, naturally, produced many euphemisms: *powder room*, *washroom*, *restroom*, *retiring room*, *(public) comfort station*, *ladies' (room)*, *gentlemen's (room)*, *water-closet*, *w.c.*, *public conveniences* and even *Windsor castle* (which is a comical phrase for w.c.). Pregnancy is another topic for 'delicate' references. Here are some of the euphemisms used as substitutes for the adjective *pregnant*: *in an interesting condition*, *in a delicate condition*, *in the family way*, *with a baby coming*, *(big) with child*, *expecting*.

Euphemisms associated with drunkenness are very numerous. The adjective *drunk*, for instance, has a great number of such substitutes, some of them 'delicate,' but most comical. e. g. *intoxicated* (formal), *under the influence* (form.), *tipsy*, *mellow*, *fresh*, *high*, *merry*, *flustered*, *overcome*, *full* (coll.), *drunk as a lord* (coll.), *drunk as an owl* (coll.), *boiled* (sl.), *fried* (sl.), *tanked* (sl.), *tight* (sl.), *stiff* (sl.), *pickled* (sl.), *soaked* (sl.), *three sheets to the wind* (sl.), *high as a kite* (sl.), *half-seas-over* (sl.), etc.

While euphemisms are universal, **politically correct language** is employed to different degrees in the English-speaking countries. It was first developed, and recurrently used, in the United States, chiefly in official documents while Britain and other nations are less keen to right past wrongs.

New phrasal adjectives like *hearing impaired* ('deaf'), *mentally/physically challenged* and *visually impaired/ challenged* ('blind') have been coined for people with disabilities. However, some of these terms are also used to make fun of politically correct language, e.g. *residentially challenged* ('homeless'), *vertically challenged* ('short'), *horizontally challenged* ('fat') or *financially challenged* ('poor').

Another way of concealing the unpleasant truth is to use **jargon**. Such an example is **corporate jargon** which may be characterised by elaborations of common English phrases, meant to conceal the real meaning of what is being said. Corporate jargon is contrasted with plain English. For instance, when companies want to dismiss an employee, they use language that attempts to tone down or even disguise the effects of their actions:

plain English	corporate jargon
to dismiss/ to sack	to dispense with somebody's services
sacking	to offer somebody a career change opportunity
	destuffing, downsizing, outplacement, departure, workforce adjustment

Governments and industries are adept at using words to conceal what they are up to. In 1970, the nuclear power industry in US used instead of *explosion* 'an energetic disassembly' and instead of *fire* 'a rapid oxidation.'

4. Technical terms

Technical terms compete with traditional words and phrases contributing to the development of **professional jargons**, i.e. vocabularies which contain lexemes appropriate to professions, trades, sports, etc., but which are not part of everyday language.

The technical terminology or the specialist vocabulary includes words specific to the scientific or technical fields:

native	technical term
a lie detector	polygraph
checking accounts	audit
measure to force a country	sanction
payment of an account	settlement
heart	cardiac
injury	lesion
cut	incision

A term is a lexical unit that makes reference to a specific concept in science. In botanical terminology, for example, pairs of synonymous adjectives can be identified: a loanword (of Greek or Latin origin belonging to the International Scientific Vocabulary) and a native word. These are called **terminological synonyms**:

native	loan
hand shaped	(Lat.) palmate
star shaped	stellate
ladderlike	scalariform

5. Varieties of English.

Many synonymous words are related to life in various geographical areas. The dialects of English spoken in different parts of the world, include not only American and British English, but also such varieties as Australian English and New Zealand English, as well as the English spoken in various African and Asian countries. Examples of synonyms in BrE and AmE are:

British	American
Foreign Minister	Secretary of State
reader	associate professor
autumn	fall
lorry	truck
maize	corn
aubergine	eggplant
biscuit	cookie / cracker
crisps	chips; potato chips
barrister	lawyer

However, other varieties of the language also have influence on the English language. Australian English, for instance, is now providing a distinct set of terms that are coming into fashion, such as *this is my shout* meaning ‘please let me pay for you,’ as well as terms such as *down under* (meaning ‘Australia’) and the *bush* ‘in the wilderness,’ which are, to some extent, slang usage. Other examples of synonyms in varieties of English are:

British English	American English	Australian English	New Zealand English
afternoon	afternoon	arvo	arvo
barrister/solicitor	attorney	lawyer	
Wellington boots	rubbers	gum boots	gum boots

Slang, the special vocabulary used by members of a particular group of people (e.g. schoolboy slang, student slang, etc.) and which includes dialectal words, is a major source of synonymy:

plain English

friend
tobacco
bad luck

slang

chap/chum
funk
ill speed

Slang words are subject to fashion: words come and go, they are used by one generation and forgotten by the next. Thus, the range of synonymic words that expressed approval in the past included: *cool, brill, heavy, ace, triff, def, wicked, awesome*. The rich variety of slang is illustrated in the following synonyms applied to police officers over the years in the United Kingdom and the United States: *bobby, bogey, busy, copper, filth, fuzz, grog, hawkshaw, mug, peeler, pigs, plod, rozzer, scuffer, shamus, sweeney, the law, the man*.

Slang terms are not perfect synonyms for other slang words. For instance, *smack, Chinese, H, horse* are slang terms for *heroine*. The term *junk* meaning 'drugs' in general or 'heroine' in particular, assumes negative connotations, which are not present in *smack* or *H*, and it is used by non-addicts. Thus, different contexts may highlight different shades of meaning. (cf. Mattiello 2008: 157–210)

6. Language style

Various language styles can be a source of synonymy. For instance, poetic style resorts to special vocabulary items:

plain English

evening
girl
often
happiness
dawn
sky
shining

poetic

eve
maid
oft
bliss
aurora
firmament
lucent

In such synonymous pairs the first term is standard in usage whereas the second one is archaic, only found in poetry and earlier writings.

Language style is defined as the choice of words used by a specific group of people. Examples of language style in professional English are: **bureaucratise** (the language characteristic of government bureaucracy, marked by excessive use of jargon, convoluted construction, and

periphrasis), **businessese** (the language typical of the world of business, characterised by use of jargon and abbreviation), **journalese** (the language typical of journalists and newspapers or magazines, marked by use of neologisms and unusual syntax), **legalese** (the language typical of lawyers, laws and legal forms, characterised by archaic usage, prolixity, and extreme thoroughness).

For instance, in English legal language near-synonyms may occur as **legal doublets** or **triplets**, i.e. a standardized phrase frequently used, consisting of two or more words that are near-synonyms. The origin of the doubling or tripling often lies in the transition of the legal language from Latin to French. Certain words were simply given in their Latin, French and/or English forms to ensure understanding. Such phrases can often be **pleonasms**:

legal doublets

alter or change
bind and obligate
care and attention
to have and to hold
final and conclusive
law and order
will and testament
null and void
sole and exclusive
legl and valid
part and parcel
uphold and support

legal triplets

cancel, annul and set aside
convey, transfer and set over
grant, bargain, sell
name, constitute and appoint
ordered, adjudged and decree
remise, release and forever quit claim
rest, residue and remainder

Synonymy is a mark of progress in the language, it enables people to express the subtlest ideas in a style appropriate to the context of the spoken or written communication.

Further reading

The best source of information about synonyms is the thesaurus itself, for instance: *Merriam-Webster's dictionary and thesaurus* (2006).

For a comprehensive list of British English and American English synonyms, see Modiano (1996: ch.2) and Schur (2007).

On euphemisms, see Holder's (1987) and Rawson's (1981) dictionaries.

On lexical items belonging to jargon, see Green's (2013) dictionary.

Online resources

Princeton University "About WordNet." WordNet. Princeton University. 2010.

(available at: <http://wordnet.princeton.edu>)

VisualThesaurus (available at: <http://visuwords.com>)

Self-assessed test 3.3.3.4.

1. Find American English equivalents of the following British English words:

aubergine, draughts, eraser, fortnight, full stop, interval, ladybird, parcel, porridge, post, roundabout, queue, tin, waistcoat.

2. Give the British English equivalents of the following American English words:

first floor, French fries, garbage, gear shift, pitcher, sidewalk, sneakers, trashcan.

3. Place the following words with related meanings on a scale from formal to informal:

mean, parsimonious, stingy, tight-arsed, ungenerous

FORMAL -----NEUTRAL----- INFORMAL

4. Account for the synonymic relation between the members of the following pairs of synonyms in terms of origin, dialect, style, register, and so on:

*afternoon / arvo; Foreign Minister / Secretary of State;
police officer / copper; illiterate / uneducated;
end / finish / conclude; sacking / destuffing;
drunk / intoxicated / tipsy / fried.*

5. Look up the origin of the following pairs of synonyms and organize them in double or triple scales of synonymy:

*sweat / perspire; guts / determination; pluck / courage;
clothes / attire; climb / ascend; book / volume; lie / perjury;
ill-will / malice; kind / gentle; holy / sacred / consecrated;
fire / flame / conflagration.*

6. Identify the source of synonymy in each pair:

*mere / lake; mother / minny; ranch / run; firm / secure;
drunk / elevated; forlorn / distressed; lie / distort the fact;
ire / anger; railway / railroad; charm / glamour.*

7. The medical jargon is known for its proliferation of technical vocabulary based on Latin and to a lesser extent on Greek. Read the list of technical words from the jargon of the medical profession and suggest an ordinary language synonym for each of them:

*convulsion, cranium, cardiac, incision, lesion, neurosis,
psychotic, trachea.*

8. Find examples of modern euphemisms. Determine the presently politically correct terms for people who are politically incorrectly called *blind*, *black* or *fat*.
9. For each of the following terms find several euphemisms which are less harsh, offensive, or explicit:

poor, crazy, crippled, fired from job.

10. Check the frequency of the following pairs of synonyms in a corpus of data and decide which item is more frequent:

*plan / scheme, trip / journey, attempt / try, book / volume,
lucky / fortunate, joyful / cheerful, leave / quit.*

3.3.4. Antonymy

Antonymy is defined as “oppositeness in meaning” (cf. Palmer 1976: 94). Antonyms are two words which belong to the same grammatical category

but which are opposed in meaning to each other. Antonyms are organized in pairs.

Antonymic pairs can be placed on an imaginary axis on which one of the terms represents the positive and the other one the negative value, for instance, the antonymic pair *good – bad*:

bad _____ | _____ good _____ excellent

The adjectives *good* vs *bad*, in contrast to *excellent* vs *bad*, are absolute antonyms since they are more or less equidistant from the midpoint on a scale of antonymy.

3.3.4.1. Root vs. derivational antonyms

According to their form, antonyms are grouped into root and derivational:

a. **Root antonyms** are also called **absolute** or **radical antonyms**. Examples are:

nouns cause / effect friend / enemy	adjectives good / evil hot / cold	verbs to come / to go to find / to lose
prepositions above / below	demonstratives this / that	adverbs here / there

Nouns that denote persons or animals of opposite sexes are also considered root antonyms: *man / woman*, *he-parrot / she-parrot*, *stallion / mare*.

b. **Derivational antonyms** (also called **affixal antonyms**) achieve the opposition through various affixes attached to a common stem. Negative prefixes provide the counterterms in the following pairs:

dis-	‘opposite of’	V. to appear / to disappear N. belief / disbelief
un-	‘not,’ ‘contrary to’	A. clear / unclear separable / unseparable skilled / unskilled

The allomorphs *in-*, *im-*, *il-*, *ir-* appear in such antonymic pairs as:

accessible / inaccessible
mature / immature

literate / illiterate
 reducible / irreducible

The allomorphic variation depends on the first sound in the word to which the negative prefix is attached (see 1.1.2.5.).

Sometimes two prefixes may compete in providing the counterterm:

replaceable / unreplaceable / irreplaceable
 reproachable / unrepachable / irreproachable
 sanitary / unsanitary / insanitary

Suffixes may also be used to form antonymic pairs: *hopeful* / *hopeless*, *careful* / *careless*, *remorseful* / *remorseless*, etc. For further examples of synonyms and antonyms, see any thesaurus.

3.3.4.2. Logical antonym types

Antonymy covers different types of oppositeness of meaning (cf. Löbner 2002: ch.5). Several **logical antonym types** have been identified:

a) gradable antonyms

This category includes adjectives: *beautiful* / *ugly*, *fast* / *slow*, *hot* / *cold*, *rich* / *poor*, *hot* / *cold*, *cheap* / *expensive*, etc. These pairs are called gradable because they express a more/less relation of oppositeness, i.e. they allow comparison and can be modified by intensifiers such as *very*, *rather*, *quite*, *too*, *extremely*, *extraordinarily*:

It is very/ extremely hot.
 It is rather/quite/too cold.

The negation of one does not involve the assertion of the other antonym: *She is not beautiful* does not mean *She is ugly*.

b) contradictory or complementary antonyms:

These pairs are in an *either/or* relation of oppositeness (*asleep* / *awake*, *dead* / *alive*, *married* / *single*). An animate being can be either dead or alive, not a grade of a scale. The denial of one implies the assertion of the other:

If he is not asleep, he is awake.
 If John is married, he is not single.

Complementary adjectives are not gradable, they do not permit the comparative, superlative, or modification by *very* (**more asleep*, **the most asleep*, **very asleep*). Other examples are *female* / *male*, *even* / *odd* (of numbers), *possible* / *impossible*, *free* / *occupied*, *true* / *false*. Prefixation with *un-* or *in-* is also used for the formation of complementary opposites. Complementarity more typically occurs with nouns, e.g. pairs of terms for persons of opposite sex, or pairs such as *member* / *non-member*, *official* / *non-official*. The meanings of two complementaries are identical except for one crucial feature in which they differ (cf. the examples *aunt* / *uncle* or *buy* / *rent*).

c) **converses**

The term converse denotes an equivalent mirror-image relation, in which the order of the arguments is reversed (*buy* / *sell*, *borrow* / *lend*, *give* / *receive*, *precede* / *follow*, *speak* / *listen*):

Jane bought a book from Helen.
Helen sold a book to Jane.

In these sentences the same transaction expressed by the antonymic pair *buy* and *sell* is seen from two different perspectives. The arguments may change positions in a sentence, the verb is replaced by its antonymic counterpart, but the sentences remain otherwise equivalent. One member expresses the converse meaning of the other, i.e., a different perspective on the same relation. Similarly, the pairs: *husband* / *wife*, *parent* / *child*, *doctor* / *patient* express social relationships:

John is Mary's husband. Mary is John's wife.

These sentences imply each other and therefore they have the same meaning. Pairs of converses are also the result of the derivations of nouns from verbs with the suffixes *-er* and *-ee*, such as: *employer* / *employee*, *trainer* / *trainee*, etc.

d) **directional opposites**

Pairs like *before* / *after*, *below* / *above*, *behind* / *in front of* are related to spatial position or direction. This type of relation is also known as **directional** opposition (cf. Löbner 2002: 91). Directional opposites are linked to opposite directions on a common axis, which may be either a vertical axis: (*top* / *bottom*, *high* / *low*, *up* / *down*, *upstairs* / *downstairs*,

uphill / downhill, rise / fall, ascend / descend and many more), or a horizontal one (*forwards / backwards, advance / retreat*).

A similar example is the time axis. Things may happen ‘before’ or ‘after’ a certain time. Directional opposites related to the time axis are: *before / after, past / future, since / until, yesterday / tomorrow, last / next, precede / follow*. Also related to time are pairs of directional opposites like *tie / untie, pack / unpack, wrap / unwrap, dress / undress, put on / put off, get on / get off, switch on / switch off, embark / disembark, charge / discharge, enter / leave, begin / stop, start / finish, fall asleep / wake up, appear / disappear, open / close*, and many more. One member, for instance, *fall asleep*, denotes the bringing about of a certain state, while the other member, *wake up*, denotes an action by which the state is ended.

Oppositeness is a meaning relation that has an important role in structuring the vocabulary of a language. Word classes can be correlated with certain types of antonyms. Thus, antonymy is typically found among adjectives. In the **adjective word class**, most antonyms are gradable (*clean / dirty*), some are complementary (*open / shut*). Gradable antonyms are also found among adverbs derived from adjectives (*slowly / quickly, frequently / rarely, closely / distantly*).

Other word classes, like nouns and verbs also contain antonymic pairs, but they are fewer in number and they are of the complementary and converse type only. The **noun class** contains some complementary antonymic pairs (*sloth / diligence, joy / sadness, sleep / insomnia*) and some converse pairs (*teacher / student, parent / child, employer / employee*). The **verb class** contains complementary antonyms (*go / stay, float / sink, gather / scatter*) and converses (*send / receive, belong to / own*).

3.3.4.3. Antonymy and corpus-research

Interest in antonymy has shifted away from the logical properties of the antonymic relations and its subtypes to its role in discourse. This new approach to antonymy comes from corpus-based research. The most comprehensive work on **the discourse functions of antonymy** has been Jones’s (2002). He examines the patterns (or frameworks) in which antonyms occur in journalistic language and thus identifies eight new types of antonymous relations:

Ancillary antonyms function as lexical signals. They serve an “ancillary” role, helping us to process another, perhaps more important, opposition nearby:

Broadly speaking, the community charge was *popular* with Conservative voters and *unpopular* with Labour voters.

Comparative antonymy

This function of antonymy is often expressed by a lexico-syntactic framework such as *more X than Y* or *X is more [adjective] than Y*:

‘Well,’ said Cage, ‘some living composers are more *dead* than *alive*.

Co-ordinated antonymy

The antonymous pair is presented in a unified, co-ordinated context. Mostly, antonyms which serve this role are conjoined by *and* or *or*:

He showed no disloyalty, *publicly* or *privately*, to Virginia...

Distinguished antonymy

The framework which houses the antonyms is *n between X and Y*, where *n* is difference or a synonym thereof:

...he still doesn’t know *the difference between right and wrong*

Extreme antonymy

Typical frameworks show antonyms linked by *or* or *and*, and premodified by an extremity-signalling adverb such as *very* or *too*:

No-one can afford to go to law except the *very rich* and the *very poor* and it can’t possibly get any worse.

Idiomatic antonymy

Many antonymous pairs co-occur as part of a familiar expression, proverb or cliché:

The long and the short of it is that height counts.

Negated antonymy

The sentences negate one antonym in order to place additional emphasis on the other or to identify a rejected alternative. The most common framework for this class is *X not Y*:

Well, without the combination of an arms race and a network of treaties designed for *war*, *not peace*, it would not have started.

Transitional antonymy

The function of antonyms belonging to this category is to help describe a movement from one state to another. This transition is usually expressed by a framework such as *from X to Y* or hinges around the verb *to turn*:

Her film career similarly has lurched *from success to failure*, with enormous periods out of work.

Data show that the two most common text-based classes of antonymy are Co-ordinated Antonymy (in which antonyms are joined by *and* or *or* and express exhaustiveness or inclusiveness) and Ancillary Antonymy (in which antonyms act as a lexical signal of a further, nearby contrast).

Further reading

Introductory reading on antonymy in Hurford et al (2007: unit 11). For a discussion of the main issues related to antonymy, see Cruse (1986: ch. 9, ch. 10) and Cruse (2000: ch.9), Lyons (1977: §9.1–9.3.). For more advanced reading on types of antonymy and contrast, see Murphy (2003: ch. 5).

Self-assessed test 3.3.4.

1. Give the antonyms of the following words:

downstairs, subtraction, hospitable, likely, benefactor, literate

2. Use negative prefixes to form noun antonyms:

<i>aggression</i>	<i>accuracy</i>	<i>behaviour</i>	<i>combatant</i>
<i>conduct</i>	<i>legibility</i>	<i>match</i>	<i>pronunciation</i>
<i>precision</i>	<i>regularity</i>	<i>official</i>	<i>kindness</i>

3. State which of the following antonymous words are strict bi-polar oppositions and which are oppositions admitting gradations:

<i>male / female</i> (bi-polar opposition)	<i>correct / incorrect</i>
<i>clean / dirty</i>	<i>alive / dead</i>
<i>young / old</i>	<i>big / small</i>
<i>joy / sorrow</i>	<i>to buy / to sell</i>

4. Give a word with a converse relation to the following:

*host, author, buyer, doctor, interviewer, student,
prosecutor, tenant, clerk.*

5. State whether the following pairs of antonyms are contradictory or converses:

*true / false; to give / to take; open / closed;
employee / employer; innocent / guilty;
to reject / to accept; bridegroom / bride.*

6. Which of the following are gradable antonyms, which are complementary pairs and which are converses?

*alive / dead; dark / light; beautiful / ugly; captive / free;
fall / rise; simple / difficult; lend / borrow; give / get;
give / take; absent / present; fixed / loose.*

7. Match the following examples with Jones's (2002) frameworks in which antonyms can occur:

antonymy: ancillary, coordinated, comparative, distinguished,
transitional, negated, extreme, idiomatic

- a) those who succeed more than they fail*
- b) to facilitate the re-establishment of peace, not war*
- c) how easy to slip from the legal to the illegal trade*
- d) stamps are popular, but collecting is unpopular*
- e) the policy is to recruit skilled and unskilled workers*
- f) the gap between rich and poor has widened*
- g) except when the soil is too wet or too dry*
- h) it was not permissible to blow hot and cold in the attitude one adopted*
- i) if you look at employment, not unemployment*
- j) children understand the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.*
- k) the difficult and costly transition from old to new technology.*
- l) much more is recovered unofficially than officially*

3.4. Formal identity vs. multiplicity of senses

In this section, we will briefly examine unrelated lexemes with identical spelling or pronunciation and lexemes with multiple meanings and we will highlight the differences between the two types.

Homonymy is based on similarity in sound form or spelling. **Homonyms** are two or more lexemes with different meanings but identical in sound form and/ or spelling.

If two lexemes with unrelated meanings have the same sound form, they constitute a case of **homophony**. Homonyms with identical pronunciation, but different spellings, are called **homophones**. Examples of words that are

total homophones would be the noun pairs: *tail* / *tale*, *story* / *storey*, *hour* / *our*, *flour* / *flower*, *buy* / *by* / *bye*, or *cue* / *queue*. Partial homophones are numerous: *threw* / *through*, *write* / *right*, *there* / *their*, *whole* / *hole*, *to* / *two* / *too* and so on.

Sometimes homophones are identifiable across varieties of English. For example, some Scots and New Zealanders pronounce *pull* and *pool* identically; speakers from the south-east of England and Australia, but not from America, pronounce *father* and *farther* identically; some Scots and Canadians distinguish between *tide* and *tied*; etc. (cf. Bauer 1998c: 37)

b. Homographs

Homonymy with respect to the written form is known as **homography**: V. *tear* [tɛə] / N. *tear* [tiə]; V. *wind* [waɪnd] / N. *wind* [waɪnd]; V. *wound* [waʊnd] / N. *wound* [waʊnd]. Homonyms with different pronunciations, but identical spelling are known as **homographs**.

A special type of homographs is that of capitonyms. A **capitonym** is a word that changes its meaning (and sometimes pronunciation) when it is capitalized, such as *march* and *March*, personal names (*Mark* / *mark*), place-names (*China* / *china*), company names (*Fiat* / *fiat*), names of publications (*Time* / *time*) etc.

3.4.1.2. Sources of homonymy

The main sources of homonymy are: phonetic changes, borrowings and split polysemy (cf. Antrushina 1999: 168–173).

a) **Phonetic changes**. In their historical development words undergo *phonetic changes*. As a result of such changes, two or more words which were formerly pronounced differently may develop identical sound forms and thus become homonyms. For example, the homonyms *knight* and *night*:

Old English *cniht* /'kniçt/ > *knight* /nait/
 Old English *niht* /'niçt/ > *night* /nait/

The homophones *knight* and *night* were not homonyms in Old English as the initial consonant *k* in the Old English word *cniht* was pronounced, and not dropped, as it is in its modern sound form.

b) **Borrowing** is another source of homonymy. A borrowed word may, in the final stage of its phonetic adaptation, duplicate in form either a native word or another borrowing. For instance, in the group of homonyms:

Old English vb. *writan* > *to write*

Old English adj. *riht* > *right*

Latin n. *rītus* > Old French *rit(e)* > *rite*

the verb and then adjective are of native, Germanic origin whereas *rite* is an indirect Latin borrowing. Similar examples are: *fair*, adj. ('*fair*') is native, and *fair*, n. ('a gathering of buyers and sellers') is a French borrowing. *Match*, n. ('a game; a contest of skill, strength') is native, and *match*, n. ('a slender short piece of wood used for producing fire') is a French borrowing.

The common feature of these sources of homonyms is that the homonyms developed from two or more different words, and their similarity is purely accidental.

c) **Split polysemy.** This source of homonyms differs essentially from the above cases. Two or more homonyms can originate from different meanings of the same word. The meanings of a polysemantic word are held together by logical associations. If, for some reason, the unifying meaning disappears, then the other meanings are accepted as independent lexical units. Let us consider the history of three homonyms:

*board*₁ n. 'a long and thin piece of timber'

*board*₂ n. 'daily meals, esp. as provided for pay' (e.g. *room and board*)

*board*₃ n. 'an official group of persons who direct or supervise'

Board was initially a polysemantic word that also meant 'a piece of furniture, a table,' where people had their meals or where they could gather. But this meaning was lost when the French Norman word *table* was borrowed into English. As a result, the connection between the meaning of *board*₁ and the meaning of *board*₂ was lost and the nouns *board*₂ and *board*₃ were felt to be independent lexical units, homonyms.

A somewhat different case of split polysemy may be illustrated by the three following homonyms:

spring, n. 'the act of springing, a leap'

spring, n. 'a place where a stream of water comes up out of the earth'

spring, n. 'a season of the year'

Historically all three nouns originate from the same verb with the meaning of 'to jump, to leap' (OE *springan*), so that the meaning of the first homonym is the oldest. The meanings of the other two homonyms were

originally based on metaphor (the water sometimes leaps up out of the earth and the season following winter could be poetically defined as *a leap* from the cold of winter into sunlight and life). However, the metaphorical associations have been forgotten and the other nouns are now felt to be independent lexical units.

Further reading

More on homonymy, in Lyons (1977: §9.4); Lyons (1981: 43–47); Lyons (1995: 54–60); Leech (1981: 227–229); and Lipka (1992: §4.2.3.) – among others.

Self-assessed test 3.4.1.

1. Fill in the gaps with the correct homophone given in brackets:

- a) *There is also a kind of birds called birds of... (pray, prey).*
- b) *He always does everything on ... (principal, principle).*
- c) *He was so upset that he gave...to his anger.(rain, rein, reign)*
- d) *I want to...you for your delicious meal (complement, compliment)*
- e) *All those opposed should say ... (nay, neigh)*
- f) *A favourite orange is a ... (naval, navel)*
- g) *She was the prima ballerina in the ... de ballet. (core, corps)*
- h) *Fabric ... takes a lot of skill. (dying, dyeing)*
- i) *She was overcome by a fit of ... (peak, peek, pique)*
- j) *The teacher stayed after school to...the student (council, counsel)*

2. Find perfect homophones for the words given below and make up sentences with them:

<i>beat</i>	<i>brake</i>	<i>cent</i>	<i>eye</i>
<i>heir</i>	<i>hire</i>	<i>illicit</i>	<i>mane</i>
<i>plait</i>	<i>poll</i>	<i>rite</i>	<i>rode</i>
<i>tied</i>	<i>tier</i>	<i>wave</i>	<i>won</i>

3. Identify the different meanings and indicate the pronunciation of the following homographs: *sow, lead, rose, wind*.

4. Find homonyms in the following pairs of sentences and define their types:

- a) *Excuse my going first, I'll lead the way.*
Lead is heavier than iron.
- b) *He tears up all the documents.*
Her eyes filled with tears.
- c) *The Prince of Wales is the heir to the throne.*
They walked and had some fresh air.
- d) *They took two suites at the hotel.*
Children like sweets.
- e) *They saw him saw through that plank of wood.*
Betty looked pale when she walked towards the pail.

5. The following poems, of unknown origin, are examples of the use of captonyms. Comment on the meaning of the captonyms:

Job's Job

In August, an august patriarch
Was reading an ad in Reading, Mass.
Long-suffering Job secured a job
To polish piles of Polish brass.

Herb's Herbs

An herb store owner, name of Herb,
Moved to a rainier Mount Rainier.
It would have been so nice in Nice,
And even tangier in Tangier.

(from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitonym>)

3.4.2. Polysemy

Polysemy may be briefly defined as 'multiplicity of meaning.' A single lexeme with two or more related senses is said to be a **polyseme** or it is **polysemous**. Consider the lexeme *head* with its various senses:

He hit his head on the ceiling.	'body part'
the head of the page/ pin	'the upper end of something'
the head of our Department	'a position of leadership or authority'

The meanings 'body part,' 'upper end' and 'position of authority' are related to one another, so the lexeme *head* is a polyseme with three senses.

3.4.2.1. Relationships between polysemous senses

A large proportion of a language's vocabulary is **polysemic** (or **polysemous**). There are various relationships which may hold between polysemous senses. For instance, they may be related by hyponymy (the more specific sense is included in the more general one, as in the case of *drink* (the sense 'imbibe alcoholic beverage' is a hyponym of 'imbibe liquid') or *dog* ('male canine animal' is a hyponym of 'canine animal'). Several polysemous relations involve a contrast between **literal** and **figurative** meanings of a word. The figurative meaning may be based on metaphor, metonymy or hyperbole, as illustrated below:

- **metaphorical**, as in *position* ('location in space,' 'opinion on some controversial issue,' and 'professional post within an organisation'),
- **metonymic**, as in *wheels* ('revolving parts of a mechanism in contact with ground' and 'car'),
- **hyperbolic**, as in *fantastic* ('so extreme as to challenge belief' and 'a generalised term of approval')

3.4.2.2. The distinction between homonyms and polysemantic words

Polysemy is a relation between senses associated with a single lexeme, while homonymy is a relation between different lexemes that are coincidentally similar in phonological form. The distinction between polysemy and homonymy is a well-known semantic problem. Consider the noun *bank* in: *river bank*, *bank of England* and the noun *bed* in: *river bed*, *hospital bed*. Are these polysemous or homonymous nouns?

In the following examples the lexical item *bank* is used as a polysemous word, i.e. a word with several related meanings:

The bank was flooded yesterday.	(building)
The bank was very nice and understanding.	(personnel)
The bank was founded in 1990.	(institution)

The difference between these examples can be explained in terms of *facets* (cf. Cruse 2000: ch. 6.5). *Bank* refers to a physical object with at least three facets: the *premises*, the *personnel*, the *institution*. Since all meanings are linked by the object they refer to, this sort of polysemy may be called **referential polysemy**. However, the word *bank* can also be used metaphorically in:

I am the bank (when playing Monopoly) (playing a role in a game)
 a blood bank, a memory bank (a place where something is stored)

The meaning of *bank* can be explained by means of a metaphorical link or an extension: *Monopoly* (metaphor), *store something* (metaphor).

In the following examples the word *bank* is a homonym, unrelated in meaning to the word *bank* previously discussed:

a river bank (the rising ground bordering a river)
 We were protected by a bank of two feet high. (a small flat mound)

Thus, some words may refer to several aspects of an object (referential polysemy), some to a number of resembling objects (lexical polysemy), others to unconnected objects (homonymy).

Polysemy and homonymy can be entirely explained in terms of reference. Polysemy is of two types:

- a. **Referential polysemy** (when a word refers to several aspects of an object)
- b. **Lexical polysemy** (when words refer to objects which we think of as being somehow related, or to resembling objects. For example:

<i>mouse</i>	‘rodent’ (a small animal)
<i>computer-mouse</i>	‘an object in the shape of a mouse’

The similarity between the original object and a new object named after it is based on a metonymical or metaphorical link.

The criteria used to distinguish between homonyms and polysemous words may be summarized as in Lyons (1977: §13.4).

Relatedness of meaning

Homonymous words share no meaning whatsoever; they function as two totally unrelated words, such as: *bark*₁ (the sound of a dog), *bark*₂ (the skin of a tree).

In contrast in the case of polysemantic words, there is some semantic linking: *river bed* and *hospital bed*. That is why most dictionaries list polysemantic words under one entry and homonyms under several entries.

Etymological evidence

Homonymous items have different etymological roots (*skate* ‘glide on ice’ and *skate* ‘the fish’), while polysemous lexemes usually go back to a single etymon, such as: *mouth* (of a river) and *mouth* (of an animal).

Formal identity

Homonymous words and polysemantic words can be identical in form, however, polysemous words have the same form with a range of different but related meanings, while homonyms can show differences in spelling, or pronunciation.

To conclude, polysemy is the term for multiple meanings in a word that are connected historically or semantically. It contrasts with homonymy, when unrelated words just happen to be spelled or pronounced alike. Polysemy comes about when semantic changes add new meanings without taking away the old one. Changes are often the result of a mental association, usually involving metaphor (resemblance) or metonymy (other incidental connection).

The boundary between polysemy and homonymy cannot be drawn precisely. This is obvious in the way the same word may be listed as a polysemic expression in one dictionary, but as a homonym in another.

Further reading

Elementary reading on polysemy and homonymy, in Jackson and Amvela (2004: 3.4 –3.5).

On paradigmatic sense relations, including the distinction between polysemy and homonymy, see also Cruse (2000: ch. 6.5.); Lipka (1992: §4.2.3.); Leech (1981); and Lyons (1981, 1995) – among others.

Self-assessed test 3.4.2

1. Look up the entries of the following polysemantic words in three dictionaries of your choice and discuss the sense distinctions:

face, idle, deep, remote, party, dream, child, head

2. Find the meanings of the polysemous lexemes then look up the words in a dictionary and check your answers and make sentences with each. Explain how context helps to distinguish their actual meanings:

blind, code, figure, game, ground, line, term, wave

3. Discuss the following words with the meanings indicated: do they constitute a case of polysemy or homonymy? Try to determine the historical sources:

<i>fraud</i>	‘act of deceiving’ vs ‘person who deceives’
<i>point</i>	‘sharp end of something’ (a knife) vs ‘dot used in writing’
<i>character</i>	‘mental or moral qualities of a person’ vs ‘letter’
<i>ring</i>	‘circular band of metal’ vs ‘telephone call’
<i>bed</i>	‘furniture’ vs. ‘area of ground in the garden’
<i>club</i>	‘stick’ vs ‘organisation’
<i>face</i>	‘front part of the head’ vs ‘outward appearance’
<i>coat</i>	‘garment,’ ‘a covering of paint’
<i>sole</i>	‘the bottom surface of a shoe,’ ‘only,’ a type of fish’

4. Account for the related meanings of the polysemous word *Romania*, in terms of facets:

Romania lies in Eastern Europe.

Romania has signed the Arms Trade Treaty.

Romania protests: hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets to fight against corruption.

3.4.3. Paronymy

Paronymy is broadly understood as a lexical relation between two or more items within one language, which are semantically related, have a similar or identical morphological root and different suffixes: *effective* – *efficient*, *sensible* – *sensitive*, *beautiful* – *beauteous*, etc.

Paronyms are linked not only by similarity of form but also by similar meaning potential, hence they are easily confused for one another by native speakers and language learners. Paronyms always have a different spelling, and never fully match in pronunciation.

Morphologically, paronyms differ in the type and number of affixes attached: *sensible* – *sensitive* differ in one suffix, *revolution* – *involution* differ in one prefix, *sensational* – *sensitive* differ in two suffixes.

Structurally, paronyms can be divided into two groups:

- a) paronyms with the same root but different derivational affixes:

affect – effect
 alternately – alternatively
 anterior – interior
 beneficial -- beneficent
 preposition – proposition

popular – populous
 upmost – utmost
 momentary – momentous
 official – officious
 sensual – sensuous

b) paronyms from different roots, but with the same derivational affix:

collision – collusion
 complement – compliment
 conjuncture – conjecture
 continuous – contiguous
 deprecate – depreciate
 farther (or farthest) – further (or furthest)
 ingenious – ingenuous

Etymologically, paronyms are derived from the same root or from different roots. For example, the paronyms *sensible* and *sensitive* developed from two different Latin words:

Latin word *sensibilis* > *sensible* ‘perceptible to the mind’
 Latin word *sensitivus* > *sensitive* ‘responding to stimulation’

In a pair of paronyms, one member can be the basis of derivation for another member:

comic > comical	classic > classical
economic > economical	electric > electrical

Several pairs of adjectives ending in the suffix *-ic* or *-ical* exhibit differences in meaning and even collocation:

a classic example of humour	classical music
a comic opera	a comical appearance
economic approach	economical use of electricity
electric current	electrical kettle
historic event	a historical novel
lyric poetry	a lyrical description of her experiences

Paronyms are kindred both in sound form and in meaning and therefore mistakenly interchanged.

Further reading

For basic knowledge on the distinction between paronyms and between competing forms (e.g. *admission/ admittance*), see dictionaries of usage (Brooks 2015; Garner 2003). On paronyms in varieties of English, see Draäghetel (2000).

Self-assessed test 3.4.3.

1. Give the meaning of the following paronyms and provide a context for each of them:

*centenary – centennial; cheerful – cheery; childish – childlike;
comprehensible – comprehensive; exterior – external;
judicial – judicious; luxuriant – luxurious; purposefully – purposely;
seasonable – seasonal; continuous – continual; womanly – womanish*

2. Look up the following paronyms in an online dictionary (<http://www.dictionary.com>) and distinguish between them semantically and etymologically:

<i>momentary – momentous</i>	<i>factitious – fictitious</i>
<i>complement – compliment</i>	<i>corporeal – corporeal</i>
<i>defective – deficient</i>	<i>councillor – counsellor</i>
<i>practical – practicable</i>	<i>amiable – amicable</i>
<i>human – humane</i>	

3. Analyse the following paronyms morphologically and group them into:

- a) identical root + different affixes
- b) different roots + identical affixes
- c) base + suffix = derivative

*alternatively – alternately, amoral – immoral, ardent – arduous,
imaginary – imaginative, earthly – earthy, historic – historical,
nutritional – nutritious, prescribe – proscribe, stationary – stationery.*

3.5. Lexical fields and the components of meaning

In the previous sections, we have pointed out that the vocabulary of a language is not a simple collection of words; it is partly structured by sense relations at the paradigmatic and syntagmatic level.

In this section, we will look at an alternative approach to structuring the vocabulary—the thematic groupings of words—known as lexical fields, whose members are linked through individual lexical relations of synonymy, hyponymy and so on. We will also explore the semantic components of meaning shared by the members of the lexical fields.

3.5.1. Lexical fields

Crystal (1995: 157) defines a lexical field as an area of meaning in which lexemes interrelate and define each other in specific ways. It has been argued that the sense of a lexeme is determined by the network of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations that hold between a lexeme and its neighbours in the same lexical field (Lyons 1981: 155).

Lexical items whose meanings have something in common form groups with other lexemes. These groups of lexemes are called **lexical fields** or **semantic fields**. There is, however, ambiguity in the use of these terms. The distinction is that ‘semantic/conceptual fields’ include all concepts related to a semantic area, while lexical fields are subsets of semantic fields including only those concepts that have words attached to them (cf. Coşeriu & Gekeler 1981). Moreover, lexical fields are part of the organisation of the vocabulary in a given language, while conceptual fields, apply generally across languages.

Both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations are relevant to determine word meanings in a lexical field, an idea that derives from the work of the Swiss scholar, Saussure. A **lexical field** is a coherent subset of the vocabulary whose members are interlinked by paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of **sense**.

This approach to word meaning is sometimes referred to as **lexical field theory**. As an example, the meaning of *dog* is determined partly by its paradigmatic relations. For instance, it has *cat*, *mouse*, *bear* and *lion* as **incompatibles**, *spaniel*, *Pekinese*, and *collie* as **hyponyms**, *tail*, *paw*, and *dewlap* as **meronyms**, and is itself a hyponym of *mammal*, *animal*, *living thing* and so on. (Fields can be nested within more inclusive fields.) Also relevant are its syntagmatic relations with words like *bark*, *whine*, and *growl*, to mention but a few (cf. Cruse 2006).

The terms of a lexical field are in a certain semantic relationship due to a unifying **theme**, **idea** or **subject matter** such as body parts, landforms, diseases, colours, foods, or kinship relations.

The lexemes of a lexical field are of the same word class (i.e. they are all nouns, or all adjectives, etc.), and they are interrelated by precisely

definable meaning relations. For example, the lexical field of colour terms includes the adjectives: *white, blue, yellow, green, brown, red, orange, violet, black*, etc.

Internally, lexical fields may be organized as a **hierarchy** (e.g. the lexical field of royalty, military ranks), as a **meronymy** (e.g. the lexical field of body parts), as a **sequence** (e.g. numbers), or as a **cycle** (e.g. days of the week, months of the year), as well as with no discernible order. A thesaurus is generally organized according to substantive fields (although it also makes use of hyponymy and synonymy).

The words which are part of a lexical field enter in sense or meaning relationships with one another. Each word delimits the meaning of the next word in the field. However, there may be a fair amount of overlap in meaning between words in a domain. Within a lexical field, some words are **marked**, while others are **unmarked**; the unmarked members are more frequent, more basic, broader in meaning, easier to learn and remember, not metaphorical, and typically one morpheme or single lexical item. The marked members often consist of more than one lexical item and may denote a subtype of the unmarked member. Here are some examples of lexical fields from Brinton and Brinton (2010: ch. 6.4).

The field of ‘parts of the face’ is a substantive field of part to whole:

forehead	brow	temples
nose	nostrils	bridge/ tip of the nose
septum	mouth	lips
eyes	eyebrows	eyelashes
chin	cheeks	jaw / jowls

Terms within the field are arranged spatially and are quite clearly delimited, though there is some overlap between terms such as *forehead* and *temple*. Terms such as *bridge of the nose* or *eyelids* would constitute marked members of the field.

The field of ‘stages of life’ is arranged sequentially:

new-born, infant, nursling / suckling, baby / babe, child / kid, toddler / tot, pre-schooler, youngster, adolescent, youth, lad / lass, preteen, teenager / teen, juvenile, minor

young adult, adult, grown up person, middle aged citizen, senior citizen, mature person, aged person, senior citizen / senior, old {lady, man, person}, sexagenarian, septuagenarian, octogenarian, nonagenarian, centenarian

Note that a term such a *minor* or *juvenile* belongs to a technical register, a term such as *kid* or *tot* to a colloquial register, and a term such as *sexagenarian* or *octogenarian* to a more formal register.

The field of ‘water’ could be divided into several subfields:

forms: *ice, water, steam, vapor, sleet, rain, snow, hail*

bodies of water: *ditch, slough, swamp, narrows, strait, inlet, bight, bayou, brine, deep, firth, loch, tarn, well, reservoir, firth, pool, sea, ocean, lake, pond, bay, inlet, estuary, fjord, sound, gulf, lagoon, cove, harbour*

frozen water: *ice, snow, crystal, sleet, hail, icicle, iceberg, rime, hoarfrost, glacier*

gas: *vapor, steam*

In addition, there would appear to be a great deal of overlap between terms such as *sound/fjord* or *cove/harbour/bay*.

The notion of lexical field has been relevant to lexicography by suggesting an alternative to the traditional approach, namely, using the alphabetical order in listing the lexemes in a dictionary. This alternative is a thesaurus, which relies on grouping lexemes thematically (see section 3.6.2.).

Further reading

Lehrer (1974) is a general study of semantic fields and the structure of the lexicon; it contains a discussion of cooking terms in English and other languages. On lexical fields, see also Lipka (1992: §4.2.4.).

On the Saussurean structuralist view on the vocabulary, and on the semantic fields in terms of sense relations, see Lyons (1977: ch.8, ch.9).

Self-assessed test 3.5.1.

The lexical field of ‘clothing’ is a rich one, with many unmarked terms (such as *dress* or *pants*) as well as many marked terms (such as *smoking, shawl*). Find the terms of this lexical field and organize them on different criteria: a) by body part covered; b) by occasion of wearing; c) by wearer (age, sex); d) by fabric.

3.5.2. The componential analysis of meaning

Another way of defining a word is to decompose its meaning into a set of semantic elements or features. This method has been known as the componential analysis of meaning.

The basic elements of the meaning are called **semantic components**, **semantic primitives**, **semantic markers** or **semes**. For example, the meaning of the lexeme *boy* is said to include the components ‘human,’ ‘non-adult,’ ‘male.’ The component ‘human’ distinguishes the lexeme *boy* from non-human creatures; the component ‘non-adult’ distinguishes *boy* from *man*; the component ‘male’ distinguishes *boy* from *girl*. Components such as these are sometimes presented as either/or (i.e. binary) choices, conventionally written in capital letters and placed in square brackets, e. g. [+HUMAN] [-HUMAN]. The meaning of *boy* would then be expressed by the components [+HUMAN], [-ADULT], [+MALE].

Components have a distinguishing function, i.e. they serve to distinguish the meaning of a lexeme from that of semantically related lexemes. For instance, the semantic components [MALE] and [ADULT], used in plus or minus terms, serve to distinguish between the meanings of the lexemes: *boy*, *girl*, *man*, *woman*:

boy: [-ADULT], [+MALE]
girl: [-ADULT], [-MALE]
man: [+ADULT], [+MALE]
woman: [+ADULT], [-MALE]

The study of the semantic components has been related to terms belonging to the same lexical field. The **semes** (markers or semantic components) are abstract theoretical entities, dimensions regarded as characterizing the respective field. Among the basic semantic components of the lexical fields there are semes indicating the dimensions: [ABSTRACT], [ANIMATE], [HUMAN], [SEX], [ADULT], [GENERATION], [LINE], [RANK].

The componential analysis of meaning is fruitful to various **lexical fields**. One of the major lexical fields that has been studied in the English language is that of the kinship system, i.e. terms denoting family members.

The lexical field of kinship terms in English includes the following terms: *grandfather*, *grandmother*, *father*, *mother*, *uncle*, *aunt*, *brother*, *sister*, *cousin*, *she-cousin*, *son*, *daughter*, *grandson*, *granddaughter*, *mother-in-law*, *brother-in-law*, *nephew*, *niece*, etc.

The semantic markers used in the componential analysis of the meaning of these terms are: consanguinity, line, generation and rank. Note that kinship terms are conventionally described in relation to a given person, termed ‘ego,’ the Latin equivalent of the first-person pronoun *I*.

- a. Consanguinity is a semantic component that expresses the origin of family relationships:

[+ CONSANGUINITY] meaning 'blood relationships'
 [- CONSANGUINITY] 'relationship by alliance'

- b. Line is a semantic component distinguishing between the direct line and the indirect line:

[+ LINE] indicating ancestors or descendants of the ego
 [- LINE] including all other family relations

- c. Generation is a dimension that has the ego marked [GENERATION 0] as a point of reference, the ascending generation [GENERATION +1] and [GENERATION +2] from the first generation to the ego and the descending generations [GENERATION -1] and [GENERATION -2].
- d. Rank is a dimension indicating a position in relation to others. It consists of direct relationships marked [+DIRECT] and indirect relationships marked [-DIRECT]. Direct relationships are not mediated, while indirect relationships are mediated by other family members.

The componential analysis of the meaning of kinship terms is illustrated below:

<i>grandfather:</i>	[+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE], [GENERATION+2], [+MALE], [-DIRECT]
<i>mother:</i>	[+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE], [GENERATION+1], [-MALE], [+DIRECT]
<i>uncle:</i>	[-CONSANGUINITY], [-LINE], [GENERATION+1], [+MALE], [-DIRECT]
<i>sister:</i>	[+CONSANGUINITY], [-LINE], [GENERATION 0], [-MALE], [-DIRECT]
<i>she-cousin:</i>	[-CONSANGUINITY], [-LINE], [GENERATION 0], [-MALE], [-DIRECT]
<i>son:</i>	[+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE], [GENERATION-1], [+MALE], [+DIRECT]
<i>grandson:</i>	[+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE], [GENERATION-2], [+MALE], [-DIRECT]

Thus, each kinship term has a unique analysis based on binary choices from four semantic components. These components have a distinguishing function, namely, they serve to differentiate among the meanings of lexemes in the same semantic domain.

There are two types of components: those that are shared by all the lexemes in a semantic domain, termed **common components**, and those that distinguish lexemes from one another, called **diagnostic components**. For instance, the meanings of the lexemes in the limited domain of *man*, *woman*, *boy* and *girl* have the common semantic component [HUMAN] and the diagnostic components [ADULT] and [MALE].

In a more elaborate analysis of meaning, **grammatical features** like [+N] and [+COUNTABLE] can be added to the semantic features:

mother: [+N], [+COUNTABLE], [+CONCRETE], [+ANIMATE],
 [+HUMAN], [-MALE], [+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE],
 [GENERATION+1], [+DIRECT]

An accurate analysis of the meaning of the lexemes should also take into consideration **relational components**. These are semantic components representing relations between or among the terms analysed:

<i>father</i> :	X Parent of Y and Male X
<i>mother</i> :	X Parent of Y and Female X
<i>son</i> :	X Child of Y and Male X
<i>daughter</i> :	X Child of Y and Female X
<i>brother</i> :	X Child of Parent of Y and Male X
<i>sister</i> :	X Child of Parent of Y and Female X

Thus, the componential analysis of the meaning of a kinship term like *father* may include grammatical features, semantic components and relational components, as illustrated below:

father: [+N], [+COUNTABLE], [+CONCRETE], [+ANIMATE],
 [+HUMAN], [+MALE], [+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE],
 [GENERATION+1], [+DIRECT]
 < X Parent of Y and Male X >

The componential analysis of meaning reveals the similarities and differences between or among the words in a lexical field. It can be used to predict lexical relations, such as hyponymy/hypernymy, synonymy and antonymy.

The componential analysis of meaning is useful in the discussion of the lexical relation of **hyponymy**. Hyponymy is a relationship between two words, in which the meaning of one of the words includes the meaning of the other word (see section 3.3.1.).

For example, there is a relationship of hyponymy between the terms *mother* and *woman*. *Mother* is the hyponym of *woman*, as the meaning of *mother* is included in the meaning of *woman*. *Woman* is the superordinate term, a hypernym. This is proved by the fact that *mother* contains in its meaning postulate all the features of the word *woman*: [+ANIMATE], [+HUMAN], [+FEMALE], [+ADULT], to which the semantic components of kinship terms are added [+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE], [GENERATION+1], [+DIRECT] and the relational components < X Parent of Y >. In a similar way, *bachelor* and *spinster* are hyponyms of *man* and *woman* because they contain all the semantic features found in the meaning postulates of *man* and *woman*, while adding the specific seme [+NEVER MARRIED]. The same relationship holds between the terms: *stallion* and *horse*. The term *stallion* [ANIMAL] [EQUINE] [MALE] is a hyponym of *horse* [ANIMAL] [EQUINE].

The componential analysis can also be used to predict **synonymy** and **antonymy**, which can be defined in terms of the similarities and differences among the semantic components (see sections 3.3.3 and 3.3.4.).

For instance, synonymy occurs when two words have senses with identical feature specifications: *girl* and *maid*: [+HUMAN], [+FEMALE], [+YOUNG]. Componential analysis may also establish degrees of synonymy. A pair of true synonyms will share the same set of semantic components, while near-synonyms will have some, but not all semantic components in common. For example, *barn* and *shed* would be near-synonyms. They share the components [BUILDING], [STORAGE], but *barn* has the additional component of [FARM], while *shed* has perhaps the additional component [HOUSE]. (cf. Jackson 1988: 91)

Antonymy occurs among minimally different pairs of senses, i.e. the senses have all the same feature specifications but one. So, the sense of *father* and the sense of *mother* are antonymous in that they have the same values for all features except for one, sex.

Further reading

For a brief account of the theory of the componential analysis of meaning, at its peak in the 1960s and early 1970s, and its revival in a more sophisticated approach in the 1990s, see Murphy (2003: 85–92). For advanced reading on classical and modern componential approaches, see Murphy (2010: ch. 3, ch. 4).

The componential analysis of other semantic fields can be found in Lyons (1977: 317–335); Leech (1981: 121f.); Brinton & Brinton (2010: 155–172).

For a detailed analysis of the characteristics and problems posed by componential analysis, see Cruse (2000: ch. 13).

Self-assessed test 3.5.2.

1. Provide the componential analysis of the meaning of the following kinship terms: *aunt*, *brother*, *mother-in-law*, *nephew*.
2. Give the componential analysis of the meaning of the term *grandmother*, including grammatical features, semantic components and relational components.
3. Propose possible semantic features to distinguish between the terms of the 'building' field: *school*, *shop*, *theatre*, *church*, *hospital*, *pub*, *courthouse*, *factory*, *bank*, *supermarket*, *cinema*, *city hall*.
4. Identify common and distinctive semantic components to give a componential analysis of the following lexemes, using only binary components: *horse*, *mare*, *stallion*, *foal*, *colt*, *filly*.
5. Make a componential analysis of the following lexemes using binary components: *dog*, *bitch*, *puppy*, *wolf*, *jackal*, *fox*, *vixen*.
6. Use semantic components to indicate that there is a relation of hyponymy between the following terms: *mare* – *horse*; *cub* – *lion*; *bookcase* – *furniture*.

3.6. Dictionary meaning

Dictionaries are commonly regarded as reference works in which we look up the meaning of words. Giving meanings is seen as the fundamental function of dictionaries and dictionary definitions are accounts of meaning, the attempt to express the meaning of each word distinctively.

3.6.1. Dictionary definition**Lexical meaning vs. dictionary meaning**

Lexical meaning, as shown in the previous sections, is the outcome of the referential relation between a lexeme and an entity in the world (denotation) and of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic sense relations among lexemes in a structured lexicon.

Lexical meaning is not to be confused with the meaning of a word given in a dictionary. Dictionaries simply describe the meanings of their entries by means of **paraphrases**. For example, the meaning of *bird* is described as:

bird ‘feathered animal with two wings and two legs, usually able to fly’
feathered ‘(of a bird) covered with feathers’
 (The new Oxford dictionary of English).

In order to understand the description, you have to know other words, like *feathered*. If you look these up in turn, you will find yet other words used for their description. Dictionary definitions are in this sense circular. No matter how carefully they are compiled, they will always contain an irreducible set of words, the meaning of which requires further explanation. Dictionary definitions are, then, forms of paraphrase, i.e. putting a word into other words.

By contrast, the lexical meanings we have in our mental lexicons are *not* just paraphrases, they are concepts. A dictionary definition is, therefore, not to be thought of as giving a complete characterisation or a complete semantic analysis of a lexeme. Dictionary definitions must be viewed as representing the potential meaning of a word, waiting for actualisation in a context.

Sense relations vs. dictionary entries

Homonymy and polysemy are essential in establishing dictionary entries. Homonyms have separate dictionary entries on account of their unrelated meanings. For instance, the words *ring* ‘circular band’ and *ring* ‘to make a bell sound’ are completely unconnected except by the coincidence of sharing a single form. Indeed, in Middle English these two words were not even pronounced the same. Such words are expected to occur in distinct dictionary entries. Polysemes, on the other hand, are entered as variant meanings (or senses) of the same headword. For instance, the lexeme *bed* is felt to be polysemous because there is some semantic linking between *river bed* and *hospital bed*. As a general rule, where a headword has more than one sense, the first sense given is the one most common in current usage.

However, the distinction between homonymy and polysemy is not always clear-cut; there are instances where it is not easy to decide whether a lexeme is homonymous or polysemantic. Usually the criterion for deciding between polysemy, or a single headword, and homonymy, or more than one headword, is etymology. If the meanings of a lexeme can be shown to be derived from a common origin, then this is treated as polysemy, even if resultant meanings diverge considerably (such as: *mouth* (of a river) and *mouth* (of an animal), a polysemous lexeme that goes back to a single etymon. (see section 3.4.2.2.)

Besides defining meaning, dictionary entries also provide information about pronunciation, spelling, register, structures in which a lexeme occurs and usage.

Self-assessed test 3.6.1.

1. Look at the following excerpts from the entry of the lexeme *drone* in three online dictionaries. Comment on how the sense of ‘aircraft’ is rendered in each:

A drone is a type of aircraft that does not have a pilot and is controlled by someone on the ground: *Drones frequently pass over this region.*

(*COBUILD advanced English dictionary.*)

a pilotless radio-controlled aircraft

(*Collins English dictionary.*)

a pilotless airplane that is directed in flight by remote control

(*Webster’s New World College dictionary.*)

2. Compare the definitions of the lexeme *flute* given in *Merriam-Webster’s dictionary* online and in *Merriam-Webster learner’s dictionary*. Briefly comment on the choice of words (colloquial vs. technical), style (informal vs. formal).
3. Look up the words *spaniel* and *toga* in *The concise Oxford dictionary* and in *Webster’s new collegiate*. Note that there is a narrower sort of dictionary information or a broader sort of encyclopaedic information in characterising the meaning of a linguistic expression. Underline the elements that indicate a sort of encyclopaedic information, irrelevant for the understanding of the meaning of the lexeme.

3.6.2. Types of dictionaries

Dictionaries vary according to the number of languages dealt with, their perspective on language (diachronic or synchronic) and according to their intended users.

3.6.2.1. Monolingual dictionaries now exist for almost all languages and are of several distinct types, depending on the audience to which they are addressed.

a. **General purpose dictionaries** aim to help speakers understand the precise meanings, pronunciations, spellings, usages, and histories of the words of the English language, including some of the technical words. They are of four major types, namely the so-called:

- **unabridged dictionaries** (e.g. *Oxford English dictionary*)
- **desk dictionaries**, which are shortened forms of the full dictionaries, either for college use or for use at lower educational levels (e.g. *Collins English dictionary*, *Longman dictionary of the English language*, *The Oxford new desk dictionary and thesaurus*),
- **concise dictionaries** (e.g. *Concise Oxford dictionary*, *Longman concise English dictionary*)
- **pocket size dictionaries** (e.g. *Pocket Oxford dictionary*).

A general-purpose dictionary usually provides the following lexical facts for an entry:

- (phonological): the pronunciation of a word and variants;
- (morphological): a word's morpheme composition, and any irregular inflections;
- (syntactic): the word class and particular structures a word may enter;
- (semantic): the meanings of a word and the semantic structures it may enter;
- (context): restrictions on social context and style in which a word may be used;
- (spelling): the normal and any variant spellings of a word;
- (etymological): the origin and history of a word;
- (usage): frequency of use, when acquired, any taboos:

Here is the entry of the lexeme *child*, as an example:

child, noun, often attributive \ˈchɪ(-ə)ld\ plural **children** play \ˈchɪl-drən, -dərən\
1a: an unborn or recently born person **b dial**: a female infant **2a**: a young person especially between infancy and youth **b**: a childlike or childish person **c**: a person not yet of age **3** usually **childe** play \ˈchɪ(-ə)ld\
archaic: a youth of noble birth **4a**: a son or daughter of human parents **b**: DESCENDANT **5**: one strongly influenced by another or by a place or state of affairs **6**: PRODUCT, RESULT <*barbed wire ... is truly a child of the plains — W. P. Webb*> childless play \ˈchɪ(-ə)l(d)-ləs\
adjective childlessness **noun** with child: **PREGNANT noun w VERB**

(Merriam-Webster.com. Merriam-Webster)

Among monolingual dictionaries, there are **historical dictionaries** whose purpose is primarily etymological. The main historical dictionary for English is the multi-volume *Oxford English dictionary*, and its abbreviated two-volume version, the *Shorter Oxford english dictionary*. Both aim to trace back the history of words, and the developments in form and meaning of the words that have constituted the vocabulary of English since 1150 for the OED and since 1700 for the SOED. By contrast, there are also ‘synchronic’ historical dictionaries that take a view of the vocabulary at some point in time. Such a dictionary might chart the vocabulary of Old English (Roberts et al 2000) or of Middle English (e.g. Kurath & Kuhn 1952–2001).

b. **Learner’s dictionaries** are aimed at those learning English as a second or foreign language and differ deeply from those of native speakers (e.g. *Merriam-Webster’s learner’s dictionary*, *Cambridge learner’s dictionary*, *Oxford advanced learner’s dictionary*, *Macmillan English dictionary for advanced learners*). Their most striking feature is the use of a restricted and simplified core vocabulary for the definitions (no more than 4,000 words); they provide detailed guidance on grammar and usage, include example sentences and collocations that illustrate the various meanings of a word. To increase their usefulness, etymological and historical data are generally excluded:

child /'tʃaɪld/ noun plural children /'tʃɪldrən/ [count] **1:** a young person v the birth of a *child* She’s pregnant with their first *child*. Δ a play for both *children* and adults □ I went there once **as a child**. [=when I was a child]— often used before another noun. □ a *child* prodigy a *child* □ actor child development □ *child* psychologists; **2:** a son or daughter □ All their *children* are grown now. □ an elderly couple and their adult *children* **3:** an adult who acts like a child: □ a childlike or childish person □ I’m a *child* when it comes to doing taxes. [=I need to be told or shown what to do] □ Men are such *children* sometimes. **4:** a person who has been strongly influenced by a certain place or time or by the events happening during that time □ She’s a *child* of her time. □ a *child* of the **Depression children should be seen and not heard** — used to say that children should be quiet and well-behaved **with child** *old-fashioned:* PREGNANT □ She was **with child**. [=she discovered that she was pregnant] — see also BRAINCHILD

(*Merriam-Webster’s advanced learner’s English dictionary*, 2008)

Most language dictionaries are also accessible online or in CD or DVD formats (see *References*, section: *English Language Dictionaries*), which are essential for many kinds of searches. However, we recommend these not as a substitute but as a supplement to a print version, if only because printed pages permit a level of browsing that can’t yet be duplicated on computer screens.

c. **Specialised dictionaries** are aimed to clarify the technical jargon of various professional and scholarly areas (art, architecture, music, business, law, computing, psychology, mathematics, literature, sociology, philosophy, politics, mythology, religion, etc.). Examples are: *Dictionary of economics* (Pearce 1992); *Oxford dictionary of computing* (Illingworth 1996); *Dictionary of lexicography* (Hartmann & James 1998), etc. Such dictionaries define the terminology that is crucial for the subject; they exclude some lexical information (e.g. pronunciation, grammar, etymology).

There are also some specialised dictionaries of interest to general audience, such as **thesauri**. A ‘thesaurus’ is a book in which words and phrases are arranged according to their meaning, the object aimed at being “to find easily the word or the words by which that idea may be most fitly and aptly expressed” (cf. *Roget’s thesaurus* 1989: xiii). Thus, a thesaurus presents information about words in a very different way from a dictionary. A thesaurus takes all the lexical items that it contains and arranges them in a single comprehensive taxonomy. For instance, Roget’s taxonomy started with six primary classes: I. Abstract relations; II. Space; III. Matter; IV. Intellect; V. Volition; VI. Affections.

A word is entered as one among a small set of related words that may be closely synonymous, like *reap*, *mow*, *cut* – although not necessarily so; rather, they are **co-hyponyms**, or else **co-meronyms**, of some superordinate term. Thus, *reap*, *mow*, *cut* (*cut* in this special sense) are co-hyponyms of *cut* in its more general sense; and the items in the next sub-paragraph (*manure*, *dress the ground*, *prune*, *graft*) all represent stages in the cultivation process, that is, they are co-meronyms of *cultivate*. When we use a thesaurus to search for synonyms what we are really looking for are words that do not ordinarily ‘mean the same thing,’ but they occur within an overall semantic space. (cf. Halliday & Yallop 2007: 12)

The entry for *child* from *Merriam-Webster’s dictionary and thesaurus* (2006) is given below as an illustration:

child *noun* **1** *a young person who is between infancy and adulthood* <an imaginative animated film that appeals to adults as well as to children> **Synonyms** bairn [chiefly Scottish], bambino, bud, chap [Southern & Midland], chick, cub, juvenile, kid, kiddie (also kiddy), kiddo, moppet, sprat, sprout, squirt, whelp, youngling, youngster, youth **Related Words** adolescent, minor; kindergartner (also kindergartener), preschooler, rug rat [slang], schoolboy, schoolchild, schoolgirl, schoolkid; babe, baby, bantling, infant, neonate, nestling, newborn, toddler, tot, tyke (also tike), weanling; brat, devil, hellion, imp, jackanapes, mischief, monkey, rascal, rogue, urchin, whippersnapper; cherub; preteen, preteen-ager, subteen, teen, teenager, teener, teenybopper, tween; lad, nipper, shaver, stripling, tad; bobby-soxer, hoyden, tomboy **Near Antonyms**

middle-ager; ancient, elder, golden-ager, oldster, old-timer, senior, senior citizen
Antonyms adult, grown-up; **2** *a recently born person* <wrapped the child in a blanket before taking him outside in the cold>**Synonyms** babe, bambino, baby, infant, neonate, newborn **Related Words** cherub; foundling, nursling, suckling; premie (also premie); papoose; bantling, kid, kiddie (also kiddy), kiddo, moppet, toddler, tot, tyke (also tike); boy, nipper, tad; juvenile, minor, youngling, youngster, youth; brat, imp, squirt, urchin, whippersnapper; girl, hoyden, tomboy
Near Antonyms adult, grown-up; elder, graybeard, oldster, old-timer, senior, senior citizen; **3** *a condition or occurrence traceable to a cause* <widespread stress is the child of the frenetic pace of the modern world>**Synonyms** aftereffect, aftermath, backwash, effect, conclusion, consequence, corollary, development, fate, fruit, issue, outcome, outgrowth, precipitate, product, result, resultant, sequel, sequence, upshot **Related Words** ramification; denouement (also dénouement), echo, implication, repercussion; afterclap, afterglow, aftershock; blowback, by-product, fallout, offshoot, ripple, side effect (also side reaction), spin-off **Near Antonyms** consideration, determinant, factor; base, basis, foundation, ground, groundwork; impetus, incentive, inspiration, instigation, stimulus; mother, origin, root, source, spring **Antonyms** antecedent, causation, cause, occasion, reason.

Some specialist dictionaries focus on an aspect of lexical description: there are **dictionaries of pronunciation** (e.g. Jones 1997; Wells 2000), **dictionaries of spelling** (e.g. Manser 1998), **dictionaries of etymology** (e.g. Onions 1966) and **dictionaries of slang** (Chapman 2005; Ayto 2010; Simpson 2010), **dictionaries of euphemisms** (e.g. Holder 2008), **dictionaries of (modern) usage** (e.g. Garner 2003).

3.6.2.2. Bilingual and multilingual dictionaries

In contrast to monolingual dictionaries, which define words and phrases in a language, **bilingual dictionaries** give information about their equivalents in another language. In addition to the translation of lexemes, such books of reference usually indicate the part of speech, gender, verb type, declension model and other grammatical clues to help a non-native speaker use the word. Other features sometimes present in bilingual dictionaries are lists of phrases, usage and style guides, verb tables, maps and grammar references. Here is an entry from an English-Romanian dictionary:

child [tʃaɪld] **I. pl. children** [ˈtʃɪldrən] **s. 1.** copil; băiat, fiu; fată, fiică; ~ **in arms** copil de țăță, sugar; ~ **of shame** copil din flori; ~ **of the forest** copil al pădurilor, indian (din America de Nord); **grown-up children** copii mari; **a naughty** ~ un copil neastâmpărat, rău; **a spoilt** ~ un copil răsfățat, răzgâiat; **a ~ unborn** (un) copil(aș) nevinovat, un om nevinovat ca un prunc; **to be with** ~ a fi gravidă, însărcinată; (*prov.*) **he that has no children knows not what is love** cine nu are copii nu știe ce înseamnă dragostea; (*fig.*) **to kiss the ~ for the nurse's sake** a fi fățarnic; (*prov.*) **when children stand quiet, they have done some harm** când

copiii sunt foarte cuminți, înseamnă că au făcut o pozna; **to be a good** ~ a fi (un copil) cuminte; (*amer. glumeț, mai ales în vorbirea negrilor*) **this** ~ eu; copilul lui tata; **be a ~ of the time** fii copilul secolului tău, al vremii tale, trăiește în contemporaneitate; from/ (inv.) **of a** ~ din copilărie; (rar) **to be past a** ~ a nu mai fi copil; (*prov.*) **to throw out the ~ along with the bath** a arunca apa din albie cu copil cu tot; ca să omoare musca îi crapă (cuiva) capul cu ciocanul; (*prov.*) **a burnt ~ dreads the fire** cine s-a fript cu ciorba / supa, suflă și-n iaurt. 2. (*fig.*) copil, nevârstnic; **he is a mere** ~ e un copil, nu e decât un copil. 3. (*fig.*) rod, vlăstar; **fancy's ~rod** al fanteziei. II. *adj.* de copil / copii, copilăresc, infantil, al copiilor, al copilului. **child bearing** ['t'aɪld 'beərɪŋ] s. naștere, facere; **to be past** ~ a nu mai putea să aibă copii; a nu mai fi tânără. (*Dicționar englez-român* 2004)

As can be noticed, the dictionary entry of the lexeme *child* also includes collocations, idiomatic expressions and proverbs in English, with their semantic or lexical equivalents, when available, in Romanian.

Bilingual dictionaries can be unidirectional, meaning that they list the meanings of words of one language in another, or can be bidirectional, allowing translation to and from both languages. Bidirectional bilingual dictionaries usually consist of two sections, each listing words and phrases of one language alphabetically along with their translation (e.g. *Oxford-Duden German dictionary: German-English/English-German* 1999).

In **multilingual dictionaries** a word or phrase in one language is presented with the translation in several languages. Multilingual dictionaries can be arranged alphabetically or words can be grouped by topic.

In recent decades, the construction of dictionaries has been seen in terms of two complementary structures: the macrostructure (or the inventory of words included in a dictionary) and the microstructure of individual entries. Both structures have been steadily upgraded and enlarged for the needs of different kinds of users. The macrostructure adopted in most dictionaries is the alphabetical one that provides easy access to individual items. The dictionaries published show huge interest in general and specialised vocabulary for various professions, in providing purely lexical information and adding encyclopaedic information about the items listed.

Further reading

Introductory reading on dictionary definitions and types of dictionaries in Jackson (2013: ch. 3, 9, 11, 12); Lieber (2010: ch.2) – among others.

A good overview is Landau's (2001) *Dictionaries: the art and craft of lexicography*. Also recommended is Béjoint's (2000) *Modern lexicography: an introduction*, which discusses the aims of dictionaries, their functions in society, and the reference needs of their users.

On practical lexicography, see Jackson (2002); Sterkenburg (2003); Atkins & Rundell (2008).

More advanced reading on the construction of dictionaries and thesauruses, in Peters (2016: 187–204).

Self-assessed test 3.6.2.

1. Find four different dictionaries of English. Read the prefaces and other front matter to these dictionaries, as well as the blurb on their dust jackets, to gain an idea of how dictionaries are presenting themselves to their potential users. Then fill in the following table:

Title				
mono-/bilingual				
general/ specialised				
synchronic/ diachronic				
user group				
size (pages)				
number of headwords				

2. Look up the words *student*, *university*, *to join*, *to graduate* in four dictionaries and comment upon the differences in the linguistic description given in each entry. Organize the information you get in table-format, as below:

	<i>Longman Concise English Dictionary</i>	<i>Cambridge Learner's Dictionary</i>	<i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i>	<i>Collins English Dictionary</i>
spelling				
pronunciation				
inflectional irregularities				
syntactic structures				
meaning (s)				
context (examples)				
etymology				
usage				

Summary

The perspectives on word meaning that we have explored in this chapter include the referential relation between a lexeme and an entity in the world (denotation), and sense relations between lexemes within the lexicon.

We have seen that to know the sense of a word is to know what its sense relations are with other lexemes or more complex expressions (idioms), whether these relations are syntagmatic (collocations, idioms) or paradigmatic (based on synonymy, antonymy or hyponymy).

The study of sense relations has shown that the lexicon is a structured word-store of the language. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic sense relations are applicable to the field of lexicography and corpora research, namely, they help with the compilation of dictionaries and thesauri and with the development of large scale databases of words for use in various applications beyond the confines of linguistic interests.

We have also explored word meaning from the viewpoint of the componential analysis, which is applied essentially to referential meaning, though it also has some relevance in defining the sense relations of synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy.

Finally, we have touched upon the topic of the dictionary meaning of lexemes, in an endeavour to help undergraduates become familiar with the basic layout of a dictionary entry and aware of the wide range of dictionaries, printed or online, available for study and research.

Answers to self-assessed tests

1.1. Affixation

Answers 1.1.

1.

<i>teachers</i>	TEACH (fm)+ -ER (bm)+ 'PLURAL' (bm)
<i>played</i>	PLAY (fm) + 'PAST TENSE' (bm)
<i>books</i>	BOOK (fm) + 'PLURAL' (bm)
<i>boy's</i>	BOY (fm)+ 'POSSESSIVE'(bm)
<i>painful</i>	PAIN (fm) + -FUL bm)
<i>unhappiness</i>	UN- (bm) + HAPPY (fm) + -NESS (bm)

Answers 1.1.1.

1.

toys: -s inflection indicating the plural
listened: -ed inflection indicating past tense
reassessment: re- prefix, -ment suffix
girls': -s' inflection indicating genitive case
fatherly: -ly suffix
uncover: un- prefix
singing: -ing inflection marking active participles
disarms: dis- prefix, -s inflection marking the plural
sorrowful: -ful suffix
oxen: -en inflection marking the plural (*ox-oxen*)
alumni: -i inflection marking the plural (*alumnus-alumni*)
finest: -est inflection marking the superlative degree

2.

- sing, singing, sang, sung* – word forms of the lexeme *sing*;
singer – different lexeme.
- woman, woman's, women* - word forms of the lexeme *woman*;
womanly – different lexeme.
- perform, performs, performing* – word forms of the lexeme *perform*;
performer, performance – different lexemes.
- written, wrote, writing* – word forms of the lexeme *write*;
writer, rewrites – different lexemes.

3.

birds N. bird (free morpheme) + 'PLURAL'

<i>repayment</i>	N. re- (bm) + pay (fm) + -ment (bm)
<i>speaks</i>	V. speak (fm) + 'PRESENT TENSE'
<i>speakers</i>	N. speak (fm) + -er (bm) + 'PLURAL'
<i>undecidedly</i>	Adv. un-(bm) + decide (fm) + -ed (bm) + -ly (bm)

Answers 1.1.2.2.

1.

alcohol > alcoholic	N > A governing
arrive > arrival	V > N governing
picture > picturesque	N > A governing
wife > ex-wife	N > N restrictive
clear > clearance	V > N governing
like > dislike	V > V restrictive
virtue > virtuous	N > A governing
translate > translation	V > N governing
do > undo	V > V restrictive
moral > moralise	A > V governing
develop > development	V > N governing
moral > amoral	A > A restrictive
governing affixes: <i>-ic, -al, -esque, -ance, -ous, -tion, -ize, -ment</i> ,	
restrictive derivational affixes: <i>ex-, dis-, un-, a-</i>	

2.

Latin or French: *-able, -ity, -ive, re-*.

Germanic: *-ful, -less, -ly, -ness, -th, un-*.

3.

<i>wickedness</i> : Gmc. root + Gmc. Suffix
<i>restlessness</i> : Gmc. root + Gmc. suffix + Gmc. suffix
<i>unhappiness</i> : Gmc. prefix + Gmc. root + Gmc. suffix
<i>uneasiness</i> : Gmc. prefix + Old French root + Gmc. suffix = hybrid
<i>uncomfortable</i> : Gmc. prefix + Old French root + Latin suffix = hybrid
<i>unwelcoming</i> : Gmc. prefix + Gmc. root + Latin suffix = hybrid
<i>unselfish</i> : Gmc. prefix + Gmc. root + Gmc. suffix
<i>unconquerable</i> : Gmc. prefix + Latin root + Latin suffix = hybrid
<i>immoderately</i> : Latin prefix + Latin root + Gmc. suffix = hybrid

4.

a. *Christianity*: -ian + -ity; *recreational*: -tion + -al; *negativity*: -ive + -ity

b. *usefulness*: -ful + -ness; *carelessness*: -less + -ness; *foolishness*: -ish + -ness; *friendliness*: -ly + -ness

c. *sequentialness*: -al + -ness; *responsiveness*: -ive + -ness

Answers 1.1.2.3 – 6.

1.

1. denominal abstract-noun-forming suffixes, b)
2. denominal adjective-forming suffixes, d)
3. deverbal adjective-forming suffixes, c)
4. denominal verb-forming suffixes, a)
5. deadjectival verb-forming suffixes, e)

2.

Noun + *-able*: *peaceable, actionable, companionable, saleable, marriageable, reasonable, impressionable, fashionable, serviceable, knowledgeable,*

Verb + *-able*: *fixable, breakable, readable, provable, perishable*

3.

Noun + <i>-ly</i> > Adjective/ Adverb	<i>manly, friendly, weekly</i>
Noun + <i>-ly</i> > Adjective	<i>stately, womanly, ghostly</i>
Adjective + <i>-ly</i> > Adjective/ Adverb	<i>northerly, deadly</i>
Adjective + <i>-ly</i> > Adjective	<i>goodly,</i>
Adjective + <i>-ly</i> > Adverb	<i>simply, definitely</i>

5.

Agent: *baker, writer, hearer, explorer, designer, farmer, swimmer,*

Patient (inhabitant): *northerner, villager; insider, outsider, Londoner, New Yorker*

Instrument: *atomizer, blotter, mower, printer, sleeper, air-freshener, lemon-squeezer, feeler*

Experiencer: *admirer, lover, amuser, scorer*

Action: *waiver, disclaimer*

Locative: *diner, sleeper*

6.

dictation, dictator, dictatorial, contradiction, contradictory, contradictoriness, benediction

8.

human (root/stem) + *-itarian* (affix) = *humanitarian*

humanitarian (stem) + *-ism* (affix) = *humanitarianism*

music (root/stem) + *-al* (affix) = *musical*

musical (stem) + *-ly* (affix) = *musically*

enchant (root/stem) + *-ment* (affix) = *enchantment*

like (root/stem) + *-ly* (affix) = *likely*

likely (stem) + *-hood* (affix) = *likelihood*

vaccine (root/stem) + *-ation* (affix) = *vaccination*

re- (affix) + *vaccination* (stem) = *revaccination*

- 9.
1. to avoid identical vowels, a.
 2. to separate one prefix from another, c.
 3. to disambiguate words with the same spelling (homographs), d.
 4. to show coordination of prefixes, e.
 5. to avoid sequences of different vowels, b.

11.

institutionalization

[institut]_V
 [[institut]_V-ion]_N
 [[[institut]_V-ion]_N-al]_A
 [[[[institut]_V-ion]_N-al]_A-iz]_V
 [[[[[institut]_V-ion]_N-al]_A-is]_V-ation]_N

redecorating

[decor]_N
 [[decor]_N-at]_V
 [re-[[decor]_N-at]_V]_V
 [[re-[[decor]_N-at]_V]_V-ing]_V

carelessly

[care]_N
 [[care]_N-less]_A
 [[[care]_N-less]_A-ly]_{Adv}

disapproval [[dis-[approv]_V]_V-al]_{Adj}

fictionalization [[[[fiction]_N-al]_A-ise]_V-tion]_N

1.2. Compounding

Answers 1.2.2. –1.2.3.

1.

synthetic compounds: *dog walker*, *hand washing*, *home-made* (verbal head).

root compounds: *windmill*, *ice cold*, *hard hat*, *red hot* (non-verbal head).

2.

endocentric: one element functions as the semantic head of the compound which is modified by a non-head element.

bookseller (*book*_N + *seller*_N) is a kind of *seller*;

bird watch (*bird*_N + *watch*_N) is a kind of *watching*.

exocentric compounds:

blockhead (*block*_N + *head*_N). A *blockhead* is neither a kind of *block* nor a kind of *head* but rather ‘an idiot’;

turncoat (*turn*_V + *coat*_N). A *turncoat* is not a kind of *coat* but ‘a traitor’;

spoil-sport (*spoil*_V + *sport*_N). A *spoil-sport* is not a kind of *sport* but ‘a grumpy person.’

3.

right-headed compound: *wind screen*, *sales receipt*, *hard working*,
gamekeeper, *daydreamer*.

left-headed compound: *attorney general*, *mother-in-law*, *notary public* (less frequent)

4.

attributive: *wrist-watch*, *book-self*, *light-house*, *blue blood*

coordinative: *secretary stenographer*, *scientist-explorer*

subordinative: *house-hunting*, *horse-riding*, *lawn-mower*,
shop-clearance

Answers 1.2.4.

1.

radiation safety

radiation safety training

radiation safety training manual

2.

Ideal Home [Exhibition] ‘exhibition of ideal homes’

ideal [Home Exhibition] ‘ideal exhibition of homes’

student film [society] ‘society for student films’

student [film society] ‘film society for students’

a long term [contract] ‘a contract concluded for a long term’

a long [term contract] ‘a contract of many pages which ends on a set date’

Old English [student] ‘a student who studies Old English’

old [English student] ‘an English student who is old’

police dog [trainer] ‘trainer who trains police dogs’

police [dog trainer] ‘a dog trainer who works with the police’

kitchen towel [rack] ‘a rack for kitchen towels’

kitchen [towel rack] ‘a towel rack in the kitchen’

3.

a) solid: *background*, *Highlander*, *lipstick* (short, native/older words)

b) spaced: *the armed forces*, *dress circle* (longer, recent combinations)

c) hyphenated: *class-consciousness*, *first-offender*, *light-minded* (affixes)

4.

spelling: a) as single words; b) as sequences of words;
 pronunciation: a) with the main stress on the first component; b) the stress on the second.

Answers 1.2.5.

1.

V + V (b); P + V (c); Adv + V (e); A + V (d); N + V (a).

2.

N + N + -er: week-ender, treasure-seekers

A + N + -er: left-hander, Highlander

V + V + -er: go-getter

Adv + V + -er: new-comer, late-comer

N + V + -er: theatre-goer, stocking weavers

Num + N + -er: first-nighter, first-offender

Adj + N + -ed: broad-shouldered, light-minded, warm-hearted

N + N + -ed: doll-faced, fur-lined

Num + N + -ed: two sided, three-cornered

Answers 1.2.6.

1.

cyberart, cybercash, cybercitizen, cybercommerce, cybercrime,
 cyberdemocracy, cyberian, cyberlawyer, cyberpunk, cyberphobia,
 cybershopping, cyberspace, cybersquatting, cybersurfer,
 cyberterrorism, cyberwar.

2.

nano- 'one thousand millionth (or billionth) of'; also in *nanosecond*

poly- 'many'; also in *polylexemic*

-phony 'sound'; also in *telephony*

omni- 'all'; also in *omniscient*

-vorous 'eating'; also in *carnivorous*

3.

[Greek *oikos*, house]

'the natural environment': *ecotourism*, *ecosystem*, *ecology*

[Via Latin from Greek *nanos*, dwarf.]

in units of measurement, a factor of 10^{-9} : *nanotechnology*,
nanocomputer

[Greek *patheia*, suffering, feeling.]

'disease or disorder; treatment of disease': *cardiopathy*,
psychopathy, *homeopathy*

[Greek *phobia*, fear or horror]

‘extreme or irrational fear or dislike’: *acrophobia*, *agoraphobia*, *photophobia*.

4.

biblio (book) + *graphy* (writing) = *bibliography*

xeno (foreigner) + *phobia* (fear) = *xenophobia*

pseudo (false, not real) + *onym* (name) = *pseudonym*

anti (opposite, against) + *pathy* (experience, feeling) = *antipathy*

antropo (human being) + *ology* (science, theory) = *anthropology*

5.

a) *dermatology*: *-derm(at)-* ‘skin,’ *-(o)logy* ‘science, area of expertise’

b) *pterodactyl*: *-pter(o)-* ‘wing,’ *-dactyl-* ‘finger’

c) *oligarchy*: *olig(o)-* ‘few,’ *-archy* ‘rule’

1.3. Clipping

Answers 1.3.

1.

info < information (back-clipping)

disco < discotheque (back-clipping)

van < caravan (fore-clipping)

limo < limousine (back-clipping)

stereo < stereophonic (back-clipping)

specs < spectacles (medial-clipping)

2.

E.F.L. < English as A Foreign Language

E.S.L. < English as A Second Language

K.O. < knockout

R.P. < Received Pronunciation, the standard form of British pronunciation

ZIP (code) < Zone Improvement Program, a system in the U.S. to facilitate the delivery of mail, consisting of a code printed after the address;

NASA < National Aeronautics and Space Administration

CIA < Central Intelligence Agency

ESSE < European Society for the Study of English

FBI < Federal Bureau of Investigation

FAQ < frequently asked questions

WYSWYG < What You See Is What You Get

atv < all-terrain vehicle;

yuppie < young urban professional; woopie < well-off older person

1.4. Conversion

Answers 1.4.

1.

base word: *to major, e-mail, to clash, to clean*

converted word: *major, to e-mail, clash, clean*

2.

Noun to verb conversion: *text, bike, interface*

Verb to noun conversion: *run, chat*

Adjective to verb conversion: *calm*

Adjective to noun conversion: *local, royal, comic*

1.5. Phonological change

Answers 1.5.

1.

N	V
`import	im`port (differentiated by stress)
`present	pre`sent (differentiated by stress and vowel quality)

1.6. Blending

Answers 1.6.

1.

cheeseburger < cheese + hamburger

snowmobile < snow + automobile

milkaholic < milk + alcoholic

toytoon < toy + cartoon

2.

biogas < biological + gas

e-commerce < electronic + commerce

e-security < electronic + security

eco-friendly < ecological + friendly

medicare < medical + care

3.

baby + kidnap	> babynap
bold + audacious	> boldacious
slang + language	> slanguage
tank + bulldozer	> tank-dozer

4.

airport + bus > airbus
 electronic + cash > e-cash
 flexible + time > flexi-time
 helicopter + skiing > helskiing

5.

fantastic + fabulous > fantabulous
 European + bureaucrat > Eurocrat
 multiple + university > multiversity
 smoke + haze > smaze
 television + broadcast > telecast
 transmitter + receiver > transceiver

1.7. Back-derivation

Answers 1.7.

to automate	<	automation	(verb from noun)
greed	<	greedy	(noun from adjective)
to housekeep	<	housekeeper	(verb from noun)
to sleepwalk	<	sleep-walking	(verb from noun)
to televise	<	television	(verb from noun)

1.8. Eponymy

Answers 1.8.

Suffixation in: *-ium* (*einsteinium*, *rutherfordium*), *-ine* (*Benedictine*, *Ursuline*), *-ism* (*daltonism*, *masochism*, *sadism*), *-esque* (*Robinsonesque*, *Kafkaesque*), *-ist* (*Blairist*, *Rappist*), *-ite* (*Clintonite*, *hussite*); *-ia* (*fuchsia*).

1.10. Reduplication

Answer 1.10

1.

reduplicative compounds proper: *night-night*
 ablaut combinations: *sing-song*, *fiddle-faddle*, *tip-top*
 rhyme combinations: ‘*Fiddle-de-dee*,’ *crunchings* and *munchings*,
boogie-woogie, *the nitty-gritty*, *honeybunny*, *hugger-mugger*, *pitter-pattered*

2.

Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs	Adverb
bric-a-brac, <i>n.</i>	humdrum, <i>adj.</i>	dilly-dally, <i>v</i>	higgledy-piggledy, <i>adv.</i>
chitchat, <i>n.</i>	teeny-weeny, <i>adj.</i>	shilly-shally, <i>v</i>	willy-nilly, <i>adv.</i>
claptrap, <i>n.</i>	teeny-weeny, <i>adj.</i>	wiggle-waggle, <i>v</i>	

mish-mash, *n.* wishy-washy, *adj.* pitter-patter, *adj./v.*

din-din, *n.*

hugger-mugger, *n.*

hurly-burly, *n.*

knick-knack, *n.*

suffixation in *-y*, occasionally in *-er*

Reduplicative Compound	Meaning
bric-a-brac, <i>n.</i>	ornaments and other small decorative objects of little value
chitchat, <i>n.</i>	conversation about things that are not important.
claptrap, <i>n.</i>	stupid talk that has no value
dilly-dally, <i>v.</i>	to take too long to do something, go somewhere or make a decision.
din-din, <i>n.</i>	dinner
higgledy-piggledy, <i>adv.</i>	in an untidy way that lacks any order
hugger-mugger, <i>n.</i>	1) secrecy; 2) confusion
humdrum, <i>adj.</i>	boring and always the same
hurly-burly, <i>n.</i>	a very noisy and busy activity or situation
knick-knack, <i>n.</i>	a small decorative object in a house.
mish-mash, <i>n.</i>	confused mixture of different kinds of things, styles, etc.
pitter-patter, <i>n./v.</i>	1) A rapid series of light tapping sound; 2) make or move with a series of light tapping sounds.
teeny-weeny, <i>adj.</i>	very small, or connected with teenagers
wiggle-waggle, <i>v.</i>	to make something move from one side to another or up and down
willy-nilly, <i>adv.</i>	1) whether one wants to or not; 2) in a careless way without planning
wishy-washy, <i>adj.</i>	1) not having clear or firm ideas or beliefs, 2) not bright in colour.

2.1. The native stock of words

Answers 2.1.

1.

the = definite article, late Old English *þe*

king = a late Old English contraction of *cyning* 'king, ruler' (also used as a

title). This word is of uncertain origin. It is possibly related to Old English *cynn* ‘family, race,’ making a *king* originally a ‘leader of the people. Or perhaps it is from a related prehistoric Germanic word meaning ‘noble birth,’ making *king* etymologically ‘one who descended from noble birth.’

of = OE *of*, unstressed form of *æf* (prep., adv.) ‘away, away from.’

The primary sense in Old English shifted in Middle English with the use of the word *of* to translate Latin *de* and especially Old French *de*, which had come to be the substitute for the genitive case.

England = Old English *Engla land*, literally ‘the land of the Angles’

write = Old English *writan* ‘to score, outline, draw the figure of,’ later ‘to set down in writing.’

poem = 1540s (replacing *poesy* in this sense), from Middle French *poème* (14c.), from Latin *poema* ‘composition in verse, poetry,’ from Greek *poema* ‘fiction, poetical work.’

2.

a. narrowing; b. widening; c. narrowing; d. degeneration; e. amelioration.

3.

Silly meant ‘deserving of pity’ in the fifteenth century, ‘ignorant’ in the sixteenth century and then developed to mean ‘foolish,’ as it does today.

4.

happy:

first attested around 1150–1200;

Middle English < Old Norse *happ* luck, chance; akin to Old English *gehæp* fit, convenient;

easy:

first attested around 1150–1200;

Middle English *aisie*, *esy* < AngloFrench (*a*) *eisie*, Old French *chaisié*, *aised*, past participle of *aisier* ‘to ease.’

comfortable:

1350–1400; Middle English < Anglo-French *confortable*.

able:

1275–1325; Middle English < Middle French < Latin *habilis* handy, equivalent to *hab* (*ēre*) to have, hold + *-ilis* -ile

rest:

before 900; (noun) Middle English, Old English; akin to German

Rast

(v.) Middle English *resten*, Old English *restan*; akin to German

Rasten

conquer:

1200–1250;

Middle English *conqueren* < AngloFrench *conquerir*, Old French *conquerre* < Vulgar Latin **conquēre* to acquire (for Lat. *conquīrere* to seek out)

moderate:

1350–1400; Middle English *moderate* (adj.), *moderaten* (v.) < Latin *moderātus*

2.2. The borrowed stock of words

Answers 2.2.

1.

- a. chew (native) / masticate (borrowed)
- b. vend (borrowed) / sell (native)
- c. eat (native) / consume (borrowed)
- d. malady (borrowed) / sickness (native)
- e. emancipate (borrowed) / free (native)
- f. deadly (native) / mortal (borrowed)
- g. old (native) / antique (borrowed)
- h. sad (native) / dejected (borrowed)
- a. tell (native) / inform (borrowed)

2.

- a) *fragile* borrowed from Latin; *frail* borrowed from French
- b) *dual* borrowed from Latin; *two* inherited
- c) *nose* inherited; *nasal* borrowed from Latin
- d) *legal* borrowed from Latin; *loyal* borrowed from French

4.

French:

high culture: *ballet*, *cabernet*, *champagne*, *chic*, *cognac*

war / military: *bastion*, *brigade*, *battalion*, *cavalry*, *grenade*, *infantry*

Spanish:

war: *armada*, *barricade*, *canyon*, *embargo*,

animals: *alligator*, *coyote*, *mosquito*, *mustang*

Italian:

architecture: *alto*, *casino*, *cupola*, *fresco*

music: *duo*, *fugue*, *madrigal*, *piano*, *prima donna*, *soprano*, *opera*,
studio, *violin*

literature: *gazette* (via French), *motto*, *piano*, *stanza*

food: *broccoli*, *macaroni*, *cappuccino*, *espresso*, *pasta*, *pizza*, *ravioli*,
spaghetti, *spumante*, *zucchini*

2.3. Neologisms

Answers 2.3.

1.

a. blending with clipped first element:

smist, triathlete, robomb, internet, paratroops

b. blending with clipped second element:

bookvertising, aerobat, boatel, travelogue, computeracy

c. clipped first element + clipped second element:

amtrac, avionics, cyborg, Eurovision, pictiography

smist < *sm*(oke) + *mist*

triathlete < *triathl*(on) + *athlete*

robomb < *rob*(ot) + *bomb*

internet < *inter*(national) + *net*

paratroops < *para*(chute) + *troops*

bookvertising < *book* + (ad)*vertising*

aerobat < *aero* + (ac)*robat*

boatel < *boat* + (ho)*tel*

travelogue < *travel* + (catal)*ogue*

computeracy < *computer* + (liter)*acy*

amtrac < *am*(phibius) + *trac*(tor)

avionics < *avi*(ation) + (electr)*onics*

cyborg < *cyb*(ernetic) + *org*(anism)

Eurovision < *Euro*(pean) + (tele)*vision*

pictiography < *pic*(ture) + *dic*(tionary)

3.

to wikipedia, to flash mob, to spam = verbs converted from nouns

vlogging, blogging = derivation by the suffix -ing

white food = compounding

carbs = clipping

3. Word meaning

3.1. Connotation and denotation

Answers 3.1.

2.

candle – religious or romantic connotations

flower – emotional connotation of fragility

bird – connotes light-hearted mood, freedom
faraway – romantic connotations absent from the *distant*, its
 denotationally synonymous pair.
milk – health and strength connotations
pig – connotes uncleanness and unpleasant smells
tram – connotations of nostalgia or holidays
chariot – emotional connotations of imposing dignity

3.

home (neutral), *residence* (familiar), *domicile* (formal, legal),
abode (poetic, archaic).

3.2.1. Collocations

Answers 3.2.1.

1.

to lay: to lay an egg, lay the blame, to lay before someone, to lay claim to
 something, to lay open to something, lay to rest,

great is used in collocations with nouns expressing feelings and qualities:

great admiration	in great detail
great anger	great power
great enjoyment	great pride
great excitement	great sensitivity
great fun	great skill
great happiness	great strength
great joy	great understanding
	great wisdom
	great wealth

large is often used in collocations involving numbers and measurements:

large amount	large collection
large number of	large population
large proportion	large quantity
large scale	

2.

to enjoy

collocating	BNC	COCA
adjectives	<i>best, fine, pleasant</i>	<i>beautiful, best, delicious, full, free,</i>
nouns	<i>scenery</i>	<i>dinner, music, ocean, ride, savings, views, year</i>

6.

frightened:

Verbal collocates: be, feel, look, seem, sound | become, get | remain

Adverbial collocates: badly, desperately, extremely, genuinely, really, terribly, very | thoroughly | almost, a bit, a little, pretty, quite, rather | suddenly | physically

sad:

Verbal collocates: appear, be, feel, look, seem, sound | become, grow | make sb., find sb.

Adverbial collocates: all, desperately, immensely, extremely, particularly, profoundly, really, unbearably, very | almost | a bit, a little, quite, rather, slightly, somewhat, strangely | deeply, extremely, intensely, terribly, unutterably, very

worried:

Verbal collocates: be, feel, look, seem | get

Adverbial collocates: deeply, desperately, dreadfully, extremely, frantically, genuinely, particularly, really, seriously, terribly, very | increasingly | a bit, quite, rather, slightly | rightly

3.2.2. Idioms

Answers 3.2.2.

1.

b) phraseological units

best man ‘the male attendant of the bridegroom at a wedding’

burn one’s fingers ‘to suffer an unpleasant result of an action, especially loss of money’

keep one’s head above water ‘to manage to survive, especially financially’

show somebody the door ‘to make it clear that someone must leave’

to cry over spilt milk ‘to be upset over sth. that cannot be fixed, often sth. minor’

the last straw ‘the last in a series of unpleasant events which finally makes you feel that you cannot continue to accept a bad situation’

2.

Idiom	transformations	analysis
They buried the hatchet.	It seems [that the hatchet was buried].	passivisation
	The hatchet seems [not to have been buried yet by those journalists].	passivisation + raising
Sam ate his heart out over Jane.	Sam ate his heart out over Jane on Wednesday, then he ate it out over Ann on Thursday.	pronominalisation
	Sam ate his heart out over Jane, and Dan ate HIS out over Ann.	ellipsis in NP
Bob cried his eyes out.	Bob cried his eyes out on Tuesday, and Dan cried HIS out on Sunday.	ellipsis in NP
His words had touched a nerve.	The mere mention of John had touched a very raw nerve indeed.	adjectival modification
He won't pull the strings for you.	Those strings, he won't pull for you.	topicalisation
They planned to cook his goose.	My goose is cooked, but yours isn't.	passivisation + ellipsis in NP

5.

rhyming words: *hustle and bustle*alliterative: *part and parcel, rules and regulations*joined by *and*: *odds and ends, far and wide*joined by *or*: *make or break*joined by other words: *step by step*the same word: *through and through*opposites: *heads or tails***3.3.1. Hyponymy****Answers 3.3.1.**

1.

a. meal; b. building; c. bird; d. move; e. glass; f. joint; g. horse; h. linen; i. tooth; j. dog; k. china.

2.

footwear > slippers, tennis-shoes, boots, high-heel, etc.

stationary > pen, stapler, notebook, etc.

drinking vessel > mug, cup, glass, etc.

vehicle > motorbike, train, plane, etc.
 furniture > chair, cupboard, bookcase, desk, etc.
 poultry > hen, cock, goose, duck, etc.

3.

entity superordinate of *person*
person hyponym of *entity*, superordinate of *student*
student hyponym of *person*, superordinate of *freshman*
freshman hyponym of *student*
 hyponym hierarchy
 a) entity > person > student > freshman
 b) thing > product > tool > kitchen utensil > fridge
 c) thing > product > vehicle > car
 d) entity > thing > product > tool > garden tool > bucket

4.

	superordinate	basic	subordinate
a) apple, fruit, Granny Smith	fruit	apple	Granny Smith
b) garment, trousers, jeans	garment	trousers	jeans
mom	furniture	chair	wheelchair
d) bread-knife, cutlery, knife	cutlery	knife	bread-knife
e) crockery, saucer, plate	crockery	plate	saucer

3.3.2. Meronymy

Answers 3.3.2.

2.

1 Component-Integral Object

Wheels are parts of cars. Chapters are parts of books.
Belgium is part of NATO. Phonology is part of linguistics.

2 Member-Collection

A juror is part of a jury. This ship is part of a fleet.
An officer is member of an army.

3 Portion-Mass

This slice is part of a loaf of bread. A yard is part of a mile.

4 Stuff-Object

A martini is partly alcohol. The bike is partly steel.
Water is partly hydrogen.

5 Feature-Activity

Bidding is part of playing bridge.
Running is part of playing football.

6 Place-Area

The baseline is part of a tennis court. The fence is part of a garden.

3.3.3. Synonymy

Answers 3.3.3.1

3.

unhappy

Synonymic series of adjectives: *infelicitous, lovesick, discontent, sad, discontented, wretched, miserable, suffering, sorrowful, joyless, dejected, cheerless, uncheerful, depressing, dysphoric, distressed, unpleasant*

Antonyms: *happy*,

Synonymic nouns: *felicity, happiness*

Answers 3.3.3.2.

1.

Prototypes: a) *beautiful*, b) *to ask*, c) *fear*, d) *courage*, e) *powerful*,
f) *feeling*, g) *place*, h) *fair*, i) *to follow*.

Reasons: it is the general word, it is neutral both stylistically and emotionally and it can stand for each of its synonyms in most uses.

3.

1	2	3	4
lack absence privation want defect	<u>ghost</u> spirit apparition phantom phantasm	affair business <u>concern</u> thing	scandal slander back-biting detraction <u>calumny</u>

Group 2: The prototype is *ghost*. The common feature of the terms of the synonymic series is ‘a supernatural disembodied being, imagined as appearing in visual form or haunting the living.’

Group 3: The prototype is *concern*. The feature shared by the terms of the synonymic series is ‘something to be dealt with.’

Group 4: The prototype is *calumny*. The feature shared by the synonymic series is ‘making of false statements that damage another’s reputation.’

4.

calmness, placidity, placidness, tranquillity, quietness, coolness,
imperturbability, imperturbableness

scholarly, academic, bookish, donnish, pedantic, erudite, learned, studious

loyal, true-blue, leal, hardcore, allegiant, doglike, liege
allow, admit, permit, tolerate, let, grant, appropriate
clearly, distinctly, intelligibly, understandably

Answers 3.3.3.3.

3.

phrasal verbs / single word verbs: *put up with* / *tolerate*; *put on* / *wear*.

idioms / verbs: *gain the upper hand* / *win*; *be in two minds* / *hesitate*.

similes: *to be as black as coal* / *to be as black as midnight*.

4.

prototypes: *to smell*, *to forbid*, *adult*, *clear*, *clothes*

super-ordinates: *silver*, *cutlery*

Answers 3.3.3.4.

1.

BrEnglish	AmEnglish	BrEnglish	AmEnglish
<i>aubergine</i>	<i>eggplant</i>	<i>parcel</i>	<i>package</i>
<i>draughts</i>	<i>draft</i>	<i>porridge</i>	<i>oatmeal</i>
<i>rubber</i>	<i>eraser</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>mail</i>
<i>fortnight</i>	<i>two weeks</i>	<i>roundabout</i>	<i>traffic circle</i>
<i>full stop</i>	<i>period</i>	<i>queue</i>	<i>line</i>
<i>interval</i>	<i>intermission</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>can</i>
<i>ladybird</i>	<i>ladybug</i>	<i>waistcoat</i>	<i>vest</i>

2.

BrEnglish	AmEnglish	BrEnglish	AmEnglish
<i>ground floor</i>	<i>first floor</i>	<i>jug</i>	<i>pitcher</i>
<i>chips</i>	<i>French fries</i>	<i>pavement</i>	<i>sidewalk</i>
<i>rubbish</i>	<i>garbage</i>	<i>plimsoll</i>	<i>sneaker</i>
<i>gear lever</i>	<i>gear shift</i>	<i>dustbin</i>	<i>trashcan</i> .

3.

synonyms in terms of

origin: *end* (Gmc.) / *finish* (Fr.) / *conclude* (L.)

dialect/ varieties of English:

afternoon (BrE, AmE) / *arvo* (AusE, NzE);

Foreign Minister (BrE) / *Secretary of State* (AmE);

slang: *police officer* / *copper*;

jargon: *sacking* / *destuffing*

euphemism: *illiterate* / *uneducated*; *drunk* / *intoxicated* (formal, euph.) /

tipsy (coll.) / *fried* (slang);

4.

FORMAL ——— NEUTRAL ——— INFORMAL

parsimonious ungenerous mean stingy tight-arsed

5.

native (OE) – Latin
guts / *determination*
climb / *ascend*

native (OE) – French
sweat / *perspire*
pluck / *courage*
clothes / *attire*
book / *volume*
lie / *perjury*
ill-will / *malice*
kind / *gentle*

native (OE)	French	Latin
<i>holy</i>	<i>sacred</i>	<i>consecrated</i>
<i>fire</i>	<i>flame</i>	<i>conflagration</i>

6.

a. archaic and poetic terms: *mere* / *lake*; *ire* / *anger*; *forlorn* / *distressed*

b. varieties of English:

railway (BrE) / *railroad* (AmE); *ranch* (AmE) / *run* (AusE)

c. dialectal English:

mother (BrE) / *minny* (ScotE); *charm* (BrE) / *glamour* (ScotE)

d. euphemisms: *lie* / *distort the fact* (euph); *drunk* / *elevated* (euph)

e. different etymons (borrowings): *firm* (Fr.) / *secure* (Lat.);

7.

cardiac / *heart*, *convulsion* / *fit*, *cranium* / *skull*, *incision* / *cut*, *lesion* / *injury*,
neurosis / *anxiety*, *psychotic* / *mad*, *trachea* / *windpipe*.

3.3.4. Antonymy

Answers 3.3.4.

1.

upstairs / *downstairs*; *subtraction* / *addition*;
hospitable / *inhospitable*; *likely* / *unlikely*;
benefactor / *malefactor*; *literate* / *illiterate*

2.

non-aggression, *inaccuracy*, *misbehavior*, *non-combatant*,
misconduct, *illegibility*, *mismatch*, *mispronunciation*, *imprecision*,
irregularity, *unkindness*

3.

bi-polar oppositions: *male / female; married / bachelor; alive / dead; correct / wrong; buy / sell.*

gradable oppositions:

clean / dirty; young / old; big / small; cheap / expensive; joy / sorrow

4.

host / guest, author / reader, buyer / seller, doctor / patient, interviewer / interviewee, student / teacher, prosecutor / accused, tenant / landlord, clerk / customer.

5.

contradictory:

true / false; open / closed; innocent / guilty; to reject / to accept.

converses:

bridegroom / bride; to give / to take; employee / employer;

6.

gradable antonyms: *dark / light; beautiful / ugly; simple / difficult*

complementary pairs: *alive / dead; absent / present; captive / free, fixed / loose*

converses: *fall / rise; lend / borrow; give / get; give / take.*

7.

ancillary (stamps are popular, but collecting is unpopular)

coordinated (policy is to recruit skilled and unskilled workers)

comparative (those who succeed more than they fail)

(much more is recovered unofficially than officially)

distinguished (the gap between rich and poor has widened)

(the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour)

transitional (how easy to slip from the legal to the illegal trade)

(the transition from old to new technology)

negated (to facilitate the re-establishment of peace, not war)

(if you look at employment, not unemployment)

extreme (except when the soil is too wet or too dry)

idiomatic (it was not permissible to blow hot and cold)

3.4.1. Homonymy

Answers 3.4.1.

1.

a. pray; b. principle; c. reign; d. tow; e. compliment; f. whined; g. nay; h. navel; i. corps; j. dyeing; k. pique; l. council.

2.

beat / beet	brake / break	cent / scent / sent
eye / I	air / heir / ere	hire / higher
illicit / elicit	mane / main	plait / plate
poll / pole	rite / right / write	rode / road
tied / tide	tier / tyre	wave / waive
won / one		

3.

sow /sau/	‘female pig’
sow /səu /	‘to plant seed for growth’
to lead /li:d/	‘to guide on a way especially by going in advance’
lead /led/	‘a bluish-white heavy metal’
rose /rəuz/	‘aflower’
rose / rauz/	past form of the verb <i>rise</i>
wind /wind/	‘natural movement of air’
to win /waind/	‘to turn completely or repeatedly about an object’

3.4.2. Polysemy

Answers 3.4.2.

1.

The polysemantic word *face*:

1. the front part of the head: *He fell on his face.*
2. look, expression: *a sad face, smiling faces.*
3. surface, facade: *face of a clock, face of a building.*
4. (fig.) impudence, boldness, courage; *put a good/brave/ boldface on smth, put a new face on smth, the face of it, have the face to do, save one's face.*
5. style of typecast for printing: *bold-face type.*

3.

polyseme with related meanings: *fraud, point, coat, bed, face, coat*
 homonym with unrelated meanings: *character, ring, club, sole*

4.

The polysemantic word *Romania* refers to an entity with three facets: a) designates a geographical entity; b) the population, a human entity; c) an abstract political entity.

3.4.3. Paronymy

Self-assessed test 3.4.3

1.

<i>centenary</i>	‘the 100th anniversary’
<i>centennial</i>	(US) ‘occurring every 100 years,’ ‘lasting for a 100 years’

<i>cheerful</i>	‘happy,’ ‘in a good mood’
<i>cheery</i>	‘lively’
<i>childish</i>	‘typical of a child’ (shows disapproval when used about adults)
<i>childlike</i>	‘typical of a child,’ ‘innocent’
<i>classic</i>	‘the best’
<i>classical</i>	‘influenced by the art of ancient Greek and Latin literature and language’

2.

	meaning	etymology
<i>momentary</i>	lasting but a moment	1425–1475; late ME. <i>momentare</i> < Lat. <i>mōmentārius</i> ; (<i>moment</i> + <i>-ary</i>)
<i>momentous</i>	‘of great or far-reaching importance’	1645–1655; <i>moment</i> + <i>-ous</i> ;
<i>moment</i>	‘motion, importance, moment of time’	1300–50; ME < Lat. <i>momentum</i> : <i>mō</i> (variant stem of <i>movēre</i> ‘to move’) + <i>-mentum</i> (-ment)
<i>complement</i>	‘something that completes or makes perfect’	1350–1400; ME < Lat. <i>complēmentum</i> something that completes, equivalent to <i>complē (re)</i> to fill up (complete) + <i>-mentum</i> (-ment)
<i>compliment</i>	‘an expression of admiration and respect’	1570–1580; < Fr. < It. <i>complimento</i> < Sp. <i>cumplimiento</i> , equivalent to <i>cumpli-</i> (comply) + <i>-miento</i> (-ment);

3.5.2. Componential analysis of meaning

Answers 3.5.2.

1.

aunt: [-CONSANGUINITY], [-LINE], [GENERATION+1], [-MALE], [-DIRECT]

brother: [+CONSANGUINITY], [-LINE], [GENERATION 0], [+MALE], [-DIRECT]

mother-in-law:

[-CONSANGUINITY], [-LINE], [GENERATION+1], [-MALE], [-DIRECT]

nephew: [-CONSANGUINITY], [-LINE], [GENERATION -1], [+MALE], [-DIRECT]

2.

grandmother: [+N], [+COUNTABLE], [+CONCRETE], [+ANIMATE], [+HUMAN],
[-MALE], [+CONSANGUINITY], [+LINE], [GENERATION+2], [-DIRECT]

3.

[+INSTITUTION][+EDUCATION][+BUSINESS][+RELIGION][+ENTERTAINMENT]

4.

The common semantic components are: [+ANIMAL] [+EQUIDAE],
the distinctive components are: [+/-ADULT], [+/-MALE]

horse: [+ANIMAL], [+EQUINE], [+ADULT], [+MALE]

mare: [+ANIMAL], [+EQUINE], [+ADULT], [-MALE]

foal: [+ANIMAL], [+EQUINE], [-ADULT], [+/-MALE]

colt: [+ANIMAL], [+EQUINE], [-ADULT], [+MALE]

filly: [+ANIMAL], [+EQUINE], [-ADULT], [-MALE]

5.

dog, bitch, puppy, wolf, jackal, fox, vixen

common components: [ANIMAL], [CANINE],

distinctive components: [DOMESTIC], [ADULT] [MALE]

6.

mare [ANIMAL] [EQUINE] [FEMALE] is a hyponym of

horse [ANIMAL] [EQUINE]

cub [ANIMAL] [FELINE] [YOUNG] is a hyponym of

lion [ANIMAL] [FELINE]

bookcase [CONCRETE] [INANIMATE] [FURNITURE][STORAGE] is a hyponym
of *furniture* [CONCRETE] [INANIMATE] [FURNITURE]

Glossary of linguistic terms

- abbreviation:** a shortened form of a word or phrase. It consists of a letter or group of letters taken from the word or phrase, e.g. the word *abbreviation* can itself be represented by the abbreviation *abbr.* or *abbrev.*
- ablaut:** a change of vowel in the root of a word that signals a change in grammatical function, as in the forms of the irregular verbs: *sing* – *sang* – *sung*.
- affix:** a morpheme that is attached to a base morpheme such as a root or to a stem, to form a word. Affixes may be **derivational**, like *-ness* and *pre-*, or **inflectional**, like plural *-s* and past tense *-ed*.
- affixation:** a word-formation process in which a stem is expanded by the addition of an affix. A distinction is drawn between prefixation (attachment of the affix before the stem: *un-* + *happy*) and suffixation (attachment of an affix after the stem: *read* + *-er*).
- acronym:** a word formed by taking letters from a phrase that is too long to use comfortably (e.g. *Laser* is an acronym of **L**ight **A**mplification by **S**timulated **E**mission of **R**adiation). If the letters do not make a word, but are pronounced individually, as in the CIA or the BBC, it can be called an **initialism**. Acronyms are regarded as a subgroup of abbreviations.
- Allomorphs:** two or more instances of a given morpheme with different shapes; variants; e.g., [t], [d], and [ɪd] are allomorphs of the English past tense suffix *-ed*.
- antonym:** a word which is opposite in meaning to another word. For example, *male* and *female* are called **ungradable antonyms** (or **complementaries**), *big* and *small* are called **gradable antonyms** (or **gradable pair**).
- back formation** (also **back-derivation**): a process of forming a new word by removing an affix / affixes from an existing word, perceived as morphologically complex (e.g. the verb *to televise* was formed from the noun *television*).

bahuvrihi compound = exocentric compound

base: the element to which compounding or affixation applies to form a morphologically complex word.

binary features: semantic features that come in pairs, e.g.: [MALE] [FEMALE], [ADULT], [YOUNG]

blend: word that results from the combination of two words into one, by deleting material from one or both source words (*smog* < *smoke* + *fog*).

borrowing: a) a word or a phrase which has been taken from one language and used in another (e.g. English has taken *moccasin* 'a type of shoe' from an American Indian Language). When a borrowing is a single word, it is called a **loanword**. b) the importation of a linguistic form from another language.

calque: a word or phrase borrowed from another language by literal, word-for-word or root-for-root translation, such as *by heart* from French *par cœur*.

coinage: the creation of a new word not by any derivational process; also called word manufacture.

collocation: any grammatical well-formed sequence of words. The term refers to the restrictions on how words can be used together, for example, which prepositions are used with particular verbs, or which verbs and nouns are used together. e.g. *do* collocates with *damage*, *duty* and *wrong*, but not with *trouble*, *noise*, and *excuse* (*do a lot of damage*, *do one's duty*, *do wrong*; *make trouble*, *make a lot of noise*, *make an excuse*).

combining form: a bound stem that occurs only in a compound.

complex word: a word made up of more than one morpheme, as opposed to a monomorphemic (or simple) word. A complex word may consist of (a) a base (or root) and one or more affixes (*impossible*), or (b) more than one root in a compound (*living-room*).

componential analysis: an approach to the study of meaning which analyses a word into a set of meaning components or semantic features. (the meaning of the word *boy* may be analysed as: [+HUMAN] [+MALE] [-ADULT]).

- compound word/lexeme:** a combination of two or more lexemes (or words) which functions as a single word. Compounds are written in a single word (*headache*), as hyphenated words (*self-government*), or as two words (*police station*).
- compounding** (also **composition**): the process of combining two words (free morphemes) to create a new word, commonly a compound noun (*sister-in-law*), compound verb (*to water-proof*), or compound adjective (*well-known*).
- compositional:** defined (e.g., a word) entirely in terms of its parts.
- concordance:** a list of lines of text containing a node word, nowadays generated by computer, as the principal output of a search of a **corpus** showing the word in its contexts and thus representing a sum of its usage; see also **KWIC**.
- connotation:** the additional meaning that a word or a phrase has beyond its central, i.e. denotative meaning. These meanings show people's emotions and attitudes towards what the word or phrase refers to.
- conversion:** a word-formation process by which a word is moved from one word class to another. The word *down*, for example, is normally an adverb (*I fell down*). However, it can occasionally be used as a verb (*He downed the drink in one gulp*).
- coordinative compound** (also **dvandva compound**): a compound that refers to multiple referents corresponding to the compound members.
- corpus** (pl. **corpora**) or **text corpus**: a large and structured set of texts (now usually electronically stored and processed) used to do statistical analysis and hypothesis testing, checking occurrences of words or word frequencies. A corpus may contain texts in a single language (*monolingual corpus*) or text data in multiple languages (*multilingual corpus*).
- denotation:** the literal meaning or 'dictionary definition' of a term, devoid of emotion, attitude, and colour.
- derivation:** the formation of new words by adding affixes to other words, or morphemes. Thus, the noun *insanity* is derived from the adjective *sane* by the addition of the negative prefix *in-* and the noun-forming suffix *-ity*.
- derivative:** a lexeme that is related to another lexeme by affixation (*singer* is a derivative of *sing*).

derivational affix: an affix that forms or derives one word from another. (e.g. *-ful* and *-ness* are derivational affixes in: joy + *-ful*, joy + *-ful* + *-ness*).

diminutive affix: an affix with the meaning of ‘little’ or ‘small’ (e.g. *-let* as in *booklet*, *starlet*).

distribution: the sum of the environment where a linguistic form occurs is its distribution.

dvandva compound = coordinative compound.

endocentric compound: a compound word that consists of a head and a dependent element; the meaning of the semantic head is a hyponym of the meaning of the entire compound (a *bathroom* is a hyponym of *room*).

etymon: in historical linguistics, an etymon is a word, word root, or morpheme from which a present-day word has evolved.

etymology n. / **etymological:** adj.: the study of the origin of words, and of their history and the changes they underwent. For example, the etymology of the modern English noun *fish* can be traced back to Old English *fisc*. In the case of the word *meat*, there is a change in meaning. The word comes from the Old English word *mete* which initially meant ‘food in general.’

euphemism: a pleasant replacement of an objectionable word that has pejorative connotations (e.g. *to pass on* for ‘to die’).

folk etymology (also **popular etymology**): involves a change in the form or pronunciation of a word or phrase resulting from a mistaken assumption about its composition or meaning. Thus, Spanish *cucaracha* became by folk etymology *cockroach* in English.

exocentric compound (= bahuvrihi compound): a compound pattern that does not contain a (semantic) head and a dependent.

Germanic languages: a branch of the Indo-European language family. The West Germanic branch includes the three most widely spoken Germanic languages: English, German and Dutch. The main North Germanic languages are Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, and Faroese. The East Germanic branch included Gothic, Burgundian, and Vandalic, all of which are extinct. The common ancestor of all languages in the Germanic branch is called Proto-Germanic, also known as Common Germanic, which was spoken in approximately the middle-1st millennium BC in Iron Age Scandinavia.

- grammatical meaning:** the meaning expressed by an inflectional ending or some other grammatical device, as word order. Thus, for instance, *-ed* with regular verbs indicates past tense, while *-s*, with regular nouns signals the plural.
- hapax legomenon:** a word that occurs only once in a corpus (plural *hapax legomena*). The term comes from the Greek for ‘said once.’
- head:** the constituent of a phrase on which the other elements in the phrase depend.
- headword:** the main word or lead entry in a dictionary
- homographs:** words which are written in the same way but which are pronounced differently and have different meanings (e.g. the verb *lead* and the noun *lead* ‘metal’)
- homonyms:** words which are written in the same way and sound alike but which have different meanings (*to lie* ‘to be in a horizontal position’ and *to lie* ‘not to tell the truth’)
- homophones:** words which sound alike but are written differently and often have different meanings (the words *no* and *know*)
- hypernym:** a word whose meaning encompasses the meaning of another word; a word that is more generic or broad than another given word. For example, *vehicle* is a hypernym of each of the words: *train*, *chariot*, *dogsled*, *airplane*, and *automobile*. A hypernym is the opposite of a hyponym. For example, *plant* is hypernymic to *flower* whereas *tulip* is hyponymic to *flower*.
- hypernymy:** the semantic relation in which one word is the hypernym of another, that is a word with a broad meaning constituting a class into which words with more specific meanings fall as subclasses (*colour* is a **hypernym** of *red*).
- hyponymy:** a relationship between two words, in which the meaning of one of the words includes the meaning of the other word. (e.g. *lorry* and *vehicle* are related in such a way that *lorry* refers to a type of *vehicle*, and *vehicle* is the general term that includes *lorry* and other types of vehicles. The specific term *lorry* is called a **hyponym**, and the general term *vehicle* is called a **superordinate/ hypernym**).
- idiom:** an expression (i.e. term or phrase) whose meaning cannot be deduced from the literal definition and the arrangement of its parts, but refers instead to a figurative meaning that is known only through conventional use. In the English expression *to kick the bucket*, a listener knowing only the meaning of *kick*

and *bucket* would be unable to deduce the expression's actual meaning, which is *to die*.

inflection: (also **inflectional affixes**): signal grammatical relationships, such as plural, past tense and possession, and do not change the grammatical class of the stems to which they are attached; that is, the words constitute a single paradigm, e.g. *talk, talks, talked*. A verb is said to inflect for past tense, plural, etc.

jargon: the language used by people who work in a particular area or who have a common interest: lawyers, computer programmers, criminals, etc. All have specialised terms and expressions that they use, many of which may not be comprehensible to the outsider.

KWIC: (short for **key word in context**): a computer-generated set of **concordance** lines in which the node word is in the centre of each line.

Latinate suffixes: a class of suffixes in English that historically derive mostly from Latin, or one of its daughter languages (French), via large-scale borrowing of vocabulary; Latinate suffixes combine (almost) exclusively with Latinate bases.

lemma: (also **citation form**): the canonical form of a lexeme, which represents different forms of a lexical entry in a dictionary, as with the English lemma *bring* representing *bring, brings, bringing and brought*.

lexeme: (also **lexical item**): the smallest unit in the meaning system of a language that can be distinguished from other similar units. It is an abstract unit which occurs in many different forms in actual spoken or written sentences. (e.g. all inflected forms such as *sings, singing, sang, sung* would belong to the one lexeme *sing*). Similarly, such expressions as *bury the hatchet, give up, school boy* would each be considered a single lexeme. In a dictionary, each lexeme has a separate entry or sub-entry.

lexeme formation = word-formation.

lexical entry: the collection of information about a lexeme that is included in the lexicon (phonemic information, the grammatical category).

lexical field (also **semantic field**): the organisation of related words and expressions into a system which shows their relationship to one another. The absence of a word in a lexical field of a

language is called a **lexical gap** (e.g. there is no singular noun that covers both *cow* and *bull* as *horse* covers *stallion* and *mare*).

lexical item: any item that is listed in the lexicon, ranging from morphemes to words and to phrases (e.g. idioms).

lexical meaning: the identifiable meaning of a word, the meaning of a base morpheme or word, without reference to any sentence in which the word may occur, and it should be distinguished from **grammatical meaning**.

lexicology n./ **lexicological** adj. / **lexicologist** n.: the study of the vocabulary items (lexemes) of a language, including their meanings and relations (lexical fields), and changes in their form and meaning through time. The research results of lexicologists may be of use to lexicographers.

lexicography n./ **lexicographical** adj./ **lexicographer** n.: field of linguistics that focuses on the design, compilation, use and evaluation of general dictionaries, i.e. dictionaries that provide a description of the language in general use.

lexicon: a) all the words and idioms of a language. More formally, it is a language's inventory of lexemes. b) a dictionary. c) the mental dictionary that speakers of a language unconsciously acquire as they learn a language.

loanword (or **borrowing**): a word adopted from one language (the donor language) and incorporated into the English language without translation, such as *kindergarten*, from German *Kindergarten*, literally meaning 'children's garden.'

mental lexicon: the sum total of all the information a native speaker of a language has about the words, morphemes, and morphological rules of her/his language.

meronym: denotes a constituent part of, or a member of something. For example, *finger* is a meronym of *hand* because a finger is part of a hand. Similarly, *wheel* is a meronym of *auto*.

meronymy: the relationship of meaning between part and whole, as between *arm* and *body*, *sole* and *shoe*.

monomorphemic: containing one morpheme.

morpheme: a morpheme is a meaningful linguistic unit consisting of a word (such as *cat*) or a word element (such as the *-s* in *dogs*) that cannot be divided into smaller meaningful parts. Morphemes are the smallest units of meaning in a language. They are commonly classified as either **free morphemes**

- (which can occur as separate words) or **bound morphemes** (which cannot stand alone as words).
- neo-classical compound:** a compound in English that consists of bound bases that are derived from Greek or Latin.
- neologism:** a new lexeme that is attested, but had not previously been observed in the language. Often neologisms are the result of the opening up of new areas of art, science or technology.
- nonce formation** (also **occasionalism**): neologism that has not caught on and is restricted to occasional occurrences.
- noun phrase:** a phrase whose head is a noun (or a pronoun), e.g., *the new houses*; *them*.
- parse:** to analyse a word in terms of its component morphemes. e.g., *blackbirds* can be parsed into *blackbird* plus *s*, and *blackbird* itself parses into *black* plus *bird*.
- phrasal compound:** a compound in which an entire phrase is the dependent member (*an* [[*ate-too-much*] *headache*], *an* [[*I-told-you-so*] *attitude*]).
- phoneme:** a sound that distinguishes words in a particular language (e.g. /p/ and /t/ distinguish *pin* from *tin*).
- polyseme:** a word with multiple meanings that are historically related.
- polysemy:** the term for multiple meanings in a word that are connected historically or semantically.
- portmanteau word:** another term for **blend**.
- prefix:** an affix that precedes the base (e.g. *un-* in the word *unhappy*).
- productivity:** a morphological pattern or rule is productive if it can be applied to new bases to create new words.
- reduplicant:** the copied element in a reduplication.
- reduplication:** a formal operation whereby (part of) the base is copied and attached to the base.
- Romance languages:** a language family in the Indo-European languages. They started from Common Latin. The most important Romance languages are Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, Romanian, and Catalan.
- root:** (also **base form**): a word or word element, i.e., a morpheme, from which other words are formed, usually through the addition of prefixes and suffixes. It is the basic part of a word, which may occur on its own (*man*, *keep*, *hot*), may be adjoined to other roots (*fireman*), or take affixes (*keeper*).
- semantic change** (also **semantic shift**, **lexical change**, **semantic progression**): any change in the meaning(s) of a word over

the course of time. Common types of semantic change include: amelioration, pejoration, broadening, semantic narrowing, bleaching, metaphor, and metonymy.

semantic feature (also **semantic component**): the basic unit of meaning in a word, e.g. [+human], [+male]. The meanings of words may be described as a combination of semantic features.

semantics: a branch of linguistics that studies the meaning of words.

sememe: a unit of meaning. A sememe can be the meaning expressed by a morpheme, such as the English pluralizing morpheme *-s*, which carries the sememic feature [+PLURAL]. Alternately, a single sememe (for example [GO] or [MOVE]) can be conceived as the abstract representation of such verbs as *skate*, *roll*, *jump*, *slide*, *turn*, or *boogie*. A **seme** is the smallest unit of meaning recognised in semantics, referring to a single characteristic of a sememe.

slang: informal language, using expressions that many would consider to be grammatically imperfect and sometimes rude. It often used within small social groups where it can help draw and keep the group together.

stem: (also **base form**) that part of a word to which an affix can be added to produce another word. The stem of a word may consist of: a) one morpheme (root) (*work*); b) a root plus a derivational affix (*work* + *-er* = *worker*); c) two or more roots (*work* + *shop* = *workshop*).

stress shift: a type of base modification that involves changing the syllable in a word with which primary stress is associated.

suffix: an affix that follows the base (e.g. *-less* in the word *careless*)

superordinate: a general term that includes various different words representing narrower categories, called hyponyms.

syllable: a unit of organisation for a sequence of speech sounds. It is typically made up of a syllable nucleus (most often a vowel) with optional initial and final margins (typically, consonants). Syllables are often considered the phonological “building blocks” of words.

synonym n./ **synonymous** adj./ **synonymy** n.: a word which has the same, or nearly the same, meaning as another word.

syntagmatic relations: relations between units that (potentially) follow each other in speech (e.g. collocations, idioms).

taboo: words considered unacceptable in ‘polite society.’

- (technical) term:** a lexical unit consisting of one or more words which represents a concept inside a domain.
- terminology:** branch of linguistics primarily interested in term formation and terminological variation.
- thesaurus** (pl. **thesauruses/ thesauri**): a word book in which words are arranged thematically to help the user in selecting the right word for a specific purpose. Words are organized by categories and concepts, so synonyms and near-synonyms are grouped together (e.g. the concept ‘amusement’ groups the following words: *fun, frolic, merriment, jollity, joviality, laughter*).
- word:** an individual unit of language that contains both lexical and grammatical meaning(s).
- word class** (also **part of speech**): a small set of grammatical categories to which words can be allocated, for example: nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, article, numeral, adverb, preposition, conjunction, interjection.
- word-class:** a category of words such as ‘noun,’ ‘verb,’ ‘adjective,’ ‘adverb,’ etc.
- word-formation:** the ways in which new words are made on the basis of other words or morphemes.
- word frequency:** the frequency with which a word is used in a text or corpus.
- zero-derivation** (also **conversion**): a word-formation process; the creation of a word from an existing word without any change in form (the verb *to clean* is converted from the adjective *clean*).

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- *** (2013) *Pocket Oxford English dictionary*, 11th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- *** (2014) *Collins English dictionary*, 12th edn. London: HarperCollins.

Monolingual learner's dictionaries (or MLD)

There are currently six major MLDs for advanced learners of English, all of them being available in hard copy and online:

a) hard copy:

- *** (2000) *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- *** (2008) *Merriam-Webster's advanced learner's English dictionary*. Springfield: Merriam-Webster.
- *** (2012) *MacMillan English dictionary for advanced learners*. Oxford: MacMillan.
- *** (2013) *Cambridge advanced learner's dictionary with CD-ROM*, 4th edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- *** (2015) *Longman dictionary of contemporary English*, 6th edn. Harlow: Pearson Education.

b) online:

- *** (2007) *Chambers 21st century dictionary*.
(<http://www.chambers.co.uk/dictionaries/the-chambers-21st-century-dictionary.php>)
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(<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/index.xml>)

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*** visuwords.com Similar to the above website, this is another online graphical dictionary that allows users to view a word and its entire lexical field.

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Verbale Emotionsidiome im Deutschen und Rumänischen

Abstract: This paper deals with verbal idioms that express emotions in two languages: German and Romanian. The aim of this contrastive study is to analyze the semantic group of verbal idioms of emotion according to syntactic criteria in the two languages under discussion. The starting point of this contribution is the investigation of the syntactic features of the psych verbs that take an Experiencer in their thematic grid, as initially stated for verbs in Italian by Belletti / Rizzi (1988). As far as idioms are concerned, O'Grady (1998) argues for English that idiomatic expressions with a verbal base can also be assigned a thematic grid. Our research shows that the presence of the Experiencer argument is essential in identifying subgroups of verbal idioms that express emotions.

Abstract: Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der Untersuchung von verbalen Emotionsidiomen in zwei Sprachen: dem Deutschen und dem Rumänischen. Zweck dieser kontrastiven Studie ist es, die semantische Gruppe der emotionsausdrückenden Verbidiome in den behandelten Sprachen nach syntaktischen Kriterien zu analysieren. Ausgangspunkt des Beitrags ist die Untersuchung der syntaktischen Merkmale von Psych-Verben, die einen Experiencer in ihrem thematischen Raster haben, wie es ursprünglich von Belletti / Rizzi (1988) für italienische Verben vorgeschlagen wurde. In Bezug auf Idiome argumentiert O'Grady (1998) für das Englische, dass auch der verbalen Basis von Idiomen ein thematisches Raster zugeschrieben werden kann. Die vorliegende Studie zeigt auf, dass die Anwesenheit des Experiencer-Arguments als Kriterium zur Identifizierung verschiedener Untergruppen von verbalen Emotionsidiomen dienen kann.

Keywords: verbal idiom, emotion, Experiencer, thematic grid, subgroups

Keywords: Verbidiom, Emotion, Experiencer, Themenraster, Untergruppen

1. Theoretische Überlegungen

Idiome sind in allen Sprachen durch Idiomatizität, Stabilität und Lexikalisierung gekennzeichnet (cf. Burger 2010 und Schemann 2011 für das Deutsche, sowie Hristea 1984a und Groza 2005 für das Rumänische).

Unter Idiomatizität versteht man die semantische Umdeutung einzelner Komponenten oder des ganzen Phraseologismus. Die Gesamtbedeutung eines Idioms ist nicht aus der Summe der Konstituentenbedeutungen ableitbar. Die Idiomatizität ist jedoch ein relatives Merkmal, denn sie ist einerseits abhängig

von Kontext und Vorwissen und andererseits graduell (ab)stufbar. So unterscheidet man zwischen Vollidiomen und Teilidiomen. In einem Vollidiom geben die einzelnen Komponenten ihre freie Bedeutung zugunsten einer neuen Bedeutung auf. In einem Teilidiom sind nur einzelne Komponenten umgedeutet, andere bleiben hingegen in ihrer wörtlichen Bedeutung bestehen.

Im Vordergrund dieser Studie steht eine syntaktische Untersuchung der emotionsausdrückenden Verb-Idiome im Deutschen und Rumänischen, ausgehend von der Theorie der thematischen Rollen.

In nicht-idiomatischen Konfigurationen funktionieren Nominalphrasen (NP) als Argumente, denen vom Verb thematische Rollen zugewiesen werden. In idiomatischen Konstruktionen ist jedoch der Argument-Status der Nominalphrase(n) eine vieldiskutierte Frage. Komponenten wie *bucket* im englischen unzerlegbaren Idiom *kick the bucket* 'sterben', die keine individuelle Bedeutung tragen, werden als Quasi-Argumente mit einer nicht-referentiellen Funktion (cf. Chomsky 1981) bezeichnet. Im Gegensatz dazu werden Komponenten von zerlegbaren Idiomen, wie *beans* im englischen Idiom *spill the beans* 'alles verraten', als bedeutungstragende Elemente betrachtet, die keine wörtliche, sondern eine figurative Bedeutung tragen, so dass sie sich für eine Argument-Interpretation qualifizieren.

Fürs Englische schlägt O'Grady (1998, 292-310) eine Beschränkung hinsichtlich der thematischen Rollen von Nominalphrasen in Idiomen vor, die wie folgt formuliert werden kann: Jene Argumente, die sich innerhalb des Idioms befinden, müssen in der thematischen Hierarchie (Agens, Thema, Ziel / Ort) weiter unten angesiedelt sein als die Argumente außerhalb des Idioms. Sein Vorschlag für die verfügbaren thematischen Raster der verbalen Idiome im Englischen lautet wie folgt:

Transitive Verben

<Agens, Thema>

1) a. *kick the bucket, draw the line, save the day*

<Agens, Ort>

1) b. *skate on thin ice, knock on wood*

Intransitive Verben

<Thema, Ziel / Ort>

2) *be in hot water, go down in history*

Ditransitive Verben (in Präpositional-Objekt-Konstruktion)

<Agens, Thema, Ziel>

3) *carry x to extremes, feed x to the lion*

<Agens, Thema, Ort>

4) *wrap x around one's little finger*

Ditransitive Verben (in Doppel-Objekt-Konstruktion)

<Agens, Rezipient, Thema>

5) a. *teach x a lesson, lend x a hand*

<Agent, Theme, Recipient>

b. *feed x to the lions*

So werden Idiome nach der Art des Verbs gruppiert, mit dem sie gebildet sind und nach den thematischen Rollen, die ihren Argumenten zugeschrieben

werden. Es wird dadurch bewiesen, dass die Argumente, die Komponenten der Idiome sind, auf einem weiter unten befindlichen Platz in der thematischen Hierarchie erscheinen als jene Argumente, die keine Komponenten des Idioms sind.

In diesem Beitrag werden wir O'Gradys Vorschlag für die Untersuchung von emotionsausdrückenden Idiomen anwenden, wobei speziell die Experiencer-Rolle von Interesse ist, die einer NP-Komponente dieser Verbidiome obligatorisch zugewiesen wird.

Ausgangspunkt der folgenden Diskussion ist die Forschung über die psychologischen Verben, die mit dem Beitrag von Belletti / Rizzi (1988) anfängt. Sie identifizieren drei Klassen von Psych-Verben im Italienischen, veranschaulicht durch *temere* 'fürchten', *preoccupare* 'kümmern' und *piacere* 'gefallen'. Psychologische Verben verfügen immer über eine Experiencer-Rolle, die jedoch entweder dem Subjekt- oder dem Objekt-Argument zugewiesen sein kann. Dem Experiencer-Argument wird der Nominativ in der *temere*-Klasse, der Akkusativ in der *preoccupare*-Klasse und der Dativ in der *piacere*-Klasse zugeteilt.

Eine analoge Verteilung der Psych-Verben findet sich ebenso im Deutschen (cf. u.a. Fanselow 1992; Kailuweit 2005) und im Rumänischen (Manea 2001; Bejan 2006/07): Ähnlich gibt es auch hier Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben und Experiencer-Objekt-Verben, wobei bei letzteren der Experiencer im Akkusativ oder im Dativ vorkommt:

6) [D] <i>Das Mädchen</i>	<i>liebt</i>	<i>die Katze.</i>	Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben
[R] <i>Fata</i>	<i>iubește</i>	<i>pisica.</i>	
EXPERIENCER		THEMA	
[D] <i>Der Clown / sein Benehmen</i> verärgert <i>das Mädchen.</i>			
			Experiencer-Objekt-Verben
[R] <i>Clovnul / comportarea lui</i>	<i>o supără</i>	<i>pe fată.</i>	
AGENS / URSACHE		EXP.Akk.	
[D] <i>Die Kinder</i> gefallen <i>dem Mädchen.</i>			Experiencer-Objekt-Verben
[R] <i>Copiii</i>	<i>îi plac</i>	<i>fetei</i>	
THEMA.Nom.		EXP.Dat.	

Die Verallgemeinerung wäre, dass psychologische Verben ein gemeinsames Theta-Raster haben, das einen Experiencer und ein Thema der Emotion involviert¹.

1 Bei Experiencer-Objekt-Verben unterscheidet man in der Subjekt-Position zwischen einem belebten und einem unbelebten Verursacher, also einem Agens und einer

Analog zu den Psych-Verben machen auch emotionsausdrückende Idiome immer eine Experiencer-Rolle verfügbar, die hier ebenfalls entweder dem Subjekt, wie im Beispiel (7), oder dem Objekt-Argument, wie in (8) und (9), zugeteilt wird:

- 7) *Das Publikum ist im siebten Himmel.* (Die Zeit, 01.02.1985)
EXP.Nom.
- 8) *Er hat die Berliner völlig aus dem Häuschen gebracht.* (Die Zeit, 02.03.1962)
EXP.Akk.
- 9) *Kritische Blogger sind den Mächtigen ein Dorn im Auge.* (Die Zeit, 24.06.2013)
EXP.Dat.

Daraus ergibt sich, dass Verbidrome in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt werden können: Experiencer-Subjekt-Idiome und Experiencer-Objekt-Idiome. Diese Beobachtung gibt Anlass zu einer näheren Untersuchung der verbalen Emotionsidiome.

2. Emotionsausdrückende Vollidiome im Deutschen und Rumänischen

Die emotionsausdrückenden Verbidrome schließen die Anwesenheit eines Experiencer-Arguments ein. Der Experiencer ist die thematische Rolle des menschlichen Teilnehmers, der emotional an einer Beziehung mit einem Thema beteiligt ist. Das Thema der Emotion muss in der idiomatischen Struktur aber nicht immer realisiert sein, sondern kann auch nur kontextuell abgerufen werden.

Emotionsidiome stellen eine bemerkenswerte Gruppe des gesamten Idiominventars des Deutschen und des Rumänischen dar. Im Folgenden soll eine Klassifikation der verbalen Emotionsidiome vorgeschlagen werden, die auf der Position des Experiencer-Arguments beruht.

Ursache. Das Agens hat die Funktion eines Partizipanten, der mit der Absicht handelt, im Experiencer eine Emotion auszulösen. Bei Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben sind unter THEMA der Emotion zwei thematische Rollen zu verstehen, die Pesetsky (1995, 57) anführt: *TARGET of emotion* und *SUBJECT MATTER of emotion*. Kailuweit (2005, 96) erklärt den Unterschied zwischen diesen thematischen Rollen, die er KORRELAT und BEZUGSPUNKT nennt, anhand folgender Beispiele: *a. Die Mutter fürchtet ihre Kinder. b. Die Mutter fürchtet um ihre Kinder.* Im Beispiel (a) ist *Kinder* als *TARGET* oder *KORRELAT*, in (b) als *SUBJECT MATTER* oder *BEZUGSPUNKT* anzusehen.

Die Datengewinnung erfolgt aus zweisprachigen allgemeinen Wörterbüchern (Anuței 1990; Kisch e.a. 1989) wie auch aus phraseologischen Wörterbüchern (Alsleben / Scholze-Stubenrecht 2002; Ettinger / Hessky 2009; Schemann 2011; Dumistrăchel 2011) und Presstexten. Aus Gründen der Klarheit wird für jedes Beispiel im Rumänischen die wörtliche (oft vereinfachte) Übersetzung ins Deutsche gegeben, und danach wird das semantische Äquivalent im Deutschen in der nicht-idiomatischen oder (sofern vorhanden) in der idiomatischen Form angeführt.

2.1. Experienter-Subjekt-Idiome

Diese können sowohl transitive als auch intransitive Verben beinhalten. Die wichtigsten Themenraster, die bei verbalen emotionsausdrückenden Idiomen im Deutschen und Rumänischen identifiziert werden können, sind folgende:

a. Emotionsidiome mit zweiwertigen intransitiven Verben:

<Experienter, Location>

- 10) [D] *im siebten Himmel sein / schweben; auf Wolke sieben sein / schweben; in Harnisch sein; auf der Palme sein*
 [R] *a fi în al nouălea cer*
 (wörtl.) *sein im neunten Himmel; (äqu.) im siebten Himmel sein*

Die Redewendung *im siebten Himmel sein* hat ein semantisches und syntaktisches Äquivalent im Rumänischen; unterschiedlich ist nur das Numerales.

<Experienter, Ziel>

- 11) [D] *in Harnisch kommen / geraten; in Hitze geraten; in Fahrt kommen; die Wände hochgehen; auf die Palme gehen; an die Decke gehen; (schnell / leicht) in die Luft gehen*
 [R] *a se urca pe pereți / pe tavan*
 (wörtl.) *sich.Refl. steigen auf die Wände / an die Decke; (äqu.) die Wände hochgehen (= wütend sein)*

Die Redewendungen *die Wände hochgehen* und *a se urca pe pereți* sind semantisch und lexikalisch sehr ähnlich, syntaktisch aber sind sie unterschiedlich, mit einem transitiven Verb im Deutschen und einem reflexiven Verb im Rumänischen als Basis.

<Experienter, Quelle>

- 12) [D] *ganz / rein aus dem Häuschen geraten*
 [R] *a-și ieși din balamale / din pepeni*
 (wörtl.) *sich.Dat. (heraus)kommen aus den Türangeln / Melonen (= in Wut geraten); (äqu.) ganz / rein aus dem Häuschen geraten*

Im Rumänischen wird das Experiencer-Argument in der Subjekt-Position mit einem klitischen Pronomen (*și*) im Dativ verbunden, dessen Anwesenheit im Satz obligatorisch ist:

- 13) *Rihanna și-a ieșit din pepeni în timpul unui concert!*
 (http://spynews.ro/monden, 26.07.2016)
 (wörtl.) *Rihanna sich.Dat. ist herausgekommen aus Melonen während eines Konzerts.*
 EXPERIENCER QUELLE
 (äqu.) *Rihanna ist während eines Konzerts rein aus dem Häuschen geraten.*

b. Emotionsidiome mit dreiwertigen transitiven Verben:

<Experiencer, Bezugspunkt, Patiens>

- 14) [D] *an jm. einen Affen / Narren gefressen haben*

<Experiencer, Ursache, Patiens>

- 15) [D] (*veraltet*) (*vor jm./etwas*) *Manschetten haben / bekommen*

Wie erwartet gibt es insgesamt eine Reihe von Experiencer-Subjekt-Idiomen in beiden Sprachen, die nach den gleichen syntaktischen Prinzipien gruppiert werden können. Unterschiedlich ist jedoch, dass es im Rumänischen keine Experiencer-Subjekt-Idiome gibt, die mit einem dreiwertigen transitiven Verb gebildet werden.

2.2. Experiencer-Objekt-Idiome

Diese sind um dreiwertige transitive Verben herum gebildet und verfügen über ein Experiencer-Argument entweder im Akkusativ oder im Dativ, wobei folgende thematische Raster möglich sind:

a. Experiencer-Argument im Akkusativ:

<Agens, Experiencer, Ziel>

- 16) [D] *jn. in Harnisch bringen / jagen; jn. auf die Palme bringen; jn. auf Touren bringen; jn. zur Weißglut bringen; jn. auf hundert(fünfzig) bringen; jn. ins Bockshorn jagen*

[R] *a băga pe cineva în draci / în toți dracii*

(wörtl.) *stecken jn. in (allen) Teufeln (= jn. heftig erzürnen)*

<Agens, Experiencer, Quelle>

- 17) [D] *jn. aus dem Häuschen bringen*

[R] *a scoate pe cineva din pepeni / balamale / țâțâni*

(wörtl.) (*heraus*)nehmen *jn. aus den Melonen / Angeln / Türangeln (= jn. heftig erzürnen)*

b. Experiencer-Argument im Dativ:

<Agens, Experiencer, Thema, Location>

- 18) [D] *bei jm. einen Stein im Brett haben; sich bei jm. einen Stein im Brett verschaffen*

<Agens, Experiencer, Instrument, Ziel>

19) [R] *a da cuiva cu piper pe la nas*

(wörtl.) *geben jm. mit Pfeffer bei der Nase (= jn. erzürnen)*

Bemerkenswert ist, dass sowohl im Deutschen als auch im Rumänischen keine Experiencer-Objekt-Idiome um ein zweiwertiges transitives Verb herum gebildet werden. Alle ausfindig gemachten Idiome enthalten ein dreiwertiges transitives Verb. Die Kombination eines zweiwertigen transitiven Verbs mit einem Experiencer-Objekt führt nicht zur Bildung eines emotionsausdrückenden Idioms. Diese Lücke kann mit Bezug auf Nunberg e.a. (1994, 527) erklärt werden, die davon ausgehen, dass bei idiomatischen Nominalphrasen eine Tendenz besteht, wörtliche Bedeutungen mit dem Merkmal [+lemblos] zu haben. Da Experiencer-Argumente ein semantisches Merkmal [+menschlich] und eine wörtliche Bedeutung haben, können sie nicht mit transitiven Verben auftreten, um Idiome mit figurativen Bedeutungen zu bilden.

Eine besondere Gruppe stellen **Experiencer-Objekt-Idiome mit festgelegtem Subjekt** dar. Sie sind in beiden Sprachen um zwei- oder dreiwertige intransitive Verben herum gebildet. Die Subjekt-Nominalphrase trägt die thematische Rolle THEMA / PATIENS und das Experiencer-Argument tritt im Dativ auf:

<Thema / Patiens, Experiencer>

20) [D] *jm. ist die Petersilie verhagelt; jm. geht der Hut hoch; jm. platzt der Kragen; jm. gehen die Pferde durch; jm. hängt der Himmel voller Geigen*

[R] *a i se îneca cuiva corăbiile*

(wörtl.) *sich.Refl. versinken jm. die Schiffe (= übler Laune sein); (äqu.) jm. ist die Petersilie verhagelt*

a-i sări cuiva muștarul

(wörtl.) *springt jm. der Senf (= wütend sein)*

<Thema / Patiens, Experiencer, Location>

21) [D] *bei jm. ist Feuer unterm Dach*

[R] *a nu-i fi cuiva toți boii acasă*

(wörtl.) *nicht sind jm. alle Ochsen zu Hause (= jd. ist schlecht gelaunt)*

Das fixierte Subjekt wird oft von einem Nomen mit dem semantischen Merkmal [+Sache] oder, seltener, [-menschlich] realisiert.

3. Emotionsausdrückende Teilidiome mit einem [+Körperteil]-Nomen

In beiden Sprachen gibt es eine beachtliche Anzahl von Verbidiomen, bei denen eine Komponente einen Teil des menschlichen Körpers bezeichnet, der in der

Regel mit bestimmten emotionalen Zuständen assoziiert wird und der von positiven oder negativen Emotionen tatsächlich betroffen ist oder zumindest erscheint.

3.1. Dem Nomen mit dem semantischen Merkmal [+Teil des menschlichen Körpers] wird die thematische Rolle LOCATION, PATIENS oder ZIEL zugewiesen, wie in den folgenden Beispielen veranschaulicht wird:

LOCATION

Experiencer-Subjekt:

<Experiencer, Patiens / Bezugspunkt, Location>

- 22) [D] *jn. ins **Herz** schließen; jn. im **Herzen** tragen*

[R] *a avea pe cineva în / la **inimă***

(wörtl.) *haben jn. im / beim **Herzen**; (äqu.) jn. im Herzen tragen*

<Experiencer, Thema, Location>

- 23) [D] *Schaum vor dem **Mund** haben; Schmetterlinge im **Bauch** haben*

[R] *a avea fluturi în **stomac***

(wörtl.) *haben Schmetterlinge im **Bauch**; (äqu.) Schmetterlinge im Bauch haben*

*a avea un cui la **inimă** / în **coastă***

(wörtl.) *haben einen Nagel im **Herzen** / in der **Rippe***

*a face spume la **gură***

(wörtl.) *machen Schaum vor **Mund**; (äqu.) Schaum vor dem Mund haben*

Die Emotionsidiome *jn. im Herzen tragen* und *Schaum vor dem Mund haben* haben semantische und syntaktische Äquivalente im Rumänischen, die aber lexikalisch unterschiedliche Verben enthalten. Die Äquivalenz des Idioms *Schmetterlinge im Bauch haben* mit seiner rumänischen Entsprechung ist vollständig.

Experiencer-Objekt:

<Thema, Experiencer, Location>

- 24) [D] *jm. ans **Herz** gewachsen sein; jm. schwarz vor den **Augen** werden*

[R] *a i se face cuiva negru / roșu înaintea **ochilor***

(wörtl.) *wird sich.Dat. jm. schwarz / rot vor den **Augen** (= sich ärgern)*

- 25) [R] *a-l roade pe cineva ceva la **ficați***

(wörtl.) *frisst jn. etwas an der **Leber** (= etw. frisst jm. an der Leber)*

*a-l seca pe cineva la **ficați** / la **inimă***

(wörtl.) *erschöpft jn. an der **Leber** / an dem **Herzen***

*a arde / frige / încinge / seca pe cineva la **inimă***

(wörtl.) *brennt / brät / erhitzt / erschöpft jn. zu **Herzen** (= jm. das Herz schwer machen)*

*a unge pe cineva la **inimă***

(wörtl.) *schmieren jn. ans **Herz** (= etw. ist Balsam für jmds. Herz)*

In beiden Sprachen werden solche emotionsausdrückenden Redewendungen rund um dreiwertige transitive Verben mit dem Experiencer im Dativ wie in (24) oder im Akkusativ wie in (25) gebildet.

Die Redewendungen *jm. schwarz vor den Augen werden* und *a i se face cuiva negru înaintea ochilor* sind semantische und lexikalische Äquivalente. Syntaktisch aber sind sie unterschiedlich, mit einem intransitiven Verb im Deutschen und einem reflexiven Verb mit einem obligatorischen Dativklitikum im Rumänischen als Basis.

PATIENS

Experiencer-Subjekt:

<Experiencer, Patiens>

- 26) [D] kalte **Füße** bekommen / kriegen; weiche **Knie** haben; Gift und **Galle** spucken;
sich **die Haare** raufen; die **Ohren** hängen lassen

[R] *a-și face inimă rea*

(wörtl.) sich.Dat. machen böses **Herz** (= sich das Herz schwer machen)

Experiencer-Objekt:

<Agens, Experiencer, Patiens>

- 27) [D] *jm. das Herz schwer machen*; *jm. das Herz brechen / zerreißen / abschnüren*

[R] *a-i frânge; rupe cuiva inimă*

(wörtl.) brechen *jm. das Herz* (= jmds. Herz brechen)

a-i face cuiva sânge rău; inimă rea

(wörtl.) machen *jm. böses Blut / Herz* (= *jm. das Herz schwer machen*)

Diese emotionsausdrückenden Idiome enthalten transitive Verben, die in (26) zweiwertig und in (27) dreiwertig sind. Man merkt, dass die deutsche Redewendung *jm. das Herz brechen* mit dem Äquivalent im Rumänischen völlig übereinstimmt.

ZIEL

Experiencer-Subjekt:

<Experiencer, Thema, Ziel>

- 28) [D] *sich (Dat.) etwas zu Herzen nehmen*

[R] *a pune ceva la inimă*

(wörtl.) legen etwas zum **Herzen** (= sich etwas zu Herzen nehmen)

Experiencer-Objekt:

<Thema, Experiencer, Ziel>

- 29) [D] *etw. fährt / steigt jmdm. in die Nase*; *etw. geht jmdm. an die Nieren*

[R] *a-i cădea cineva cuiva drag / cu tronc la inimă*

(wörtl.) fällt jd. *jm. lieb zum Herzen* (= sein Herz an jn. verlieren)

a-i merge cuiva ceva drept la inimă

(wörtl.) geht *jm. etwas gerade zu Herzen* (= etwas geht *jm. zu Herzen*)

<Agens, Experiencer, Thema, Ziel>

30) [D] *jm. einen Stich ins Herz geben / versetzen*

[R] *a-i pune cuiva venin la inimă*

(wörtl.) legen *jm. Gift zum Herzen* (= *jm. zu Tode ärgern*)

a-i trece cuiva un fier ars prin inimă

(wörtl.) dringt *jm. ein gebranntes Eisen durchs Herz*; (äqu.) *jm. einen Stich ins Herz geben/versetzen*

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass die emotionsausdrückenden Verbidrome in beiden Sprachen häufig die Nomen für ‘Herz’ und ‘Blut’ als eine ihrer NP-Komponenten beinhalten. Ein Aspekt der Divergenz liegt in den weniger häufig vorkommenden Nomen, die sprachspezifisch sind, z.B. *Augen*, *Leber*, *Galle*, *Nieren*, *Füße*, *Ohren* in den deutschen Redewendungen und *ochi* ‘Augen’, *ficați* ‘Leber’, *rărunchii* ‘Nieren’ in den rumänischen Redewendungen.

3.2. Eine gesonderte Gruppe von Experiencer-Objekt-Idiomen besteht aus einer Vielzahl von Teilidiomen mit festgelegtem Subjekt, das von einem Nomen mit dem semantischen Merkmal [+konkret] repräsentiert wird. Das [+Körperteil]-Nomen erscheint in einer Präpositionalphrase mit einer Lokativbedeutung und trägt die thematische Rolle ZIEL, seltener auch QUELLE:

Experiencer-Objekt:

<Thema, Experiencer, Ziel>

31) [R] *a-i intra cuiva un cui la inimă*

(wörtl.) dringt *jm. ein Nagel ins Herz* (= ängstlich werden)

a-i veni cuiva muștarul la nas

(wörtl.) kommt *jm. der Senf zur Nase* (= zornig werden)

a-i trece cuiva un șarpe rece prin sân / inima

(wörtl.) kriecht *jm. eine kühle Schlange durch die Brust / durch das Herz* (= der Schrecken fährt *jm. in die Glieder*)

32) [R] *a i se pune cuiva un ghimpe la inimă*

(wörtl.) dringt sich.Refl. *jm. ein Dorn ins Herz* (= einen geheimen Kummer haben); (äqu.) (veraltet) *einen Pfahl im Fleische haben*

a i se ridică cuiva o piatră de pe inimă

(wörtl.) fällt sich.Refl. *jm. ein Stein vom Herzen* (= *jm. fällt ein Stein vom Herzen*)

a i se sui cuiva piperul la nas

(wörtl.) steigt sich.Refl. *jm. der Pfeffer in die Nase* (= sich ärgern)

In allen diesen rumänischen Redewendungen ist die Anwesenheit des klitischen Pronomens im Dativ, als Verdoppelung des indirekten Experiencer-Objekts, obligatorisch. In den Beispielen (32) treten dreiwertige Verben mit einem Reflexivpronomen und einem obligatorischen Dativklitikum auf.

In den folgenden Redewendungen erscheint ein Nomen mit dem semantischen Merkmal [+ Teil des menschlichen Körpers] als festgelegtes Subjekt:

Experiencer-Objekt:

<Thema, Experiencer, Ziel>

33) [D] *jm. rutscht / fällt das **Herz** in die Hose; jm. treibt es die **Galle** ins Blut; jm. dreht sich das **Herz** im Leibe um*

[R] *a-i cădea cuiva **inima** în pantaloni*

(wörtl.) fällt *jm. das **Herz** in die Hose; (äqu.) jmdm. rutscht das Herz in die Hose*

*a-i sfârâi cuiva **călcâiele** după cineva*

(wörtl.) laufen *jm. die **Fersen** nach jm.; (äqu.) in jn. bis über beide Ohren verliebt sein*

<Thema, Experiencer>

34) [D] *jm. läuft die **Galle** über / jm. kommt die **Galle** hoch; bei jm. regt sich die **Galle**; jm. sträuben sich die **Haare***

[R] *a-i îngheța cuiva **ficații***

(wörtl.) gefriert *jm. die **Leber** (= der Schrecken fährt jm. in die Knochen)*

*a i se înmuia cuiva **picioarele***

(wörtl.) erweichen sich.Refl. *jm. die **Füße**; (äqu.) weiche Knie haben*

*a i se rupe cuiva **bänderile inimii***

(wörtl.) zerreißen sich.Refl. *jm. die Bänder des **Herzens** (= jm. das Herz brechen)*

<Experiencer, Thema, Weg>

35) [D] *jm. ist eine Laus über die **Leber** gelaufen / gekrochen; jm. läuft es eiskalt / heiß und kalt über den **Rücken***

3.3. Es gibt auch eine ganze Reihe von teildiomatischen Konstruktionen mit dem Nomen *Blut* in der Subjekt-Position, einem [+Teil des menschlichen Körpers]-Nomen als LOCATION und einem zusätzlichen Emotionsnomen mit der thematischen Rolle URSACHE:

Experiencer-Objekt:

36) [D] *jm. steigt / schießt das **Blut** in die Wangen / ins Gesicht / in den Kopf / zu Kopf vor **Zorn***

*jm. kocht das **Blut** in den Adern vor **Wut***

*jm. stockt / erstarrt / gerinnt / gefriert das **Blut** in den Adern vor **Schreck***

[R] *a i se urca / a-i năvăli / a i se sui / a-i da cuiva **sângele** în obraz / față / cap de **furie***

(wörtl.) steigt / schießt / fließt *jm. das **Blut** in die Backe / ins Gesicht / in den/zum Kopf vor **Wut** (= wütend werden)*

*a-i fierbe cuiva **sângele** în vene de **furie***

(wörtl.) kocht *jm. das **Blut** in Adern vor **Wut** (= jm. kocht das Blut in den Adern vor Wut)*

*a-i îngheța cuiva **sângele** în vene de **groază***

(wörtl.) gefriert *jm. das **Blut** in Adern vor **Schreck** (= jm. gefriert das Blut in den Adern vor Schreck)*

bzw. die Gemütsverfassung des Experiencers hin. Im Rumänischen zeigt die Präpositionalphrase mit *de* die Ursache der emotionalen Zustandsänderung des dativpossessiven Experiencers an.

4. Schlussfolgerung

Der Schwerpunkt dieses Beitrags lag auf verbalen emotionsausdrückenden Redewendungen, deren wesentliches semantisches Merkmal es ist, dass sie die Anwesenheit eines Experiencers in ihrem thematischen Raster voraussetzen. Die Erforschung der thematischen Rolle der einzelnen lexikalischen Komponenten der emotionsausdrückenden Redewendungen hat es erlaubt, eine syntaktisch motivierte Einteilung dieser Verbidiome vorzuschlagen, die auf der Position des Experiencer-Arguments beruht.

Die parallele Analyse der thematischen Raster von Emotionsidiomen im Deutschen und Rumänischen hat auch das Fehlen von Experiencer-Objekt-Idiomen mit zweiwertigen transitiven Verben in beiden Sprachen aufgedeckt. Diese Lücke lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass Verbidiome eine interne Komponente mit einer figurativen Bedeutung benötigen.

Außerdem hat die Untersuchung von Teilidiomen mit einem Nomen mit dem semantischen Merkmal [+Körperteil] gezeigt, dass der Experiencer in beiden Sprachen als Location, Ziel oder Patiens auftreten kann. In solchen teilidiomatischen Konstruktionen kann auch ein fakultatives Emotionsnomen auftreten, das die Ursache der emotionalen Zustandsänderung des Experiencers anzeigt.

Was weiterführende Anwendungsbereiche von kontrastiven Untersuchungen im Bereich der emotionsausdrückenden Verbalidiome betrifft, sei abschließend darauf hingewiesen, dass sich als Rahmen dafür u.a. die Übersetzungspraxis und die Sprachdidaktik anbieten würden, wobei in diesem Fall auch varietätenlinguistische Unterschiede sowie die Frage der Aktualität der Idiome zum heutigen Sprachstand mit einbezogen werden könnten.

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Prof. Dr. Camelia Bejan
Facultatea de Litere
Universitatea Ovidius Constanța
Bd. Mamaia, 124.
900527, Constanța, Rumänien
E-Mail: cameliabejan@yahoo.com

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Herausgegeben von Cornelia Peyrer, Peter Holzer und Eva Lavric

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Infinitivnominalisierungen von psychischen Verben im Deutschen und Rumänischen

Die Untersuchungen von Infinitivnominalisierungen befassen sich überwiegend mit nomina actionis, d.h. mit Infinitivnomina von Handlungsverben (Abraham 1989, Ehrich 1991, Rathert 2007, für Deutsch, und Cornilescu 2001, Stan 2003, für Rumänisch). Wenig Aufmerksamkeit wurde den Infinitivnominalisierungen der Verben geschenkt, die psychische oder emotionale Zustände ausdrücken. Diese bilden eine Klasse von Nominalstrukturen mit deutlich bemerkenswerten Eigenschaften.

Dieser Beitrag schlägt eine vergleichende Studie von Psych-Infinitivnominalen auf Deutsch und Rumänisch, beruhend auf den Klassen von Psych-Verben und auf den theoretischen Annahmen über die funktionale Struktur der DP, vor. Wir erforschen die Wortstellung in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen, um zu zeigen, dass sie argumentnehmende Nomina sind. Das Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, eine Typologie von Psych-Nomina in den zwei Sprachen in Korrelation zu ihrer verbalen Basis zu skizzieren.

Der Beitrag wird wie folgt organisiert: Zuerst geben wir eine Übersicht der Forschung über Infinitivnominalisierungen im Deutschen und Rumänischen, dann betrachten wir die Wortstellung bei den Infinitivnominalisierungen der Psych-Verben in beiden Sprachen.

Les recherches portant sur les nominalisations à base infinitivale (les nominalisations infinitivales) traitent normalement des nominalisations des verbes d'action (Abraham 1989, Ehrich 1991, Rathert 2007 pour l'allemand, et Cornilescu 2001, Stan 2003 pour le roumain).

Les nominalisations provenant de l'infinitif des verbes, qui expriment des états psychiques, ou des émotions, ont fait l'objet de peu de recherche jusqu'à présent. Elles forment une classe des structures nominales avec des propriétés spécifiques.

Cet article propose une étude comparative des nominales en allemand et en roumain à partir des classes de verbes psychologiques et de la structure fonctionnelle du groupe nominal. Nous observons de plus près la position des constituants dans les nominalisations infinitivales psychologiques pour démontrer qu'elles sont des nominales avec des arguments. Le but est de proposer une typologie des nominales psychologiques dans les deux langues, en corrélation avec les verbes psychologiques sur lesquels ils reposent.

Cette contribution est structurée comme suit: nous donnerons d'abord une vue d'ensemble des recherches concernant les nominalisations en allemand et en roumain, pour observer ensuite l'ordre des mots dans les nominalisations des verbes psychologiques dans les deux langues.

1. Theoretische Überlegungen

Sprachübergreifend sind nominalisierte Infinitive gemischte Kategorien, die sowohl nominale als auch verbale Eigenschaften zeigen (vgl. Picallo 1991 für Katalanisch, Lindauer 1998 für Deutsch, Cornilescu 2001 für Rumänisch, Schoorlemmer 2001 für Niederländisch, unter anderen).

1.1. Deutsche Untersuchungen

Im Deutschen scheinen sich Infinitivnomina in zwei Typen aufzugliedern. Der eine gleicht den Ereignisnominalisierungen, der andere scheint den englischen Gerundien ähnlich zu sein, die ein Akkusativobjekt erlauben. Alexiadou (2001, 160) bemerkt, dass beide Typen von nominalisierten Infinitiven durch Determinator eingeführt werden:

- 1) a. *Peter belästigt die Frau ständig.*
das ständige Belästigen der Frau durch Peter
Peters Belästigen der Frau
- b. *Peter schreckt kleine Kinder oft ab.*
das oft kleine Kinder Abschrecken

Der erste Typ des nominalisierten Infinitivs, illustriert in (1a), kann durch Adjektive modifiziert werden. Das Subjekt kann in der Argumentstruktur des nominalisierten Infinitivs entweder als eine postnominale *durch*-Phrase oder als eine pränominalen Genitivphrase ausgedrückt werden.

Der zweite Typ von nominalisierten Infinitiven (in 1b), obwohl selten, schließt sowohl ein Adverb als auch ein Akkusativobjekt in der Vormodifizierung ein. Außerdem können Argument-Präpositionalphrasen vorangehen oder dem Kopf folgen, und die Nominalisierung kann komplizierte verbale Strukturen enthalten. Es sollte bemerkt werden, dass Adverbien innerhalb des ersten Typs von infinitivalen Nomina nicht akzeptabel sind:

- 2) **das oft Belästigen der Frau durch Peter*

Es gibt auch einen semantischen Unterschied zwischen beiden Typen. Der erste Typ bezieht sich auf spezifische Ereignisse, während der zweite Typ auf allgemeine Ereignisse abzielt.

In diesem Beitrag untersuchen wir nur Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen des ersten Typs, die Eigenschaften ähnlich derjenigen der Ereignisnominalisierungen aufweisen.

Die nominalisierten Infinitive können die Argumente des Basisverbs übernehmen, die für die unmarkierten Kasus Nominativ und Akkusativ spezifiziert sind, so wie Argumente, für die das Basisverb eine bestimmte

Präposition fordert. Die vererbten Argumente des Basisverbs können pränominal oder postnominal realisiert werden:

3)		<i>Maria/die Chefin diktiert Briefe.</i>	
		S V O	
4)	a)	<i>Marias Diktieren der Briefe</i>	SNO
		<i>ihr Diktieren der Briefe</i>	
	b)	<i>das Diktieren der Chefin</i>	NS
	c)	<i>das Diktieren der Briefe durch Maria</i>	NOdurchS

Pränominal ist die Realisierungsform als Nominalphrase in (4a), die inhärent als Possessor markiert ist, und wenn sie ein Pronomen ist, mit dem Kopf-Nomen kongruiert. Die postnominale Realisierungsform ist eine Nominalphrase wie in (4b), die aufgrund ihrer strukturellen Position im Genitiv steht.

Argumente, die für das Basisverb einen markierten Kasus, also Dativ oder Genitiv fordern, können nicht an die nominalisierten Infinitive weitergegeben werden:

- 5) *Maria diktiert dem Mädchen Briefe.*
**das Diktieren dem Mädchen*

Im Hinblick auf die Frage, welche Argumente in den verfügbaren strukturellen Positionen realisiert werden, ist bei Infinitivnominalisierungen im Vergleich zu den Verben grosse Variabilität zu konstatieren. So kann das Nominativ-Argument eines transitiven Basisverbs als pränominaler Possessor in (4a), als Genitiv-Attribut in (4b) oder als *durch*-Präpositionalphrase in (4c) realisiert werden.

1.2. Rumänische Untersuchungen

Auf Rumänisch wird der nominalisierte Infinitiv durch Affigierung des Suffixes *-re* zur Grundform des Verbs gebildet: V. *a dicta* 'diktieren', N. *dictaRE* 'Diktieren'.

Es ist wichtig, darauf hinzuweisen, dass rumänische Nomina, nominalisierte Infinitive einschlossen, im Unterschied zu den Nomina in den anderen romanischen Sprachen, immer höchstens eine nominale Genitivphrase enthalten kann, so dass nur das Argument, das für eine besondere Interpretation obligatorisch ist, lexikalisiert sein wird:

- 6) *Maria dictează scrisori.*
Maria diktiert Briefe.
S V O

7)	<i>dictarea Mariei</i>	NS
	<i>Diktieren-das Maria.Gen</i>	
	<i>dictarea scrisorilor</i>	NO
	<i>Diktieren-das Briefe.Gen</i>	
	<i>dictarea scrisorilor de către Maria</i>	NOdurchS
	<i>Diktieren-das Briefe.Gen durch Maria</i>	
	<i>*dictarea Mariei scrisorilor</i>	*NSO
	<i>Diktieren-das Maria.Gen Briefe.Gen</i>	

Da nur ein Argument in transitiven Infinitivnominalisierungen overt ausgedrückt werden kann, wird entweder das Objekt oder das Subjekt lexikalisiert sein. Wenn das Objekt in der Genitivphrase realisiert wird, dann kann das Subjekt nur als eine *de către*-Präpositionalphrase ('von/durch-Phrase') erscheinen.

Cornilescu (2001) untersucht die syntaktischen Eigenschaften der Infinitivnomina im Rumänischen und korreliert die Strukturen Nomen+Objekt und Nomen+Subjekt mit dem Kontrast zwischen der Ereignis- und der Ergebnislesart im Sinne von Grimshaw (1990).

Diese Annahmen über die Struktur der deutschen nomina actionis bilden die Basis, um die syntaktische Distribution von Subjekten und Objekten in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen zu erklären. Die nominalen Muster, die für die Handlungsnominalisierungen typisch sind, können auch im Psych-Bereich erscheinen.

Die Untersuchung der Argumentstruktur der Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen im Deutschen und Rumänischen konzentriert sich auf die relative Reihenfolge des Nomens, des Subjekts und Objekts des Basisverbs. Die Nomina sind mit der Art der Psych-Prädikate korreliert: Emotionsverben, agentisch oder nicht-agentisch verwendete Verben mit Experiencer-Objekt, und adjektivische Prädikaten.

2. Die Klassen von Psych-Verben im Deutschen und Rumänischen

Semantisch sind alle Klassen von Psych-Verben ähnlich, sie schließen die Anwesenheit eines Experiencer-Arguments ein, ihr syntaktisches Verhalten ist jedoch verschieden (vgl. Belletti / Rizzi 1988). Psych-Verben machen immer eine Experiencer-Rolle verfügbar, die jedoch entweder dem Subjekt oder dem Objekt-Argument zugeteilt wird. Es gibt also drei Klassen von Psych-Verben.

Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben benehmen sich wie gewöhnliche transitive Verben in beiden Sprachen, wie veranschaulicht in (8a), und reflexive Präpositionalverben mit einem Experiencer in der Subjekt-Position, wie in (8b):

8)

	Deutsch	Rumänisch	
a.	<i>Maria liebt das Kind.</i> EXP. THEMA	<i>Maria iubește copilul.</i> EXP. THEMA	transitiv
b.	<i>Maria ärgert sich über das Kind.</i> EXP. THEMA	<i>Maria se supără pe copil.</i> EXP. THEMA	reflexiv

Experiencer-Objekt-Verben haben ein spezifisches syntaktisches Verhalten. Ihre allgemeine Eigenschaft ist, dass der Experiencer im Akkusativ vorkommt. Wie erwartet, können diese Verben in beiden Sprachen agentisch oder nicht-agentisch verwendet werden:

9)

	Deutsch	Rumänisch	
a.	<i>Der Clown verärgert das Mädchen.</i> AGENS EXP.Akk	<i>Clovnul o supără pe fată.</i> AGENS EXP.Akk.	agentisch
b.	<i>Das Projekt verärgert das Mädchen.</i> CAUSE EXP.Akk	<i>Proiectul o supără pe fată.</i> VERURSACHER EXP.Akk	nicht-agentisch

Es gibt noch eine dritte Klasse von Psych-Verben, deren Experiencer im Dativ vorkommt:

10)

Deutsch	Rumänisch	
<i>Die Kinder gefallen dem Mädchen.</i> THEME.Nom EXP.Dat	<i>Copiii îi plac fetei.</i> THEME.Nom EXP.Dat	unakkusativ

Diese Verben haben syntaktische Merkmale, die schließlich von den idiosynkratischen lexikalischen Eigenschaften abgeleitet werden.

3. Wortstellung in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen

Die für die Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen typischen Wortstellungsmuster in beiden Sprachen werden in Bezug auf die Klassen von Psych-Verben untersucht.

3.1. Wortstellung in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen im Deutschen

In der Tabelle unten werden alle Wortstellungsmuster in den Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen im Deutschen in Korrelation zu ihren Basisverben illustriert (vgl. Bejan 2007):

11)

	Argument- struktur	Infinitivnominalisierung	Basisverb
1.	SNO	<i>Peters Belästigen der Frau</i>	agentisches Verb mit Experiencer-Objekt <i>Peter belästigt die Frau.</i>
2.	NO durch S	<i>das Belästigen der Frau durch Peter</i>	
3.	NO	<i>das Belästigen der Frau</i>	
4.	*NS	<i>*das Belästigen Peters</i>	
5.	*NO durch S	<i>*das Erstaunen der Eltern durch ihr Verhalten</i>	nicht-agentisches Verb mit Experiencer-Objekt <i>Ihr Verhalten erstaunt die Eltern.</i>
6.	NO	<i>das Erstaunen der Eltern</i>	
7.	NO	<i>das Beneiden des Nachbarn</i>	transitives Verb mit Experiencer-Subjekt <i>Peter beneidet den Nachbarn</i>
8.	*NO durch S	<i>*das Beneiden des Nachbarn durch Peter</i>	
9.	SN PO	<i>Marias Staunen über das Gemälde</i>	intransitives Verb mit Experiencer-Subjekt <i>Maria staunt über das Gemälde.</i>
10.	NS PO	<i>das Staunen Marias über das Gemälde</i>	
11.	SN PO	<i>Marias Sich-Verwundern über ihren Mut</i>	Reflexivverb mit Experiencer-Subjekt <i>Maria wundert sich über ihren Mut.</i>
12.	NS PO	<i>das Erstaunen der Eltern über ihr Verhalten</i>	
			adjektivisches Prädikat mit Experiencer-Subjekt <i>Die Eltern sind über ihr Verhalten erstaunt.</i>

Tabelle 1: Wortstellung in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen im Deutschen

Die in dieser Tabelle vorgestellten Wortstellungsmuster führen uns zu dem Schluss, dass die Ungleichheit der nominalen Konfigurationen der Vielfalt der Verbklassen entspricht. Eine erste Beobachtung besteht darin, dass es eine klare Unterscheidung zwischen Infinitivnominalisierungen der Experiencer-Objekt-Verben und der Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben gibt.

3.1.1. Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen der Experiencer-Objekt Verben

Die Nomina, die dieser Gruppe angehören, ändern sich in ihren argumentnehmenden Fähigkeiten wegen der Eigenschaften ihrer Basisverben, die den strukturellen oder lexikalischen Fall regeln können.

Die nominalisierten Infinitive von Nominativ/Akkusativ-Verben wie: (*das*) *Abschrecken*, *Erschrecken*, *Aufmuntern*, *Ermutigen*, *Belästigen*, *Ärgern*, *Beunruhigen* verhalten sich unterschiedlich, wenn ihr Basisverb agentisch oder nicht-agentisch gebraucht wird. Wenn das Basisverb agentisch ist, erscheinen das Subjekt- und das Objekt-Argument in einer Genitivphrase-Position (wie in 11.1.: *Peters Belästigen der Frau*). Die NO Struktur wird in den folgenden Beispielen veranschaulicht:

- 12) *Dabei geht es [...] nicht um das Abschrecken der Downloader.*
(Quelle: <http://www.pcgameshardware.de>)

Das Aufmuntern ängstlicher Leute. Endlich kam ich an.
(Quelle: www.orschulen.ch)

Im Gegensatz dazu können Nominalisierungen von dem nicht-agentischen Gebrauch der Experiencer-Objekt-Verben (11.5: **das Erstaunen der Eltern durch ihr Verhalten*) nicht abgeleitet werden. Da das Subjekt von nicht-agentischen Experiencer-Objekt-Verben die thematische Rolle Thema oder Verursacher trägt, werden alle Konstruktionen mit einem Subjekt in einer Genitivphrase blockiert. In diesen Konstruktionen kann das Objekt in einer Genitivphrase nie erscheinen.

Eigentlich sind die NO-Strukturen (11.6: *das Erstaunen der Eltern*) auf die adjektivischen Prädikate (11.12.: *Die Eltern sind über ihr Verhalten erstaunt*) zurückführbar. Ein Beweis dafür ist, dass Infinitivnominalisierungen oft die Anwesenheit eines pronominalen Adverbs (*darüber*, *davor*, *darauf*, usw.) erlauben. Diese Pro-Form, die das satzwertige Argument voraussetzt, zeigt an, dass die Basis der Ableitung für diese Nomina ein adjektivisches Prädikat mit einer idiosynkratischen Präposition ist, wie im folgenden Beispiel:

- 13) *Das Erstaunen darüber, dass er die Wahrheit zu spät erfahren hat, ...*
Er ist darüber erstaunt, dass er die Wahrheit zu spät erfahren hat.

Es ist interessant zu bemerken, dass das adjektivische Psych-Prädikat selbst (z.B. *enttäuscht sein*, *erstaunt sein*, usw.) ein Psych-Nomina (*das Enttäuschtsein*, *das Erstauntsein*, *das Überraschtsein*, *Gelangweiltsein*, usw.) bilden kann. Was wirklich nominalisiert ist, ist der Infinitiv der Kopula *sein*, der zum Partizip Perfekt des Experiencer-Objekt-Verbs hinzugefügt wird, um einen nominalisierten Infinitiv zu bilden, der einen emotionalen Zustand ausdrückt.

Diese Psych-Nomina verhalten sich regelmäßig in Bezug auf die Argumentstruktur:

- 14) *Marias Enttäuschtsein von ihrer Schwester*
EXP. AGENS
Marias Erstauntsein über ihre Schwester
EXP. ZIEL

Sie kommen mit einem Subjekt in einer pränominalen Genitivphrase und mit einem postnominalen Präpositionalobjekt vor, welches entweder eine *von*-Phrase ist, um den Agens auszudrücken, oder eine idiosynkratische Präposition hat, um das Ziel des Gefühls herbeizuführen.

Es gibt wenige Psych-Infinitivnominalen, die auf Nominativ/Dativ-Verben zurückführbar sind: *Behagen, Gefallen, Missfallen*.

- 15) *Die neueste Mode gefällt (missfällt) Maria.*
Marias Gefallen (Missfallen) an der Mode

Da das Subjekt nicht-agentisch ist, werden alle Strukturen mit einer Genitivphrase oder mit einer Adjunkt-*von/durch*-Phrase blockiert. Das Subjekt der Satzstruktur erscheint als ein präpositionales Objekt in der nominalen Struktur, das durch eine idiosynkratische Präposition (*an, über*) eingeführt wird:

- 16) *Sein Gefallen an Abenteuer reicht lange zurück.*

(Quelle:home.arcor.de)

*Der Finanzminister habe **sein Missfallen über die Entscheidung** bereits zum Ausdruck gebracht, erklärte Müntefering.*

(Quelle: Frankfurter Rundschau vom 09.12.2005)

*Sie zeige **das Missfallen vieler Abgeordneter über das Verhalten** Frankreichs.*

(Quelle: Netzeitung vom 13.03.2003)

Die Frage, die aus der Analyse der Wortstellung in diesen Strukturen entsteht, ist, warum der Experiencer in solchen Strukturen blockiert wird. Die Antwort gibt Lindauer (1998:134), der behauptet, dass verbale Dativ- und Genitiv-Objekte nie als postnominale Genitivphrasen erscheinen (weil Dativ und Genitiv nicht strukturelle sondern lexikalische Kasus sind), deshalb werden die regelmäßigen Strukturen von Nominalisierungen mit diesen Nomina verriegelt.

Die Schlussfolgerung bezüglich der Struktur von Infinitivnominalisierungen der Experiencer-Objekt-Verben im Deutschen kann wie folgt formuliert werden: Nominativ/Akkusativ-Psych-Verben bilden Nominalisierungen, die genau so wie transitive Handlungsnominalisierungen strukturiert werden.

Nominalisierungen der Experiencer-Objekt Verben, die ein Dativobjekt auswählen, sind sehr selten.

3.1.2. Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen der Experiencer-Subjekt Verben

Die Eigenschaften von Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen der Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben werden in Bezug auf die einzelnen Gruppen von Verben besprochen.

Die nominalisierten Infinitive der transitiven Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben, wie: *Befürchten*, *Beneiden*, *Bewundern*, *Genießen*, *Hassen*, *Lieben*, *Neiden*, *Verabscheuen*, usw., können ein Thema-Objekt in einer postnominalen Genitivphrase nehmen, (wie im Beispiel 11.7.: *das Beneiden des Nachbarn*, aber oft erscheinen sie als argumentlose Nomina:

- 17) **Das Neiden und Beneidetwerden für die Betroffenen...**
(Geiger, Helvi (2008) *Neid-Normalität oder abweichendes Verhalten*, GRIN Verlag)

*Aber Wohlwollen ist auch nicht **Lieben**. Denn es tritt ohne die seelische Spannung und die sinnliche Begierde auf, die **das Lieben** begleitet.*

(Quelle: <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/2361/118>)

Die nominalisierten Infinitive der Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben mit einer idiosynkratischen Präposition sind: *Fürchten vor*, *Jammern über/um/wegen*, *Jubeln über*, *Staunen über*, *Trauern um/über*, *Zurückschrecken vor*, usw. Sie erlauben dem Experiencer in einer prä- oder postnominalen Genitivphrase zu erscheinen, während das Thema des Gefühls in einer postnominalen Präpositionalphrase vorkommt, deren Präposition von dem Basisverb geerbt wird, (wie in 11.9.: *Marias Staunen über das Gemälde* und 11.10.: *das Staunen Marias über das Gemälde*). Dieselbe Bemerkung gilt auch für Infinitivnominale der Psych-Reflexivverben, die in Beispiel (11.11.: *Marias Sich-Verwundern über ihren Mut*) veranschaulicht werden.

Eine Internetsuche ergibt die folgenden Beispiele mit dem Nominal *Staunen* in der Struktur: SN PO in (18a), N PO in (18b) und NS in (18c):

- 18) a. **Andreas Bisowski zeigt das Staunen des so viel Jüngeren über dieses zauberische Wesen...**

(Quelle: *Tagesspiegel* vom 13.02.2005)

- b. **Das Staunen über diesen Mann lässt nicht nach.**

(Quelle: *Berliner Zeitung* vom 27.01.2004)

- c. **Eine brennende Räucherkerze zieht das Staunen der drei Männer auf sich.**

(Quelle: *Welt* 1999)

Die mit einem reflexiven Experiencer-Subjekt-Verb verbundenen Nomina werden von inhärenten Reflexivverben (*das Sich-Schämen für/wegen, das Sich-Scheuen vor, das Sich-Sehnen nach, das Sich-Verlieben in, das Sich-Zurücksehnen nach*) oder von lexikalischen Reflexivverben mit einer idiosynkratischen Präposition (*das (Sich-) Verwundern über, das (Sich-) Erzürnen über, das (Sich-) Entsetzen über*) abgeleitet. Diese nominalisierten Infinitive vererben die Eigenschaften ihrer Basisverben, d.h. die Anapher *sich*, als Hinweis von Reflexivität, und die idiosynkratische Präposition:

- 19) Marias **Sich-Verwundern** über ihren Mut
 Marias permanentes **Sich-Sehnen** nach dem Meer

Die Nominale von den inhärenten Reflexivverben sind aber sehr selten und meist erscheinen sie ohne die Anapher in der Struktur NS:

- 20) Das **Sehnen der meisten Menschen** gehe zu Zärtlichkeit und Liebe
 hin und da sei es auch gut aufgehoben.
 (Quelle: frankenpost.de vom 28.09.2005)

Das Pathos dieser Gedichte speist sich aus der Vergeblichkeit eines Lebens, aus dem vagen **Sehnen einer jungen Frau**, die früh schon bar jeder Hoffnung ist.
 (Quelle: berlinonline.de vom 07.02.2006)

Die Psych-Nominale von den lexikalischen Reflexivverben erscheinen als alleinstehende Nominale, d.h. ohne Argumente:

- 21) Ein kurzer Blick dann und wann zu den Bläserkollegen, **ein Sich-Aufmuntern**, ein Antreiben, ein Davonrennen
 (Quelle: <http://www.ensemble-chroma.ch>)

Die Psych-Infinitivnomina zeigen eine große Vielfalt von nominalen Konfigurationen, die vom Gesichtspunkt der Wortstellung verschieden sind. Im Gegensatz zu den Handlungsnominalisierungen, die die Eigenschaften ihrer transitiven Basisverben vererben, haben die Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen ein „unregelmäßiges“ Verhalten, und zwar deshalb, weil ihre Basis nicht-homogen ist, d.h. einige Gruppen von Psych-Verben transitiv sind, aber entweder agentisch oder nicht-agentisch gebraucht, während andere intransitiv sind.

3.2. Wortstellung in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen im Rumänischen

Aus Gründen der Klarheit veranschaulichen wir in der Tabelle unten alle Wortstellungsmuster in den Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen in Korrelation zu ihren Basisverben (vgl. Bejan 2006):

22)

	Argument- struktur	Infinitivnominalisierung	Basisverb
1.	NOdurchS	<i>distrarea copiilor de către clovn</i> das Unterhalten der Kinder durch den Clown	agentisches Verb mit Experiencer-Objekt: <i>a distra</i> ‘unterhalten’ <i>Clovnul îi distrează pe copii.</i> <i>Der Clown unterhält die Kinder.</i>
2.	*NO	<i>distrarea copiilor</i> das Unterhalten der Kinder	
3.	*NS	<i>*distrarea clovnului</i> das Unterhalten des Clowns	
4.	*NOdurch S	<i>*distrarea copiilor de către film</i> das Unterhalten der Kinder durch dem Film	nicht-agentisches Verb mit Experiencer-Objekt: <i>a distra</i> ‘unterhalten’ <i>Filmul îi distrează pe copii.</i> <i>Der Film unterhält die Kinder.</i>
5.	NO	<i>distrarea copiilor</i> das Unterhalten der Kinder	
6.	*NS	<i>*distrarea filmului</i> das Unterhalten des Films	
7.	NO	<i>admirarea naturii</i> das Bewundern der Natur	transitives Verb mit Experiencer-Subjekt: <i>a admira</i> ‘bewundern’ <i>Turiștii admiră natura.</i> <i>Die Touristen bewundern die Natur.</i>
8.	NOdurch S	<i>admirarea naturii de către turiști</i> das Bewundern der Natur durch die Touristen	
9.	*NS	<i>*admirarea turiștilor</i> das Bewundern der Touristen	
10.	NPO	<i>bucurarea de drepturile civile</i> das Erfreuen an den Zivilrechten	Reflexivverb mit Exp.-Subjekt: <i>a se bucura de ceva</i> ‘sich freuen an etwas’ <i>Cetățenii se bucură de drepturi civile.</i> <i>Die Bürger freuen sich an Zivilrechten.</i>
11.	*NS	<i>*bucurarea cetățenilor</i> das Erfreuen der Bürger	
12.	NSPO	<i>întristarea fiilor pentru părinți.</i> Die Traurigkeit der Söhne über die Eltern.	adjektivisches Prädikat mit Experiencer-Subjekt: <i>a fi întristat pentru</i> ‘traurig sein über’ <i>Fiii sunt întristați pentru părinți.</i> <i>Die Söhne sind über ihre Eltern traurig.</i>
13.	NPO	<i>întristarea pentru părinți.</i> Die Traurigkeit über die Eltern	

Tabelle 2: Wortstellung in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen im Rumänischen

Die Tabelle führt zu der folgenden Beobachtung: Auf Rumänisch kommen Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen in den folgenden Strukturen: NO, NO *durch* S oder NPO, NSPO vor.

3.2.1. Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen der Experiencer-Objekt-Verben

Infinitivnominalisierungen mit der Wortstellung NO *durch* S stammen von den agentischen Experiencer-Objekt-Verben her:

- 23) ***plictisirea preotului la spovedanie de către cel ce se mărturisește ...***
das Langweilen des Pfarrers bei der Beichte von dem/durch den, der beichtet..
(Quelle: www.crestinortodox.ro) *Impărtășania Taina Euharistiei*)

Der nominalisierte Infinitiv erlaubt die NO-Struktur, aber weist die NS-Struktur zurück, wie in den Beispielen (22.3.) und (22.6.). Die Anwesenheit des Objekts ist sowohl für die Nomina als auch für die entsprechenden Verben obligatorisch. Die Abwesenheit des Objekts führt zur Ungrammatikalität.

- 24)... *tot ce se obține este **înfurierea** și **umilirea** partenerului palestinian.*
...alles, was erzielt wird, ist das Erzürnen und die Demütigung des palestinensischen Partners.
(Quelle: www.romanalibera.ro)
...*folosindu-se de **intimidarea** și **îngrozirea** infractorilor...*
...bei der Einschüchterung und dem Verängstigen der Verbrecher...
(Quelle: www.cinemarx.ro)

Die Verfügbarkeit der NO-Strukturen wird durch die Tatsache erklärbar, dass die rumänische Determinatorphrase nur eine einzige strukturelle Genitivposition hat, die durch das Objekt besetzt wird. Demzufolge kann der Agens nur in einer *de către*-Phrase (‘*durch*-Phrase’) erscheinen. Daraus ergibt sich, dass die NS-Strukturen nicht grammatisch sind, weil der Agens mangels einer zweiten Kasusposition nicht lexikalisiert sein kann.

Ebenso gibt es auf Rumänisch keine Nominalisierungen, die den nicht-agentischen Experiencer-Objekt-Verben entsprechen, wie in (22.4.).

3.2.2. Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen der Experiencer-Subjekt Verben

Transitive Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben bilden Infinitivnominalisierungen mit der erwarteten Wortstellung: NO *durch* S und NO:

- 25) *Amuzanta referire la **admirarea copacului de către** generații întregi de **britanici** care își plimbau câinii pe lângă el.*
...der lustige Verweis auf das Bewundern des Baumes von ganzen/ durch ganze

Generationen von Britten, die ihre Hunde rundherum spazieren führten...
(Quelle: www.descopera.ro)

Die NPO-Satzstrukturen kommen selten in der rumänischen Sprache vor. Sie sind jedoch für diejenigen Nomina verfügbar, die mit den Experiencer-Subjekt-Reflexivverben und mit den adjektivischen Prädikaten verbunden sind. Diese erlauben die NPO-Struktur wegen der idiosynkratischen Präposition. Zusätzlich kann das Subjekt in einer postnominalen Genitivphrase in NSPO-Strukturen vorkommen:

26) *Măhnirea Papei pentru moartea cardinalului...*
das Trauern des Papstes um den Tod des Kardinals
(Quelle: www.radiovaticana.org)

In diesem Abschnitt haben wir Beweise für das reiche Muster von Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen auf Rumänisch erbracht. Die Psych-Nomine in beiden Sprachen sind, wie erwartet, argumentnehmende Nomine. Unterschiede entstehen wegen der sprachspezifischen Struktur der DP und wegen des Mangels an Gleichartigkeit ihrer verbalen Basis.

Der Experiencer wird in einer postnominalen Genitivphrase (mit Infinitivnomina der Experiencer-Objekt-Verben und der adjektivischen Prädikate) oder in einer adjungierten *durch*-Phrase (mit Nomina von transitiven Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben) realisiert.

Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend stellen wir fest, dass die Untersuchung der Wortstellung in Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen uns ermöglicht hat, eine Klassifizierung von Psych-Infinitivnominalen auf Deutsch und Rumänisch gemäß ihrer Struktur und in Korrelation mit ihren Basisverben vorzuschlagen.

Es ist gezeigt worden, dass deutsche und rumänische Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen der transitiven Psych-Verben (bzw. agentisch-verwendeten Experiencer-Objekt-Verben und transitiven Experiencer-Subjekt-Verben) die erwartete, regelmäßige Argumentstruktur (SNO, NO, NO *durch* S, im Deutschen und NO, NO *durch* S im Rumänischen) haben.

In beiden Sprachen gibt es Psych-Infinitivnominalisierungen mit einer idiosynkratischen Präposition (NSPO), die vom präpositionalen Basisverb oder vom adjektivischen Prädikat übernommen wird. Die Unterschiede entstehen durch die sprachspezifische funktionale Struktur der DP, mit zwei verfügbaren Positionen für die Genitiv-Phrase im Deutschen, aber nur einer einzigen im Rumänischen.

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THE EXPERIENCER IN VERBAL IDIOMS OF EMOTION IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN

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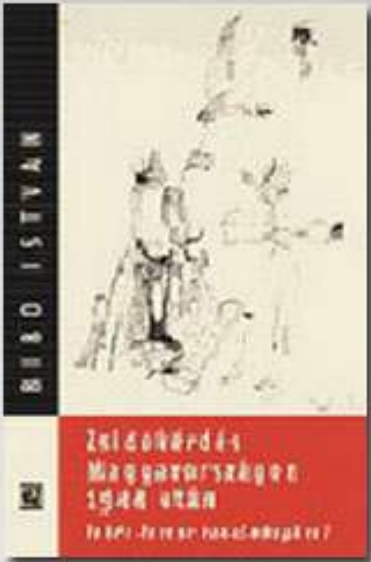
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THE EXPERIENCER IN VERBAL IDIOMS OF EMOTION IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN

CAMELIA BEJAN

“Ovidius” University, Constanța

Abstract: *Idioms encompass a wide variety of phrases, divergent in meaning and structure. Conceived as a contrastive study, this paper focuses on verbal idioms that render emotional states in English and German. What is characteristic about this class of idioms is that they always encode an Experiencer in their thematic grid.*

We provide an examination of the thematic roles assigned by the verbs to the NPs in such idioms, in an attempt to put forth a typology of emotion idioms based on the position of the Experiencer in their thematic grids. We also identify verbal idioms of emotion in which the Experiencer occurs either as an argument or as an adjunct.

Key words: *emotion, Experiencer, idiom, thematic grid, thematic role*

1. Theoretical background

Idiomatic expressions are generally understood as multi-word chunks consisting of components which are bound together lexically and syntactically. Idioms are characterised by three main features: lack of lexical variability, low literalness and syntactic frozenness. Being highly divergent in structure and meaning, idioms have always been a matter of debate among linguists.

This paper is concerned with idiomatic phrases headed by a verb, also known as verbal idioms. Verbal phrasal idioms have been divided into compositional and non-compositional. Compositional or decomposable idioms (e.g., *spill the beans* - ‘to disclose a secret’) can be decomposed into components that have identifiable meanings contributing to the meaning of the whole (cf. Wasow et al 1980:90). In contrast, non-compositional idioms cannot be decomposed, the meaning of *kick the bucket*, for example, is associated with the global interpretation of *to die*. They are syntactically frozen, while compositional idioms show more syntactic and semantic flexibility. Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994:496) argue that the majority of phrasal idioms are semantically compositional and that the phenomenon of idiomaticity is fundamentally semantic in nature.

An examination of the semantic properties of idioms (see Kovecses 2000) is helpful in accounting for the thematic roles assigned to the noun phrase components in an idiomatic phrase. We assume that verbal idioms are of three types, as shown in Krajka (2000:221):

a) phraseological idioms with the structure V + NP, such as *kick the bucket* or *bite the dust*. They can be understood both idiomatically and literally, for example *kick the bucket* as ‘die’ or as ‘strike the pail with one’s foot’; or, *bite the dust* understood as ‘die’, ‘fail’ or as ‘fall face down’ in its literal meaning, commonly associated with scenes of gunfights in American Western movies.

b) phrasal verbs like *go down* (e.g., *His speech went down very well.*) with the structure: V + part, whose meaning is non-compositional and cannot be derived from the senses of the parts. Such idioms can be decoded in two ways, either literally or idiomatically, e.g. *go down* as ‘fall to the ground’, or idiomatically, ‘get a particular reaction from sb.’, ‘swallow food with difficulty’, or ‘get depressed’.

c) primary verb idioms, V + NP constructions, with a primary verb like *do*, *make*, *get*, *let*, *keep*, *give*, etc., as in *let the cat out of the bag*, *get the sack*. The primary verb, a frequently used one, possessing multiple meanings, occurs in one of its senses (e.g. *let* in *let the cat out of the bag* with the meaning ‘allow sb. to do sth.’). The idiomatic construction arises from the unexpected combination of the primary verb with the rest of the phrase.

Krajka (2000:229) argues that there are varying degrees of compositionality inside these classes of verbal idioms and proposes a scale of verbal idioms, reflecting the degree of syntactic frozenness and the compositionality of meaning. The scale points to a continuum of idiomaticity from the most idiomatic type, the phraseological idioms, whose aggregate meaning is almost totally uncompositional, going on with phrasal verbs whose meaning is less obviously compositional, and with primary verb idioms that are more compositional in meaning, since the primary verb contributes one of its usual meanings to the composite structure.

2. The thematic roles of NPs in idioms

In non-idiomatic configurations NPs function as arguments and are assigned thematic roles by the verb. However, in idiomatic constructions the argument status of NPs has been a matter of debate among linguists. Components like *bucket*, which do not carry any individual meaning, have been called quasi-arguments with a non-referential function (Chomsky 1981). In contrast, components of decomposable idioms like *the beans* have been considered to carry some individual meanings, which are not the literal meanings of the parts but rather their figurative meanings. Therefore these components qualify for an argument status and are assigned thematic roles by the verbs.

O’Grady (1998: 292-310) suggests a restriction of the thematic roles of the NPs in idioms, which is formulated as follows: those arguments which are internal to the idiom must be lower in the thematic hierarchy (Agent, Theme, Goal/Location) than the arguments outside the idiom. He predicts the thematic grids in verbal idioms in English:

Transitive verbs

<Agent, Theme>	(1) a. <i>kick the bucket</i> , <i>draw the line</i> , <i>save the day</i>
<Agent, Location>	b. <i>skate on thin ice</i> , <i>knock on wood</i>

Intransitive verbs (stative verbs)

<Theme, Goal/Location>	(2) <i>be in hot water</i> , <i>go down in history</i>

Ditransitive Verbs (with a Prepositional-Object)

<Agent, Theme, Goal>	(3) <i>carry x to extremes</i> , <i>feed x to the lions</i> <i>keep x under one’s hat</i> , <i>wrap x around one’s little finger</i>
<Agent, Theme, Location>	(4) <i>pull the rug out from under x</i> , <i>set eyes on x</i>

Ditransitive verbs (in Double-Object constructions)

<Agent, Recipient, Theme>	(5) a. <i>teach x a lesson</i> , <i>lend x a hand</i>
<Agent, Theme, Recipient>	b. <i>feed x to the lions</i>

His proposal groups verbal idioms according to the type of verb around which they are built and to the thematic roles assigned to their arguments.

3. The Experiencer as an argument in emotion idioms

In what follows, I will apply O'Grady's analysis to the verbal idioms of emotion in English and German and focus on the thematic role of Experiencer that is assigned to the NP component in these idioms. The Experiencer is the thematic role of the human participant, emotionally involved in a relationship with some Theme.

I propose a typology of verbal idioms of emotion based on the position occupied by the Experiencer argument. We rely on Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) division of psych verbs into two main classes: verbs such as *admire*, *like*, *love*, with the Experiencer argument in subject position, and verbs like *astonish*, *amaze*, *entertain*, with the Experiencer role assigned to the NP in Object position. As with psych verbs, the Experiencer argument in verbal idioms of emotion can appear in subject position or in object position, hence the division of idioms denoting emotional states into: Subject Experiencer idioms and Object Experiencer idioms.

3.1 The Experiencer in English idioms of emotion

The main thematic grids associated with the verbal idioms of emotion in English are the following:

3.1.1 Subject Experiencer idioms

a) with simple transitive verbs:

<Experiencer, Theme>

- (1) a. *have a fit* (= suddenly become very angry)
get the blues (= become sad)
let off steam (= get rid of anger)
fly off the handle (= suddenly get very angry)
- b. *lose one's cool* (= become angry)
blow one's top (= suddenly become very angry)
flip one's lid (= suddenly become very angry)

<Experiencer, Goal>

- (2) *hit the roof/ ceiling* (= suddenly become very angry)

b) with intransitive verbs:

<Experiencer, Location> (stative verbs)

- (3) a. *be all over oneself* (= be happy)
be in good heart (= feel happy and confident)
- b. *be/feel down in the dumps* (= feel unhappy)
be on top of the world (= feel extremely happy)
be over the moon (= be very happy)

<Experiencer, Source> (non-stative verbs)

- (4) *(nearly) jump out of one's skin* (= suddenly move because of fear or surprise)

c) with ditransitive verbs: (in oblique object constructions)

<Experiencer, Theme, Recipient/Beneficiary>

- (5) *give/lose your heart to sb.* (= come to love sb.)
have a soft spot for sb. (= continue to like sb.)

d) with complex transitive verbs:

<Experiencer, Theme, Goal>

- (6) *take sb./sth. to one's heart* (= like sb./sth very much)

In idioms with simple transitive verbs, as illustrated in (1b), a possessive adjunct is co-indexed with the Experiencer subject. In patterns with stative verbs like (3a), the Experiencer him/herself is understood to be the location of emotion. In emotion idioms like (6), a noun with the semantic feature [+part of the human body] takes a possessive (*one's*) which is co-referential with the Experiencer subject.

3.1.2 Object Experiencer idioms

a) with simple transitive verbs:

<Agent, Experiencer> --

b) with ditransitive verbs: (in double object constructions)

<Agent, Experiencer, Theme>

- (7) *give somebody the creeps* (= make sb. feel slightly frightened or nervous)

c) with complex transitive verbs:

<Agent, Experiencer, Goal>

- (8) *drive sb. up the wall* (= annoy sb. continually)
drive sb. round the bend (= annoy sb.)

<Agent, Experiencer, Source>

- (9) *drive sb. out of one's mind* (= make sb. feel very annoyed)

As far as Object Experiencer idioms are concerned, it is interesting to note that there are no available idioms with simple transitive verbs, i.e. there are no idioms with the form *verb* - *Experiencer*. This gap can be accounted for in terms of

Nunberg et. al (1994:527), who propose that there is a tendency for idiomatic NPs to have inanimate literal meanings. Since Experiencers have a [+human] semantic feature and literal meanings, they cannot occur with dyadic verbs to yield idioms with figurative meanings.

3.2 The Experiencer in German idioms of emotion

Verbal idioms of emotion in German can also be grouped into Subject Experiencer and Object Experiencer idioms. For the sake of clarity, we provide for each example in German a word for word translation into English, followed by a semantic equivalent in a non-idiomatic form:

3.2.1 Subject Experiencer idioms

a) with transitive verbs:

<Experiencer, Theme>

(1) *die Puppen tanzen lassen* (= let the puppets dance; 'get very angry')

b) with intransitive verbs:

<Experiencer, Location> (stative verbs)

(2) *im siebten Himmel sein* (= be in the seventh heaven; 'be very happy')
in Harnisch sein (= be in armour; 'be very angry')

<Experiencer, Goal> (non-stative verbs)

(3) *in Harnisch kommen/ geraten* (= come/get into armour; 'fly into a rage')
in Fahrt kommen (= come in journey; 'get angry')
in die Wolle geraten (= get into the wool; 'get angry')
in Hitze geraten (= get into heat; 'get angry')

<Experiencer, Source> (non-stative verbs)

(4) *aus der Pelle/ Haut fahren* (= come out of the skin; 'become very angry')
aus der Tüte geraten (= come out of the bag; 'become angry')
aus dem Häuschen geraten (= come out of the little house; 'become angry')

c) with complex transitive verbs:

<Experiencer, Theme, Goal/ Location>

(5) *etwas zum Herz nehmen* (= take sth. to heart; 'become upset')
jn. im Herzen tragen (= carry sb. in the heart; 'love sb.')

3.2.2 Object Experiencer idioms

a) with simple transitive verbs: -

b) with ditransitive verbs:

<Agent, Experiencer, Theme>

- (6) *jm. das Herz schwer machen* (= make sb. Dat the heart heavy; 'make sb. sad')
jm. böses Blut machen/verursachen (= make/cause sb. Dat bad blood; 'upset sb.')

c) with complex transitive verbs:

<Agent, Experiencer, Location/ Goal>

- (7) *jn. in Harnisch bringen/jagen* (= bring/ hunt sb. to armour; 'annoy sb.')
jn. auf die Palme bringen (= bring sb. up a palm tree; 'make sb. angry')
jn. auf Touren bringen (= bring sb. to speed; 'make sb. flip his lid')

<Agent, Experiencer, Source>

- (8) *jn. aus dem Häuschen bringen* (= take sb. out of the little house; 'drive sb. berserk/ make sb. angry')

Just as it has been noted for English in the previous section, in German there are no Object Experiencer idioms built around a simple transitive verb. The simple combination of a verb with an Experiencer does not give rise to an emotion idiom, because the Experiencer always has a literal meaning.

The typology of emotion idioms put forth in these two sections has shown that the thematic grids on which these idioms are built are roughly similar in the two languages. However, the frequency of emotion idioms associated with a certain thematic grid varies; while some thematic grids are well illustrated, others are supported by single examples.

4. The experiencer in idioms with body part nouns

In both languages there are verbal idioms in which one component denotes a part of the human body that is typically associated with an emotional state or is affected by it. Such idioms very often include the body part nouns *heart* and *blood*.

In English, the Experiencer has a non-argument status, being realized as a possessive adjunct attached to a [+part of the human body] noun that occurs in subject position, as in (1), or object position as in (2):

- 1) *One's heart is in something.* (= one is enthusiastic about sth.)
One's heart bleeds for something. (= one pities and feels sorry for sth.)
One's heart goes out to somebody. (= one feels compassion for sb.)
One's heart/ blood freezes with fear. (= one is very frightened)
One's heart is in one's mouth. (= one suddenly feels very afraid)
One's heart is in one's boots. (= one is very unhappy)
One's blood is up. (= one is extremely angry and determined to do sth.)
One's hackles rise. (= one begins to feel very angry)
- 2) *break somebody's heart* (= upset greatly)
warm the cockles of somebody's heart (= make sb. warm and happy)
curdle somebody's blood (= frighten sb.)
raise somebody's hackles (= make sb. angry)
get/put somebody's back up (= annoy sb.)
get off somebody's back (= stop annoying sb.)

Several emotion idioms are built around the primary verb *make*, occurring in its causative sense. The idiomatic construction arises from the unusual combination of this primary verb with a body part noun:

- 3) *make somebody's blood boil* (= make sb. extremely angry)
make somebody's blood run cold (= fill sb. with fear and horror)
make somebody's blood freeze (= fill sb. with feelings of fear and horror)
freeze somebody's blood (= affect with terror or dread)
make somebody's flesh/skin crawl (= scare and revolt sb.)
make somebody's flesh creep (= scare and revolt sb.)
make somebody's hair stand on end (= terrify sb.)
make somebody's hair/ toes curl (= make sb. feel shocked and embarrassed)

There are also Subject Experiencer verbal idioms in which the possessive adjunct (*one's*) modifying the body part noun is co-indexed with the Experiencer occurring as an argument in subject position:

- 4) *eat one's heart out* (= be very sad)
have one's heart in one's boots (= feel very gloomy and depressed)
tear one's hair out (= be extremely worried and agitated about sth.)

In contrast, in German verbal idioms of emotion, the Experiencer never occurs as an adjunct, it preserves its argument status. The set of body part nouns usually includes: *Herz* 'heart' as in (5) and *Blut* 'blood' in (6), and only rarely the nouns: *Kopf* 'head' and *Augen* 'eyes' as in (7), *Leber* 'liver' as in (8), *Galle* 'bile' as shown in (9), *Knochen* 'bones', *Glieder* 'limbs' as in (10). For the following German idioms we provide the word for word translation into English:

- 5)
 SubjExp.: *sich (Dat) etwas zum Herz nehmen* (= take sth. to heart; 'worry about sth.')
jn. ins Herz schliessen (= to close sb. in the heart; 'love sb.')
jn. im Herzen tragen (= carry sb. in the heart, 'love sb.')
 ObjExp.: *jm. das Herz schwer machen* (= make sb. Dat the heart heavy, 'upset sb.')
Es wird ihm enge/ schwer ums Herz. (sentential idiom)
 (= it is him. Dat narrow/ heavy around the heart; 'His heart is heavy.')
- 6)
 ObjExp.: *jm. schiesst/ steigt das Blut ins Gesicht/ in den / zu Kopf* (sentential idiom)
 (= the blood shoots/ rises sb. Dat in the face/ the head; 'one's blood rises to one's head')
jm. böses Blut machen/ schaffen/ verursachen (= make/ cause sb. Dat bad blood; 'upset sb.')
- 7)
 SubjExp.: *sich (Dat) die Augen aus dem Kopf schämen*
 (= shame sb. Dat the eyes of the head; 'be deeply ashamed')
 ObjExp.: *jm. ein Dorn im Auge sein*
 (= be sb. Dat a thorn in the eye; 'be a thorn in one's flesh/side', 'annoy sb.')
- 8)
 ObjExp.: *jn. sticht es in die Leber* (sentential idiom) (= it stings sb. in the liver; 'annoy sb.')
der Kummer/ Zorn/ Ärger frisst jm. an der Leber (sentential idiom)
 (=worry/ fury/ anger feeds sb. Dat at the liver; 'worry/ fury/ anger feeds on one's liver')

In addition to these patterns, German has special semi-idiomatic expressions in which the Experiencer in the dative may have the interpretation of possessor in relationship with the Subject NP of the sentence. In such structures, both the Subject and the locative phrase are realized by a [+part of the human body] noun, while the causative phrase expresses the state of mind or the emotion that affects the dative-possessive Experiencer of the sentence:

13)

Das Blut steigt/ schiesst mir in die Wangen/ ins Gesicht vor Zorn.
 The blood rises/ shoots me.Dat to the cheeks/ to the face because of anger
 [+part of body] EXP./LOC [+part of body] CAUSE

Das Blut kocht/ stockt/ erstarrt/ gerinnt/ friert/ mir in den Adern vor Schreck.
 The blood boils/grows stiff/ coagulates/ freezes me.Dat in the veins of scare.
 [+part of body] EXP./LOC [+part of body] CAUSE
 'Blood boils/stands still/grows stiff/coagulates/freezes in my veins because of fear'

The Experiencer argument occurs with a clear Locative meaning in the following semi-idiomatic constructions in German:

14)

Das Blut kocht/ siedet in mir vor Wut.
 The blood cooks/ boils in me.Dat because of fury.
 [+part of body] EXP/ LOCATION CAUSE

As already shown in section 4, unlike German, English does not allow the Experiencer to appear in an argument position. The only indication of the person experiencing the emotion is the possessive adjunct of the [+part of the human body] noun in Subject position:

15)

My blood froze in my veins with fear/ surprise/ horror/ fright/ dismay.
 [+part of body] CAUSE

My heart froze with fear.
 [+part of body] CAUSE

The parallel examination of semi-idiomatic verbal expressions in the two languages has shown that they are structurally similar. Both languages allow one or even two body part nouns to co-occur with an Experiencer in rendering an emotional state. However, the Experiencer assumes a different status: it is an argument in Object position in German or a possessive adjunct in English. Additionally, the Experiencer argument may have a locative meaning in German.

6. Conclusion

The focus of this paper has been on verbal idioms of emotion whose main semantic feature is that they allow an Experiencer in their thematic grid.

We have provided a typology of emotion idioms based on the position of the Experiencer argument. Thus emotion idioms in English and German have been

grouped into Subject Experiencer and Object Experiencer verbal idioms. The parallel analysis of the thematic grids of emotion idioms has also revealed the absence of Object Experiencer idioms with simple transitive verbs in both languages.

Furthermore, the examination of emotion idioms with body part nouns has shown that the Experiencer appears in adjunct position in English, while in German it occurs in argument position. Finally, the Experiencer can be conceived as a 'container of emotions' or as the location of emotion in semi-idiomatic expressions in both languages.

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Eva Lavric / Wolfgang Pöckl /
Florian Schallhart (Hrsg.)

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Psych-Konstruktionen mit Experienter-Objekt im Deutschen und Rumänischen

Die Vielfalt der linguistischen Konstruktionen, die Emotionen ausdrücken, ist ziemlich beachtlich und ihre Analyse bringt zur Aufmerksamkeit einen Reichtum von syntaktischen Mustern.

Ausgangspunkt dieses Beitrags ist die Arbeit von Arad (1998), welche die psychologischen Konstruktionen auf Englisch untersucht. Sie analysiert die nicht-inkorporierten Formen der Prädikate mit Experienter-Objekt und zeigt, daß die Experienter-Rolle mit anderen semantischen Rollen ersetzbar ist. Sie argumentiert, daß es unwahrscheinlich ist, dass es spezifische syntaktische Regeln für Psych-Verben gibt, nur weil sie einen Experienter in ihrem thematischen Raster haben, wie es in Belletti und Rizzi (1988) vorgeschlagen wurde.

Das Ziel dieses Aufsatzes ist Arads Vorschlag zu der Analyse der Psych-Konstruktionen im Deutschen und Rumänischen anzuwenden, und dabei eine syntaktische Gruppierung von psychologischen Prädikatkonstruktionen mit einem Experienter-Objekt in den beiden Sprachen zu erarbeiten.

Mit dieser Absicht werden wir zuerst kurz die Haupteigenschaften der psychologischen Verben mit Experienter-Objekt erwähnen, dann untersuchen wir Konstruktionen, die psychologische Nominale und Adjektive einschließen, und ziehen wir eine Parallele zwischen diesen Strukturen im Deutschen und Rumänischen.

Il y a une multitude de constructions linguistiques exprimant des émotions dont l'analyse montre une large variété de structures syntaxiques.

Le point de départ de notre contribution est l'article d'Arad (1998), dans lequel elle examine des constructions psychologiques en anglais. Arad analyse des formes non-incorporées des prédicats avec Expérienceur-Objet et elle montre que le rôle d'Expérienceur peut être remplacé par d'autres rôles thématiques. Il est peu probable, elle dit, qu'il y ait des règles spécifiques pour les verbes psychologiques, seulement parce qu'ils contiennent un Expérienceur dans leur grille thématique, comme Belletti et Rizzi (1988) ont proposé.

Notre objectif est d'appliquer la proposition d'Arad à l'analyse des constructions psychologiques en allemand et en roumain et, en subsidiaire, de réaliser un groupement syntaxique des structures prédicat avec un Expérienceur-Objet, pour les deux langues.

A ce but, nous présenterons brièvement les caractéristiques principales des verbes psychologiques, nous examineront les constructions incluant des noms ou des adjectifs psychologiques et nous ferons un parallèle entre ces structures en allemand et en roumain.

1. Die Typologie der Verben mit Experiencer-Objekt

Die Forschung über die psychologischen Verben fängt mit Belletti und Rizzi (1988) Beitrag an. Sie identifizieren drei Klassen von Psych-Verben auf Italienisch, veranschaulicht durch *temere* 'fürchten', *preoccupare* 'kümmern' und *piacere* 'gefallen':

	Italienisch	Kasusrahmen	Benennung der Gruppe
Klasse 1	<i>temere</i>	Nominativ - Akkusativ EXPERIENCER - THEMA	Verben mit Experiencer-Subjekt
Klasse 2	<i>preoccupare</i>	Nominativ - Akkusativ THEMA - EXPERIENCER	Verben mit Experiencer-Objekt
Klasse 3	<i>piacere</i>	Nominativ - Dativ THEMA EXPERIENCER	Verben mit Experiencer-Objekt

Psychologische Verben machen immer eine Experiencer-Rolle verfügbar, die jedoch entweder dem Subjekt oder dem Objekt-Argument zugeteilt wird. Dem Experiencer-Argument wird Nominativ in der *temere* Klasse, Akkusativ in der *preoccupare* Klasse, und Dativ in der *piacere* Klasse zugeteilt.

Semantisch sind diese Klassen von Verben ähnlich, sie alle schließen die Anwesenheit eines Experiencer-Arguments ein, ihr syntaktisches Verhalten ist jedoch unterschiedlich.

Die Frage nach der Natur der deutschen Verben mit Experiencer-Objekt ist von Abraham (1995) erörtert worden, der vorgeschlagen hat, dass Verben mit Experiencer-Objekt in drei Subklassen mit zwei Kriterien gruppiert werden sollten: die Selektion des Hilfsverbs und des Kasus zugewiesen dem Objekt.

- 1) *Sein Benehmen hat mich irritiert.*
Sein Benehmen hat mir gefallen.
Sein Benehmen ist mir aufgefallen.

Es ist deutlich, daß die Unterscheidung, die von der Selektion der Hilfsverben bereitgestellt wird, nicht mit der des Kasus vom Objekt aufeinander bezieht, d.h. *haben*-Verben nehmen ein Dativ- oder ein Akkusativobjekt, während *sein*-Verben ein Akkusativobjekt nicht selektieren können.

Syntaktisch sind die Verben mit Experiencer-Akkusativobjekt mit den transitiven Verben traditionell gruppiert worden, weil sie eine Beziehung zwischen zwei Argumenten ausdrücken, und weil die meisten von ihnen das Kasusmuster Nominativ – Akkusativ erlauben. Diese Verben können in den beiden Sprachen agentiv oder nicht-agentiv verwendet werden:

- 2) [D] *Der Junge verärgert das Mädchen.* (agentiv)
 [R] *Tânărul o supără pe fată.*
Der Junge sie.Kl.Akk verärgert prep.Akk.Mädchen
 AGENS EXPERIENCER

- [D] *Sein Benehmen verärgert das Mädchen.* (nicht-agentiv)
 [R] *Comportarea lui o supără pe fată.*
Benehmen sein sie.Kl.Akk verärgert prep.Akk.Mädchen
 CAUSATIV EXPERIENCER

Man bemerkt, dass im Rumänischen die klitische Verdoppelung vom Objekt auftritt, d.h. der Satz enthält gleichzeitig die volle Form des Argumentes und ein koreferentes klitisches Pronomen. Eine weitere sprachspezifische Erscheinung ist, daß Akkusativobjekte mit dem Merkmal [+menschlich] immer von der Präposition *pe* als einem Zuweiser des Akkusativs vorangegangen werden.

Sowohl im Deutschen als auch im Rumänischen sind die Verben mit Experiencer-Objekt transitiv im agentiven Gebrauch, während der nicht-agentive Gebrauch solcher Verben unakkusative Eigenschaften hauptsächlich wegen der Tatsache hat, daß sie kein verbales Passiv bilden, sondern ein adjektivisches Prädikat mit einer idiosynkratischen Präposition:

- 3) [D] *Das Mädchen wurde von dem Jungen verärgert.* (verbales Passiv)
**Das Mädchen wurde von seinem Benehmen verärgert.*
Sie ist über den Jungen/sein Benehmen verärgert.
 (Kopula-Prädikativ-Konstruktion)
- 4) [R] *Fata este supărată de băiat.* (verbales Passiv)
Das Mädchen ist verärgert von Jungen.
- Fata este supărată pe băiat.* (Kopula-Prädikativ-Konstruktion)
Das Mädchen ist verärgert über Jungen.
Fata este supărată din cauza comportării lui.
Das Mädchen ist verärgert wegen Benehmens seines.

Der Passivsatz auf Deutsch wird durch das Hilfsverb *werden* und die Agens-von-Phrase gekennzeichnet, während das adjektivische Prädikat das Hilfsverb *sein* und die idiosynkratische Präposition *über* verwendet. Auf Rumänisch kommt das Hilfsverb *a fi* 'sein' in beiden Konstruktionen vor, aber die Präpositionen sind unterschiedlich: *de* 'von' im Vorgangspassiv und *pe* 'über' oder *din cauza* 'wegen' im adjektivischen Prädikat.

Der nicht-agentive Gebrauch dieser Verben hat unakkusative Eigenschaften, weil beide Argumente als interne Argumente betrachtet sind. Belletti und Rizzi postulieren die zu Grunde liegende Struktur, wo das Thema-Argument niedriger ist als das Experiencer-Argument, das die thematische Hierarchie beobachtet, und dann das Thema-Argument bewegt zur Subjektposition.

Die Verben mit Experiencer-Dativobjekt erscheinen mit einem Thema-Argument im Nominativ in beiden Sprachen:

- 5) [D] *Die Kinder gefallen dem Mädchen.*
- [R] *Copiii îi plac fetei.*
Die Kinder ihr.Kl gefallen Mädchen.Dat
 THEMA.Nom EXP.Dat

Zusätzlich erlauben Deutsch und Rumänisch, dass das Experiencer-Argument im Dativ auch mit einer anderen Gruppe von Verben vorkommt. Diese sind unpersönliche Verben, die die Realisierung eines Subjektes im Nominativ nicht zulassen können:

- 6) [D] *Mir/ Mich gruselt vor der Dunkelheit.*
 EXP.Dat/Akk CAUSATIV
- [R] *Mi s-a urât de școală.*
Mir ist hässlich vor der Schule. (Ich hasse die Schule)
 EXP.Dat CAUSATIV

Auf Deutsch weisen die unpersönlichen Verben lexikalischen Dativ (oder Akkusativ) der Nominalphrase mit der Experiencer-Rolle zu. Diese Verben treten als ein-stellige Prädikate mit einem Experiencer-Argument wie im Beispiel (7a), als zwei-stellige Prädikate mit einem Experiencer und einem Causativ-Argument wie in (7b) oder mit einem zusätzlichen Expletivpronomen in der Subjekt-Position wie im Satz (7c):

- 7) a) *Mir/ mich graut/ graust (es).* Dat./Akk. V
 b) *Mir graut vor der Arbeit.* Dat./ Akk. V Präpositionalobjekt
 c) *Es graut mir vor nichts.* Es V Dat./Akk. PO

Die gemeinsame syntaktische Eigenschaft der Verben in der 2. und 3. Klasse ist die Anwesenheit des Experiencer-Argumentes als Objekt im Akkusativ oder Dativ in der syntaktischen Struktur des Satzes, aber das Experiencer-Objekt ist auch in psychologischen Prädikatkonstruktionen vorhanden, die nicht einen psychologischen Verb enthalten, sondern ein Substantiv oder ein Adjektiv, das ein Gefühl ausdrückt.

2. Psychologische Konstruktionen mit Experiencer-Objekt

Arad (1998,1999) erweitert den Forschungsbereich von den psychologischen Verben auf alle Arten von psychologischen Prädikatkonfigurationen im

Englischen, d.h. auf die Konstruktionen, in denen psychologische Adjektive oder Substantive enthalten sind.

Sie weist den früheren Vorschlag von Belletti und Rizzi zurück, die behaupten, daß den Psych-Verben eine spezielle syntaktische Konfiguration einfach wegen der Existenz des Experiencer-Argumentes zugeteilt werden sollten. Immerhin ist das Experiencer-Argument für die Konfiguration nicht notwendig, in denen Verben mit Experiencer-Argument vorkommen, weil es durch Argumente mit anderen thematischen Rollen leicht ersetzt werden kann. Es wird argumentiert, dass Psych-Konstruktionen nicht eine spezielle syntaktische Konfiguration haben, indem sie strukturell ähnlich Prädikaten des Gebens, der Position und der Verursachung sind.

Wir werden weitere Beweise aus dem Deutschen und Rumänischen bringen, um zu zeigen, dass solche Verben die Struktur von locativen, dativen und kausativen Konfigurationen teilen.

In vielen Sprachen, Deutsch und Rumänisch eingeschlossen, können Prädikate mit Experiencer-Objekt zwei Realisierungen haben: als Verben (das Gefühl wird in der Verb-Form inkorporiert: *Furcht* in *fürchten*, *Angst* in *beängstigen*, *lustig* in *belustigen*, usw., oder als Substantive (oder Adjektive), die einen emotionalen Zustand beschreiben (*Furcht*), die sich mit einem ‘gewöhnlichen’ Verb (*Furcht haben*) verbinden. Die ersten werden als ‘inkorporierte’ Formen und die letzteren als ‘nicht-inkorporierte’ Formen (vgl. Bouchard, 1995) genannt.

Im Deutschen werden die inkorporierten Formen der Prädikate mit Experiencer-Objekt häufig mittels der kausativen Präfixe *be-*, *er-*, *ver-* oder des kausativen Suffixes *-ieren* gebildet: *bekümmern*, *belustigen*, *beruhigen*, *beschämen*, *besänftigen*, *beunruhigen*, *bezaubern*, *erbittern*, *erbosen*, *erfreuen*, *erheitern*, *erzürnen*, *verärgern*, *verwundern*, *amüsieren*, *deprimieren*, *elektrisieren*, *frustrieren*, *irritieren*, *schockieren*, *terrorisieren*, usw.

Im Rumänischen werden die inkorporierten Formen der Prädikate mit Experiencer-Objekt oft mit dem kausativen Präfix *în-* oder dem kausativen Suffix *-a* abgeleitet: *a înfiora* ‘erschrecken’, *a înfricoşa* ‘ängstigen’, *a înfuria* ‘erzürnen’, *a îngrijora* ‘bekümmern’, *a îngrozi* ‘verängstigen’, *a înspăimânta* ‘erschrecken’, *a întrista* ‘betrüben’, *a înveseli* ‘aufheitern’, *a bucura* ‘freuen’, *a desfăta* ‘erfreuen’, *a mâhni* ‘ärgern’, *a mânia* ‘erzürnen’, *a stânjeni* ‘stören’, *a speria* ‘erschrecken’, *a supăra* ‘verärgern’, *a uimi* ‘staunen’, *a ului* ‘erstaunen’, usw.

Die nicht-inkorporierten Formen bezeichnen das Gefühlsprozess mit Hilfe von einem Substantiv oder einem Adjektiv, das mit einem regelmäßigen kausativen Verb verbunden ist.

Im Deutschen erscheint das Substantiv, das das Gefühl anzeigt, mit einem Experiencer-Argument im Dativ: *jemandem Angst bereiten/ einflößen*,

jemandem Sorgen/ Angst machen, usw., oder mit einem Experiencer im Akkusativ:

- 8) *Du machst mir Angst.*
EXP.Dat Emotion
- 9) *Ein Grausen ergreift/ erfasst/ überläuft/ überkommt/ lähmt ihn.*
Ein Schrecken befällt/ ergreift/ packt/ erfüllt ihn.
Emotion EXP.Akk

Die Emotionsadjektive verbinden sich mit einem Experiencer im Akkusativ (*jemanden ärgerlich machen, jemanden ängstlich machen*, usw.) oder im Dativ (*jemandem angenehm, böse, dankbar, gram, lieb sein*):

- 10) *Deine Worte machen mich ängstlich.*
EXP.Akk. Emotion
- Das Kind ist mir sehr lieb.*
EXP.Dativ Emotion

Im Rumänischen enthalten die nicht-inkorporierten Formen der Prädikate mit Experiencer-Objekt Substantive, welche die Gefühle eines Experiencers im Dativ bezeichnen. Die dreistelligen Verben *a face* 'machen', *a stârni* 'hervorrufen', *a trezi* 'erwecken', die in diesen Konfigurationen vorkommen, verfügen über eine Kausativkomponente in ihrer Bedeutung:

- 11) *Invitația voastră îmi face plăcere.*
Ihre Einladung mir macht Spass
EXP.Dat Emotion
- Filmul îmi stârnește groaza/ mânia/ ura/ disprețul.*
Der Film mir verursacht Schreck/ Wut/ Hass/ Verachtung
EXP.Dat Emotion
- Spectacolul îi trezește lui Ion admirația/ simpatia/ antipatia.*
Die Show ihm.Kl. erweckt Johann.Dat Bewunderung/Sympathie/Zuneigung
EXP.Dat Emotion

Das Verb *a fi* 'sein' tritt in Kombinationen mit einem Dativexperiencer und einem psychologischen Adjektiv: *a-i fi drag/ simpatic cuiva* 'jemandem lieb, sympathisch sein', oder mit einem psychologischen Substantiv ein: *a-i fi dor/ milă de cineva* 'Sehnsucht nach jemandem/ Mitleid mit jemandem haben', *a-i fi frică/ teamă/ rușine/ silă de cineva/ ceva* 'Angst/ Furcht/ Scham/ Ekel vor jemandem/ etwas haben', usw. Diese Konfigurationen mit einem Psych-Substantiv im Rumänischen entsprechen einem Verb mit einem Experiencer-Subjekt im Deutschen.

- 12) *Copilul îmi este drag/ simpatic mie.*
Das Kind mir.Kl ist lieb/sympathisch mir.
 Emotion EXP.Dat
 'Das Kind ist mir sympathisch'

- 13) *Mariei îi este milă/ frică/ teamă/ groază/ silă de sora ei.*
Maria.Dat ihr.Kl.Dat ist Mitleid/ Furcht/ Entsetzen/ Ekel vor ihrer Schwester.
 EXP.Dat. Emotion Ziel der Emotion
 'Maria bemitleidet/ befürchtet/ verachtet ihre Schwester.'

In beiden Sprachen kann man gewisse Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den nicht-inkorporierten Formen von Psych-Prädikaten und den regelmäßigen transitiven Strukturen feststellen. Diese Ähnlichkeiten beziehen sich auf die locative, dative oder kausative Deutung dieser Konfigurationen.

Die nicht-inkorporierten Formen der Psych-Prädikate können im Deutschen lokativartig sein, d.h. sie enthalten ein Handlungsverb und ein Argument mit einer Locativinterpretation:

- 14) *Sie haben Hans ins Gefängnis versetzt.*
 PATIENS LOCATIV
Sie haben Hans in Furcht/ Angst/ Schrecken/ Erstaunen versetzt.
 EXPERIENCER Emotion/LOCATIV

In solchen Konfigurationen hat das Substantiv, das eine Gefühlsänderung des Experiencers hinweist, eine Lokativtönung der Bedeutung, aber in bestimmten Redewendungen kann der Experiencer selbst als Lokativ verstanden werden:

- 15) *Peter hat mir den Schreck in die Glieder gejagt.*
 EXP/LOC. Emotion [+Teil des menschl. Körpers]

Die dativartige Konfiguration der nicht-inkorporierten Formen der Psych-Prädikate schließt ein dreistelliges Verb (*geben, bringen, bereiten, machen*) ein:

- 16) *Das Spiel hat Maria Gewinn gebracht.*
 REZIP./BENEFIZIENT THEMA
Das Spiel hat Maria Ärger/ Verdruss gebracht.
 EXPERIENCER Emotion

Die nicht-inkorporierten Formen können in einer kausativen Konfiguration mit den Verben *erregen, erwecken* (*Besorgnis, Neid, Hass, Mitleid*), *hervorrufen* (*Verwunderung, Erstaunen, Heiterkeit*), *verursachen* (*Verdruss, Ärger, Aufregung*), usw. und mit einem Experiencer-Argument im Dativ erscheinen:

- 17) *Der Zwischenfall* hat Maria Schäden verursacht.
REZIPIENT THEMA
Der Zwischenfall hat Maria Verdruss/Ärger verursacht.
EXPERIENCER Emotion

In allen diesen Strukturen ist der Experienter-Partizipant das direkte oder das indirekte Objekt, und er wechselt mit anderen Theta-Rollen: Patiens, Rezipienten, Benefizienten ab.

Die empirischen Befunde weisen auf ein ähnliches Phänomen im Rumänischen hin: es besteht eine Ähnlichkeit zwischen den Konfigurationen, in denen die nicht-inkorporierten Formen auftreten, und den transitiven Strukturen.

Die nicht-inkorporierten Formen sind als lokativartig verstanden, wenn sie ein Handlungsverb wie *a băga* ‘versetzen’, *a vârî* ‘stecken’ und ein Argument mit einer Locativinterpretation enthalten:

- 18) Polițistul îl bagă pe bărbat în închisoare.
 Der Polizist ihn.Kl. versetzt den Mann ins Gefängnis
 PATIENS LOCATIV
- Polițistul îl bagă pe bărbat în sperieți/ în groază/ în fiori/ în răcori.
 Der Polizist ihn.Kl. versetzt den Mann in Angst/ in Schrecken/ in Schauer/ in Kühle
 EXPERIENCER Emotion

Entweder tritt der Experienter in einen Raum der Gefühle, wie oben veranschaulicht, oder ist der Experienter selbst als Raum eines Gefühlsprozesses, d.h. als Locativ verstanden:

- 19) *Băiatul a băgat/ vârât cartea în bancă.*
Der Junge hat gesteckt das Buch in die Schulbank.
 PATIENS LOCATIV
 ‘Der Junge hat das Buch in die Schulbank gelegt’
- Băiatul a băgat/ vârât groaza/ spaima/ frica/ teama în oameni.*
Der Junge hat gesteckt das Entsetzen/ die Furcht/die Angst in Leute
 Emotion EXP./LOCATIV
 ‘Der Junge hat die Leute in Furcht und Schrecken versetzt.’

Die rumänischen Psych-Konstruktionen mit einer Dativkonfiguration schließen die dreistelligen Verben *a da* 'geben' und *a aduce* 'bringen' ein. Das Experiencer-Argument im Dativ tritt an die Stelle des Rezipienten und das Substantiv, das den emotionalen Zustand benennt, ersetzt das Thema-Argument von der transitiven Struktur:

- 20) Ana i-a dat Mariei o carte.
 Anne ihr.Kl.-hat gegeben Maria ein Buch.
 REZIPIENT THEMA
 'Anne hat Maria ein Buch gegeben'
- Decizia i-a dat Mariei dureri de cap/ bătaï de cap.
 Die Entscheidung ihr.Kl.-hat gegeben Maria Kopfschmerzen/ Kopfzerbrechen
 EXPERIENCER Emotion
 'Die Entscheidung hat Maria Kopfschmerzen bereitet.'
- 21) Mariajul i-a adus Mariei bani.
 Die Ehe ihr.Kl.-hat gebracht Maria Geld.
 BENEFIZIENT THEMA
 'Die Ehe hat Maria Geld gebracht.'
- Mariajul i-a adus Mariei (ne)fericirea/ neazuri/ griji/ supărări.
 Die Ehe ihr.Kl.-hat begracht Maria (Un)Glück/Verdruss/Kummer/ Ärgernisse
 EXPERIENCER Emotion
 'Die Ehe hat Maria (Un)Glück/ Verdruss/ Kummer/ Ärgernisse bereitet.'

Die nicht-inkorporierten Formen der Psych-Prädikate erscheinen in kausativen Konfigurationen, in denen ein Experiencer-Argument im Dativ mit einem kausativen Verb (*a pricinui* 'verursachen', *a produce* 'veranlassen', *a provoca* 'hervorrufen', *a face* 'machen') assoziiert wird:

- 22) Incidentul i-a pricinuit Mariei întârzierea.
 Der Zwischenfall ihr.Kl.-hat verursacht Maria die Verspätung.
 PATIENS
- 23) Incidentul i-a pricinuit Mariei îngrijorarea.
 Der Zwischenfall ihr.Kl.-hat verursacht Maria Kummer
 EXPERIENCER Emotion
- Comportarea lui i-a produs Mariei scârba.
 Benehmen sein ihr.Kl.-hat verursacht Maria Ekel.
 EXPERIENCER Emotion
 'Sein Benehmen hat bei Marie Ekel hervorgerufen'
- Vestea i-a provocat Mariei o depresie.
 Die Nachricht ihr.Kl.-hat verursacht Maria eine Depression
 EXPERIENCER Emotion
 'Die Nachricht hat bei Marie eine Depression hervorgerufen.'
- Vestea i-a făcut Mariei o bucurie/ neazuri/ plăcere/ scârbă.
 Die Nachricht ihr.Kl.-hat gemacht Maria eine Freude/ Verdruss/ Vergnügen/ Ekel.
 EXPERIENCER Emotion
 'Die Nachricht hat bei Maria eine Freude/Verdruss/Vergnügen/Ekel hervorgerufen'

Sowohl im Deutschen als auch im Rumänischen wählen die dreistelligen Verben ein Thema/ Patiens als ihr direktes Objekt und einen Rezipienten/ Benefizienten als ein indirektes Objekt. Jedoch, wenn das Thema durch ein Substantiv begriffen wird, das eine Gemütsverfassung andeutet, kann das indirekte Objekt als ein Experienter und nicht als ein Rezipient oder ein Benefizient interpretiert werden. Die Interpretation des indirekten Objekts hängt von dem Verb und von seinen anderen Argumenten (vgl. Bouchard, 1995) ab.

Das Beispielsmaterial aus dem Deutschen und dem Rumänischen rechtfertigt Arads Vorschlag, dass die Experienter-Rolle mit der Thema-, Rezipient- oder Locativ-Rolle abwechseln kann. Jede syntaktische Position kann als ein Experienter interpretiert werden: das direkte oder das indirekte Objekt und sogar die lokative Bestimmung.

2.1. Handlungsverben uminterpretiert als Psych-Verben

Die gleiche Art von Wechsel der Experienter-Rolle mit anderen Theta-Rollen erscheint bei den Verben der physischen Manipulation uminterpretiert als Psych-Verben. Es gibt viele Verben in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Sprache, die einen Sinn-Wechsel zwischen einer konkreten physischen Lesart und einer psychischen Lesart ausstellen (vgl. Klein und Kutscher 2002): *ansprechen* ('anreden', 'gefallen'), *anziehen* ('bekleiden', 'locken'), *belasten* ('beladen', 'plagen'), *berühren* ('anfassen', 'beeindrucken'), *bewegen* ('rühren', 'berühren'), *verletzen* ('verwunden', 'beleidigen'), usw. Diese Verben können als psychologische Verben verwendet werden, wobei das Patiens-Argument von dem Experienter-Argument ersetzt wird:

- 24) *Der Wind/ Peter bewegt die Blätter.*
 CAUSATIV/AGENS PATIENS
 *Der Film/ *Peter bewegt die Zuschauer.*
 EXPERIENTER
 Ihr Kleid/ Peter berührte den Boden.
 PATIENS
 *Seine Geschichte/ *Peter berührte Marie.*
 EXPERIENTER

Die ungrammatischen Beispiele zeigen, daß die agentiven Handlungsverben nicht als psychologische Verben uminterpretiert werden können. Viele Verben mit der psychologischen Lesart unterscheiden sich von ihren physischen Lesart in Bezug auf die Selektionsbeschränkungen der Argumente, die sie regieren: die meisten Verben mit Experienter-Objekt wählen Subjekte mit dem semantischen Merkmal [-menschlich] aus, während sie in ihrer physischen Lesart Subjekte mit dem Merkmal [+/- menschlich] selektieren.

Denselben Rollenwechsel bemerkt man auch auf Rumänisch bei transitiven Handlungsverben uminterpretiert als Psych-Verben: *a agita* ('schütteln', 'erregen'), *a deranja* ('durcheinanderbringen', 'stören'), *a distruge* ('vernichten', 'zerstören'), *a lovi* ('schlagen', 'rühren'), *a mișca* ('bewegen', 'berühren'), *a răni* ('verletzen', 'beleidigen'), *a stârni* ('aufwirbeln', 'hervorrufen'), *a termina* ('beenden', 'verblüffen'), *a tulbura* ('trüben', 'bewegen'), *a zdruncina* ('rütteln', 'erschüttern'), usw.:

- 25) *Vântul/ Ion* *a mișcat* *undița.*
Der Wind/ Johann *hat bewegt* *die Angel.*
 CAUSATIV/AGENS PATIENS
- Scrisoarea/ * Ion* *a mișcat-o* *pe Maria.*
Der Brief/ Johann *hat bewegt-sie.Kl.* *prep.Akk Maria.*
 CAUSATIV/AGENS EXPERIENCER
- 26) *Bomba / proprietarul* *a distrus* *casa.*
Die Bombe/ Der Besitzer *hat zerstört* *das Haus.*
 CAUSATIV/ AGENS PATIENS
- Pierdereea averii/*Proprietarul* *l-a distrus* *pe Ion.*
Das Vermögen/ Der Besitzer *hat-ihn.Kl. zerstört* *prep.Akk.Johann.*
 CAUSATIV/AGENS EXPERIENCER

Bei diesen Verben kann das Akkusativobjekt als ein Patiens oder als ein Experiencer interpretiert werden.

Eigentlich kann jedes Verb als ein Psych-Verb interpretiert werden, wenn bestimmte Bedingungen erfüllt werden (vgl. Bouchard, 1995). Erstens muss das Verb ein [+menschlich] Argument regieren, das als Experiencer interpretiert werden sollte, zweitens sollte das Subjekt unfähig sein, physisch das Objekt zu betreffen. Bei nicht-inkorporierten Formen gibt es auch die Voraussetzung, dass eines der internen Argumente einen Gefühlsprozess ausdrücken sollte.

Die Argumente eines Psych-Verbs können nicht mit meta-semantischen Entitäten wie ‘Behälter/ Container’ oder ‘Stoff’ ausgeglichen werden, aber in den folgenden nicht-inkorporierten Formen der Psych-Prädikate kann der Experiencer als ‘Behälter’ vorgestellt werden, während das Substantiv, das den emotionalen Zustand benennt, der ‘Stoff’ ist, der den menschlichen Behälter erfüllt:

- 27) Die Blumen erfüllten den Raum mit ihrem Duft.
Container Stoff
Der Brief erfüllte Peter mit Schrecken.
Container Stoff/Emotion
Die Angst/ die Furcht/ die Wut/ die Unruhe/ der Zorn erfaßt/ ergreift den Jungen.
Stoff/ Emotion Container

Die Angst/ der Neid/ die Wut steigt in mir auf.
 Stoff/ Emotion Container

In den meisten Fällen tritt das Empfindungssubstantiv als Subjekt des Satzes auf.

Auf Rumänisch werden ähnliche Redewendungen verwendet, welche die Verben *a cuprinde* ‘ergreifen’, *a umple* ‘erfüllen’ *a apuca* ‘erfassen’, *a lua* ‘packen’ und einen Experiencer im Akkusativ enthalten, der als ‘Container’ aufgefaßt wird:

28) *Frica/ spaima/ groaza* mă *cuprinde/ apucă/ ia.*
Die Angst/ der Schreck/das Entsetzen mich *erfasst /ergreift/ packt*
 Stoff EXP./Container

29) *Scrisoarea* o *umple pe Maria de bucurie/ furie/ tristețe/ supărare.*
Der Brief sie.Kl. erfüllt *Maria von Freude/ Wut/ Traurigkeit/ Ärger*
 EXP./Container Stoff
 ‘Der Brief hat Maria mit Freude/ Wut/ Traurigkeit/ Ärger erfüllt.’

In beiden Sprachen verfügen die in solchen idiomatischen Ausdrücken enthaltenen Verben über dieselbe Bedeutungskomponente, wie die des Erfüllens eines seelischen Raumes und der seelischen Überwältigung.

2.2. Idiomatische Redewendungen

Sowohl Deutsch als auch Rumänisch verfügen über spezielle idiomatische Redewendungen, in denen ein Experiencer im Dativ eine possessive Interpretation in der Beziehung mit dem Subjekt des Satzes aufweist. In solchen Strukturen deutet die *vor*-Nominalphrase auf die emotionale Ursache der Gemütsverfassung, die den dativpossessiven Experiencer des Satzes betrifft:

30) *Das Blut steigt/ schießt Peter in die Wangen/ ins Gesicht vor Zorn.*
 EXPERIENCER [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] CAUSATIV

Mir kocht/stockt/erstarrt/gerinnt/gefriert das Blut in den Adern vor Schreck.
 EXPERIENCER [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] CAUS.

Sângele îi fierbe lui Ion (în vene) de furie.
Das Blut ihm.Kl.Dat. kocht dem Johann (in den Adern) vor Wut.
 EXP. [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] CAUS.

In beiden Sprachen erlauben dieselben idiomatischen Konstruktionen eine Alternativkonfiguration, in der die Realisierung des Experiencer-Argumentes als eine Präpositionalphrase mit einer klaren Lokativbedeutung zugelassen wird:

- 31) *Das Blut* *kocht/ siedet* *in mir* *vor Wut.*
 [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] EXP/ LOCATIV Emotion
- 32) *Fierbe* *sângele* *în Ion.*
Kocht *das Blut* *in Johann.*
 [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] EXP./ LOCATIV

Im Rumänischen sind spezielle idiomatische Redewendungen vorhanden, in denen das Subjekt einen Teil des menschlichen Körpers anzeigt, der dem Experiencer-Argument im Dativ gehört. Die *de*-Nominalphrase deutet auf die Ursache der emotionalen Zustandsänderung des dativpossessiven Experiencers:

- 33) *Inima/ mustața/ ochii* *îi* *râd(e)* *lui Ion* *de bucurie.*
Das Herz/ der Bart/ die Augen ihm.Kl. *lacht(en)* *dem Johann* *vor Freude.*
 [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] EXPERIENCER Causativ
 'Ihm lacht das Herz im Leibe.'
- 34) *Picioarele i* *s-au* *tăiat* *lui Ion* *de spaimă.*
Die Beine ihm.Kl. *sich-haben geschnitten* *dem Johann* *vor Schrecken.*
 [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] EXPERIENCER Causativ
 'Er wurde weich in den Knien vor Schreck'
- Inima* *i-a* *înghețat* *lui Ion* *de frică.*
Das Herz ihm.Kl.-ist *gefroren* *dem Johann* *vor Furcht.*
 [+Teil des menschl. Körpers] EXPERIENCER Causativ
 'Das Blut erstarrt ihm in den Adern.'

Wie von der wörtlichen Übersetzungen der rumänischen Beispiele ersichtlich ist, sind diese idiomatischen Redewendungen mit einer psychologischen Deutung sprachspezifische Konstruktionen aber alle setzen das Vorhandensein eines Experiencer-Objektes voraus. Eine nähere Untersuchung dieser Konstruktionen mit einem idiomatischen Charakter würde zur Übersetzungspraxis wesentlich beitragen.

Zusammenfassung

Das Experiencer-Argument, das früher als spezielles Argument der Psych-Verben begriffen wurde, tritt eigentlich in eine Reihe von Konstruktionen ein, die Empfindungen andeuten.

Die Analyse der nicht-inkorporierten Formen auf Deutsch und Rumänisch hat bestätigt, dass Psych-Prädikate mit einem Experiencer-Objekt den lokativen, dativen und kausativen Konfigurationen strukturell ähnlich sind. Das Argument mit der Experiencer-Rolle kann ein Argument mit der Thema-, Benefizient- oder Locativ-Rolle ersetzen. Jede syntaktische Position im Rahmen der Verbalphrase kann als ein Experiencer interpretiert werden.

In beiden Sprachen kann eine ganze Menge von ‘normalen’ Verben, die eine ihrer Argument-Stelle durch einen Experiencer besetzt haben, als Psych-Verben uminterpretiert werden. Eigentlich kann jedes Verb des Zustandswandels mit zwei oder drei Argumenten Psych-Konstruktionen nachgeben. Die einzige Beschränkung scheint auf agentiv verwendeten transitiven Handlungsverben zu sein, die eine Psych-Interpretation nicht erlauben.

Das Experiencer-Objekt ist auch in jenen idiomatischen Redewendungen beider Sprachen anwesend, die einen emotionalen Zustand ausdrücken.

Die Resultate der kontrastiven Analyse unterstreichen wesentliche syntaktische und semantische Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den nicht-inkorporierten Formen der Psych-Prädikate im Deutschen und Rumänischen und signalisiert Unterschiede im Bereich des idiomatischen Gebrauchs beider Sprachen.

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Director de proiect: Monica Matei-Chesnoiu

Shakespeare in Romania: 1950 to the present

Edited by
MONICA MATEI-CHESNOIU

With a Foreword by
BALZ ENGLER



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EDITURA HUMANITAS
Piața Presei Libere 1, 013701 București, România
tel. 021/408 83 50, fax 021/408 83 51
www.humanitas.ro

Comenzi CARTE PRIN POȘTĂ: tel./fax 021/311 23 30
C.P.C.E. - CP 14, București
e-mail: cpp@humanitas.ro
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FOREWORD

BALZ ENGLER

One of my prized possessions is a small book, size 10x10 cm, bound in steel (!), printed in only six copies, containing six sonnets by Shakespeare in Romanian and English, plus six finely drawn original images, engraved by the artist Florin Stoiciu in 1997. Unlike the images, the texts are deliberately smudged, disappearing into the background or – who can tell? – forcing their way from there. How should I read this little book? How can I ever know? Having read the present volume I feel that a reading has to take into account both the malleability and the force of the Shakespeare phenomenon in Romania.

Just looking at the table of contents, the collection of essays may look like a medley of great but somewhat disordered variety – titles concern the computer analysis of texts, a sequel in poetry, the extension of the canon, stage history, Shakespeare's influence on contemporary poetry, the use of nominal expressions in translation, etc. But reading them together they create a lively and surprisingly coherent account of a lively and diverse culture of encountering a foreign author, an account that can certainly do, in my view, without any self-conscious gestures of marginality.

For an outsider the strength of the volume lies in the way the individual contributions illuminate, from different perspectives, the way academic, theatrical and literary practices were affected by difficult and changing political

THE NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS OF EMOTION IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS AND IN THE 20TH CENTURY ROMANIAN TRANSLATIONS

CAMELIA BEJAN
Ovidius University, Constanța

The diversity of the linguistic constructions expressing emotional states in the Shakespearean plays is quite impressive and an orderly, linguistically principled inventory of them has not been made yet. Moreover, the innumerable translations of Shakespeare's plays into other languages, and at various times, may bring to the analysis of psychological constructions a wealth of syntactic patterns and new insights into the translatability of Shakespeare's texts.

Within such a framework of research, the aim of this paper is to sketch a brief, tentative inventory of Shakespeare's vocabulary of emotions, laying special emphasis on nouns and nominals and on their rendering into the Romanian translations of the twentieth century.

This paper proposes a comparative study of psych nominals in English and Romanian based on the classes of psych verbs. We explore variation in the structure of psychological constructions with a view to sketching a typology of psych nominals in the two languages in close correlation with their verbal sources.

With this view in mind, we give a brief survey of the research on psych nouns and nominals, then we provide a list of psych nominals encountered in Shakespeare's plays and in the Romanian translations. Semantically all these nouns share a common feature – they convey emotions, syntactically however, they occur in various

patterns. In the final section we discuss constructions that include psych nominals, and compare these structures with the twentieth century Romanian translations.

1. Theoretical background

The examination of the expressions that denote emotions is based on research concerning the syntactic properties of psychological verbs in Belletti & Rizzi (1988) and Pesetsky (1995) and on recent investigations of the larger area of psych constructions in Arad (1998). The syntactic properties of psychological nominals in present-day English are investigated in Rozwadowska (1997) and Bejan (2007). We apply some of the results of this theoretical research to the analysis of Shakespeare's vocabulary of emotion.

1.1. Psychological verbs

Psychological verbs involve the presence of a human participant emotionally engaged in a relationship with some Theme of emotion, i.e. psych verbs always make available an Experiencer role which is, however, assigned either to the Subject or to the Object argument, hence the two groups of verbs, generally known as Subject Experiencer verbs and Object Experiencer verbs.

In contemporary English and Romanian, verbs belonging to the two classes differ in the placement of their Experiencer argument as illustrated below:

- 1) a) Mary adores theatre performances. (Subject Experiencer verb)
Maria adoră spectacolele de teatru.
EXPERIENCER THEME
- b) The performance pleased Mary. (Object Experiencer verb)
Spectacolul a încântat-o pe Maria.
THEME EXPERIENCER
- c) The performance appealed to Mary. (Object Experiencer verb)
Spectacolul i-a plăcut Mariei.
THEME EXPERIENCER

The English examples and their Romanian equivalent versions show that Subject Experiencer verbs take an Experiencer in Subject position and a Theme of emotion in Object position. Object Experiencer verbs have the Experiencer marked either with the accusative case as in (1b) or, less frequently, with the dative case, as in (1c). Object Experiencer verbs that are followed by an accusative Object can be used either with an Agent or with a Causer in Subject position:

- 2) John annoyed Mary. (agentive use)
The noise annoyed Mary. (non-agentive use)

Recent syntactic studies extend the area of research from psych verbs to all types of psych predicate configurations, that is to constructions in which psych adjectives and psych nouns are included. It is argued that psych constructions do not have a special syntactic configuration, they are structurally similar to predicates of giving, location and causation (cf. Arad 1999: 1-23).

The classification of psych verbs forms the basis for the discussion of the classes of psych nominals in the next section. The prediction is that, since psych verbs do not form a homogenous class, the corresponding nominals will also reveal irregularities.

1.2. Psychological nouns and nominals

Psychological nouns are derived or non-derived. Derived nouns, or nominals, are obtained from verbs by means of the nominalizing suffixes: *-ment* (*amazement, amusement, astonishment, bafflement, embarrassment, enjoyment, enrage-ment, entertainment, excitement, puzzlement, relishment, resentment, etc.*), *-tion/-sion* (*depression, devastation, exhilaration, frustration, intimidation, irritation, satisfaction, stupefaction, vexation, etc.*), *-ance* (*abhorrence, annoyance, grievance*), *-ure* (*pleasure, displeasure, discomfiture*), *-doom* (*boredom*), or from adjectives by means of the nominalizing suffix *-ness* (*sad-ness, happiness, etc.*)

Nominals derived from psychological verbs form a class of nominal structures with clearly distinguished semantic and syntactic properties.

Semantically psychological nominals basically denote an emotional state and therefore have a result interpretation. However, a certain group of nominals allow a process interpretation, i.e. an Agent deliberately stirs emotions in a human participant (cf. Bejan 2007):

- 3) The jester entertained the children (agentive Obj Exp verb)
AGENT EXPERIENCER
The jester's entertainment of the children SN(of)O

Syntactically these psychological nominals (*entertainment, intimidation, humiliation*) inherit the argument structure of their verbal sources, the agentive uses of Object Experiencer verbs, and are allowed to appear in nominalizations with the former clausal subject in the genitive phrase, and the Object-phrase headed by the preposition *of* typical of transitive nominalizations.

Many nominals which seem to be related to non-agentive Object Experiencer verbs take an Object-phrase preceded by an idiosyncratic preposition: *amazement* (*at/by*), *amusement* (*at*), *appalment* (*at*), *astonishment* (*by/at*), *astound-ment* (*at/of*), *bafflement* (*by*), *boredom* (*at/with*), *depression* (*at*), *disappointment* (*at/with/about*), *discomfiture* (*with*), *disconcertion* (*at*), *(dis)satisfaction* (*with*), *embarrassment* (*about*), *enchantment* (*with*), *enragement* (*at*), *excitement* (*at, with*), *exhilaration* (*at*), *fascination* (*with/for*), *frustration* (*with/at*), *irritation* (*at*), *(dis)pleasure* (*at/with*), *perturbation* (*at*), *puzzle-ment* (*at/about*), *satisfaction* (*with*), *stupefaction* (*at*), *vexation* (*at*), etc.:

- 4) The report annoyed Mary. (non-agentive Object Experiencer verb)
Mary's annoyance with the report was obvious. ON PO

These are actually nominalizations that inherit the argument structure of the psychological adjective in a copulative predication: *Mary is annoyed with the report.*

Nominals related to transitive Subject Experiencer verbs (*abhorrence, adoration, detestation, enjoyment, relishment, resentment, etc.*) appear in nominalizations with the former clausal subject in the genitive phrase in pre- or postnominal position and the Object-phrase headed by the preposition *of*:

- 5) He abhors flattery. (Subject Experiencer verb)
his abhorrence of flattery SN (of) O

The non-derived nominals are related to transitive or prepositional intransitive Subject Experiencer verbs: *desire, dislike, dread, fear, love, care about, fear (for), gloat (over), hanker (after), lust (after/ for sth.), worry (about), etc.* The lack of derived nominals from these verbs is compensated for by *-ing* forms (*yearning for, craving for, longing for, hankering after, etc.*):

- 6) Her fear for her safety was overwhelming.
The orphans' craving for love impressed her.

Romanian also makes available psychological nouns of the two types: derived and non-derived. In Romanian the deverbal nominals are the result of the nominalization of the infinitive. The nominal infinitive is formed by attaching the suffix *-re* to the basic form of the verb: *a admira* 'to admire' *admiraRE* 'admiring'. The nominal infinitive is stylistically marked as formal and it is very productive.

The psych nominal infinitive may be derived from Subject Experiencer verbs (*admirare* 'admiration', *adorare* 'adoration', *detestare* 'detestation', *iubire* 'love', etc.) or from Object Experiencer verbs (*amuzare* 'amusement', *bucurare* 'gladdening', *distrare* 'entertainment', *impresionare* 'affecting', *intristare* 'saddening', *încântare* 'delight', *înfiorare* 'thrill', *înfuriere* 'maddening', *îngrozire* 'horrifying', *înveselire* 'gladdening', *iritare* 'irritating', *mâhnire* 'upsetting', *oripilare* 'horrifying', *plictisire* 'boring', *stânjenire*

'embarrassment', *stupefiere* 'amazement', *supărare* 'upsetting', *șocare* 'shock', etc.). There are also several deverbal nouns derived by means of suffixation: *agitație* 'agitation', *bucurie* 'joy', *umilință* 'humility', etc. Examples of deadjectival nominals are: *timiditate* 'shyness', *tristețe* 'sadness', etc. Basic, non-derived psychological nouns are: *dispreț* 'disdain', *furie* 'fury', *frică* 'fear', *oroare* 'horror', *rușine* 'shame', *teamă* 'fear', *teroare* 'terror', etc.

In this section we have brought evidence for the varied pattern of psych nominalizations in English and Romanian. We have sketched a typology of psychological verbs and nominals in standard English, to be used as a frame of reference for the analysis of the nominal expressions of emotion in Shakespeare's plays and in the twentieth century Romanian translations.

2. An inventory of psych nouns and nominals in Shakespearean English

For the discussion of the nouns and nominals that express emotion we rely on the data collected from Shakespeare's plays¹ and from the twentieth century translations of Shakespeare's plays into Romanian. We focus our attention on those structures that seem to reflect the Elizabethan usage and not on nouns and nominals that occur as parts of metaphors, comparisons or other figures of speech.

Nominals that denote a mental state in Shakespeare's plays are of two types: basic or derived.

1. The play texts are keyed to *The Concordance of Shakespeare Resource Center* 1997 – 2008, last updated: February 25, 2008. <http://www.bardweb.net> (accessed: February 28, 2008) and to Alexander Schmidt *Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary* based on Alexander Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon*, Berlin: Georg Riemer, 1902, *The Perseus Project*, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu> (accessed: March 10, 2008).

The derived nominals are deverbal: *adoration, affection, amazement, annoyance, displeasure, entertainment, perturbation, pleasure, satisfaction*, etc. or deadjectival: *bitterness, happiness, sadness, merriment*, etc. The number of psychological nominals in Early Modern English is considerably lower than in standard English (cf. section 1.2.).

Basic nominals encountered in Shakespeare's plays are: *anger, awe, care (for), cheer, comfort, craving (for), desire, disdain, disquiet, dread, fear, fury, grief, hate, hatred, horror, ire, joy, loath, love, lust, marvel, outrage, pity, rage, savour, scare, scorn, shame, sorrow, surprise, sympathy, terror, torment, wonder, wrath, worry*, etc.

Nouns that suggest emotions in the twentieth century Romanian translations are either nominals derived from the infinitive form of the verb: *admirare* 'admiration', *desfătare* 'enchantment', *întristare* 'saddness', *iubire* 'love', *înfiorare* 'frightening', *fericire* 'happiness', *mâhnire* 'upsetting', *plăcere* 'pleasure', *rușinare* 'shame', *supărare* 'upsetting', *tulburare* 'upsetting', etc.

The underived nominals are: *amar* 'bitterness', *amor* 'love', *ciudă* 'envy', *dispreț* 'disdain', *dragoste* 'love', *fior* 'emotion', *freamăt* 'agitation', *frică* 'fear', *furie* 'fury', *groază* 'horror', *mânie* 'anger', *melancolie* 'melancholy', *oroare* 'horror', *rușine* 'shame', *silă* 'disgust', *sfială* 'shyness', *spaimă* 'scare', *veselie* 'joy', *zbucium* 'torment', etc.

There are rare instances when psychological nominals occur with a full argument structure, i.e. when the nominal preserves the subject and the object of the base sentences:

- 7) I have often heard / Of your entire affection to Bianca
(*The Taming of the Shrew*, Act 4, Scene 2)

Sila mea pentru războaie

'My hatred for wars' (I hate wars)

(*Troilus and Cressida*, Act 3, Scene 3)²

2. Levițchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Troilus și Cressida*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 1 (București: Editura Univers, 1982), 62.

dragostea ei pentru Benedick

'her love for Benedick' (She loves Benedick)

(*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act II, Scene 3)³

The examination of the psych nominals in English and Romanian shows that Shakespeare's English, as an instantiation of Elizabethan English, illustrates a stage in the evolution of the vocabulary, when the word-formation process known as derivation has not fully flourished in the language. This accounts for the fact that the derived nominals are greatly outnumbered by the basic ones, and that they occur as single lexical items, not accompanied by the subject or the object of the verbal source.

The comparative reading of the Romanian translations points to the same tendency: the absence of full nominal structures of the type illustrated in section 1.2. for Modern English.

3. Constructions with psych nouns and nominals in Shakespearean English

The examination of the psych nouns and nominals in the Shakespearean plays and in their Romanian translations may be extended to include whole predicate configurations, i.e. constructions in which psychological nouns collocate with certain verbs to convey emotional states. They are grouped according to the Object or Subject position of their Experiencer argument.

3.1. Object Experiencer constructions

In her study of psych constructions in contemporary English, Arad (1999:1-23) argues that the Experiencer argument of Object Experiencer verbs can be easily replaced by arguments with other thematic roles. Following her line of reasoning, we bring additional evidence from Elizabethan English and present-day Romanian to show

3. Levițchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Mult zgomot pentru nimic*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 4 (București: Editura Univers, 1985), 265.

that the predicate constructions in which psychological nominals co-occur with ordinary, non-psych verbs share the structure of locative, dative and causative configurations⁴.

In many languages, including English and Romanian, Object Experiencer predicates may have two realizations: either as verbs (the emotion is incorporated in the verb form: *fright* in 'to frighten', *fear* in 'to fear', *disgust* in 'to disgust', etc.), or as nouns describing a mental state (*fright*) which combine with an 'ordinary' verb (*to take fright*). The first are referred to as 'incorporated' forms and the latter as 'non-incorporated' forms⁵.

Non-incorporated forms of Object Experiencer predicates in Shakespeare's plays and in their Romanian translations express an emotional state by means of a psychological noun in conjunction with an ordinary causative verb.

The noun indicating the emotion may occur in subject position with an Experiencer in the accusative case that denotes the human location of the emotion:

- 8) Despair hath seized her.
 Emotion EXP.Acc.
 (Cymbeline, Act 3, Scene 3)
- New horrors came upon him.
 Emotion EXP.Acc./GOAL
 (Macbeth, Act 1, Scene 3)

4. The typical locative, dative and causative configurations in Modern English are illustrated below:

She	put	the book	on the shelf.
		PATIENT	LOCATION
She	gave	Mary	a book.
		RECIP./BENEFICIARY	PATIENT
The inflation caused	John	financial problems.	
	EXPERIENCER	THEME	

5. Denis, Bouchard *The Semantics of Syntax* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

In Romanian the psychological nominal in subject position may denote the emotional substance being poured over the Experiencer, which is seen as a final point of movement or as the Goal of movement:

- 9) *Tristețea noastră să se reverse asupra ta*
 'Our sorrow should spill over you'
 Emotion EXP./GOAL
 (Troilus & Cressida, Act 3, Scene 1)⁶
- Tristețea / Ce m-a cuprins*
 The sadness/ that me seized
 Emotion EXP.
 (The Taming of the Shrew, Act I, Scene 1)⁷

The emotion nominal occurs in non-incorporated forms of Object Experiencer predicates whose meaning is related to or identical with that of incorporated forms, as illustrated in the following pairs: *to give the cheer* – *to cheer*, *to bring comfort* – *to comfort*, *to do displeasure to somebody* – *to displease somebody*, etc.

Psychological nominals may occur in configurations which bear a surprising similarity to the transitive structures with a locative, dative or causative interpretation. Thus, the psych nominal may appear in a **locative configuration** with a motion verb (*strike*, *run*, *put*) and an Experiencer argument. The Experiencer may have a locative interpretation, it is the place where the emotion arises:

- 10) ...should strike such terror to his enemies
 Emotion EXP./LOC./GOAL
 (King Henry VI, Part I, Act 2, Scene 3)
- creating awe and fear in other men?
 Emotion EXP./LOCATION
 (King Henry V, Act 4, Scene 1)

6. Levițchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Troilus și Cressida*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 1 (București: Editura Univers, 1982), 49.

7. Lăzărescu, A. Dan (trans.), *Îmblinzirea scorpiei*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 2 (București: Editura Univers, 1983), 181.

A second alternative is for the noun denoting the emotion to have a locative meaning, that is to be apprehended as an abstract realm of emotion. Most of these constructions have been dropped from the language:

- 11) Thou hast a better place in his affection / Than all thy brothers
 EXP. Emotion
 (King Henry IV, Part II, Act 4, Sc. 3)
- He put the Moor into a jealousy
 AGENT EXP. Emotion/ LOCATION
 (Othello, Act II, Scene 1)
- I will put them out of fear
 AGENT EXP. Emotion/ LOCATION
 (A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act III, Scene 1)

In Romanian a psych nominal appears in a locative configuration with an Experiencer, frequently a collective noun *oaste/oştire* 'army', conceived as a human location in which an Agent deliberately instills an emotion:

- 12) ...Sagetătorul a vîrit/ Groaza în oştire
 The archer has struck horror in the army
 AGENT Emotion EXP./LOC.
 (Troilus and Cressida, Act 5, Scene 5)⁸
- Strecori neliniştea în oaste, prinţe.
 (You) instill disquiet in the army, prince.
 AGENT Emotion EXP./LOC.
 (Troilus and Cressida, Act 5, Scene 10)⁹
- Şi să stirnească-n prunci porniri de ură
 And (they) should stir in babies impulses of hatred
 AGENT EXP./LOC. Emotion
 (Titus Andronicus, Act IV, Scene 1)¹⁰

In Shakespearean English psychological nouns and nominals appear in **dative configurations** with ditransitive verbs: *to give somebody satisfaction/ vexation, to give the cheers, to bring somebody comfort*, etc. The emotion is

8. Leviţchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Troilus şi Cressida*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 1 (Bucureşti: Editura Univers, 1982), 99.

9. *Ibid.*, 104.

10. Duţescu, Dan (trans.), *Titus Andronicus*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 2 (Bucureşti: Editura Univers, 1983), 49.

understood as what the Experiencer argument receives or benefits from:

- 13) to give me ample satisfaction
 EXP./REC./BEN. THEME/Emotion
 (The Comedy of Errors, Act 5, Scene 1)
- give him deserved vexation
 EXP. Emotion
 (Coriolanus, Act 3, Scene 3)
- I will bring you comfort.
 EXP./REC./BEN. THEME/Emotion
 (King Lear, Act 5, Scene 2)

The Romanian twentieth century translators make use of psych constructions with a dative configuration which include a psychological nominal in the accusative case and the ditransitive verbs *a da* 'to give' and *a aduce* 'to bring': *a da fericire cuiva* 'to give happiness to somebody', *a aduce înfiorare/ încântare/ fericire cuiva* 'to bring shivers/ enchantment/ happiness to somebody', *a aduce ruşine cuiva* 'to bring shame to somebody', etc. The Experiencer argument can be interpreted as the Recipient of the emotion:

- 14) Nu mă gîndesc numai la încântarea /Ce mi-o aduce frumuseţea ei
 I don't think only about the enchantment/ that me her beauty brings
 Emotion EXP.
 (Troilus & Cressida, Act 2, Scene 2)¹¹
- Şi dacă o ascult, ce straşnică fericire o să-mi aducă?
 'And if I listen to her, what great happiness will she bring me?'
 Emotion EXP.
 (Much Ado About Nothing, Act 1, Scene 3)¹²
- Dumnezeu să-ţi dea fericire
 ('May) God give you happiness'
 AGENT EXP. Emotion
 (Much Ado About Nothing, Act 2, Scene 1)¹³

11. Leviţchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Troilus şi Cressida*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 1 (Bucureşti: Editura Univers, 1982), 37.

12. Leviţchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Mult zgomot pentru nimic*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 4 (Bucureşti: Editura Univers, 1985), 249.

13. *Ibid.*, 258.

Psychological nouns and nominals in Elizabethan English may appear in a **causative configuration** in combination with the causative verbs *do*, *make*, *put*, as in: *to do displeasure/outrage to somebody*, *to do somebody disquiet/vexation*, *to make somebody satisfaction*, *to use entertainment to somebody*, etc. All these patterns have been abandoned in Modern English:

- 15) My lord, you do me most insupportable vexation
 AGENT EXP. Emotion
 (*All's Well That Ends Well*, Act 2, Scene 3)

In the Romanian translations experiencer nominals in the causative configurations co-occur with the verb *a pricinui* 'to cause' and *a face* 'to make', *a stârni* 'to arouse': *a pricinui mâniarea/o neplăcere cuiva* 'to cause anger/displeasure to somebody', *a face supărare/plăcere cuiva* 'to make anger/pleasure to somebody', *a stârni supărarea/ura cuiva* 'to arouse anger/hatred to somebody', etc.:

- 16) *Vă voi pricinui o neplăcere*
 (I) you will cause a displeasure 'I will displease you'
 AG. EXP. Emotion
 (*King Lear*, Act 1, Scene 2)¹⁴
Cînd însă furtunosul Boreas / Stîrnește supărarea blîndeî Thetis
 But when the stormy Boreas / Stirs the anger to the kind Thetis
 AGENT Emotion EXP
 (*Troilus & Cressida*, Act 1, Scene 3)¹⁵

It is obvious that in the configurations above, from (8) to (16), the psychological noun or nominal is conceived as an abstract Location, Goal or Theme and occurs in the Subject or Object position in the sentence, while the Experiencer participant occurs as an Object (direct, indirect or prepositional) and alternates with other semantic

14. Gheorghiu, Mihnea (trans.), *Regele Lear*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 7 (București: Editura Univers, 1988), 115.

15. Levițchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Troilus și Cressida*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 1 (București: Editura Univers, 1982), 20.

roles: Location, Recipient, Goal, Beneficiary. All the verbs used in these configurations contribute to conveying an emotional meaning.

It is clear that the psych nominal radically alters the meaning of the ordinary verb in the presence of an Experiencer argument. Actually, any verb can be understood as a psych verb if it has a [+animate] argument which can be interpreted as an Experiencer, while the internal arguments should be an emotion or a mental state (cf. Bouchard 1995: 125).

The arguments of a psych verb cannot be equated with meta-semantic entities such as 'container' or 'stuff' but in the following non-incorporated constructions the Experiencer can be understood as 'container', while the noun indicating the mental state is the 'stuff' that fills the container.

In Romanian there are few semi-idiomatic expressions with psych nouns: *a umple cu groază/spaimă* 'to fill with horror/scare'. The noun denoting the emotional state is interpreted as the stuff that fills the human 'container' or a certain part of the human body, usually the heart or the soul:

- 17) *Ți se umple sufletul de bucurie*
 You.Dat fills the soul with joy 'Your soul fills with joy'
 EXP. soul Emotion
 (*Troilus & Cressida*, Act 1, Scene 2)¹⁶

In certain English configurations the only indication regarding the person suffering the emotion is the possessive modifier preceding the noun denoting the part of the human body:

- 18) such as fill my heart with unhoped joys
 EXP.[+part of the body] Emotion
 Container Stuff
 (*King Henry VI*, Part 3, Act 3, Scene 3)

16. *Ibid.*, 17.

All these examples selected from the Shakespearean plays and their Romanian translations support Arad's proposal that psychological constructions with an Object Experiencer interpretation are structurally similar to predicates of giving, location and causation.

3.2. Subject Experiencer constructions with nominals

Psychological nouns or nominals co-occur with the verbs *be* or *live* in non-incorporated forms of Subject Experiencer predicates. The Experiencer Subject is in an emotional state conceived as an abstract mental location: *to be in pleasure*, *to be in (great) grievance*, etc.:

- 19) ...that your subjects are in great grievance.
 EXP. Emotion
 (King Henry VIII, Act 1, Scene 2)
- Ay, and you shall live in pleasure
 EXP. Emotion
 (Pericles, Prince of Tyre, Act 4, Scene 2)

Psych nouns may also collocate with the verbs: *bear*, *find*, *make*, *take* and form Subject Experiencer predicate configurations, such as: *to bear somebody displeasure/hate/love*; *to find (dis)pleasure in something/somebody*; *to make satisfaction for something*; *to take (a) (dis)pleasure at somebody/against somebody/ in something*:

- 20) ...this duke /Hath ta'en displeasure 'gainst his gentle niece.
 EXP. Emotion Target of emotion
 (As You Like It, Act 1, Scene 2)
- You take pleasure then in the message
 EXP. Emotion
 (Much Ado About Nothing, Act II, Scene 3)
- Royal Antiochus... /Took some displeasure at him
 EXPERIENCER Emotion Target of emotion
 (Pericles, Prince of Tyre, Act 2, Scene 3)

Psych nouns and nominals follow the transitive verb *have*, as in: *to have a satisfaction/an interest in something/somebody*,

to have delight + infinitive; *to have a wrath against somebody*, *to have a desire to something/+infinitive*:

- 21) Hast thou delight to see a wretched man
 EXP. Emotion
 (The Comedy of Errors, Act 4, Scene 4)
- Let's follow him, and pervert the present wrath
 He hath against himself
 EXP. Target of emotion Emotion
 (Cymbeline, Act 2, Scene 4)
- I have a great desire to a bottle of hay
 EXP. Emotion
 (A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act 4, Scene 1)

The emotional state is the abstract Location, where the Experiencer deliberately holds the human Target of emotion: *to hold somebody in hatred/disdain/awe*, *to keep somebody in awe*:

- 22) she holdeth thee in awe
 EXP. Target Emotion/ LOC.
 (King Henry VI, Part I, Act 1 Scene 1)
- We must suggest the people in what hatred
 He still hath held them...
 EXP. Target Emotion/LOC.
 (Coriolanus, Act 2, Scene 1)

With non-incorporated forms, the noun denoting the emotion can have two interpretations: it is Locative in meaning with the stative verbs like *be*, *settle* or it may be the Goal of movement with verbs such as *fall* and *plunge*:

- 23) They are in the very wrath of love
 EXP. Emotion/ LOCATION
 (As You Like It, Act 5, Scene 2)
- He has settled... in his displeasure.
 EXP. Emotion/ LOCATION
 (King Henry VIII, Act 3, Scene 2)
- 24) The town might fall in fright.
 EXP. Emotion/ GOAL
 (Othello, Act 2, Scene 3)
- (you) Do not plunge in anger.
 EXP. Emotion/ GOAL
 (All's Well that Ends Well, Act 2, Scene 3)

Wouldst thou then counsel me to fall in love?

EXP. Emotion
(*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act 1, Scene 2)

The Experiencer may be interpreted as a kind of human 'container' filled with a certain emotional stuff:

25) Thou makest me merry; I am full of pleasure

Cont. Stuff
(*The Tempest*, Act 3, Scene 2)

Most of the predicate configurations with a psych noun or nominal have become obsolete, yet their poetical force has survived.

The twentieth century Romanian translations of Shakespeare's plays make available constructions with psych nominals collocating with the verb *a fi* 'to be' to form Subject Experiencer predicates. Their structure is: the verb *a fi* 'to be' + dative Experiencer + psych noun: *a-i fi frică* de 'to be fearful of', *a-i fi milă* de 'to pity', *a-i fi rușine* de 'to be ashamed of', *a-i fi teamă* de 'to be afraid of', etc.:

26) Dacă n-o să-mi fie milă de ea...

If not will me be mercy for her 'If I do not pity her.'
EXP. emotion
(*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act 2, Scene 3)¹⁷

Other psychological nominals co-occur with transitive verbs, such as: *a avea* 'to have', *a arăta* 'to show', *a cunoaște* 'to know', *a purta* 'to bear' as in: *a avea grijă* de 'to take care of', *a nu avea frică* 'not to have fear', *a avea dragoste/iubire pentru cineva*, 'to have love/affection for somebody', *a avea o ură pe cineva* 'to have hatred for somebody'; *a arăta dispreț/prețuire/nemulțumire* 'to show disdain/appreciation/dissatisfaction', *a cunoaște frica* 'to know fear', *a purta amor/dispreț/dragoste/iubire/pică/ură cuiva* 'to bear love/disdain/affection/envy/hatred to somebody':

17. Levi'chi, D. Leon (trans.), *Mult zgomot pentru nimic*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 4. București: Editura Univers, 1985, 267.

27) dispreț arată-mi

disdain show me 'show me disdain'
(*Love's Labours Lost*, Act V, Scene 2)¹⁸

Cetății îi port dragoste mai sfântă/ Și mai adâncă decât vieții mele
The fortress.Dat (I) bear love more sacred/ and deeper than life my

'I bear more sacred and deeper love to the fortress than to my life'

(*Coriolanus*, Act 3, Scene 3)¹⁹

The psychological nominal can be understood as the substance that circulates in the human body, or in a part of the human body:

28) Nu simți fiori în sânge
Don't you feel shivers in your blood
EXP. Emotion

(*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act 5, Scene 1)²⁰

Ce freamăt e în pieptul meu! Ce zbucium!
What agitation is in my breast! What turmoil!

Emotion EXP./LOC

(*Troilus & Cressida*, Act 3, Scene 2)²¹

In Romanian the following semi-idiomatic expressions with psych nouns are used: *a fi cuprins de fiori/înfrigurare/tristețe/melancolie/extaz* 'to be seized with shivers/sadness/melancholy/ecstasy', *a fi plin de iubire* 'to be full of love', *a fi apucat de frigurile pizmei* 'to be seized with the shivers of envy', etc. The emotion in Subject position is conceived as the stuff that fills a certain part of the human body, or the soul:

18. Frunzetti, Ion and Dan Grigorescu (trans.), *Zadarnicele chinuri ale dragostei*, in *Opere complete*. Vol. 2 (București: Editura Univers, 1983), 415.

19. Vianu, Tudor, (trans.), *Coriolan*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 7 (București: Editura Univers, 1988), 578.

20. Levi'chi, D. Leon (trans.), *Mult zgomot pentru nimic*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 4 (București: Editura Univers, 1985), 301.

21. Levi'chi, D. Leon (trans.), *Troilus și Cressida*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 1 (București: Editura Univers, 1982), 52.

- 29) Deși mi-e sufletul... plin de iubire
 Though me. Dat is the soul full of love
 'Though my soul is full of love.'
 (Troilus & Cressida, Act I, Scene 3)²²
- Sufletul lui e cuprins acum de extaz.
 His soul is now seized with ecstasy
 (Much Ado About Nothing, Act 2, Scene 3)²³
- Cealalți rivali... / Sunt apucați de frigurile pizmei
 The other rivals .../ are seized with the shivers of envy
 (Troilus & Cressida, Act I, Scene 3)²⁴
- Ca un profet cuprins de-nfrigare
 Like a prophet seized with agitation
 (Troilus & Cressida, Act V, Scene 3)²⁵

The syntactic investigation of psych predicate configurations in both languages has shown that a large class of 'normal' verbs can be reinterpreted as psych verbs on condition that they allow one of their argument positions to be filled by a noun denoting an emotion found in a mental space and the other argument position to be occupied by a [+human] noun.

Conclusion

Drawing on recent syntactic research, we have managed to assemble a collection of nominal expressions and predicate constructions that indicate emotions in the Shakespearean plays. This inventory of psychological nouns and nominals and the discussion of their syntactic environments have enabled us to outline a 'possible nominal syntax of emotions' in Shakespeare's plays and to capture its reflection in the faithful mirrors of the 20th century Romanian translations. Our study lays emphasis

22. Ibid., 19.

23. Levițchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Mult zgomot pentru nimic*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 4 (București: Editura Univers, 1985), 262.

24. Levițchi, D. Leon (trans.), *Troilus și Cressida*, in *Shakespeare. Opere complete*. Vol. 1 (București: Editura Univers, 1982), 23.

25. Ibid., 96.

on the diversity of the syntactic patterns employed by the English Bard.

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SOME REMARKS ON RIGHT NODE RAISING IN ROMANIAN

Camelia Bejan

Abstract: Coordinate clauses with a common constituent in final position give rise to an interesting construction (*Mary likes, but John hates cats*), in which the constituent at the right edge of the first conjunct is missing. This phenomenon, known in the literature as Right Node Raising, has been analyzed either as an instance of movement or as an instance of ellipsis in the first conjunct. Starting from Hartmann (2000), Abels (2004) and Ha (2006), who argue in favour of an in-situ analysis of Right Node Raising, we focus on the licensing conditions on Right Node Raising in Romanian. The paper is organized in two sections. First we outline the deletion/ellipsis analyses of Right Node Raising constructions in English. Then we present empirical data related to the pre-Right Node Raising elements, the types of right-peripheral constituents that can be elided and the contexts which allow or block Right Node Raising in Romanian.

Keywords: right node raising, conjunct, ellipsis, target, islands

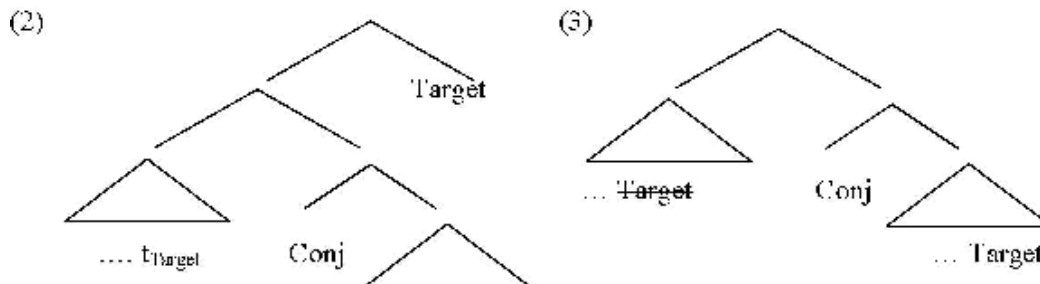
1. The deletion/ellipsis analyses of Right Node Raising

The term Right Node Raising has been adopted as a label for a coordination construction in which parts at the right periphery of the first conjunct are left unpronounced. For instance, in the following example, both conjunct clauses contain in final position an identical constituent, the object DP *seafood*, which is elided in the first conjunct:

- (1) John LIKES <~~seafood~~>, but Mary HATES seafood.
John LIKES, but Mary HATES sea food.

The constituent shared between the two conjuncts is called the target of RNR. The expressions anchoring to the RNR portion are called pre-RNR elements. These are written in capital letters to signal the stress that is laid upon them. Such constructions involve an emphatic use of the language, emphasis being laid on the final constituent, hence the label emphatic postponing.

There is a debate whether Right Node Raising (RNR) involves rightward Across-the-Board movement in the syntax, or whether it is derived by ellipsis in the first conjunct. The two approaches are also known as ex-situ in (2) and in-situ constructions in (3), respectively:



The ex-situ proposal assumes that the RNR target undergoes rightward Across-the-Board movement (Ross 1967, Postal 1998 and others). The target object DP *seafood* simultaneously moves out of both conjuncts and adjoins above the coordinate structure:

- (4) $[_{CP}[_{CP} \dots \alpha \dots t_1] \& [_{CP} \dots \alpha \dots t_1] [\beta]_1]$

The in-situ proposal views RNR as an instance of deletion or ellipsis in the first conjunct and has known several versions. One of them is the Strict Phonological Deletion analysis, according to which RNR only affects phonology (Hartmann 2000, Abels 2004 and others). Under this analysis, RNR is licensed when there exists an identical string of phonemes in the antecedent. The RNR target is literally compared with its antecedent phoneme-to-phoneme. If they are phonologically identical and structurally parallel, the RNR target is licensed to be deleted at PF:

- (5) $[_{CP}[_{CP} \dots \alpha \dots [\dots \beta \dots]] \& [_{CP} \dots \alpha \dots [\dots \beta \dots]]]$

Hartmann argues that the shared string can be of any length and constituenthood is not necessarily respected. Unlike VP ellipsis which can affect only constituents, RNR can target even non-constituents. The object DP *seafood* and the VP adjunct *from Asia* do not form a constituent, yet RNR is allowed in (6):

- (6) John [LIKES [~~seafood~~] [~~from Asia~~]], but Mary [HATES [seafood] [from Asia]].

For RNR to be licensed, there must be a contrastive focus just prior to the RNR target. Very often, the verb in the first conjunct is contrastively focused with its correspondent in the second conjunct. Thus in (7) the verb *likes*, as a pre-RNR element, is contrastively focused with the verb *dislikes* in the second conjunct. Lack of contrast degrades the sentence in (7b):

- (7) a. John LIKES <~~seafood~~>, but Mary DISLIKES seafood.
b. *John likes <~~seafood~~>, and Mary likes seafood.

RNR is effective from left to right and it affects the entire right edge of the first conjunct following the contrastively focused constituent. If the object DP is elided in the first conjunct, all following constituents or non-constituents are left unpronounced until the coordinator is reached. Thus, example (8) is ruled out, since the VP adjunct *from Asia* in the first conjunct remains pronounced after a RNRed object DP:

- (8) *John [LIKES [<~~seafood~~>] from Asia], but Mary [DISLIKES [seafood] [from Asia]].

Hartmann formulates the following licensing conditions for RNR: a) The conjuncts must be structurally identical; b) The pre-RNR elements in the first conjunct and the elements with which they contrast in the second must be focused; c) The focused elements create sets of alternatives, and the sets of alternatives for both conjuncts must be identical; d) The deletion occurs immediately after the contrastively focused pre-RNR element. She claims that, if all the conditions are met, RNR is licensed.

Another proposal for an in-situ analysis assumes that RNR involves ellipsis (Ha 2006, 2007 and forthcoming, Chalcraft 2006). Ha's proposal for the licensing conditions for RNR is more dependent upon semantic identity; a mutual entailment relationship between the antecedent and the elided part must be established at LF for RNR to be licensed. For the syntactic analysis, he adopts Merchant's (2004) claim that the focus head can bear a feature E, which instructs PF not to pronounce its complement. Ha argues that RNR is also a type of ellipsis, and it is licensed by a variant of ellipsis features, *ERNR*:

- (9) $[_{CP}[_{CP} \dots \alpha \dots [\dots e_{\beta} \dots]]] \& [_{CP} \dots \alpha \dots [\dots \beta \dots]]]$

The focused pre-RNR element enters the syntactic derivation bearing a feature E_{RNR} which instructs PF to leave the RNRed element unpronounced:

- (10) $[_{\&P}$ John $LIKES_{[E_{RNR}]}$ seafood, but Mary $DISLIKES$ seafood]

The licensing conditions he formulates cover the syntactic, semantic and phonological aspects of RNR. The ellipsis analysis is distinguished from the Strict Phonological Deletion by its relative flexibility for reconstructing RNR.

The assumptions formulated in these two proposals for an in-situ analysis of RNR mainly capture the empirical data in English, but also account for cross-linguistic data. In the following sections we extend to Romanian the current analyses of the licensing conditions on RNR proposed for other languages. With this view in mind we supply a collection of empirical data, which is also illustrative of the diversity of RNR constructions in Romanian.

2. The pre-RNR elements

It is generally accepted that a certain type of contrast is required between the two conjuncts, because the licensing of RNR crucially depends on a contrastively focused pre-RNR element. Several options are illustrated for Romanian below. In most instances, the subject and the verb are focused in both conjuncts. The typical contrastively focused pre-RNR element is a transitive verb:

- (11) a) Ion A $RESPINS$ ~~<proiectul>~~, dar Maria A $APROBAT$ proiectul.
 John rejected the project, but Mary approved the project.
 b) Ion a $CRITICAT$ -O ~~<pe secretară>~~ și apoi Maria a $LINIȘTIT$ -O pe secretară.
 John has criticized-her-CL PE secretary and Mary has calmed-her-CL down PE secretary.

In Romanian, DOs realized by DPs with the semantic features [-definite, +human] are doubled by clitics and are assigned Accusative case by means of the dummy case-preposition PE as in (11b). As a result of RNR, the object clitic attached to the contrasting verb in pre-RNR position gets separated from the object and the accusative assigning preposition PE is elided together with its object DP *secretară*.

Not only dummy prepositions but also idiosyncratic prepositions of simple intransitive verbs or of reflexive verbs can be elided in the first conjunct, as illustrated below:

- (12) Ion a depins ~~<de sprijinul lor>~~, dar Maria nu a depins de sprijinul lor.
 ‘John depended on their help, but Mary did not depend on their help.’
 El s-a înstrăinat ~~<de părinți>~~, dar ea s-a apropiat de părinți.
 ‘He became estranged to his parents, but she got closer to her parents.’

The behaviour of the prepositions under RNR can be accounted for by the fact that Romanian is a language that blocks preposition-stranding, and, as a result, surviving prepositions after the pre-RNR elements are not attested:

- (13) a)* Ion a optat pentru ~~<noile formularele>~~, dar Maria a refuzat noile formularele.
 ‘John opted for the new forms but Mary refused the new forms.’

These selectional clashes between the predicates in the two conjuncts seem to be better tolerated if they are resolved in the second rather than in the first conjunct. Thus examples (16b) and (16e) are preferable, because the selectional properties of the verbs are satisfied in the second conjunct. However, mismatches are less critical when there is a choice between the subjunctive and the supine clause. For instance, the aspectual verb *a se lăsa* ‘to give up’ can only select a supine clause, while the verb *a se apuca* ‘to start’ takes either a supine or a subjunctive clause:

- (17) a. Eu m-am apucat de fumat/ să fumez, dar ea s-a lăsat de fumat/*să fumeze.
 I have started of smoked-SUP/ SĂ smoke-SUBJ, but she has given up of smoked-SUP/
 SĂ smoke-SUBJ.
 ‘I have started smoking/ to smoke, but she has given up smoking/ to smoke.’
 b. Eu m-am lăsat <de fumat>, dar ea s-a apucat de fumat.
 I have started of smoked-SUP, but she has given up of smoked-SUP.
 c. ?Eu m-am lăsat <de fumat>, dar ea s-a apucat să fumeze.
 I have started of smoked-SUP, but she has given up SĂ smoke-SUBJ.

Just as argued for English, the typical pre-RNR element anchoring the target is the verb. Language specific restrictions in Romanian concern prepositions, which are always RNRed together with their object DP, and the selectional properties of the verbs.

3. The right-periphery in RNR

It is known that RNR affects the rightmost constituents of any length: entire clauses in the matrix conjunction of two complex sentences, or simple phrases in the coordination of simple sentences. The same holds true for Romanian. Thus, complement clauses with the verb in the indicative, the subjunctive mood or the supine mood can be targeted for RNR:

- (18) a. Ion s-a îndoit <că tranzacția era corectă>, dar Petre a insistat că tranzacția era corectă.
 ‘Ion doubted that the transaction was fair, but Petre insisted that the transaction was fair.’
 b. Ion a vrut <să meargă la munte>, dar Petre nu a vrut să meargă la munte.
 Ion wanted SĂ go-SUBJ to the mountains, but Petre didn’t want SĂ go-SUBJ to the mountains.
 ‘Ion wanted to go to the mountains, but Petre didn’t want to go to the mountains.’
 c. Ion s-a apucat <de fumat pipă>, dar Petre s-a lăsat de fumat pipă.
 Ion REFL has started of smoked-SUP pipe, but Petre has given up of smoked-SUP pipe
 ‘Ion has started smoking pipe, but Petre has given up smoking pipe.’

In (18c) the aspectual verbs function as contrastively focused pre-RNR elements allowing the supine clause, with the structure *de-verb-complement*, to become a target for RNR.

Besides the sentential complement, the supine may also occur as a nominalized form which is marked by a definite determiner and which changes the case of its complement DP. Thus in (19a) the RNRed portion is the entire supine-based nominalization, i.e. the preposition *la* ‘at’, the supine nominal (marked by the derivational morpheme *-t/-s*) and its genitive complement:

- (19) a. Ion m-a ajutat <~~la corectatul lucrărilor~~>, dar Petre m-a încurcat la corectatul lucrărilor.
 Ion me-helped at graded-SUP the tests-GEN, but Petre hindered me at graded-SUP the tests-GEN.
 ‘Ion helped me grade the tests, but Petre hindered me from grading the tests’.
- b. Ion a început <~~corectarea lucrărilor~~>, dar Petre a terminat corectarea lucrărilor.
 Ion began grading the tests-GEN, but Petre finished grading the tests-GEN.

Not only supine but also infinitive nominalizations occurring at the right periphery are freely elided under RNR. In (19b) the target is the infinitive-based nominalization, i.e. the nominal infinitive (marked by the nominalizing suffix *-re*) and its genitive complement.

Besides the object DP, other postverbal constituents, such as: verbal adjuncts of place, time, manner, etc., can be right-peripheral and therefore subject to RNR:

- (20) Petre a URCAT <~~în mașină~~><~~repede~~> și Ion a COBORÂT din mașină repede.
 ‘Petre got on the car quickly and Ion got off the car quickly.’

In conjuncts with a DP at the right periphery, the shared material may be rightmost DP-internal element: the complement of the nominal head, the head or a genitive phrase. When the right-peripheral complement of a DP is shared between the two conjuncts and the nominal head is a focused pre-RNR element, then the complement PP can become the target of RNR:

- (21) a. El este [DIRECTOR <~~de recrutare de personal~~>] și ea este [CONSILIER de recrutare de personal].
 ‘He is (a) manager of personnel recruitment and she is (an) advisor of personnel recruitment.’

On the other hand, the complement PP of a shared nominal head cannot be singled out for RNR; the entire object DP, its complement PP included, will be the RNRred portion:

- (22) a. *Unii AU ALES [programele <~~de finanțare~~>] și alții AU RESPINS [programele de finanțare].
 ‘Some have chosen the programs of financing and others have rejected the programs of financing.’
- b. Unii au ales [<~~programele de finanțare~~>] și alții au respins [programele de finanțare].
 ‘Some have chosen the programs of financing and others have rejected the programs of financing.’

Very often, the head of the object DP can be the rightmost element in the two conjuncts, and it thus becomes the target of RNR as in (23a). However, if the pre-RNR element is a contrastively focused adjectival adjunct, then elision of the identical head degrades the sentence. This holds true for all configurations with prenominal adjectives, i.e. when the adjectives carry the determiner (indefinite *o* in (23b) or definite enclitic *-a* in 23c), or when they are preceded by the demonstrative as in (23c):

- (23) a. Unii au acceptat <~~o colaborare~~> și alții au refuzat o colaborare.
 ‘Some have accepted a collaboration and others have refused a collaboration.’
- b. */?Unii au acceptat [o îndelungată <~~colaborare~~>], iar alții au refuzat o scurtă colaborare.
 ‘Some have accepted a long collaboration, but others have refused a short collaboration.’

- c. *Unii au acceptat [îndelungata <colaborare>], iar alții au refuzat [scurta colaborare].
‘Some have accepted the long collaboration, but others have refused the short collaboration.’
- c. *Unii au acceptat [această îndelungată <colaborare>], iar alții au refuzat această scurtă colaborare.
‘Some have accepted this long collaboration, but others have refused this short collaboration.’

It is argued that in such environments, there is no N to D movement in the Romanian DP and therefore the noun surfaces in situ (cf. Motapanyane 2000: 8). This accounts for the obligatory occurrence of the nominal head in such environments, and for the blocking effects on RNR. On the other hand, though the indefinite head at the right periphery of the second conjunct reiterates the RNRed nominal head, it cannot satisfy an agreement relation with the pre-RNR adjective.

The right-periphery of the Romanian DP may also host postnominal genitives, either analytical or synthetic. In the analytical genitive, there is no adjacency requirement between the possessee and the possessor; the indefinite nominal is headed by the possessive determiner *a, al, ai, ale* which shows agreement in gender and number with the possessee, as in (24a). On the other hand, adjacency is required in the synthetic genitive, which is marked by a genitive morpheme and which is preceded by a definite nominal head as in (24d):

- (24)
- a. Ion este student al aceluia profesor și Maria este asistentă a aceluia profesor.
Ion is student of that professor and Maria is assistant of that professor
 - b. *Ion este [STUDENT<al aceluia profesor>] și Maria este ASISTENTĂ a aceluia profesor.
Ion is student of-the-MASC.SG that-GEN professor and Maria is assistant of-the-FEM.SG that-GEN professor
 - c. Ana este STUDENTĂ <a aceluia profesor> și Maria este ASISTENTĂ a aceluia profesor.
Ana is student-the <of-the-FEM.SG. that-GEN professor> and Maria is assistant-the of-the-FEM.SG. that-GEN professor.
 - d. Ion este STUDENTUL <aceluia profesor> și Maria este ASISTENTA aceluia profesor.
Ion is student-the that-GEN professor and Maria is assistant-the that-GEN professor

In the analytical genitive construction given in (24c), the genitive DP can be RNRed, because its content is fully recoverable at the right periphery of the second conjunct. In contrast, example (24b) is ruled out, because the RNRed possessive determiner *al*, marked for agreement in the masculine gender and singular number with the possessee *student* ‘student’, cannot be recovered at the right periphery of the second conjunct, where the possessive determiner *a* indicates agreement with a noun in the feminine singular. On the other hand, a postnominal synthetic genitive as in (24d) can be RNRed immediately after its definite nominal head *studentul* ‘student-the’ functioning as a focused pre-RNR element. It seems that the synthetic possessive construction freely allows RNR of the genitive DP, while in the analytical constructions RNR is blocked by mismatches in gender and number between the focused pre-RNR element and its correspondent in the second conjunct.

The identical rightmost elements in the conjuncts, whether clauses or phrases, can be affected by RNR in Romanian, as well. Restrictions arise when dependencies inside the DP are violated.

4. Island insensitivity

The main argument in favour of an ellipsis account of RNR is its insensitivity to islands. It is known that there are certain constructions from which movement of a constituent is not licensed. Obviously if a constituent is shown to be able to leave these islands, then that is evidence in support of a non-movement analysis of that construction. Abels (2004) and Ha (2007) argue that RNR is not blocked in a number of syntactic contexts which otherwise prohibit movement out of them: *wh*-indirect questions, Complex DPs with relative clauses and adverbial clauses. The same holds true for RNR applied to the matrix conjunction of two complex clauses with identical right peripheries in Romanian.

Thus, RNR is allowed to target the object DP in indirect questions embedded in conjuncts that observe structural identity:

- (25) Ion vrea să știe [când (Petre) A ÎNCEPUT Petre <lucrearea>] și Teo vrea să afle [când (Dan) A TERMINAT Dan lucrarea].
 ‘John wants to know when Peter began the work and Teo wants to find out when Dan finished the work.’

It should be noted that word order in the Romanian declarative clauses is relatively free, with the subject occurring pre- or post-verbally, in initial or final sentence position. However, the order VS(O) is the unmarked one. In *wh*-indirect questions, the subject in the non-marked position immediately precedes the target.

RNR is also insensitive to the Complex DP island. In such cases structural identity is again essential: the two matrix conjuncts contain each a depending relative clause that includes contrastively focused verbs and identical right peripheries:

- (26) Eu știu o companie [care PRODUCE <jocuri pe calculator>] și tu știi un magazin care COMERCIALIZEAZĂ jocuri pe calculator.
 ‘I know a company that manufactures computer games and you know a store that commercializes computer games.’

The contrastively focused embedded verbs allow their identical object DP *jocuri pe calculator* ‘computer games’, which is right-peripheral within both relative clauses, to be RNRred.

Furthermore, adverbial clauses with identical right peripheries do not block RNR, if the pre-RNR elements are in a contrastive relation:

- (27) Ion a promovat [după ce A APROBAT <noua strategie>], dar Teo a demisionat [după ce A RESPINS noua strategie].
 ‘John was promoted after he approved of the new policy, but Theo resigned after he rejected the new policy.’

All these pieces of evidence point to the fact that, just as in other languages, RNR is insensitive to a number of well-established islands in Romanian, as well. In this respect, RNR is similar to ellipsis processes, which are also insensitive to many islands.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to put forward some observations concerning the licensing conditions on RNR in Romanian. We have examined the range of pre-RNR elements and the types of targeted constituents.

The empirical findings have shown that there are language specific restrictions on RNR related to the selectional properties of the pre-RNR verbs in Romanian and to preposition stranding. RNR can target clausal as well as phrasal constituents at the right periphery, but it cannot freely affect dependencies inside the right-peripheral DP. There is also evidence related to the insensitivity of RNR to certain islands that favours the ellipsis account of RNR in Romanian.

The facts we have presented here show, nonetheless, that this empirical study is still in its initial stage, and many more questions may arise than we have tackled here.

Camelia Bejan
Ovidius University of Constanța
cameliabejan@yahoo.com

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PITAR MOȘ: A BUILDING WITH A VIEW

papers in Honour of Alexandra Cornilescu



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Two types of German psych nominals: *-ung* vs. *-en*

Starting from research on action nominalizations, the paper examines the argument-structure of two types of psych nominals in German: deverbal nominals and nominalized infinitives. The result of this investigation is a tentative typology of *-ung* and *-en* psych nominals in correlation with their verbal sources.

The argument structure of deverbal nominals has been studied extensively in German. The general issue is whether deverbal nominals show in their ability to take arguments any systematic relation with their related verb, or whether their behaviour is different. Recent literature on the topic (Abraham 1989, Bhatt 1989, and Lindauer 1995, 1998) has provided detailed accounts of the structure of transitive nominalizations. However, these studies do not have much to say about nominals other than those derived from verbs denoting physical action.

The paper contributes to this area of linguistic inquiry by including in the discussion those nominalizations that have not been given proper attention, namely psych nominalizations. The paper proposes an investigation of the argument-structure of two types of psych nominals: deverbal nominals and nominalized infinitives, also known as *-ung* and *-en* nominals, respectively. We correlate variation in word order patterns in psych nominalizations with the properties of the verbal sources and in doing this we sketch a typology of *-ung* and *-en* psych nominals. We will show that the syntactic irregularities encountered among psych nominalizations are a reflex of the language specific DP structure and of the lack of homogeneity among psych verbs.

The paper is organized as follows: first we give a brief account of the argument distribution in action nominalizations, then we look at the syntactic distribution of subjects and objects in structures with psych *-ung* and *-en* nominals in an attempt to identify common properties and to draw attention to points of divergence.

1. Theoretical background

Recent theories of nominalizations are formulated on the basis of action nominalizations, which are, cross-linguistically, recognized as constructions that share nominal and verbal characteristics.

In German each transitive verb has a durative as well as a perfective nominalization. Traditionally the *-en* nominals have been argued to be durative and the *-ung* nominals perfective. Deverbal nominals in *-ung* display nominal properties, i.e. they tolerate adjectival modification and permit the full range of nominal operators. On the other hand, nominalized infinitives, i.e. nominals derived by means of the inflectional suffix *-en* share both verbal and nominal properties, i.e. they have an argument structure, allow adverbial modification and

take a definite determiner, but they never take an indefinite determiner and a plural marker. The properties of these two types of nominals have been discussed in Abraham (1989) and Lindauer (1995, 1998).

1.1. -ung nominals

Deverbal nominals are mixed categories of the type v/N. In his study on genitive attributes, Lindauer (1998: 131) has given a detailed account of the properties of nominalizations in German. His theory briefly outlined here serves as a frame of reference for the interpretation of psych nominals. To explore the linear order of N and its arguments properly, all possible variants have to be taken into account. Thus a transitive verb such as *entdecken* ‘discover’ yields the following range of nominal constructions from the simple sentence:

(1)	<i>Kolumbus entdeckte Amerika.</i> Columbus discovered America	
a.	<i>Kolumbus Entdeckung Amerikas</i> Columbus.GEN discovery America.GEN	SNO
b.	<i>Kolumbus Entdeckung von Amerika</i> Columbus.GEN discovery of America	SN (of)O
c.	<i>Kolumbus Entdeckung</i> Columbus.GEN discovery	SN
d.	<i>die Entdeckung Kolumbus</i> the discovery Columbus.GEN	NS
e.	<i>die Entdeckung Amerikas</i> the discovery America.GEN	NO
f.	<i>die Entdeckung Amerikas durch Kolumbus</i> the discovery America.GEN by Columbus	NO byS
g.	<i>die Entdeckung von Amerika durch Kolumbus</i> the discovery of America by Columbus	N(of)O byS
h.	<i>Amerikas Entdeckung</i> America.GEN discovery	ON
i.	<i>Amerikas Entdeckung durch Kolumbus</i> America.GEN discovery by Columbus	ON byS

The subject of the base sentence functions either as an argument or as an adjunct in the nominal construction. It is an argument when it occupies the genitive position, prenominally in (1a), (1b), (1c), and postnominally in (1d). As an adjunct the subject occurs in a *durch*-phrase ‘by-phrase’ in nominalizations with a typically passive structure (1f), (1g), (1i). On the other hand, the object argument is allowed to appear in a genitive phrase in postnominal position in (1a), (1e), (1f), prenominally in (1h), (1i) or in a *von*-phrase ‘of-phrase’ in (1b), (1g). The example (1e) points to the fact that the nominal has two genitive positions available for the subject and the object, one in premodification, in the Spec of DP, and the other in complementation (cf. Czepluch 1996).

If the proper noun *Kolumbus*, is replaced by a common noun, say *der Portugiese* ‘the Portuguese’, then the range of possible nominal structures decreases, with the structures corresponding to (1a), (1b), (1c) becoming ungrammatical in (2):

(2)	a.*des Portugiesen Entdeckung Amerikas <i>the Portuguese.GEN discovery America.GEN</i>	*SNO

b.*des Portugiesen Entdeckung von Amerika	*SN (of)O
<i>the Portuguese.GEN discovery of America</i>	
c.*des Portugiesen Entdeckung	*SN
<i>the Portuguese.GEN discovery</i>	

It can be noticed that proper nouns are allowed in prenominal genitive position in nominalizations, while common nouns are not. This restriction seems to be due to a special ‘genitive rule’ holding in German formulated in Lindauer (1998: 109). He argues that possessive pronouns and prenominal genitives have the same syntactic behaviour and they are of the same morpho-syntactic type; both are APs in Modern German. This observation leads to the hypothesis that the Spec, DP position is specified for adjectival word-forms of a special type and that it is filled either by merge or by movement.

1.2. -en nominals

Nominalized infinitives are mixed categories which evince both nominal and verbal properties across languages (Picallio 1991 for Catalan, Lindauer 1998 for German, Cornilescu 2001 for Romanian, Schoorlemmer 2001 for Dutch, among others). In German -en nominals seem to split in two types, one that patterns very much like process nominalizations, and one that seems similar to English gerunds, in the sense that it permits accusative objects. Both types of nominalized infinitives are introduced by determiners:

- (3)
- | |
|--|
| a. das ständige Belästigen der Frau von Peter |
| <i>the constant annoy.INF the woman.GEN by Peter</i> |
| <i>‘The constant annoying of the woman by Peter’</i> |
| b. das oft kleine Kinder Abschrecken |
| <i>The often small children.ACC scare.INF</i> |
| <i>‘the frequent scaring of small children’</i> |

The first type of nominal infinitive, illustrated in (3a), can be modified by adjectives. A subject or an object may be expressed in a post-head *von*-phrase ‘by-phrase’. The argument structure of a nominalized infinitive accommodates only one *von*-phrase.

The second type of nominal infinitives in (3b), though infrequent, includes an adverb and a bare accusative object in premodification. Furthermore, argument PPs can precede or follow the head, and the nominalization may contain complex verbal structures. It should be noted that adverbs are not licit within the first type of infinitival nominals:

- (4)
- | |
|--|
| *das oft Belästigen der Frau von Peter |
| <i>the often annoy.INF the woman.GEN by Peter</i> |
| <i>‘the frequent annoying of the woman by Peter’</i> |

This suggests that the internal structure of the second type is closer to that of gerunds, in the sense that it involves an active *v*, namely, a *v* of the type that licenses accusative Case.

There is also a semantic difference between the two types. The first type refers to specific events, while the second type refers to generic events (cf. Ehrich 1991). For this reason, nominalized infinitives of the second type are not compatible with temporal expressions like *gestern* ‘yesterday’:

- (5) *Die Nachbarn gestern Beunruhigen
the neighbours.ACC yesterday disquiet.INF
'the disquieting of the neighbours yesterday'

In this paper we examine only psych nominal infinitives of the first type, which evince properties similar to those of process nominalizations.

These assumptions formulated about the structure of the German action nominalizations form the basis for explaining the syntactic distribution of subjects and objects in psych nominalizations. The variety of nominal patterns identified in the domain of action nominalizations can also be found in the psych domain.

2. A typology of –ung psych nominals

Taking as a frame of reference the structure of nominalizations with a transitive base, we investigate word order in psych nominal configurations with an –ung nominal as a head. The table below gives the main patterns of argument distribution in nominalizations and correlates them with the verbal sources:

(6)

a.	SN(of)O	<i>Peters Einschüchterung von Maria</i> Peter.GEN intimidation of Mary 'Peter's intimidation of Mary'	agentive ObjExp verbs+acc <i>Peter schüchtert Maria ein.</i> Peter intimidates Mary
b.	SNO	<i>Peters Einschüchterung Marias</i> Peter.GEN intimidation Mary.GEN 'Peter's intimidation of Mary'	
c.	NO byS	<i>die Einschüchterung Marias durch Peter</i> the intimidation Mary.GEN by Peter	
d.	N(of)O	<i>die Einschüchterung von Maria</i> the intimidation of Mary	
e.	N(of)O byS	<i>die Einschüchterung von Maria durch Peter</i> the intimidation of Mary by Peter	
f.	ON byS	<i>Marias/*des Mädchens Einschüchterung durch Peter</i> Mary.GEN/ the girl's intimidation by Peter	
g.	NO	<i>die Belustigung Marias</i> the amusement Mary.GEN	non-agentive ObjExpverbs+acc <i>Belustigung</i> 'amusement' <i>Der Scherz belustigt Maria.</i> The joke amuses Mary.
h.	N(of)O	<i>die Belustigung von Maria</i> the amusement of Mary	
i.	SNofo	<i>die Verabscheuung Marias von Lügen</i> the despising Mary.GEN of lies	transitive SubjExp verbs

j.	NS (of)O	‘Mary’s despising of lies’ <i>die Verabscheuung von Lügen durch Maria</i> the despising of lies by Mary	<i>Maria verabscheut Lügen.</i> Mary despises lies.
k.	N(of)O byS	<i>die Verabscheuung von Lügen</i> the despising of lies	
l.	N(of)O		

The facts included in the table help us formulate the following observations: the subject argument of Object Experiencer verbs, which bears the theta-role of Agent, is allowed to occupy two positions in the structure of nominalizations: the prenominal genitive phrase in (6a), (6b), or the adjunct *by*-phrase in passive nominalizations in (6c), (6e), (6f). The Experiencer object occurs in a prenominal genitive phrase in (6f) and postnominally in (6b), (6c), in an argument *von*-phrase ‘*of*-phrase’ in (6a), (6d), (6e). Similar *-ung* nominals are: *Abschreckung* ‘frightening’, *Ängstigung* ‘frightening’, *Aufheiterung* ‘cheering’, *Aufmunterung* ‘encouraging’, *Belästigung* ‘hurting’, *Belustigung* ‘cheering’, *Beruhigung* ‘calming’, *Besänftigung* ‘soothing’, *Beschämung* ‘humiliation’, *Einschüchterung* ‘intimidation’, *Enttäuschung* ‘disappointment’, *Erbarmung* ‘pity’, *Ermunterung* ‘encouraging’, *Erschütterung* ‘shaking’, *Erregung* ‘excitement’, ‘irritation’, *Verängstigung* ‘frightening’, etc.

Non-agentive uses of Object Experiencer verbs do not yield nominalizations with a full argument-structure, however they allow the realization of the object argument in a postnominal genitive phrase in (6g) or in a *von*-phrase ‘*of*-phrase’ in (6h). Since the subject of non-agentive Object Experiencer verbs bears the θ -role of Theme or rather Cause, all constructions with the subject in a genitive phrase are blocked:

- (7)
- | | |
|---|---------|
| * <i>des Scherzes Belustigung</i> | *SN |
| the joke.GEN amusement | |
| * <i>die Belustigung des Scherzes</i> | *NS |
| the amusement the joke.GEN | |
| * <i>die Belustigung von dem Scherz</i> | *N(of)S |
| the amusement of the joke | |

The non-existence of the nominals in (7) is accountable in terms of Grimshaw’s (1990) theory of nominalization as a consequence of the non-existence of the external argument. In the case of Object Experiencer predicates, there is a conflict in prominence between the thematic and the aspectual dimension and therefore there is no external argument which could be most prominent on both dimensions, thus qualifying for being an external one. Such nominals may, however, occur with an Instrument in an adjunct *durch*-phrase:

- (8)
- | |
|--|
| <i>Marias Belustigung durch den Scherz</i> |
| Mary.GEN amusement by the joke |
| <i>die Belustigung Marias durch den Scherz</i> |
| the amusement Mary.GEN by the joke |

The object occurs in pre- or postnominal genitive position or in a *von*-phrase ‘*of*-phrase’. When the object is realized as a common noun, the prenominal genitive position is forbidden:

(9)	<i>Marias/ *der Kinder Belustigung</i>	ON
	Mary.GEN/ the children.GEN amusement	
	<i>die Belustigung Marias/ der Kinder</i>	NO
	the amusement Mary.GEN/ the children.GEN	
	<i>die Belustigung von Maria/ den Kindern</i>	N(of)O
	the amusement of Mary/ the children	

Agentive uses of Object Experiencer verbs yield nominalizations with all possible distributions of the arguments, similar to the transitive ones, while non-agentive uses do not allow the subject to surface in the argument structure of the nominal.

Psych nominals related to transitive Subject Experiencer verbs such as: *Befürchtung* ‘fear’, *Verachtung* ‘disregard’, *Verabscheuung* ‘despising’, etc. occur in the same kind of structures as those traditionally associated with transitive nominalizations, i.e. they allow the Experiencer argument in a construction involving a genitive phrase occurring on either side of the nominal or in an adjunct *durch*-phrase ‘by-phrase’. The object argument is not permitted to appear in a genitive position, its only realization being as a *von*-phrase ‘of-phrase’.

There is a clear distinction between nominals of the two verbal sources: *-ung* nominals derived from Object Experiencer verbs reveal a rich word order pattern, similar to that of action nominalizations. There are fewer nominal configurations corresponding to Subject Experiencer verbs. There are no pre- or postnominal genitive phrase positions for the object, i.e. there are no SNO, NObyS and ONbyS structures, which clearly points to the fact that the Theme of emotion is not allowed to surface in a genitive phrase.

3. A typology of –en psych nominals

The word order patterns typical of psych infinitive nominalizations are examined in relation to the classes and subclasses of psych verbs which are distinguished by the type of auxiliary they require to form perfect tenses and by the case they select for their object:

(10)

a	SNO	<i>Peters Belästigen der Frau</i> Peter.GEN annoy.INF the woman.GEN ‘Peter’s annoying of the woman’	agentive ObjExp haben-verb+acc. <i>belästigen</i> ‘annoy’ <i>Peter belästigt die Frau.</i> Peter annoys the woman
		<i>das Belästigen der Frau durch Peter</i> the annoy.INF the woman.GEN by Peter ‘The annoying of the woman by Peter’	
c	*NSbyO	<i>*das Erstaunen ihres Verhaltens durch die Eltern</i> The amaze.INF her behaviour.GEN by the parents	non-agentive ObjExp haben-verb+acc <i>erstaunen</i> ‘amaze’ <i>Ihr Verhalten erstaunt die Eltern.</i> Her behaviour amazes the parents
d	*NObyS	<i>*das Gefallen Marias durch die Mode</i> the pleasure Mary.GEN by the fashion	ObjExp haben-verbs+dat <i>gefallen</i> ‘please’ <i>Die neueste Mode gefällt Maria.</i> The latest fashion.NOM pleases Mary.Dat
e	ONanS	<i>Marias Gefallen an der Mode</i> Mary’s please.INF in the fashion	

		‘Mary’s pleasure in the fashion’	
f	NS	<i>das Misslingen des Tanzes</i> the failure.INF the dance.GEN ‘the failure of the dance’	ObjExp sein-verb+dat. <i>misslingen</i> ‘fail’ <i>Der Tanz misslingt dem Mädchen.</i> The dance fails the girl.DAT
g	SNofO	<i>Peters Hassen von Katzen.</i> Peter.GEN hate.INF of cats	SubjExp verb <i>hassen</i> ‘hate’ <i>Peter hasst Katzen.</i> Peter hates cats.
h	*NObyS	<i>das Hassen der Katzen durch Peter</i> the hate.INF the cats.GEN by Peter	
i	SNPO	<i>Marias Staunen über das Gemälde</i> Mary.GEN wonder.INF at the picture	prep.intr.SubjExp verbs <i>staunen über</i> ‘wonder at’ <i>Maria staunt über das Gemälde.</i> Mary wonders about the picture
j	NS PO	<i>das Staunen Marias über das Gemälde</i> the wonder.INF Mary.GEN at the picture	
k	SN PO	<i>Marias Sich Verwundern über ihre Mut</i> Mary.GEN self-wonder.INF at her courage	reflexive SubjExp verbs <i>sich wundern</i> ‘self wonder at’ <i>Maria wundert sich über ihre Mut.</i> Mary wonders self at her courage
l	NO PO	<i>das Erstaunen der Eltern über ihr Verhalten</i> the amaze.INF the parents.GEN at her behaviour ‘the amazement of the parents at her behaviour’	adjectival predicates <i>über etwas erstaunt sein</i> ‘to be amazed at sth.’ <i>Die Eltern sind über ihr Verhalten erstaunt.</i> The parents are at her behaviour amazed

The word order patterns included in this table lead us to the conclusion that the diversity of nominal configurations correlates with the variety of verbal sources. A first observation is that there is a clear distinction between infinitive nominals derived from Object Experiencer verbs and those derived from Subject Experiencer verbs.

3.1. –en nominals related to Object Experiencer verbs

Nominals belonging to this group vary in their argument-taking abilities due to the properties of their verbal source, which may govern structural or lexical case.

Nominal infinitives of *haben*-verbs+acc such as: *Abschrecken* ‘scare’, *Aufmuntern* ‘encourage’, *Belästigen* ‘annoyance’, *Beunruhigen* ‘unrest’ behave differently when their source is agentive or non-agentive.

When the verbal base is agentive, the subject and the object argument surface each in a genitive phrase position as in (10a). In contrast non-agentive uses of Object Experiencer verbs do not yield nominalizations. Since the subject of non-agentive Object Experiencer verbs bears the θ -role of Theme or rather Cause, all constructions with a Subject genitive phrase are blocked. In these constructions the object can never appear in the genitive phrase.

Frequently, German nominal infinitives followed by sentential complementation allow the presence of a pronominal adverb (*darüber* ‘about-that’, *davor* ‘of-that’, *darauf* ‘on-that’, etc.), a pro-form anticipating the clausal argument, which indicates that the source of derivation for these nominals is a prepositional adjectival predicate of the type: *über etwas erbittert sein* ‘be bitter about sth.’, *über etwas erstaunt sein* ‘be amazed at sth’, *über etwas empört sein*, ‘be annoyed with sth.’, etc.):

- (11) *Das Erstaunen darüber, daß er die Wahrheit zu spät erfahren hat, ...*
 The amazement at-that, that he the truth too late learnt has,...
 ‘The amazement that he has found out the truth too late...’

It is interesting to note that the psych adjectival predicate itself yields a psych nominal. What is actually nominalized is the infinitive of the copulative *sein* ‘be’ which is added to the past participle of the Object Experiencer verb to form a nominal infinitive expressing an emotional state:

(12)	<i>das Enttäuschtsein</i>	<i>das Erstauntsein</i>	<i>das Überraschtsein</i>
	the disappointed-be.INF	the amazed-be.INF	the surprised-be.INF

These psych nominals behave regularly with respect to argument structure. They occur with a subject in a prenominal genitive phrase and with a postnominal prepositional object which is either a *von*-phrase ‘by-phrase’ to introduce the Agent or a PP with an idiosyncratic preposition for the Target of emotion :

(13)	<i>Marias Enttäuschtsein von ihrer Schwester</i>	ONbyS
	Mary’s disappointed-be.INF by her sister	
	‘Mary’s disappointment by her sister’	
	EXP	AGENT
	<i>Marias Erstauntsein über ihre Schwester</i>	SN PO
	Mary’s amazed-be.INF about her sister	
	‘Mary’s amazement about her sister’	
	EXP	TARGET

There are few psych nominal infinitives derived from *haben*-verbs+dat: *das Behagen* ‘pleasure’, *das Gefallen* ‘pleasure’, *das Missfallen* ‘displeasure’. Since the subject is non-agentive, all structures with a genitive phrase or with an adjunct *by*-phrase are blocked. The subject of the clausal structure surfaces as a prepositional object in the nominal structure, introduced by the idiosyncratic preposition *an* which governs the lexical dative case.

Psych nominals derived from *sein*-verbs+dat are: *Gelingen* ‘success’ and *Misslingen* ‘failure’ which occur in nominalizations restricted to a single pattern, NS, from which the Experiencer is excluded.

The question that arises from the analysis of word order in these structures is why the Experiencer is blocked in such structures. The answer is provided by Lindauer (1999:134), who argues that dative (and genitive) verbal objects never appear as postnominal genitives (because dative and genitive are not structural cases but lexical ones), that is why the regular structures of nominalizations are barred with these nominals.

The conclusion concerning the structure of nominalizations related to Object Experiencer verbs can be formulated as follows: *haben*-verbs+acc yield nominalizations which are structured just like transitive ones. Nominalizations related to the unaccusative Object Experiencer, i.e. to either *haben*-verbs or *sein*-verbs that select a dative object are very rare or even awkward. A possible scale of restrictions on the occurrence of the subject would be: nominals of *haben*-verbs+dat allow the presence of the subject only in adjunct PP position, nominals of *sein*-verbs+dat allow an ergative kind of subject but disallow the Experiencer argument. The restrictions on the structure of these nominalizations are accounted for in terms of the unaccusative properties of their verbal sources.

3.2. *-en* nominals related to Subject Experiencer verbs

The properties of psych nominal infinitives corresponding to Subject Experiencer verbs are discussed in relation to each group of verbs.

Nominal infinitives related to transitive Subject Experiencer verbs such as: *Befürchten* ‘fear’, *Begehren* ‘desire’, *(Be)neiden* ‘envy’, *Bewundern* ‘admiration’, *Fürchten* ‘fear’, *Geniessen* ‘enjoyment’, *Hassen* ‘hatred’, *Lieben* ‘love’, *Verabscheuen* ‘despise’, etc. take an Experiencer argument in a genitive phrase and a Theme object in an *of*-phrase. Some of these nominals may select an idiosyncratic preposition which governs an object either the accusative or in the dative case:

- (14) *Jan/ das Kind beehrte Liebe.*
 Jan/ the child craved for love
Jans Begehren nach Liebe
 Jan’s craving for love.DAT

Nominal infinitives related to prepositional intransitive Subject Experiencer verbs are: *Jammern (über/um/wegen)* ‘deploring’, *Jubeln über* ‘rejoycing over’, *Staunen über* ‘wonder at’, *Trauern um/über* ‘mourning about’, *Zurückschrecken* ‘startling’, ‘scare’, etc. They allow the Experiencer in a pre- or postnominal genitive phrase, while the Theme of emotion appears in a postnominal PP with an idiosyncratic preposition inherited from the verbal base.

Nominals related to reflexive Subject Experiencer are derived from inherently reflexive verbs in (15) or from lexical reflexive verbs with an idiosyncratic preposition in (16):

(15)	<i>das Sich Schämen für/wegen</i> the self-shame.INF for/because of ‘the shame for/because of’	<i>das Sich Sehnen nach</i> the self-long.INF for ‘the longing for’	
	<i>das Sich Verlieben in</i> the self-fall-in-love.INF with ‘the falling in love with’	<i>das Sich Zurücksehnen nach</i> the self-long.INF for ‘the longing for’	
(16)	<i>das (Sich) Verwundern über</i> the (self)-amaze.INF at	<i>das (Sich) Erzürnen</i> the (self)-annoy.INF	<i>das (Sich) Entsetzen</i> the(self)-horror.INF

Reflexive nominal infinitives inherit the properties of their verbal base: the anaphor *sich* ‘self’ as as indicator of reflexivity and the idiosyncratic preposition:

(17) *Marias Sich Verwundern über ihre Mut/ das grosse Haus* SN PO
 Mary's self-wonder.INF at her courage/ the big house

Marias permanentes Sich Sehnen nach dem Meer SN PO
 Mary's permanent self-longing.INF for the sea

Even the passive form of a psych verb may be nominalized: *das Entsetztwerden* 'the scared-become.INF'. The nominalized infinitive of the verb *werden* 'get/become' is attached to the past participle of a psych verb, so that only the auxiliary of the verbal passive is actually nominalized.

Psych *-en* nominals display a great variety of nominal configurations, many patterns being different from the word order typical of action nominalizations. Unlike action nominalizations, which inherit the properties of their transitive verbal base, psych nominalizations with a nominal infinitive as the head, have an 'irregular' behaviour precisely because their source of derivation is non-homogenous, i.e. groups of psych verbs evince unaccusative properties, others are (in)transitive.

Conclusions. The examination of word order in psych nominalizations in German has enabled us to propose a typology of psych *-ung* and *-en* nominals in correlation with their verbal sources.

Psych *-en* nominals are like *-ung* nominals with respect to the obligatoriness of arguments and with respect to certain word order rearrangements within the NP. The common word order patterns in nominalizations with a deverbal nominal or a nominalized infinitive as a head are:

- the SNO structure which makes two genitive positions available, one prenominal, the other one postnominal, for nominals derived from agentive Object Experiencer verbs
- the SNoFO structure which allows the Experiencer in a genitive position and the Theme argument in a postnominal PP (*von*-phrase) for nominals derived from transitive Subject Experiencer verbs
- the passive structure NObyS which realizes the Agent in a *by*-phrase for nominals derived from agentive Object Experiencer verbs.

These are word order patterns that psych *-ung* and *-en* nominalizations share with action nominalizations. What underlies all acceptable structures with psych nominals is the fact that only the Experiencer or the Agent is allowed to appear in the genitive position.

The analysis of psych nominal configurations has also revealed certain dissimilarities between *-ung* and *-en* psych nominalizations.

Psych *-en* nominals are different from *-ung* nominals as far as argument realization is concerned. Only nominal infinitives take objects with an idiosyncratic preposition inherited from the prepositional verbal source (which may be an intransitive or a reflexive Subject Experiencer verb or an adjective). Additionally, nominals infinitives allow the presence of the reflexive anaphor in the nominalization

There is also a significant difference in productivity between the two nominals. The absence of *-ung* nominals for unaccusative verbs, i.e. for verbs that select the dative case, vs. the availability of *-en* nominals points to the fact that the realization of arguments in psych nominals is sensitive to the syntactic properties of their verbal sources, which may be transitive, unergative or unaccusative. Furthermore, it is the nominalizers themselves which differ in their selectional properties with respect to the kind of structure they admit.

In short what *-ung* and *-en* psych nominals share is the presence of an argument-structure and what significantly distinguishes them is the internal distribution of arguments and their productivity.

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The distribution of referential adjectives in psych nominalizations in English

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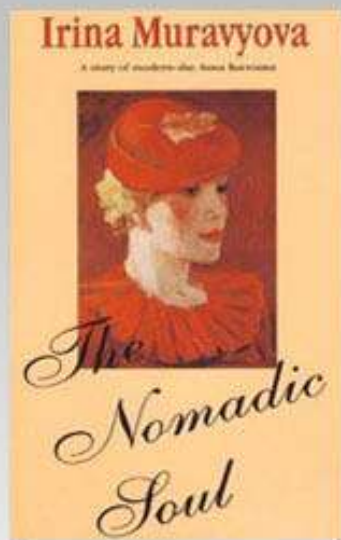
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THE DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENTIAL ADJECTIVES IN PSYCH NOMINALIZATIONS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

Camelia Bejan

Abstract: Previous accounts of referential adjectives have examined their status in the structure of action nominalizations in correlation with the event vs. result interpretation of nominals. They have been argued to behave like noun phrases (Grimshaw 1990), to introduce new entities into the discourse (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991) or to simply modify deverbal nominals (Oersnes and Markantonatou 2002). This paper attempts a comparative study of referential adjectives in psychological nominalizations in English and Romanian. We argue that the restrictions on the occurrence of referential adjectives in psych nominalizations are imposed by the language specific functional structure of the DP. The paper is organized as follows. In section one we briefly overview the literature on referential adjectives in action nominalizations. In section two we look at the distribution of referential adjectives in psychological nominalizations and in section three we correlate modification by referential adjectives with the process vs. result interpretation of psych nominals.

1. Previous approaches to referential adjectives

Linguists have looked at the combination of a referential adjective with a deverbal nominal in various languages. The main problem with these adjectives has been to account for the contrast between their seemingly argumental behaviour and their inability to introduce new referents into the discourse.

The first account is Levi's (1978). Her proposal centers on the derivation of group adjectives (a subgroup of relational adjectives). She analyses the combination of a relational adjective and a nominal as an instance of a complex nominal. Working within a transformational framework she assumes that group adjectives are nouns at deep structure and that they are turned into adjectives by a process of morphological adjectivalization thus accounting for the examples: *pope appeal* / *papal appeal*. However, Levi's account does not explain why the adjective is typically interpreted as an agent in a nominalization based on a transitive verb.

Kayne (1984) considers that a group adjective can express a theta-role, but unlike the essentially synonymous genitive phrases, it can never express an internal one:

(1) a. the Italian invasion of Albania

Italy's invasion of Albania

b. *the Albanian invasion by Italy

Albania's invasion by Italy

He argues that only the external theta-role of the nominals can be assigned to this group of adjectives.

Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) assume that group adjectives are referential expressions (hence the term: referential adjectives) introducing new referents into the universe of discourse and that they discharge a thematic-role of the head but never an internal one. In order to prove that the subject is base-generated to the right of the head in Romance, they use group adjectives as their main argument. In Italian, group adjectives can only occur postnominally, while in prenominal position these adjectives acquire a qualitative reading:

- (2) a. l'invasione italiana (It.) group reading 'the Italians invaded'
the Italian invasion
b. *l'italiana invasione (It.) qualitative reading 'typically Italian'

However, their analysis does not explain how an adjective comes to occupy a noun phrase position.

In her seminal work on nominalizations Grimshaw (1990) analyses group adjectives and prenominal genitives in passives and nominalizations as *a*-adjuncts, i.e. adjuncts identifying suppressed argument positions. The notion of an *a*-adjunct motivates the existence of argumental adjectives in the sense that adjectives are adjuncts. She argues that group adjectives behave like noun phrases, mainly in that they seem to establish semantic case relations with a deverbal noun. Furthermore, the inclusion of a group adjective with an agentive interpretation makes the object of the noun obligatory:

- (3) a. the American invasion of Vietnam
'The Americans invaded Vietnam.'
b. the American fear of failure
'The Americans fear failure.'

She shows that group adjectives are ambiguous, in that they behave as modifiers of result nominals and simple event nominals and are licensed by *a*-structure in complex event nominals. On the other hand, Picallo (1991) and Alexiadou (1999) claim that referential adjectives are only licensed by result nominals.

Oersnes and Markantonatou (2002) consider group adjectives in three languages: English, Danish and Modern Greek and argue that they are modificational adjectives and not noun phrases of a particular sort. They propose an analysis whereby group adjectives form a weakly lexical structure with their head noun and modify the first argument of the argument structure of the head noun while the argument itself remains unexpressed. They also comment on the main characteristics of group adjectives in combination with deverbal nominals, which hold across many languages:

- (4) a. they do not occur predicatively
*The invasion is American.
b. they do not allow modification
*the very American invasion
c. they cannot be coordinated with other adjectives
*the sudden and American invasion
d. they cannot be separated from their head
*the American sudden invasion

They note that all referential adjectives are ambiguous between a group reading and a qualitative reading. The group reading entails that some people of the kind described by the adjective are involved in the event related with the nominal. The qualitative reading assigns some quality to the nominal as in example (4a).

Alexiadou and Stavrou (2005) distinguish between ethnic adjectives which occur with event nouns and homophonous descriptive adjectives which modify common nouns and simply denote provenance. They argue that ethnic adjectives have a nominal source, their position in the DP being linked to their morphological derivation, while homophonous adjectives are 'deep' adjectives.

In Romanian referential adjectives are discussed in relation to the two types of nominalizations: the nominal infinitive and the supine nominal.

Cornilescu (2001) examines the NO and NS structures of action nominalizations in Romanian with respect to the contrast between the event and result readings. The behaviour of the infinitive nominalizations fully confirms Grimshaw's theory of event-result nominals, while the supine nominal does so only partly. For both infinitive and supine nominalizations, the NO structure allows the event interpretation. The NS structures with infinitives yield result nominals (the genitive is a modifier), and with the supine nominals the event reading (the genitive is an argument). She puts the differences down to the aspectual features of the suffixes on which they are built. The infinitive affix is [+Telic], it follows that the Object must be projected as an event measure, bounding the predication. The supine affix is [-Telic], it is an activity marker and an activity is sufficiently identified by its Agent, i.e. in a supine nominalization, it is sufficient to lexicalize the Subject.

Cornilescu shows that referential adjectives are unacceptable in nominalizations with the structure [Nominal+Object+(by)+Subject]:

(5) a. *invadarea Germaniei* NO (nominal infinitive)
 invasion.the Germany.Gen
 'the invasion of Germany'

b. **invadarea germană* NAdj (nominal infinitive)
 invasion.the German
 'the German invasion'

On the other hand, the referential adjective is allowed to appear in combination with a non-derived nominal with the structure [Nominal+Subject]/[Nominal+Object] as in the following example:

(6) *invazia germană* NAdjO (non-derived nominal)
 invasion.the German
 'the German invasion'

In short, most linguists agree that group adjectives are related to the argument structure of the head noun, but what kind of syntactic status these adjectives have is still a matter of debate.

3. The distribution of referential adjectives in psych nominalizations

Referential adjectives (also ethnic or group adjectives) are denominal adjectives that allude to a group of people sharing some property such as nationality (*English, Romanian*, etc.), affiliation with a political party or with a religious group (*Liberal, Republican, Christian, Catholic*, etc.), or a profession (*papal, presidential*, etc.). They occur in conjunction with deverbal psych nominals, with which they identify the semantic argument that surfaces as the subject of the verb related to the nominal.

Relying on Alexiadou (1999), we assume that the distribution of referential adjectives is related to the level of representation which is called "argument structure" and that the differences in distribution are related to language dependent structural issues concerning the Determiner Phrase.

In what follows the construction [group adjective + psych noun/nominal] is illustrated with examples gathered by means of an informal search by Google and by accessing The Brigham Young University Corpus of American English.

3.1. In English, psych nominals are derived by means of the suffix *-tion*, *-ment*, *-ance* attached to the verbal stem. The following are examples of psych nominals corresponding to the three classes of psych verbs: *abhorrence*, *adoration*, *detestation*, etc. derived from Subject Experiencer verbs, *entertainment*, *intimidation*, *humiliation*, etc. derived from agentive Object Experiencer verbs, and *amazement (at/by)*, *satisfaction (with)*, *frustration (with)*, *irritation (at)*, etc. related to adjectival predicates.

There are two possible linear orderings of the nominal, the subject and the object in psych nominalizations: SN(*of*)O and SNPO.

- (7) a. the kids' enjoyment of the game
 SN(*of*)O Subject Experiencer verbal source
 b. the clown's entertainment of the children
 SN(*of*)O agentive Object Experiencer verbal source
 c. *the film's entertainment of the children
 *SN(*of*)O non-agentive Object Experiencer verb
 d. Mary's annoyance with the report
 SNPO Subject Experiencer adjectival predicate

Thus psych nominals derived from agentive Object Experiencer verbs and transitive Subject Experiencer verbs appear in the nominal configuration SN(*of*)O, typical of action nominalizations. Nominalizations derived from adjectival predicates take an idiosyncratic preposition to introduce the Object in the structure SNPO. There are no nominals corresponding to the non-agentive Object Experiencer verbs, i.e. no nominalizations of causative predicates (cf. Pesetsky 1995: 208).

The subject position in psych nominalizations may be occupied by referential adjectives which occur as theta-bearing adjectives denoting nationality or party membership:

(8)

psych nominalization	structure	clause	source
the Irish abhorrence of violence the Puritan detestation of physical pleasure	AdjN(<i>of</i>)O	The Irish abhor violence. The Puritans detest physical pleasure.	SubjExp verb
the American humiliation of the Arab world the Congressional intimidation of the companies	AdjN(<i>of</i>)O	The Americans humiliated the Arab world. The Congress intimidated the companies.	agentive ObjExp verb
the French stupefaction at the scandal the Republican satisfaction with the decision	AdjN PO	The French are stupefied at the scandal. The Republicans are satisfied with the decision.	adjectival predicate

It is obvious that referential adjectives felicitously occur with psych nominals of the three types available in the language.

Moreover, referential adjectives freely occur with basic, non-derived psych nominals and correspond to the Subjects of the zero-derived verbs:

- (9) a. the Liberal fear of opposition from the right wing party
 ‘The Liberals fear opposition from the right wing party.’
 b. the American love of the automobile
 ‘The Americans love the automobile.’

The available word order patterns in psych nominalizations are crucially dependent on the assumptions concerning the functional structure of the Determiner Phrase in English. Agentive phrases may be realized either as prenominal genitives or as postnominal prepositional phrases. Object-like arguments are generally realized as oblique prepositional phrases with the marker *of*. The referential adjective occupies the prenominal position and identifies the Agent argument with psych nominals of Object Experiencer verbs and the Experiencer argument with nominals related to Subject Experiencer verbs and adjectival predicates.

3.2. In Romanian two types of verb-based psych nominals are encountered: the nominal infinitive and the supine nominal. They are stylistically distinct: the infinitive nominal is formal and very productive, while the supine nominal is informal, colloquial and less productive.

3.2.1. The psych nominal infinitive is formed by attaching the suffix *-re* to the basic form of a Subject Experiencer verb (*admirare* ‘admiration’, *adorare* ‘adoration’, *detestare* ‘detestation’, *iubire* ‘love’, etc.) or of an Object Experiencer verb (*amuzare* ‘amusement’, *bucurare* ‘gladdening’, *distrare* ‘entertainment’, *impresionare* ‘affecting’, *întristare* ‘saddening’, *încântare* ‘delight’, *înfiorare* ‘thrill’, *înfuriere* ‘maddening’, *îngrozire* ‘horrifying’, *înveselire* ‘gladdening’, *iritare* ‘irritating’, *măhnire* ‘upsetting’, *oripilare* ‘horrifying’, *plăcătire* ‘boring’, *stânjenire* ‘embarrassment’, *stupefiere* ‘amazement’, *supărare* ‘upsetting’, *șocare* ‘shock’, etc.).

There are three word order patterns for verb-based psych nominalizations in Romanian: NObyS for nominals related to agentive Object Experiencer verbs and Subject Experiencer verbs, NPO for nominals related to reflexive Subject Experiencer verbs and NSPO for nominals related to adjectival psych predicates:

- (10) a. *distrarea copiilor de către clown* NObyS agentive Object Experiencer verb
 entertaining.the children.Gen by clown
 b. *admirarea naturii de către turiști* NObyS Subject Experiencer verb
 admiring-the nature.Gen by tourists
 c. *bucurarea de drepturile civile* NPO reflexive Subject Experiencer verb
 enjoying. of the civil rights.
 d. *întristarea fiilor pentru părinți* NSPO Subject Experiencer adjectival predicate
 saddening.the sons.Gen about parents

It is essential to point out at this stage that Romanian nominals, unlike Romance DPs in general, always contain at most one (nominal) Genitive phrase, so that only the argument which is obligatory for some particular interpretation will be lexicalized. Since only one argument may be overtly expressed in transitive nominalizations, either the Object or the Subject will be lexicalized. Since the Romanian Determiner Phrase has only one structural genitive case position, which is occupied by the Object, the Agent can only appear in a *de către*-phrase (i.e. a *by*-phrase):

- (11) a. admirarea naturii de către japonezi NObyS
 admiring-the nature.Gen by Japanese
 b. *admirarea japonezilor naturii *NSO (infinitive nominal)
 admiring.the Japanese-the.Gen nature.Gen

In Romanian referential adjectives occur in postnominal position and have the inflectional morphology of ordinary adjectives:

- (12) a. frica americană
 fear.the American.fem.sg.
 b. temerile americane
 fears.the American.fem.pl.
 c. disprețul american
 despise.the American.masc.sg.
 d. fiorii americani
 shivers.the masc.pl. American. masc.pl.

The table below illustrates modification by referential adjectives in psych nominalizations in correlation with the verbal source of the nominals:

(13)

psych infinitive nominalization	clause	structure	source
*admirarea japoneză a naturii. admiring.the Japanese.adj of nature	Japonezii admiră natura. 'The Japanese admire the nature.'	*NAdjO	Subject Exp. verb
*întimidarea liberală a democraților intimidation.the Liberal of Democrats 'the Liberal intimidation of the Democrats'	Liberalii îi intimidază pe democrați. 'The Liberals intimidate the Democrats.'	*NAdjO	agentive Object Exp. verb
supărarea americană pe aliații lor upsetting.the American PE allies.the their 'the American upsetting with their allies'	Americanii se supără pe aliații lor. 'The Americans get angry at their allies.'	NAdjPO	reflexive Subject Exp. verb
iritarea românească față de rezultatele alegerilor irritation.the Romanian at results.the elections.the.Gen 'the Romanian irritation at the results of the elections'	Românii sunt iritați de rezultatele alegerilor. 'The Romanians are irritated at the election results.'	NAdjPO	Subject Exp adjectival predicate

We notice that in the NO structures the referential adjective cannot co-occur with psych nominal infinitives of Subject Experiencer verbs and agentive Object Experiencer verbs. However referential adjectives are allowed to modify the nominal infinitives of reflexive Subject Experiencer verbs and of adjectival predicates: the Object occurs in a prepositional phrase thus leaving the postnominal genitive position available for the referential adjective.

On the other hand referential adjectives accompany infinitive nominals apparently related to Subject Experiencer verbs which take a prepositional phrase. This prepositional phrase cannot be analyzed as an argument inherited from the verb, as indicated by the non-existence of the verbal counterparts:

- This predicts the unavailability of the nominal structures with referential adjectives for two groups of psych verbs, as illustrated in the following table:

(17)

psych nominalization	structure	source
*admiratul japonez al naturii. admiring.the Japanese.adj of nature	*NAdjO	Subject Experiencer verb
*intimidatul liberal a democrațiilor intimidation.the Liberal of Democrats 'the Liberal intimidation of the Democrats'	*NAdjO	agentive Object Experiencer verb
supăratul american pe aliații lor upsetting.the American PE allies.the their 'the American upsetting with their allies'	NAdjPO	reflexive Subject Experiencer verb
iritatul românesc față de rezultatele irritation.the Romanian at results.the alegerilor elections.the.Gen 'the Romanian irritation at the results of the elections'	NAdjPO	Subject Experiencer adjectival predicate

As with the infinitive nominalizations, the NO structures block the occurrence of the referential adjective with supine nominals derived from agentive Object Experiencer verbs and transitive Subject Experiencer verbs. Referential adjectives may modify only supine nominals related to Subject Experiencer verbs and adjectival predicates, which allow the NAdjPO structure due to the idiosyncratic preposition.

However, referential adjectives freely co-occur with deverbal nouns (*agitație* 'agitation', *bucurie* 'joy', *umilință* 'humility', etc.), as in (18a, b), with basic, non-derived nouns (*dispreț* 'disdain', *teroare* 'terror', etc.), as in (18c, d), or with deadjectival nominals (*tristețe* 'sadness', *timiditate* 'shyness', etc.), as in (18e, f), in a NPO structure:

- (18) a. *agitația liberală pentru ocuparea posturilor cheie* NAdj PO
 agitation.the Liberal for getting the positions key
 'the Liberal agitation to get the key positions'
- b. *admirația japoneză pentru natură* NAdjPO
 admiration.the Japanese for nature
 'the Japanese admiration for nature'
- c. *disprețul românesc pentru cultură* NAdjPO
 disdain.the Romanian for culture
 'the Romanian disdain for culture'
- d. *teroarea nazistă împotriva evreilor* NAdjPO
 terror Nazi against Jews.the
 'the Nazi terror against the Jews'
- e. *timiditatea liberală față de guvern* NAdjPO
 shyness.the Liberal towards government
 'the Liberal shyness towards the government'
- f. *tristețea românească* NAdj
 sadness.the Romanian
 'the Romanian sadness'

The data discussed in this section clearly points to the fact that unlike English, Romanian restricts the occurrence of referential adjectives with deverbal psych nominals.

Differences encountered in the nominal configurations lie in the language specific structure of the Determiner Phrase. Since English has two genitive positions in the Determiner Phrase,

a prenominal and postnominal one, referential adjectives are allowed to occur as prenominal modifiers. In contrast, the Determiner Phrase in Romanian has only one genitive position and when this position is occupied by an Object-argument, the referential adjective is blocked.

Finally, the juxtaposition of the infinitive and the supine nominalizations in Romanian reveals that modification by means of referential adjectives in the two nominal structures is parallel. In both nominal configurations the referential adjective identifies the Experiencer with nominals of reflexive Subject Experiencer verbs and of adjectival predicates.

4. Referential adjectives and the event vs. result psych nominals

Referential adjectives relate to the event vs. result distinction in the interpretation of psych nominals. It is generally accepted that event nominals have an argument structure and obligatorily take arguments, much like their verbal counterparts. On the other hand, result nouns only optionally take a predicate-argument structure.

The same analysis applied to psych nominals indicates that only nominals derived from agentive Object Experiencer verbs qualify for an event interpretation, where the event is understood as an internal, emotional one (cf. Rozwadowska 1997 for Polish psych nominals).

Furthermore it has been argued that a certain group of nominals, namely those related to agentive Object Experiencer verbs such as *entertainment*, *intimidation* in English and *intimidare*, *distrare* in Romanian allow: agent-oriented modifiers, aspectual modifiers and can take infinitival purpose clauses (cf. Bejan 2006), which is evidence for the presence of an AgrP and vP inside process psych nominalizations. Thus this group of psych nominals can have a process reading and they qualify for a syntactic representation in terms of Alexiadou (1999), i.e. a process psych nominal is a root that appears below Aspect and takes an Experiencer complement.

Referential adjectives in conjunction with psych nominals are ambiguous between a modifier and an argument-adjunct interpretation. They can be analysed as subject-like with process psych nominals. Thus the use of the adjective *constant* in English forces the process reading of *intimidation*, derived from an agentive Object Experiencer verb. In contrast, the equivalent construction in Romanian can only be accepted on a descriptive reading of the same referential adjective:

- (19) a. the constant Palestinian intimidation of journalists
b. intimidarea palestiniană constantă a jurnaliștilor

The inclusion of a referential adjective makes the presence of a complement to the noun obligatory. The absence of the Object yields ungrammatical results:

- (20) a. *the constant Palestinian intimidation
b. *intimidarea palestiniană constantă

On the other hand, there is evidence that these adjectives do not behave like syntactic subjects, receiving a thematic role from the head noun. For instance, implicit argument control is possible in the presence of a NP subject, but not with a group adjective. The following examples are modeled on Oersnes and Markantonatou (2002):

- (21) a. Hitler's humiliation of France during the war in order to gain power in Europe
 b. *the German humiliation of France during the war in order to gain power in Europe
 c. *umilirea germană a Franței în timpul războiului pentru a câștiga puterea în Europa.

When referential adjectives are used in the passive nominalizations, as illustrated in (22b, d), they can be related to a linked theta-role, i.e. that of an internal argument. However, the nominal is unambiguously a result nominal, given that it can pluralize:

- (22) a. Germany humiliated France.
 France was humiliated by Germany.
 b. the French humiliation(s)
 c. Germania a umilit Franța.
 Franța a fost umilită de Germania.
 d. *umilirea franceză/*umilirile franceze

Grimshaw (1990: 131) argues that in their passive use, group adjectives are modifiers of result nominals and predicts that nominals modified by the passive use of referential adjectives should not be able to co-occur with a *by*-phrase licensed by the argument structure:

- (23) a. *the French humiliation by Germany
 b. *umilirea franceză de către Germania

The English and Romanian facts point to the conclusion that referential adjectives participate in the disambiguation of psych nominals with an event/process vs. result reading.

5. Conclusion. The examination of the distribution of referential adjectives in psych nominalizations in English and Romanian has enabled us to identify the grammatical combinations. Unlike English, Romanian imposes restrictions on the occurrence of the referential adjectives in verb-based psych nominalizations. These can be accounted for in terms of the language specific structure of the DP and of the lack of homogeneity among the verbal sources of psych nominals. We have shown that referential adjectives in psych nominalizations are related to the subject argument of the corresponding verbal configurations. They identify the Experiencer in psych nominalizations and they play a part in the distinction between the event vs. result interpretation of psych nominals.

Camelia Bejan
 "Ovidius" University Constanța
 cameliabejan@yahoo.com

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