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John G. Newman
Marina Dossena
Sylwester Łodej

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Cover design Jakub Patryk Łodej

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Editorial Correspondence
Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach
Instytut Filologii Obcych
ul. Świętokrzyska 21D
25-406 Kielce
Poland
www.ujk.edu.pl/token
token@ujk.edu.pl

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"How is her eyes [?] are they still closed [?]" Subject-verb agreement in nineteenth-century Irish English

Dania Jovanna Bonness

University of Bergen

ABSTRACT

This article examines the development of the Northern Subject Rule in nineteenth-century Irish English by using emigrant letters. In contrast to other investigations on this specific concord pattern, the present study focuses solely on the high-frequency verb BE. It shows that the Northern Subject Rule pattern was solid in this context in nineteenth-century Ulster English, especially Mid-Ulster English, thus supporting an earlier claim that it had been transported to Ulster by Scots and northern English founder populations, rather than having diffused from Ulster-Scots settlement areas. In Southern Irish English, the data show the presence of a *Type of Subject Constraint*, but no *Proximity of Subject Constraint*. This study contributes to research on the development of Irish English as well as on concord patterns in World Englishes.

1. Introduction

In recent years, the interest in subject-verb agreement has increased among linguists all over the world and it is probably one of the best-researched topics in the area of World Englishes. Work on subject-verb agreement in Northern Irish English (NIrE) has, for instance, been done by Milroy (1981: 12-13), Montgomery – Robinson (1996: 417-421), Corrigan (1997: 194-231), Montgomery (1996, 1997a, 1997b: 233-239, 2006: 310-317), McCafferty (2003, 2005), Pietsch (2005a, 2005b, 2012), Amador-Moreno (2010: 62-64), Myklestad (2015), and Bonness (forthcoming), whereas Southern Irish English (SIrE) has been investigated by Kallen (1991), Montgomery (1996, 1997b: 233-239), Filppula (1999: 150-159), McCafferty (2004), Hickey (2007: 179-182),

and Pietsch (2012). The characteristic concord pattern that these studies have found in Irish English (IrE) is commonly referred to as the Northern Subject Rule (NSR) (e.g. Ihalainen 1994; McCafferty 2003, 2004; Pietsch 2005a)[1]. The following pilot study looks at subject-verb agreement with the verb BE (henceforth plural *is/was*) in IrE[2]. Subject-verb concord can have different realisations in different English varieties and what is considered ungrammatical in one variety might be completely grammatical in another. The NSR itself has, historically, been a shared feature of Northern English, Scottish and Irish English varieties, and BE has repeatedly been reported as being prone to nonconcord in those varieties. It is one of the most common and most irregular verbs in the English language, being the only verb that distinguishes between person and number in the past tense and functioning as both a main verb and an auxiliary. Pietsch (2012: 368-369) notes that, in present-day English varieties, "inherited NSR effects are much more likely to manifest themselves in the use of non-standard *is* and *was*" than in the use of lexical verbs, and that the former, due to its high frequency in recurrent chunks, behaves differently from other verbal combinations when it comes to variation. For nineteenth-century SIrE, however, he finds that BE was much more conservative than lexical verbs, despite a general increase of plural verbal *-s* at that time. This study takes a close look at the verb BE in nineteenth-century NIrE and SIrE, including several independent linguistic and social variables. There are, to my knowledge, no other studies of the NSR in Ireland that include such a detailed investigation of this verb[3].

The Irish English data in this study are provided by the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence* (CORIECOR, McCafferty – Amador-Moreno in preparation). CORIECOR currently consists of about 6,500 letters

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1 Other terms are, for instance, 'northern present-tense rule' (Montgomery 1994), 'Northern Concord' (Montgomery 1989), or '(Northern) personal pronoun rule' (McIntosh 1983: 237-238). These terms often refer to the Northern origin of this concord pattern. However, this pattern has also been documented in non-northern areas such as the North Midlands and, marginally, even in South East England as early as the fifteenth century (McIntosh 1983: 237-239; Bailey – Maynor – Cukor-Avila 1989). More neutral terms are, for example, 'nonconcord' (Corrigan 1997; Filppula 1999), 'singular concord' (Milroy 1981), or 'nonconcordance' (Kallen 1991).

2 This study is part of the *Contact, variation and change project* at the University of Bergen (Research Council of Norway grant no. 213245) which is concerned with the evolution of IrE over time. Thank you to Kevin McCafferty and Carolina P. Amador-Moreno for invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this article, which is part of a longer study conducted during a research fellowship at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Thanks to the Stout for granting me a position as resident scholar in early 2015.

3 Note that BE in this study comprises both lexical and auxiliary use.

(approximately 4 million words), of which 4,800 stem from the *Irish Emigration Database* at the Mellon Centre for Migration Studies in Omagh, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. In 2013, 1,694 letters were added from other published versions in order to complement decades that are underrepresented in the corpus. The majority of the documents are personal letters written by Irish emigrants and their families between the late seventeenth and the early twentieth century[4]. In the absence of spoken data, the historical sociolinguist is dependent on written sources as a substitute to investigate language variation and change in earlier centuries. Personal letters are commonly regarded as relatively close to vernacular speech, often reflecting more dialectal speech types (cf. Biber 1995: 283-300, Montgomery 1995: 27, Palander-Collin 2010: 658, McCafferty – Amador-Moreno 2012: 183). They are often less self-conscious than other written documents because they are written to close friends and families who know the writer well, and precisely this intimate and informal style can reveal a lot about the writer's speech patterns (Montgomery 1995: 27). Letter writers from the nineteenth century and earlier are often also assumed to have undergone minimal schooling, thus relying on their ear rather than on knowledge about standard writing conventions (Montgomery 1995: 32). Montgomery, in fact, claims that 'no other type of document, be it dialect poetry, folk tales, or any other, reveals the speech patterns of earlier days nearly so well or fully as family letters' (1995: 28).

2. The Northern Subject Rule

Generally, Modern Standard English takes verbal *-s* with third-person singular subjects in the present indicative, while all other subjects take the *-Ø* form. For the verbs BE, HAVE and DO, the forms are *is/was*, *has* and *does*, respectively. In some vernacular dialects of English, however, nonstandard concord patterns commonly also include the *-Ø* form (generalised *-Ø*) with third-person singular subjects (*she live here*) (e.g. East Anglia English (Trudgill 1974)) or verbal *-s* with non-third person singular subjects (generalised *-s*) as in *I says/you was* (e.g. Godfrey – Tagliamonte 1999 on southwestern English). Over a timespan of a few centuries, several northern English varieties in Great Britain developed a variable syntactic concord pattern that allows verbal *-s* with third-person plural subjects (*The Potatoes is not near all dug yet*, William Gilkison, 05.11.1896, CORIECOR) but prohibits it with adjacent

[4] The term 'emigrant letter' here refers to both letters written by the emigrants themselves and to letters written by family members and friends to the emigrant.

plural personal pronouns. This pattern is commonly referred to as the NSR. The NSR is conditioned by the Type of Subject Constraint (TSC) in which "the verb is marked with *-s* (or copula/auxiliary *is* is used) when the subject is a noun or any pronoun (i.e., a relative, indefinite, or interrogative pronoun) other than an immediately preceding personal pronoun" (Montgomery: 1997a: 127), as exemplified in (1), and the Proximity of Subject constraint (PSC), which allows verbal *-s* with pronouns in nonadjacent contexts (2).

(1) for **the people is** watching to see how **we are** dowing (John James Smith, 01.09.1904, CORIECOR)
(2) **They** both **is** for going to West Australia (Bella Smith, 01.04.1896, CORIECOR)

The exact origins of the NSR could so far not be successfully clarified, but it has been claimed that it emerged in northern English and Scots dialects during the early Middle English period. Documents from the Old English period (from around the mid-tenth century) apparently do not show signs of the NSR yet, while it appears to have been fully developed in Middle English (Pietsch 2005a: 45). This view is, however, challenged by, for instance, Cole (2012), who found "the syntactic configuration at the crux of the NSR" in Old Northumbrian texts from the tenth century, thus indicating a Brittonic influence on the NSR (2012: 141). Murray (1873: 212) states that, with lexical verbs, "*-s* had been extended to all cases in which the verb was accompanied by its proper pronoun, whether before or after it, leaving the full form in *-s* to be used with other nominatives only" before the earliest Northern writings of the thirteenth century. The verb BE, with its plural forms *aron*, *aren*, *are*, *ar*, *er*, and *yr*, however, appears to not have been affected by the changes until a later stage (Murray 1873: 213). Montgomery (1994) remarks that the NSR only gradually extended to BE from the fourteenth century onwards – though he doubts that it ever reached completion. He further suggests that the shift with past-tense *was* either developed simultaneously with, or even prior to, the shift in present-tense contexts (1994: 89-91). When Anglicisation took place during the sixteenth/seventeenth century, the Scots agreement pattern eroded and assimilated to the Southern British English pattern, thus leading to the variable concord system (3) that characterises the NSR today (Montgomery 1994: 84).

(3) The children GO versus The children GOES
The children ARE/WERE versus The children IS/WAS
They GO/ARE/WERE

Montgomery (1994: 84) mentions that Murray, unfortunately, does not specify the exact timespan in which the three stages occurred, but both Meurman-Solin (1993: 204-206) and Montgomery (1994: 87-91,1997a: 129) confirm that the TSC and the PSC were used almost categorically with lexical verbs between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century in written Scots.

2.1 The NSR in Northern Irish English – Seventeenth to twentieth century

NIrE is the outcome of contact between Irish Gaelic, Scots and English varieties and the different dialects spoken in Ulster today still reflect the original founder populations of those areas. Ulster has commonly been divided into the four major dialect areas Irish Gaelic, Ulster Scots (USc), Mid-Ulster English (MUE) and South-Ulster English (SUE) (see, among others, Gregg 1972; Harris 1984: 117; McCafferty 2007). Interest in verbal concord in IrE increased during the last few decades and its history can, thanks to recent research, be traced back several centuries. Some ground-breaking work on the earliest varieties of English in Ulster, or more precisely USc, comes from Montgomery (1996, 1997a, 1997b) and Montgomery – Robinson (1996). Montgomery – Robinson (1996: 415) investigate five sets of private and legal correspondence to document the use of (plural) verbal *-s* in early USc. They look at both direct evidence from Scots (*Duntreath letters*, *McClelland letters*) and Southern British English (*Plantation Papers*) influence on seventeenth-century Ulster English (UE), as well as at the language of first generation Ulster-born speakers (*The Templepatrick Session Book*, 1646-47) and of eighteenth-century Ulster emigrants (collection of miscellaneous letters). The latter data set, as well as the Duntreath letters, also provide the empirical evidence in Montgomery (1997a), while Montgomery (1996, 1997b) focus on the letters of an Ulster-born and a Dublin-born Irish-Indian trader from the eighteenth century. The common result of these investigations is that the NSR, though to varying degrees, was a robust feature in UE from at least the seventeenth century onwards (cf. Montgomery – Robinson 1996: 418; Montgomery 1996: 228; Montgomery 1997a: 130-32; Montgomery 1997b: 237). Montgomery (1997b) suggests that this feature then diffused from USc areas to MUE areas. In these studies, singular concord with BE is used rather frequently.

Using Australian-Irish emigrant letters, McCafferty (2003) looks at NIrE in the nineteenth century. He finds that plural verbal *-s* is used in 51% of all instances of third-person plural subjects, and in 72% of all NP subjects,

"suggesting that the NP/PRO constraint is strong in nineteenth-century NI[r]E" (McCafferty 2003: 128). In more detail, McCafferty finds that subject type, subject proximity (adjacency versus nonadjacency) and verb type are all significant factors for the use of plural verbal *-s* in nineteenth-century NIrE. Subject proximity turns out to be significant both when all subjects are analysed as a single class and when analysed for PRO and NP subjects individually. In both cases, nonadjacency favours plural verbal *-s* in NIrE (McCafferty 2003: 131). With regard to verb type, past-tense *was* (58%) occurs more often than present-tense *is* (51%) in McCafferty's Irish-Australian data, followed by *has/does* (48%) and lexical verbs (45%). McCafferty finds that the NSR is not a diagnostic feature to distinguish between USc and MUE and proposes that this shared concord pattern was brought to MUE by northern English settlers (2003: 131-132), thus supporting Mufwene's *founder principle* (1996).

The NSR in twentieth-century NIrE has, for instance, been studied in Belfast English (Milroy 1881), South Armagh English (Corrigan 1997), NIrE (Pietsch 2005a, 2005b), or USc (Montgomery 2006). Pietsch (2005a) gives a diachronic account of the NSR in the *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech* (NITCS), compiled during the 1970s. The NITCS consists of interviews conducted among three generations of speakers (ages 9-12, 35-45, and 65-75). Pietsch studied four major dialect areas, the North (comprising the coastal belt from eastern County Down to the northern part of County Londonderry), the Centre (including areas west of Lough Neagh on both sides of the Londonderry/Tyrone border), the South (covers the southern half of County Tyrone, as well as Fermanagh and Armagh), and the Southeast (five locations in southern Antrim and Down) (2005a: 103). He finds that the NSR is present in all locations, but it is strongest in the Centre and the Southeast. In contrast, the North and the South show a rather steep decline in apparent time. A sex difference can be found in the latter two areas, where men tend to use more plural verbal *-s* than women. In the Centre, women show a higher usage of this variant in all three age-groups, indicating again that this variable is strong in this area (Pietsch 2005a: 105-107). Pietsch's results, thus, confirm an observation that has also been pointed out in McCafferty (2003) for nineteenth-century NIrE, namely that the NSR is strong also outside the traditional Ulster-Scots settlement area.

Pietsch (2005a) further finds sporadic use of a plural predicator (*are/ were*) with singular subjects in existential constructions, e.g. *There are a big dancing hall/ There' a big dancing hall* (2005a: 125). This phenomenon is most frequent in the North and the Northwest, whereas it is either non-existent

or very subtle in the other areas (Pietsch 2005a: 126-127). With pronominal subjects, verbal *-s* is rare in NIrE (used in 0.7% of cases with third-person plural *they*), but in those cases where it does occur, it is favoured by nonadjacency (3.4% as opposed to 0.5% with adjacent *they*). Pietsch concludes that the PSC is active in twentieth-century NIrE and appears to be strongest in the speech of the older speakers from counties Tyrone, Londonderry, and (western) Fermanagh (Pietsch 2005a: 100-102).

2.2 The NSR in Southern Irish English – Eighteenth to twentieth century

Referring to Kallen (1991: 32), McCafferty (2004: 64) confirms that the NSR in Ireland was not geographically limited to the North. His study on nineteenth-century SIrE reveals that the NSR was very robust with all NP subjects in the West/Midlands area, which consists of counties Clare, Galway and King's County (Offaly). Counties "Cork, Dublin, Kerry, Meath and Tipperary form a discontinuous East/South region in which the mean *-s* rate is less than half that of the West/Midlands" (McCafferty 2004:68)[5].

An account of subject-verb concord in eighteenth-century SIrE is provided by Montgomery (1996, 1997b), who investigates letters written by a Dublin-born Indian trader during 1749-1771. His main observation is that there is considerable evidence for the TSC, both with lexical verbs and with BE (Montgomery 1996: 228, 1997b: 235). Boling (2003: 655-656) looks at the language of Quakers in the rest of Ireland and finds the NSR with speakers whose ancestors came from non-northern English areas. He suggests that Quakerism (a religious movement originating in northern England) might have supported the use of this concord pattern to maintain their northern origin in exile. Nineteenth-century SIrE has, for instance, been investigated by McCafferty (2004). As with his study on NIrE, the data set comes from Australian-Irish emigrant letters. McCafferty finds 61% usage of the TSC in the West/Midlands area, whereas it is used in only 27% of tokens in the East/South region of Ireland. The PSC could only be found in County Clare, whereas the *-Ø* form was used with non-adjacent *they* in the counties under investigation (McCafferty 2004: 68). McCafferty further finds subject type and region to be salient factors for the use of plural verbal *-s* in SIrE. It is used most often in existential *there* constructions (70%) and least likely to

[5] In our data set, only two informants come from County Galway and none come from counties Clare and Offaly. Most informants included in this study come from the East and the South (see also Fig. 1).

occur with PRO (2%). Relative pronouns with plural antecedents turn out to be the second most important factor for plural verbal *-s* in the Australian-(Southern) Irish data, followed by conjoined NPs, 'other' NPs and collective NPs. Subject proximity turned out to be significant only when omitting the adjacent *they* context, which was a knockout factor for the use of plural verbal *-s* (McCafferty 2004: 71).

Existential *there* constructions were also the most common factor for the use of plural verbal *-s* in Filppula's study on present-day SIrE in his Hiberno-English corpus (HE), especially with past tense *was* (91.5%), while present tense *is* occurred in 83.3% of instances. The corpus is a collection of oral speech representing rural dialects in counties Clare, Kerry, and Wicklow, as well as urban speech from Dublin City (Filppula 1999: 37). Hierarchically, the existential context in the HE data is followed by 'other' NPs[6] (48.2% for BE present, 56% for BE past, and 46.4% for other verbs). Within this category, plural verbal *-s* is most common with relative pronouns and common nouns. Plural verbal *-s* with collectives is used at rates of 25% (BE present), 50% (BE past), and 25% (other verbs), respectively, while PRO subjects only rarely occur with *-s/is/was* (between 0% and 10.2%) (1999: 155-156). Even though the hierarchy found in Filppula (1999) is surprisingly in line with McCafferty's (2004) results for nineteenth-century SIrE, he is more hesitant to ascribe his results to the NSR as the TSC with pronoun subjects (10.2% for BE past) is not as stringent as in NIrE (1999: 156). However, Filppula has not investigated the PSC in his study, so it might be possible that some of the *-s* tokens with *they* (and other personal pronouns) are in nonadjacent contexts.

3. Methodology

The CORIECOR corpus is biased towards the province of Ulster, due to the nature of collection and donation of documents, and towards male writers. In order to get a more balanced sample, the letter writers included in this study have been sampled prior to the actual investigation (*judgement sample*). Two data sets have been extracted from the CORIECOR corpus, each set covering a 25-year subperiod, 1850-1875 and 1875-1900. Each subperiod consists of 20 letter writers, 10 females and 10 males. Out of these, five come from Ulster[7] and five from the rest of Ireland. Most of the writers included

[6] 'Other' NPs here include indefinite, demonstrative, and relative pronouns (Filppula 1999: 154).

[7] The term Ulster refers to counties Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, as well as County Tyrone, and is not to be confused with today's Northern Ireland.

here come from farming or working-class backgrounds, though some (upper) middle-class writers are represented as well. This is due to the fact that, especially for SIrE, finding enough writers from the lower social classes turned out to be rather challenging[8]. The women were usually housewives, though it is not always clear from the letters which social class they belong to. For two females, social background remains completely unclear as there was not sufficient information in the letters.

Since some writers in this study are the sole representatives for their counties, an important factor for inclusion in the analysis was the number of letters a specific writer had written. Two letters were considered the minimum for inclusion. The intention was to use as many letter writers from the original CORIECOR corpus as possible and fill in the gaps with authors from other published collections. For the females, four authors have been included from *Oceans of Consolation* (Fitzpatrick 1994) and one author from each *The McIlrath Letters* (Bassett *et al*. 2009) and *The Prendergast Letters* (Barber 2006). Furthermore, one male author each was included from *The Earth Between Them: Joseph Beale's Letters Home to Ireland from Victoria, 1852-1853* (Beale 1975), and *Patrick McMahon Glynn, letters to his family (1874-1927)* (O'Collins 1974). In the period 1875-1900, some men wrote up to 79 letters, one even wrote 118 letters. In cases where the male writers wrote a lot of letters, the data set was limited to 15 letters per letter writer. For writers of large numbers of letters, I took the first 15 scripts stored in the database by number. In most cases, the letters are numbered in chronological order, though in cases where there are very large numbers of letters from individuals, this means the sample includes documents that may have been written years apart. This procedure, coincidentally, led to a relatively even distribution of letters written by men and women. Altogether, 405 letters were analysed for this study, 206 were written by women, and 199 letters were written by men[9]. In total, 148 letters were written by SIrE letter writers, whereas most (n = 257) were written by authors of Ulster origin. Fig. 1

[8] For the same reason, no distinction has been made between letters written from Ireland to emigrants and letters written by the emigrants themselves, though emigrants clearly predominate. The main criterion for inclusion in this study was whether the letter writer had grown up in Ireland, on the normal sociolinguistic assumption that an individual's language does not change significantly during their lifetime (cf. e.g. Trudgill 1988: 37). Although this is not unusual in such studies (cf. e.g. Pietsch 2012: 367; McCafferty – Amador-Moreno 2012), an interesting follow-up might investigate whether emigration has led to variation in the written language of the emigrants.

[9] Several of these letters were written over a longer time span and would sometimes cover two or more of the 25-year subperiods in this investigation. The authors were assigned to the subperiod they wrote most letters in.

illustrates the geographical distribution of the authors included for analysis in this study. For Ulster, the majority of the letter writers come from counties Armagh, Down, and Tyrone, whereas Co. Carlow (n = 3) provides most authors representing SIrE. The Ulster letter writers included here either come from MUE areas (Armagh, Donegal, Fermanagh, Tyrone), USc areas (Antrim, Down, Londonderry), or from a border area between those two varieties (Dundonald and Portaferry, Co. Down). One letter writer comes from the SUE Co. Cavan (see Harris 1984: 117 for a map over present-day dialect areas). Roughly following McCafferty (2004), the SIrE writers have been divided into writers from the West (Galway and Sligo), the Midlands (Westmeath), the East (Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Laois, Wicklow, Carlow, Wexford), and the South (Tipperary, Cork, and Kerry). Social variables included in this study are *time*, *sex* and *place of origin*.

The letters analysed in this study produced 2,814 tokens (1,608 NP subjects and 1,206 PRO subjects) in which present indicative *is* (BE) and past tense *was* with plural subjects are possible. The pronoun (PRO) subjects include both first- and third-person plural pronouns. The tokens were then analysed according to the categories described below.

Singular concord in BE with plural subjects in existentials is a widespread feature in present-day English varieties. Existential *there* has also been studied in Australian English (Eisikovits 1991), British English (Tagliamonte 1998; Childs 2012; Buchstaller et al. 2013), Canadian English (Meechan – Foley 1994; Walker 2007), Irish English (Corrigan 1997; Filppula 1999) and in New Zealand and Falkland Island English (Britain – Sudbury 2002). Also historical accounts of subject-verb agreement have found that singular concord occurs most often in existential sentences, e.g. Montgomery (1989: 259) on Appalachian English, McCafferty (2003, 2004) on Irish English, or Hay – Schreier (2004) on New Zealand English.

(4) *Existential* there *with plural NP*

a. There **is a great many Irish Settlers** here, and a great Many Yankees coming in from other States (William Williamson, 03.07.1843, CORIECOR)

b. There **is so many flowers in bloom** this place looks like a little Eden (Isabella Weir, 18.07.1891, CORIECOR)

Two other environments that are prone to singular concord with plural subjects in many varieties of English are conjoined NPs (5) and collective NPs (6). Conjoined structures may even be found in Standard English as

Figure 1. Geographical origin of the letter writers (after http://www.irishgenealogical.org/research/maps/ireland-b-w accessed 13 August 2015)

they are conceptually interpreted as a singular (Pietsch 2005a: 9), whereas collective constructions often seem to be semantically governed, not syntactically (Pietsch 2005a: 13)[10].

[10] Collective nouns are here understood as "nouns without plural form but with plural reference" (Filppula 1999: 154). Pinning down what should be counted as a collective turned out a challenging task and there often is no consensus among grammarians as to what should be categorised as a collective. Furthermore, depicting whether the letter writer was referring to a single unit, or to the individuals within this unit, is extremely difficult, if not impossible, in a dialect that allows singular concord with plural noun phrases. In the analysis I have counted those nouns that have commonly

(5) *Conjoined NPs*
   a. **Sister Ellen, husband and family is** well (Thomas Gallagher, 29.12.1875, CORIECOR)
   b. **Potatoes and corn is** very good price (Thomas Gallagher, 29.12.1875, CORIECOR)

(6) *Collective NPs*
   a. **our congretation is** rather small (Andrew Greenlees, 03.04.1860, CORIECOR)
   b. **The Band was** in Newtownstewart on Saturday last (William Gilkison, 23.11.1899, CORIECOR)

We might ask whether the above-mentioned categories should be included in a study on the NSR as all three are frequent contexts for singular concord in present-day non-NSR dialects as well. McCafferty, however, notes that "in NSR dialects, they can be regarded as complying with the broad pattern that permits verbal *-s* with plural NPs but prohibits it with adjacent *they*" (McCafferty 2004: 68).

Also relative clauses with plural antecedents, as in (7), can frequently be found with singular verbs (Montgomery – Robinson 1996: 418-20; McCafferty 2004: 71; Pietsch 2005a: 8, 2005b: 168; Clarke 2015: 84).

(7) *Relative pronoun with plural antecedent*
   a. I shll have [a] litle to tell you by next mail for the changes **which is** about to take place here (Isabella Wyly, 19.10.1858, Fitzpatrick 1994)
   b. But I mourn for them **that is** shut for ever from mortal eyes (Isabella Weir, 25.08.1886, CORIECOR)

Pietsch (2005a: 115, 2005b: 168) notes that the standard plural demonstrative pronouns *these* and *those* disfavour verbal *-s*, in contrast to non-standard *them* and *thae*, which have an enhancing effect on the singular verb form (see also Montgomery 1989: 252). In the data investigated here, *these* and *those* were extremely rare and were, with one (nonadjacent) exception (8c), always used with a plural verb. The demonstrative pronouns (DP) *them* and *thae* were not present in the data set at all (except as a relative clause complement (7b)).

been defined as collective nouns in other studies or reference works. Collectives that were premodified (e.g. *all the congregation*, *five people*) or postmodified (e.g. *the rest of us*) by lexical items indicating a plural reference were listed under 'other NPs'.

(8) *Plural demonstrative pronouns*

a. **These are** lines wrote by your Cozen altho She is but 9 years of Age (Mary Devlin, 20.12.1857, Fitzpatrick 1994)

b. **those** who spoke against the English and French for taking the part of the Turks in the Crimean War **were** quite right (Jane White, 28.12.1860, CORIECOR)

c. & **those** he did examine **was** merely a form of course (Maggie Black, 16.05.1890, CORIECOR)

As noted earlier, plural personal pronouns inhibit verbal *-s*, or *is/was*, in NSR dialects if the pronoun is adjacent to the verb. Note that most examples below have nonadjacent *is/was*. In fact, only one token of adjacent *was* (9b) was found in the data set (as would be expected in an NSR dialect).

(9) *First and third person plural PRO*

a. **we** received your long looked for letter a few weeks ago and **was** glad to hear yous were all well (Annie Brown, 22.12.1873, CORIECOR)

b. I did not feel the very best in the latter part of the evening as I had been up the two nights previous one of them **we was** up at a fire & the next I had to wait for the midnight train (William J Weir, 09.09.1890, CORIECOR)

c. **They** never **was** right bad till they fell in with the Micky Davies (Bella M Smyth, 19.05.1897, CORIECOR)

The last category included in the analysis is 'Other NPs'. This category encompasses common NPs and indefinite pronouns (10a-b), quantifier phrases (10 c-d), as well as NPs with subject-verb inversion (10 e-f).

(10) *Other NPs*

a. It seems that **Irishmen is** not much in respect in that countery (John James Smyth, 07.01.1892, CORIECOR)

b. **others is** in there cold grave (John James Smyth, 22.12.1900, CORIECOR)

c. The two girls is so like you and the boys **some of them is** so like their grandfather (Eliza McIlrath, 25.05.1879, McIlrath 2009)

d. **all the rest of your friends is** well (Arthur McConnel, 10.06.1857, CORIECOR)

e. how **is all the folks** down there (Isabella Weir, 27.12.1889, CORIECOR)

f. I believe since the siege of Derry never **was the people** so Determined to stand to there colours (John James Smyth, 13.07.1892, CORIECOR)

This study looks only at examples of BE with plural subjects; singular subjects and uncountable nouns that always take a singular verb (*news*, *furniture*, *politics* etc.) were not analysed[11]. However, some singular subjects have been found with a plural predicator in the data, notably in existential constructions. Since Pietsch (2005a: 125ff.) reports on this variation in existential clauses in modern NIrE, this observation should not remain completely uncommented on. In the following examples (plus 34 other examples not listed here) a plural verb was used where a singular one would be expected.

(11) a. the – **are lots of hay** laying in laps (John James Smyth, 12.07.1891, CORIECOR)
b. the **were trouble** in getting them up las year (John James Smyth, 01.07.1891, CORIECOR)
c. the **are a sister of wee Francis wife** comming to Chicago this spring (Isabella Martin, 01.01.1870, CORIECOR)
d. we are glad to know that you are all well, and That **The number of your friends are** on The increase in that contry (John James Smyth, 22.06.1899, CORIECOR)

The authors who used this variation come from counties Down, Tyrone and Fermanagh in Ulster, as well as from counties Wexford and Wicklow in the south of Ireland.

4. Results

4.1 General

We know from previous work on subject-verb agreement that third-person plural contexts offer particularly revealing information about linguistic constraints on variation (e.g. Feagin 1979: 190; Tagliamonte 1998: 157). This study looks at third-person plural and first-person plural contexts. This is because a preliminary analysis of the data showed variation with *we* as well.

[11] One example of 'society' has been excluded from the analysis as this has been described as a collective that occurs only with a singular verb (Depraetere 2003: 93).

In our Ulster data (1850-1900), plural *is/was* occurs with 30% (546/1825) of all plural subjects and with 53% (530/1004) of NPs. In the SIrE letters, plural *is/was* occurs with 9% (88/991) of all plural subjects and 14% (88/614) of all NPs. It does not occur with plural personal pronouns in the latter area (neither adjacent nor nonadjacent). In cases where it can be found with plural pronouns in the Ulster letters, plural *is/was*, with one exception, is limited to nonadjacent contexts (50% *we* and 53% *they*). From a first impression, these data confirm what other studies have already pointed out for IrE, namely a clear TSC and PSC constraint in Ulster and a TSC in counties belonging to the rest of Ireland (Montgomery – Robinson 1996; Montgomery 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Filppula 1999; McCafferty 2003, 2004; Pietsch 2005a).

Table 1. Plural *is/was* with subject types, NIrE and SIrE (1850-1900)

Subject Type	NIrE/Ulster		SIrE	
Pl NP	400/788	(51%)	64/541	(12%)
Adjacent *we*	1/386	(0%)	0/190	(0%)
Nonadjacent *we*	7/14	(50%)	0/8	(0%)
Adjacent *they*	0/406	(0%)	0/170	(0%)
Nonadjacent *they*	8/15	(53%)	0/9	(0%)
Existential *there*	130/216	(60%)	24/73	(33%)
Total	546/1825	(30%)	88/991	(9%)

Independent social variables investigated in this study are *place of origin*, *time* (1850-1875 and 1875-1900), and *sex*. The independent linguistic variables tested are subject type (conjoined NPs, collective NPs[12], other NPs, first- and third-person plural pronouns *we* and *they*, relative pronouns with plural antecedents, plural demonstrative pronouns, and existential *there*), tense (present-tense *is* versus past-tense *was*), and distance between noun and verb (adjacent versus nonadjacent). The results will be presented separately for NIrE and SIrE.

[12] The following nouns were here treated as collective nouns: *board, cattle, colony* ('community'), *company, congregation, council, court, escort (The escort was stopped and the gold taken from them*, Joseph Beale Sr, 1853, Beale 1975), *family, (fire) department, folk, funeral (the funeral left Porter's Hotel at 8o'clock and was in Donagheady burying ground about two, a little over 40 ml,* Bella Smyth, 1900, CORIECOR), *generation, government, (live)stock, ministry, parliament, party, people, police, quartette, settlement* ('an assembly of persons'), *team, the Lodge (the Lodge was invited but they dont care for going*, Bella Smyth, 1899, CORIECOR), *the rest, (the young) set.*

4.2 Ulster – Subject type, place of origin, time and sex

Fig. 2 and Table 2 illustrate how plural *is/was* was used during the two 25-year subperiods 1850-1875 and 1875-1900. The first thing that immediately catches the eye is that plural *is/was*, with one exception, increases with all subject types. The only context where it decreases slightly is with the first-person plural pronoun *we* (from 3% to 2%). With third-person *they* it occurs for the first time between 1875 and 1900. While existential *there* was the context most prone to variation in the first subperiod (1850-1875), the hierarchy for subject type quickly settles to conjoined NPs, collective NPs, relative pronouns with plural antecedents, existential *there*, other NPs, DPs, and PRO. With a chi-square statistic (χ^2) of 32.755, and a *p*-value of 0.00000001, time turns out to be a highly significant factor in the Ulster data[13]. However, Pietsch (2012: 367) actually shows that the use of plural verbal *-s* decreases in Ulster from the 1870s onwards and the rise in the use of plural *is/was* in our nineteenth-century NIrE data is indeed striking. Here, it may not be sufficient to accredit this to normal language change. There is a dramatic increase with 'other' NPs, where the use of this variable more than triples, and also conjoined NPs and relative pronouns with plural antecedents are used twice as often in 1875-1900 as in the preceding 25 years. Here, we simply have to acknowledge that the writers from the second period probably are much more vernacular writers than their counterparts from the first period.

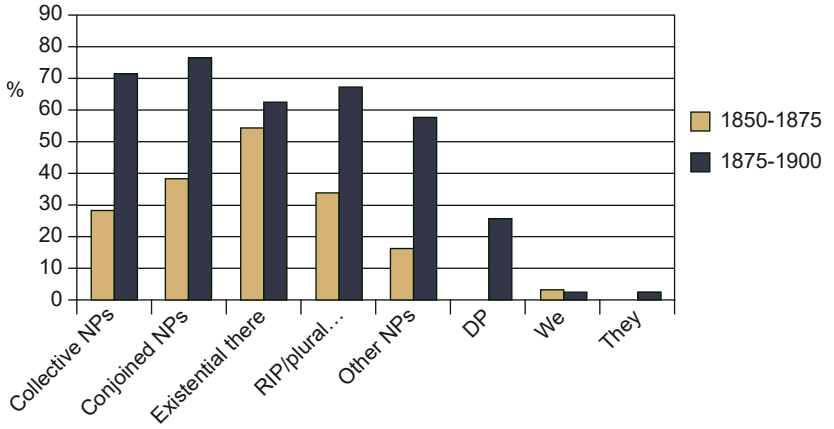

Figure 2. Use of plural *is/was* with subject type across time, Ulster

[13] To test for significance I used Pearson's chi-square test (χ^2). In cases where there were too few data, Yates' modified chi-square test (Yates χ^2) was applied (Preacher 2001). The *p*-value for statistical significance is 0.05.

Table 2. Use of plural *is/was* according to subject type, Ulster

Ulster	1850-75		1875-1900		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Collective NP	2/7	29	44/62	71	46/69	67
Conjoined NP	33/86	38	132/173	76	165/259	64
Existential *there*	32/59	54	98/157	62	130/216	60
RP *with plural antecedent*	3/9	33	14/21	67	17/30	57
Other NP	28/171	16	143/251	57	171/422	41
Plural DP	0/4	0	1/4	25	1/8	13
We	3/89	3	5/311	2	8/400	2
They	0/80	0	8/341	2	8/421	2
Total	101/505	20	445/1320	34	546/1825	30

We can conclude that there is a difference in the use of plural *is/was* throughout the 50-year period investigated in this study, which is potentially biased towards the vernacular end of the continuum in the second subperiod. What can the data tell us about the geographical distribution of plural *is/was* in nineteenth-century NIrE? In order to get a better picture of the PSC, I distinguish between NP subjects and PRO subjects, nonexistential and existential constructions have been collocated. Fig. 3 shows that plural *is/was* operates in all regions investigated in this study, though a PSC can be found only in counties Donegal, Tyrone, and Armagh. In Fermanagh, the 2% (n = 1) use of plural *is/was* with a PRO is due to the only occurrence of adjacent *was* in the data – see (9b). Singular concord with BE is strongest in counties Cavan (80%) and Donegal, where it occurs with NPs (71%), and PRO (8%). The rates for plural *is/was* with NPs further range from 65% in Fermanagh to 24% in Down. Surprisingly, the USc areas Antrim, Down, and Londonderry show lower rates of plural *is/was* (between 24% and 44%) than most MUE areas. These counties do not show a PSC either. Bonness (forthcoming), in contrast, finds high use of plural *is/was* with NP subjects in nineteenth-century USc data from Killinchy, Co. Down, where also a PSC constraint can be observed.

Earlier literature indicates that plural verbal *-s* is not a stigmatised feature in IrE (McCafferty 2003: 125, 2004:65; cf. also Hickey 2007: 183-184 on acceptance for non-standard verbal concord in present-day IrE;

Myklestad 2015: 95-96 on eighteenth-century NIrE), and speaker's sex has been found to be insignificant for plural verbal *-s/is/was* in several present-day English varieties as well (e.g. Clarke 1997: 249; Tagliamonte 1998: 182; Childs 2012: 328). These observations would lead us to expect that plural *is/was* is also used rather frequently by the male and female letter writers in our data set. We know from previous sociolinguistic studies that females often tend to avoid stigmatised forms and that they are more sensitive to prestigious speech patterns than men, who tend to use more non-standard variants (e.g. Labov 1990). Fig. 4 shows that Ulster women are in fact more cautious in their use of plural *is/was* than Ulster men, though the difference between the sexes is relatively slight. In nonexistential contexts, men use plural is/*was* in 30% of instances, whereas the women use it in 24%. With existential *there*, it is used more than twice as often as with nonexistential constructions by both sexes, namely in 66% (males) and 57% (females) of cases.

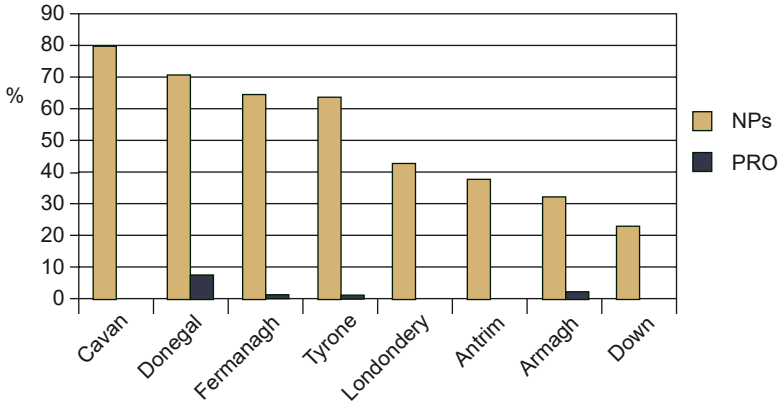

Figure 3. Geographic distribution of plural *is/was*

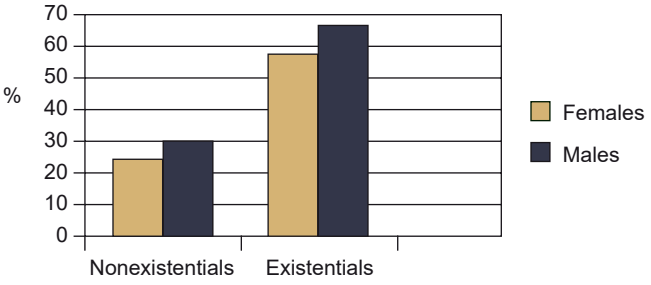

Figure 4. Plural *is/was* as used by female and male writers, Ulster (n = 546)

Table 3. Use of plural *is/was* according to sex, Ulster

	Females (1850-1900)		Males (1850-1900)	
Nonexistentials	246/1034	(24%)	170/575	(30%)
Existentials	79/139	(57%)	51/77	(66%)

A chi-square test reveals that sex is a significant factor for the use of plural *is/was* with nonexistentials in the Ulster letters between 1850-1900 ($\chi^2 = 6.427$; $p = 0.01$). With existential *there*, sex is not significant. This is indeed surprising and probably only a wider sample could give more detailed information on sex differences. For the moment, though, we can state that the results support the claim that there was not much stigmatisation attached to the use of plural *is/was* in nineteenth-century NIrE.

4.3 Rest of Ireland – Subject type, place of origin, time, and sex

For SIrE, Pietsch (2012: 367-368) reports a slow but steady increase of plural *is/was* throughout the nineteenth century. Our data, albeit subtle, show an increase with plural *is/was* as well. It is used with collective NPs, existential *there*, relative pronouns with plural antecedents, conjoined NPs, and with 'other' NPs (Fig. 5), but not with first- or third-person plural pronouns or DPs.

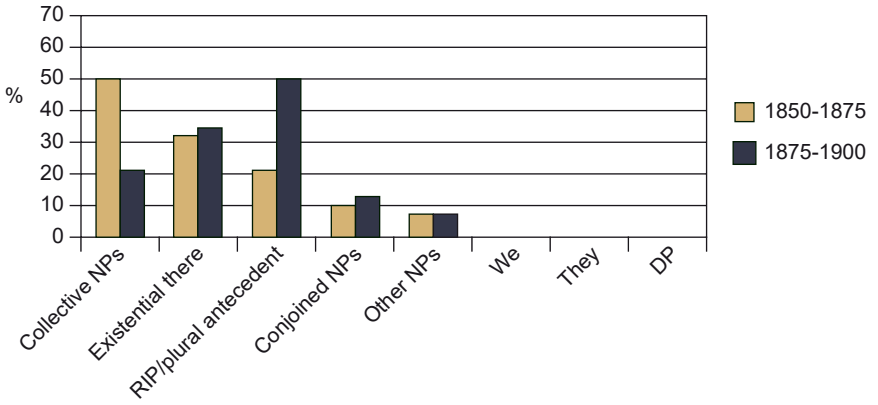

Figure 5. Use of plural *is/was* with subject type across time, SIrE

In 1850-1875, plural *is/was* is most present with collective NPs (50%), followed by existential *there* (32%), relative pronouns (21%), conjoined NPs (10%), and 'other' NPs (8%). In 1875-1900, the use with relative pronouns

rises from 21% (1850-1875) to 50%, and is then the environment most prone to variation in that subperiod. The use of singular concord with collective NPs drops to 21% and the hierarchy is then relative pronouns > existential *there* > collective NPs > conjoined NPs > 'other' NPs. Although we can observe a slight increase in the use of plural *is/was* in the latter subperiod, time is not a significant factor in the SIrE data set ($\chi^2 = 1.003$, $p = 0.32$).

Table 4. Use of plural *is/was* according to subject type, SIrE

SIrE	1850-1975		1875-1900		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Collective NP	9/18	50	3/14	21	12/32	38
Existential *there*	14/44	32	10/29	34	24/73	33
RP with plural antecedent	5/24	21	9/18	50	14/42	33
Conjoined NP	8/81	10	4/31	13	12/112	11
Other NP	17/226	8	9/120	8	26/346	8
We	0/140	0	0/58	0	0/198	0
They	0/109	0	0/70	0	0/179	0
Plural DP	0/3	0	0/6	0	0/9	0
Total	53/645	8	35/346	10	88/991	9

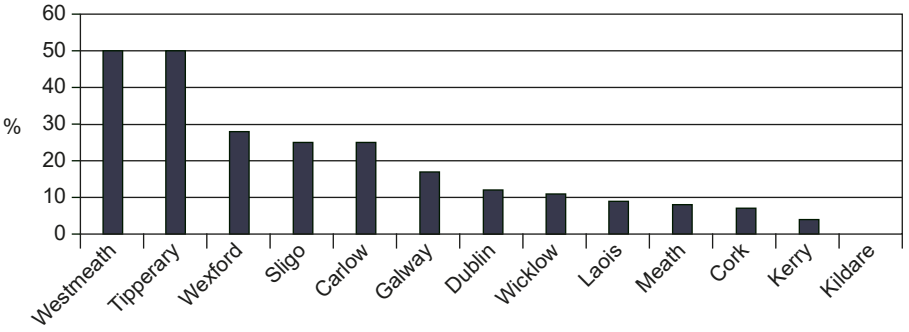

Figure 6. Geographic distribution of plural *is/was*, NP subjects only

Fig. 6 shows the geographic distribution of plural *is/was* in SIrE. This feature is unevenly spread over the rest of Ireland in our data. It is most often used in Westmeath (50%, 5/10), which belongs to the Midlands area, and in the southern county Tipperary (50%, 2/4). Furthermore, singular concord with BE is moderately used in the two neighbouring eastern counties Carlow (25%,

9/36) and Wexford (28%, 13/46) and in the western counties Sligo (25%, 4/16) and Galway (17%, 14/84). In the remaining counties from the South/East (Cork, Laois, Wicklow, Dublin, and Meath) plural *is/was* is used in, or less than, 12% of instances. It should be noted here that the result for Co. Kerry is based on one single token of existential *there*. In Co. Kildare, plural *is/was* could not be found at all. We can, thus, not find the clear West/Midlands and South/East distinction reported by McCafferty (2004).

In contrast to the NIrE results, where the men used slightly more plural *is/was* than the women, this feature is rather preferred by the female writers in SIrE.[14] In existential constructions, women use singular concord in more than half of all instances (53%), whereas men use it only in one-fourth of tokens (27%). Also in nonexistential contexts, female writers use slightly more plural *is/was* (9%) than male writers (6%). However, sex is statistically significant only with existential constructions ($p = 0.04$), but not with nonexistentials ($p = 0.13$) in our data.

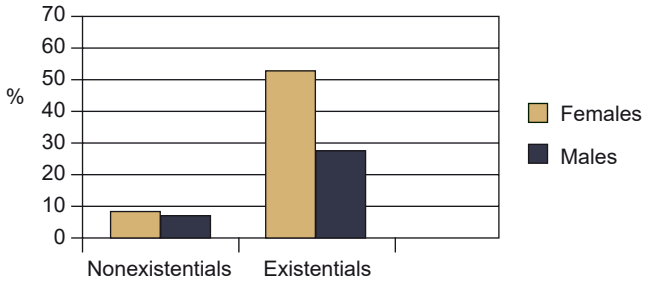

Figure 7. Plural *is/was* as used by female and male writer in SIrE (1850-1900), (n = 88)

Table 5. Use of plural *is/was* according to sex, SIrE

	Females (1850-1900)	Males (1850-1900)
Nonexistentials	23/255 (9%)	41/663 (6%)
Existentials	9/17 (53%)	15/56 (27%)

[14] Due to the inclusion of some (upper) middle-class male writers in the data, some social skewing was expected. However, our results actually show that these writers are the only (male) ones that actually use plural is/was in the letters from the rest of Ireland.

In sum, plural *is/was* is clearly present in the SIrE data as well, though to a much lower degree than in NIrE. Fig. 5 shows that there is a slight increase of singular concord observable over time. Interestingly, existential *there*, which has repeatedly been found to be the environment most prone to plural verbal *-s/is/was* in almost every variety of English, ranks only third in our NIrE data and second in the SIrE data. It is clearly preferred by the female writers in SIrE.

4.4 Tense

Tense is another factor that has been found to have an influence on subject--verb agreement in several English varieties (e.g. Feagin 1979: 201; Tagliamonte 1998; Filppula 1999: 155-156; McCafferty 2003; Hay – Schreier 2004). Singular concord is thus much more likely to occur with past tense *was* than with present tense *is*. McCafferty, for example, found 58% usage of past tense *was* in his nineteenth-century Australian-Ulster emigrant letters, and 51% for present tense *is*. With GOLDVARB weightings from .404 for the latter form and .703 for the former, tense is a significant factor in his nineteenth-century Ulster data (2003: 130-131). For early twentieth-century SIrE, Filppula also reports on a "slight bias towards past tense context[s]", especially in existential there sentences (Filppula 1999: 155). A tendency towards nonconcord with past tense *was* is also observable in our data, at least when we look at the total percentages for the whole 50-year timespan.

Table 6. Use of plural *is/was* according to tense, Ulster (n = 1,825)

	Nonexistentials		Existentials		Total
	1850-75	1875-1900	1850-75	1875-1900	
BE present					
plural *is*	62	214	20	68	362
plural *are*	264	604	17	41	926
Total	325	818	37	109	1288
% plural *is*	19	26	54	62	28
BE past					
plural *was*	10	133	11	30	184
plural *were*	114	212	9	18	353
Total	124	345	20	48	537
% plural *was*	8	39	55	62	34

Table 6 shows that singular concord is used more often with past tense *was* (34%) than with present tense *is* (28%) in the NIrE data. However, a look at the subperiods illustrates that there is considerable variation within them. In 1850-1875, present tense *is* (19%) was used more often than past tense *was* (8%) in nonexistential contexts, whereas the latter was used more often (39%) than present tense *is* (26%) in 1875-1900. The use of singular concord with *is* or *was* remains relatively stable (between 54% and 55% in the first subperiod and in 62% in the second) with existential *there*. Tense is statistically significant with nonexistentials in both subperiods ($\chi^2 = 8.02$, 17.792; $p = 0.0046$, 0.0000246), whereas it is not significant in existential constructions ($p > 0.5$).

In the rest of Ireland, the situation is even more discontinuous than in Ulster, revealing no clear preference for either form. Whereas singular concord with past tense *was* (11%) is indeed found slightly more often than with present-tense *is* (8%) in the 50-year timespan, there is again extreme variation within the subperiods. In 1850-1875, plural *was* with nonexistentials is used in 8% of instances as opposed to 6% usage of plural *is*. In 1875-1900, the use of plural *was* then drops to only 2%, whereas use of plural *is* rises to 9%. In existential constructions, *was* occurs in 75% of instances in the first subperiod. In 1875-1900, existentials in the past tense occur only once and, therefore, cannot be discussed. Tense is not statistically significant in nonexistential constructions, but it is significant with existential *there* in 1850-1875 (Yates' $\chi^2 = 10.355$; $p = 0.001$).

Table 7. Use of plural *is*/*was* according to tense, SIrE

	Nonexistentials		Existentials		Total
	1850-75	1875-1900	1850–75	1875-1900	
BE present					
plural *is*	28	24	6	10	68
plural *are*	454	240	27	18	739
Total	482	264	33	28	807
% plural *is*	6	9	18	36	8
BE past					
plural *was*	10	1	9	0	20
plural *were*	108	52	3	1	164
Total	118	53	12	1	184
% plural *was*	8	2	75	0	11

In contrast to other studies on subject-verb agreement in IrE, our data cannot confirm a clear preference for singular concord in the past tense. We do not achieve the high numbers of usage reported in other studies of IrE either (e.g. Filppula 1999 for SIrE; McCafferty 2003 for NIrE).

4.5 Distance between subject and verb

Distance between the subject and the verb has also been reported to have an effect on subject–verb agreement (e.g. McCafferty 2003, 2004; Hay – Schreier 2004; Pietsch 2005a). McCafferty (2003: 131) found subject proximity to be a significant factor in the Ulster data, with a higher likelihood for plural verbal *-s* to occur with nonadjacent subjects (both NPs and PRO). In the Australian-(Southern) Irish letters, subject proximity turned out to be significant only when ignoring the adjacent *they* context (knockout factor). While nonadjacent subjects have a considerable effect on plural verbal *-s* (.676), adjacent subjects have little, or no, effect (.471) (McCafferty 2004: 70-72). Pietsch (2005a) found that nonadjacency between the head of the NP and the verb triggers plural verbal *-s* in his contemporary NIrE data (2005a: 114). In our nineteenth-century Ulster data, the use of plural *is/was* increases with nonadjacent subjects.[15] Table 8 gives the numbers and percentages for the use of singular concord in Ulster with adjacent and nonadjacent subjects. Again, the latter are more prone to plural *is/was* (37% for nonadjacent subjects in nonexistential and 62% in existential constructions) than adjacent ones (25% and 52%, respectively). A chi-square test confirms that nonadjacency is a significant factor for the use of plural *is/was* in nonexistentials ($\chi^2 = 10.631$, $p = 0.001$). For existentials, the result is not significant ($\chi^2 = 1.187$, $p = 0.275$).

Table 8. Subject proximity between the subject and the verb, Ulster (1850-1900)

Subject	*is/was*	*is/was*	Total
Proximity	Nonexistentials	Existentials	
Adjacent	364/1471 (25%)	16/31 (52%)	380/1502 (25%)
Nonadjacent	52/139 (37%)	114/184 (62%)	166/323 (51%)

In SIrE, the overall picture is a similar one, though plural *is/was* is less frequent than in Ulster. With adjacent subjects, singular concord can be found in 7% (nonexistentials) and 11% (existentials) of cases. In cases where the subject

[15] For the purpose of analysing subject proximity, I looked at distance between the head of the NP and the verb.

is not adjacent to the verb, the rate remains the same with nonexistential constructions (7%), but rises to 37% with existential *there*. A chi-square test reveals that adjacency between subject and verb is neither significant for nonexistentials in the data from the rest of Ireland ($\chi^2 = 0.007$; p-value = 0.93), nor for existentials (Yates' $\chi^2 = 1.286$ $p = 0.257$).

Table 9. Subject proximity between the subject and the verb, SIrE (1850-1900)

Subject	*is/was*	*is/was*	Total
Proximity	Nonexistentials	Existentials	
Adjacent	54/772 (7%)	1/9 (11%)	55/781 (7%)
Nonadjacent	10/147 (7%)	23/63 (37%)	33/210 (16%)

Summing up, the CORIECOR data confirm what has been found in earlier studies, namely an increase of singular concord with nonadjacent subjects, though the increase (at least in our data) is never dependent on the proximity of the subject and the verb in existential constructions. With nonexistentials, it is significant only in the NIrE data. It should be noted here, however, that the results probably do not achieve significance due to the small numbers in some cells of Tables 8 and 9. Adding other subperiods in future investigations might in fact solve this discrepancy.

5. Conclusion

This study looked at the development of the NSR with the verb BE in nineteenth-century IrE. It showed that an NSR concord pattern was present in both NIrE and SIrE at that time. In NIrE, we found evidence for both the TSC and the PSC in MUE dialects. Surprisingly, no such constraint could be found in our USc data. This study thus joins studies such as McCafferty (2003) and Pietsch (2005a) in finding that the NSR has long been strong in non-Ulster Scots settlement areas as well. Furthermore, it supports McCafferty's (2003) claim that this concord pattern not just diffused from USc areas to MUE, but that this rather was a feature that was brought to Ulster by both Scots- and northern-English-speaking settlers in the seventeenth century. In SIrE, plural *is/was*, though clearly present in the data, was used to a much lower degree than in the Ulster letters. In addition, it was non-existent with personal plural pronouns *we* and *they*, suggesting that the writers had a TSC, but no PSC. This is basically in line with Montgomery (1996, 1997b), Filppula (1999), and McCafferty (2004). The use of singular concord is unevenly

distributed in SIrE, with the counties Westmeath (Midlands) and Tipperary (South) showing the highest use of plural *is/was* (50%), while the eastern counties Wexford and Carlow, along with western Galway and Sligo, show moderate use of plural *is/was* (between 17% and 28%). The rest of the South/East showed rather low frequencies of singular concord (12% and less). Collective NPs, conjoined NPs, and existential *there* constructions were usually those contexts that were most prone to variation in our data, and these contexts still show most variation in non-NSR dialects of present-day English varieties. Also relative pronouns with plural antecedents supported singular concord with plural verbs, especially in SIrE. PRO were least likely to occur with singular concord.

This study further found a slight preference for plural *was* in the 50-year period investigated. This is, for instance, in line with Filppula's (1999) findings for twentieth-century SIrE and McCafferty's (2003) findings for NIrE. However, our data show considerable variation within the two subperiods in both areas. While past tense *was* shows higher scores for singular concord with nonexistentials in NIrE between 1875 and 1900, the writers from the rest of Ireland prefer it to present-tense *is* in 1850-1875. In existential constructions, Ulster letters show relatively even use of plural *is/was* (54% *is* and 55% *was* in the former sub period and 62% with both tenses in the latter period). While plural *was* was used considerably more often with existentials in the first subperiod in SIrE (75% as opposed to 18% *is*), the low token frequency with past tense verbs in the latter subperiod prevents us from discussing any preferences or changes for that timespan. Generally, a wider sample would be required to make any generalisations about the influence of tense on plural *is/was* in IrE.

Distance between subject and verb was significant only in non-existential constructions in NIrE. In SIrE, it is not a significant factor for use of plural *is/was* at all. However, the subjects have here been analysed as a single group and distinguishing between NP and PRO subjects might in fact make a difference. As mentioned above, McCafferty found subject proximity to be significant only when ignoring the adjacent *they* context in his SIrE data (McCafferty 2004: 71).

The data on BE, by and large, confirm what other studies have reported about IrE concord patterns, though they also discover considerable variation within the two subperiods. As indicated above, a wider sample might even out these differences. Knowing what the situation was like in nineteenth-century IrE, it would also be interesting to look at the NSR in other postcolonial dialects. Montgomery (1997a, 1997b) claims that an NSR-like

concord pattern has been transported to Appalachia by Irish emigrants in the eighteenth century, but what happened in other colonies in which the Irish constituted a large part of the founder population? Many nineteenth-century Irish emigrants settled in the southern hemisphere, for example. Was their concord pattern reflected in early New Zealand or Australian English, or, and how, did it change due to the influence of other varieties of English in the colonial setting? van Hattum (2015), for example, emphasises that emigrants, who previously had belonged to a fairly homogenous social group with a similar dialect, in the New World suddenly found themselves in direct contact with speakers of many varieties of English, or even different languages. She remarks that former studies, though giving extensive accounts of the way these new dialects evolved in former British colonies (e.g. Schneider 2003; Trudgill 2004), fail to provide much empirical evidence from the initial stages of an individual's language in this context (2015: 106).

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Address: DANIA JOVANNA BONNESS, University of Bergen, Department of Foreign Languages, N-5020 Bergen, Norway.

The discourse of comforting: The case of online health support groups

Anna Franca Plastina
University of Calabria

ABSTRACT

Individuals sharing similar illness experiences nowadays have the opportunity of joining online health support groups to receive comfort from fellow sufferers. This situated practice represents an alternative to the pending issue of integrating patient narratives in a therapeutic approach to illness. The aim of this research is to investigate how discourse is mediated to comfort peers in an online condition-specific support group managed by laypeople. Corpus-based discourse analysis was conducted using a mixed-method design to disclose discourse functions and lexicogrammatical features which construe meanings of comforting in a corpus of online text-based messages. Results highlight how comforters organise their 'talking cures' through different epistemic and affective stance processes enhancing peer self-management, and how their sociocultural constructs serve multiple communicative functions. Results further shed light on how these 'talking cures' can benefit remote peers emotionally, inform the biomedical doctor-dominant relationship, besides challenging physicians as gatekeepers of medical knowledge to become 'physician-healers'.

1. Introduction

Medicine 2.0 is known to strongly promote patient participation in interactive online activities in the clinical area of self-management (Murray 2012), which is made up of the combination of medical, emotional and role management (Corbin – Strauss 1988). These web-based interventions challenge the traditional doctor-dominant relationship in which physicians appear to be solely concerned with their patients' medical management. Due to their biomedical focus on *disease,* physicians allow little, if any, room for patients' personal and social experience of *illness.* Patients are thus left without the

possibility of engaging in emotional management, which involves processing and elaborating negative emotions accompanying health conditions, and in role management, which is featured by learning to adapt to new social relationships due to these conditions. Chronic pain sufferers are faced even more with this unbalanced state of self-management as they are seen by physicians to "threaten the normal routine of biomedical treatments and the expectations governing ordinary face-to-face interactions" (Jackson 2005: 332).

In this light, an effective therapeutic approach to chronic illness has been advocated, whereby doctors are called to act as "physician-healers [who] help patients discover or create new illness narratives with fresh meanings that reconnect them to the world and to others and thereby transcend suffering and experience healing" (Egnew 2009: 170). Central to this approach is the notion of the healing potential of talk as "therapy is constituted, first and foremost, by talk entailing certain discourse types, thus it is frequently referred to as a 'talking cure'" (Pawelczyk 2011: 61). The therapeutic approach therefore assumes that the patient's illness story "is never just the story of disease" (Hunter 1991: 13), and that "the central importance of discourse in our experience of illness cannot be underestimated" (Harvey 2013: 5).

Research studies have, however, found that medical interviews commonly underestimate the value of information sharing even if better outcomes are achieved when patients are able to fully share their experience of illness (Haidet – Paterniti 2003). Morris (2008) notes that this long-standing resistance is due to the cultural influence of the biomedical model of treatment on both physicians and patients. On the one hand, doctors fear losing the professional authority they hold in medical encounters, and they now report undesired behaviours from patients in disease management following their web-based interventions (Hughes 2010). On the other hand, patients themselves are frequently dissatisfied with their doctor-patient relationship (Seckin 2010), and are therefore less willing to accept any medical outreach resembling intimacy or paternalism (Morris 2008).

Against this cultural backdrop, Medicine 2.0 represents a revolutionary alternative to the pending issue of integrating patient narratives in a therapeutic approach to illness. Web-based social networks, such as online health support groups, now allow people experiencing similar health problems to construct and consume personal narratives. The key features of online anonymity and social distance strongly contribute to turning online health support groups into non-threatening environments as they have been found to reduce participants' distress, enhance their coping skills, and improve health outcomes (Neuhauser – Kreps 2010).

From a sociocultural standpoint, patients' online stories of illness thus acquire a new status, allowing them to compete with the authority of doctors' offline stories of disease. However, it is still difficult to determine their clinical outcomes due to the limited amount of quantitative research data still currently available (Ziebland – Wyke 2012). Nonetheless, supportive communication has been found to improve emotional and behavioural outcomes, which, in turn, are likely to lead to improvements in clinical outcomes (Murray et al. 2005). Thus, online text-based messages offering fellow sufferers comfort may be seen as a valuable resource for medical training in the Medicine 2.0 era (Plastina 2016). They may further stimulate physicians to cast aside their traditional role as gatekeepers of medical knowledge, and become 'physician-healers' (Hughes 2010), actively engaged in the practice of 'talking cures'.

From a linguistic perspective, these discourses of social concerns deserve major interest from discourse analysts as condition-specific support groups currently hold a prominent position in online health communication (Harvey 2013). In fact, these groups "[r]epresent significant contexts in which individuals can interactively produce and consume discourse in the process of adjusting to perceived physical impairment and psychological distress" (Hunt – Harvey 2015: 135-136).

Against this backdrop, the current paper focuses on the therapeutic potential of comforting discourse, which is produced and consumed by chronic sufferers of the New Daily Persistent Headache disorder in an online group managed by volunteers and subjects with personal experience. Broadly-speaking, the investigation attempts to make a contribution in the under-researched area of healing talk, seeking to disclose how peer practice may inform the doctor-patient relationship in terms of patient self-management. More specifically, the study analyses the discourse functions and lexico-grammatical features which construe the meaning of comforting in a collected corpus of online messages and their socio-cultural values for different stakeholders.

2. Theoretical framework

Besides having their own websites, many online health support groups have dedicated discussion forums, where a sense of *groupness* is created among participants through the verbal cues of comforting messages. While it can be argued that this asynchronous text-based communication may not facilitate effective support due to the absence of nonverbal cues, this constraint is

compensated by the cues available through the content and style of verbal messages. Online support groups are thus governed by the key features of *verbal behaviour* and *message-centredness.* The former is "produced with the intention of providing assistance to others perceived as needing that aid" (MacGeorge et al. 2011: 317); the latter shapes "social interaction centred on the processes of producing and interpreting messages" (Burleson 2010: 151) with the main functional purpose of giving and receiving emotional and/or informational support. According to Biyani et al. (2014: 827), "emotional support comprises of seeking or providing caring/concern, understanding, empathy, sympathy, encouragement", and is thus related to the emotional dimension of self-management; informational support, instead, refers to giving advice, providing referrals and instructional information (Bambina 2007), and is therefore connected to the spheres of medical and role self-management.

From this perspective, the current study is theoretically framed by Burleson's (2003) comforting model of supportive message skills at the macro-level of comforting messages, and by the principles of corpus-based discourse analysis at their micro-level. The comforting model is designed to cover five core message skills for effective support, and is referenced to introduce the communicative functions and their related semantic fields as the analytical framework as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. The analytical framework for corpus-based discourse analysis

Supportive Message Skills (based on Burleson 2003)	Major Communicative Functions served by Discourse Units	Semantic fields
1. Clarify supportive intentions	1. State desire to help	helpfulness
2. Show sympathy	2. Express feelings of concern, care or sorrow	sorrow
3. Emphasise Other-centredness	3. Express encouragement and/or empathy	encouragement
4. Express availability	4. Offer help	support
5. Give advice	5. Provide relevant suggestions and/or information	knowledge

In detail, the first communicative function involves *stating the desire to help* peers who require support. It is likely that fewer discourse units serve this function as members tacitly share the understanding that mutual aid is key

to online health groups. On the other hand, the next three communicative functions are key to the discourse of comforting. *Expressing feelings of concern, care or sorrow* is the basic function to communicate sympathy (from the Greek *syn-* "together" + *pathos* "feeling"), or fellow-feeling. *Expressing encouragement and/or empathy* (from the Greek *en* "in" + *pathos* "feeling") is another crucial communicative function to comfort fellow sufferers by placing oneself in the situation of the Other (Other-centredness). Likewise, the communicative function of *offering help* legitimates the discourse of comforting by expressing the provider's availability. While all these four functions contribute to building emotional support, the fifth function involves *providing relevant suggestions and/or information* with the intent of offering informational support.

Furthermore, the study is informed by the principles of corpus-based discourse analysis, whereby "corpus analysis can also serve as a lens through which to examine wider sociocultural concerns. Indeed, recurrent discursive phenomena that are revealed in […] corpora in the form of keywords […] offer an observable record of the unconscious behaviours through which dominant meanings are discursively reproduced" (Hunt – Harvey 2015: 135). Moreover, the corpus-driven method is likely to reveal the most characteristic fixed strings, or "lexical bundles [which] provide interpretive frames for the developing discourse" (Biber – Barbieri 2007: 270). Concordance analysis of lexical bundles therefore assists in yielding quantitative evidence of the qualitative discourse features of comforting discourse, and helps disclose traces of this social phenomenon.

3. Methodology

The study analyses a corpus of 30 threads (30,153 words) containing a total of 226 posts (M=133.42 words), which were uploaded to an online health support group during the years 2013 and 2014. Corpus size was not considered to affect the study as "a small corpus is seen as a body of relevant and reliable evidence" (Sinclair 2001: xi). All postings were downloaded from the discussion forum at www.mdjunction.com/ndph, where the support group is populated by individuals affected by New Daily Persistent Headache (NDPH), i.e. "a rare chronic daily headache of long duration" (Evans – Seifert 2011: 145). This group was purposely selected since individuals affected by this syndrome are more likely to engage in comforting peers who endure this long-term condition. A mixed-method

research design framed the methodology of corpus-based discourse analysis, featured by a top-down procedural approach (Biber et al. 2007) for data validity. Manual searches were performed to discard irrelevant information and all messages were saved as an electronic document in .txt format for subsequent analysis in AntConc 3.4.3 software (Anthony 2014). A concordance search was run for lexemes with the highest levels of keyness, based on log-likelihood statistical measures with a cut-off of the top 100. Results matching at least one of the semantic fields in the analytical framework (cf. Table 1) were classified accordingly. Linguistic-quantitative analysis was conducted with the support of single concordances for each of the top five lexemes classified. KWIC (Key Word in Context) was computed for the keywords with a 5-word window span to the left and right of the search term based on the same statistical measures used for the keyness search. The resulting concordance lines were treated as horizontal texts (Tognini-Bonelli 2001) to interpret linguistic features across the different functional types of discourse units (Biber – Conrad 2009). Wordlist clusters, generated for the most frequent four-word lexical bundles, were classified following Biber et al. (2003, 2004) to disclose the prevailing organisational pattern of comforting discourse.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Keyness

The concordance search for keyness yielded the highest levels for the five lexemes *think*, *know*, *better*, *helpful* and *sorry* occurring in the corpus (634 word types; 2982 word tokens). These results are useful to trace the broad socio-cultural value of comforting discourse, which appears to be "mobilized and deployed through stance processes" (Du Bois 2007: 141). The lexemes provide clues that these processes are predominantly elaborated as epistemic stances of belief and knowledge (*think*, *know*), and are interwoven with affective stances signalling solidarity (*better*, *helpful*, *sorry*). Keyness thus suggests that comforters act as stance takers, who first position themselves within the condition-specific support group and claim membership. In particular, the lexeme *think* evokes epistemic degrees of confidence in the propositional truth of messages, and thus socially situates comforters as subjective experts of the NDPH experience. They thus hold the socially recognised authority of adopting an epistemic stance of direct,

or experiential knowledge (*know*). Both these stances then lay the ground for placing comforters' subjectivity in relation with that of their peer sufferers in order to structure the affective stances hinted by the lexemes *better*, *helpful*, *sorry.* Additional social values can be captured from these keywords in relation to how intersubjectivity is likely to be realised. The higher ranking of the lexeme *better* is an overt cue that comforters first create intersubjectivity through their orientation toward the NDPH condition as "the shared stance object" (Du Bois 2007: 159). They then shape an intersubjective relationship featured by alignment with sufferers in order to establish the condition of being *helpful*. In turn, this social relationship paves the way to adopting affective stances, which organise the socially recognised feeling of *sorry,* allowing personalised emotional discourse to be then conveyed.

At the linguistic level, the keywords provide insights into the main communicative functions of comforting discourse and its underlying meanings as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Keyness and semantic fields for *comforting* lexemes

Rank	Keyness (LL)	Keyword	Semantic Field
1.	370.209	*think*	knowledge
2.	327.914	*know*	knowledge
3.	248.240	*better*	encouragement
4.	198.185	*helpful*	helpfulness/support
5.	193.839	*sorry*	sorrow

In detail, *think* and *know* serve the communicative function of *providing relevant suggestions and/or information*, construct meaning within the semantic field of experiential *knowledge*, and thus pertain to the supportive message skill of *giving advice.* The lexeme *better,* instead, connotes meanings of *encouragement,* therefore functioning communicatively to *express encouragement and/or empathy* as part of the supportive message skill of *emphasising Other-centredness*. The keyword *helpful* denotes ambiguity as it is associable with both the semantic fields of *helpfulness* and *support*, and serves the communicative functions of *stating desire to help* and *offering help*, which pertain to the supportive message skills of *clarifying supportive intentions* and *expressing availability.* Finally, the keyword *sorry* is overtly associable with the semantic field of *sorrow*, and serves the communication function of *expressing feelings of concern, care or sorrow*, which are part of the supportive message skill of *showing sympathy*.

4.2 Keyword in context

KWIC results of the top 20 concordance lines for each lexeme are presented and discussed to capture salient aspects of comforting discourses. In Fig. 1, concordance lines for the node word *think* show a range of relevant suggestions offered by comfort providers.

1		I think	it is important to get aggressive treatment
2	t to get aggressive treatment in the beginning. I	think	it is important to keep trying. I think it
3	. I think it is important to keep trying. I	think	it is important to try anything. I think it
4	. I think it is important to try anything. I	think	it is important to have the best chance of
5	have the best chance of beating this thing. I	think	it is important to get rest and keep the
6	hot tea than I normally could stand but I	think	it really is helping. I do not think rebound
7	I think it really is helping. I do not	think	rebound would develop that quickly. I tend t
8	ink rebound would develop that quickly. I tend to	think	of anything that reduces the pain without ho
9	even if it is not a full cure. I	think	for many of us one of the things that
10	ped the most was finding a headache specialist. I	think	one of the more important things is quite ge
11	hings is quite general, keep trying something. I	think	that even doctors don't know how a lot
12	't know how a lot of medications work. I	think	that friends who are willing to TRY to under
13	problems of being in pain are worth keeping. I	think	that headaches that start after accidents sh
14	uld really be in their own category altogether. I	think	the pain meds are what is causing most of
15	your sleep problems, or at least contributing. I	think	the procedure will advance though. I think t
16	ing. I think the procedure will advance though. I	think	this is a good option for some people. I
17	this is a good option for some people. I	think	you have a lot of commonalities with a lot
18	commonalities with a lot of us (including me). I	think	you just needed to hear it from people going
19	our current friends are not understanding. If you	think	that there is no cure, your life is over,
20	life is over, that you will never get better.	Think	about substituting soy or almond milk.

Figure 1. KWIC results: *think*

Qualitative analysis reveals three main categories of functional discourse: providing practical suggestions, health-related suggestions, and offering psychological comfort. The first category is illustrated in example (1):

(1) *I think it is important to get rest and keep the stress down* [l. 5]; *I think it* [hot tea] *really is helping* [l. 6]; *Think about substituting soy or almond milk* [l. 20]

Coaxing NDPH sufferers to adapt to new life roles (*get rest*, *keep the stress down*), and new dietary habits (*hot tea*, *soy or almond milk*) builds on their role management. It can also help family/ friends be more aware that their supportive role is to remind and motivate their dear to perform similar self-management tasks.

Example (2), instead, shows how discourse was functionally shaped to provide more health-related suggestions:

(2) *I think it is important to get aggressive treatment in the beginning* [l. 1]*; I do not think rebound would develop that quickly* [l. 7]; *I think the pain meds are what is causing most of your sleep problems* [l. 14]

Here, comforters show strong degrees of confidence in the propositional truth of their messages, inducing their peers to infer their experiential knowledge. For instance, [l. 1] is likely to evoke the irresponsible behaviour of delaying medical self-management, but it can also inform family/friends of the importance of enacting the role of *medical proxy*; [l.7] and [l.14] share medical information, which may help peers reflect more on how to handle their emotional stress. It may also aid family/friends understand that the quality of their relations depends on their being better informed about the medical conditions of their dear.

Example (3) shows the ways in which opinions can generate psychological comfort:

(3) *I think it is important to keep trying* [l. 2]*; I think it is important to try anything* [l. 3]; *I think it is important to have the best chance of beating this thing* [l. 4]

Here, personal beliefs serve the purpose of aligning comforters with sufferers as a premise for conveying fellow-feelings of care and encouragement, shaped by personal affective stances.

KWIC results for the node word *know* are more information-oriented as shown in Fig. 2.

1	think any of us really knows why. As we	know	, a lot of the same meds used for epilepsy
2	epilepsy are used for migraines. As you probably	know	, it is all individual, so its trial and error
3	individual, so its trial and error. I do not	know	a lot about why it works. I do not
4	a lot about why it works. I do not	know	if any over the counter cold medicines help y
5	cold medicines help you at all. I do not	know	if you could find the full article online wit
6	nline without paying for a subscription. I do not	know	if a virologist is actually needed, I do not
7	has seen one of those specifically. I do not	know	what that dose is for different people. I don
8	that dose is for different people. I don't	know	if this med would help at all or not
9	that. I have had it for so long and	know	it so well, that I also feel safe. I
10	it so well, that I also feel safe. I	know	cheese had triggered migraines before but I c
11	before but I could not give it up. I	know	ndph headaches can be both migraine-like and/
12	be both migraine-like and/or tension-like. I	know	of another person, however, who had the surge
13	shortly after the surgery and still is today. I	know	one person around your age did really well wi
14	ound your age did really well with flunarizine. I	know	some people who did really well with that. Ev
15	did really well with that. Even doctors do not	know	how a lot of medications work (or at least
16	d work for headache instead of something else). I	know	there was also a private facebook page on ndp
17	on ndph at one point. I think you will	know	if and when the time is right for childbearin
18	way for everyone of course, and I do not	know	if that is because of their age. NDPH is
19	is known to be quite resistant to treatment. I	know	you should stay away from rebound headache. W
20	you should stay away from rebound headache. We do	know	a bit more than the average population about

Figure 2. KWIC results: *know*

Comfort providers position themselves along an epistemic scale, ranging from ignorance (*I don't know*) to knowledgeability (*I know*) as shown respectively in examples (4) and (5):

(4) *I do not know a lot about why it works* [l. 3]; *I do not know if any over the counter cold medicines help* [l. 4]; *I do not know what the dose is for different people* [l. 7]

(5) *I know cheese had triggered migraines* [l. 10]; *I know ndph can be both migraine-like and/or tension-like* [l. 11]; *I know one person around your age did really well* [l. 13]

By overtly admitting their lack of specialised knowledge about medications and dosages, comforters in example (4) implicitly declare their social status of laypeople. Their epistemic stance of *ignorance* (*I do not know*) further allows to infer that they responsibly refrain from misinforming peers. In turn, this suggests that information shared in online support groups is not likely to generate undesired behaviours in disease management during medical encounters.

This is further confirmed by example (5), where narratives are clearly dependent on popularised sources of knowledge (*cheese had triggered*, *migraine-like and/or tension-like, I know one person*). While physicians' biomedical authority may here appear to be delegitimated, this popularised knowledge reflects "the richness of everyday communication about health care issues" (Brown 2006, cited in Harvey 2013: 2).

1	Glad that you are doing	better	! Hang in there! It is sure got to get
2	! Hang in there! It is sure got to get	better	from here. Hang in there! It is tough, but
3	in there! It is tough, but things will be	better	soon. Hang in there! Positive things will g
4	ter soon. Hang in there! Positive things will get	better	for you. Hang in there, it often gets worse
5	, it often gets worse before it starts to get	better	! I am glad that you are doing so much
6	! I am glad that you are doing so much	better	overall. I am really glad to hear that you
7	glad to hear that you are doing so much	better	! I am so incredibly happy for you that she
8	so incredibly happy for you that she is doing	better	. I hope you feel better soon. I will say
9	that she is doing better. I hope you feel	better	soon. I will say a prayer that things get
10	soon. I will say a prayer that things get	better	for you. I wish no one here had any
11	one here had any health problems and hope for	better	days to come for everyone. It could be wort
12	hough, especially if the headache is consistently	better	during a certain time of the month. It did
13	a certain time of the month. It did get	better	for me, and I hope that it will get
14	, and I hope that it will get a lot	better	for her soon as well. It gets better. You
15	lot better for her soon as well. It gets	better	. You find treatments, learn to cope, and it
16	r respond drastically to a treatment. It will get	better	for you, I am sure! Others had similar symp
17	sure! Others had similar symptoms as you and got	better	, you will feel better. So glad you are doin
18	symptoms as you and got better, you will feel	better	. So glad you are doing better and the pain
19	, you will feel better. So glad you are doing	better	and the pain is more manageable. So, right
20	can do, is convince yourself that things will get	better	. Take it from us, it does get better. Ther

Figure 3. KWIC results: *better*

Results for *better* in Fig. 3 show how encouragement is also mediated through discourses of temporality of the health condition.

Example (6) illustrates how it is sufferers' current state of improvement which generates encouragement in comforters as a positive emotion (*glad*):

(6) *Glad that you are doing better* [l. 1]; *I am glad that you are doing so much better overall* [l. 6]; *So glad you are doing better and the pain is more manageable* [l. 19]

In these cases, comforters position themselves along an affective scale, denoting different degrees of affective stances (*glad* and *so glad)*, which are also intertwined with evaluative stances (*better, so much better overall, more manageable*). These latter markers thus also serve a referential function of relating to sufferers' prior stories. They are, in fact, grounded in a "counterstance", or "what prior stance the current stance is being formulated in response to" (Du Bois 2007: 149). Hence, comforters become encouragingly responsive to the evolving conditions disclosed by their peers, a verbal caring behaviour advocated by the narrative-based approach to illness. This type of care can inform physicians how to act as healers: "rather than 'taking' the biomedical history *from* the patient, [the physician] engages in a mutual activity *with* the patient in which the two work together to 'build' the complete and contextualized history which includes both the biomedical and the patient-defined points of view" (Haidet – Paterniti 2003: 1136; original emphasis).

This "history-building" approach appears to be crucial also in the 'talking cure' of predicting future health improvements as shown in example (7):

(7) *things will be better soon* (l. 3); *things will get better for you* (l. 4); *it will get better for you* (l. 16)

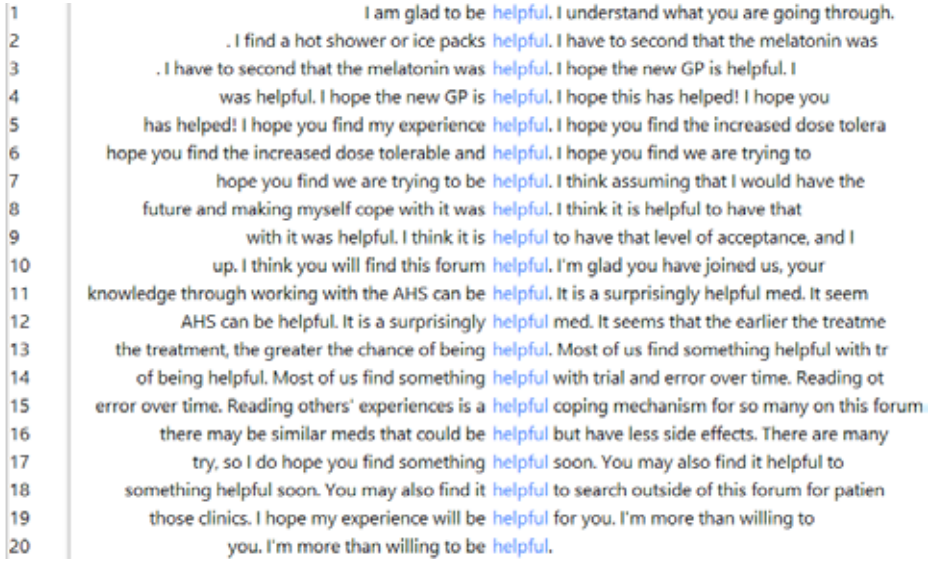
Although the referential identity of the condition is clearly abstract (*things*, *it*) and denotes comforters' low level of certainty, a healing effect is created by the future evaluative predicates *will be better*, *will get better* and the temporal deictic *soon*.

Encouragement is further expressed through other discourse units which functionally soothe peers as shown in example 8:

(8) *it is sure* (l. 1); *hang in there!* (lines 1-4); *I hope* (l. 8); *I will say a prayer* (l. 9); *hope for better days to come* (l.11); *it did get better for me and I hope it will get better for you* (l.13); *I am sure* (l. 16); *convince yourself* (l. 20a); *take it from us it does get better* (l. 20b)

The healing effect in these instances is activated through the use of different stance markers with epistemic stances of certainty (1.1; 1.16) and experiential knowledge (1.13; 1.20b), interwoven with affective stances of emotional involvement (l.8; l.9; l.11; 1.13), and persuasive expressions for encouragement (l. 20a, lines 1-4).

Concordances for the keyword *helpful* confirmed semantic ambiguity as in Fig. 4, where four main functional purposes are at play.



1	I am glad to be	helpful.	I understand what you are going through.
2	. I find a hot shower or ice packs	helpful.	I have to second that the melatonin was
3	. I have to second that the melatonin was	helpful.	I hope the new GP is helpful. I
4	was helpful. I hope the new GP is	helpful.	I hope this has helped! I hope you
5	has helped! I hope you find my experience	helpful.	I hope you find the increased dose tolera
6	hope you find the increased dose tolerable and	helpful.	I hope you find we are trying to
7	hope you find we are trying to be	helpful.	I think assuming that I would have the
8	future and making myself cope with it was	helpful.	I think it is helpful to have that
9	with it was helpful. I think it is	helpful	to have that level of acceptance, and I
10	up. I think you will find this forum	helpful.	I'm glad you have joined us, your
11	knowledge through working with the AHS can be	helpful.	It is a surprisingly helpful med. It seem
12	AHS can be helpful. It is a surprisingly	helpful	med. It seems that the earlier the treatme
13	the treatment, the greater the chance of being	helpful.	Most of us find something helpful with tr
14	of being helpful. Most of us find something	helpful	with trial and error over time. Reading ot
15	error over time. Reading others' experiences is a	helpful	coping mechanism for so many on this forum
16	there may be similar meds that could be	helpful	but have less side effects. There are many
17	try, so I do hope you find something	helpful	soon. You may also find it helpful to
18	something helpful soon. You may also find it	helpful	to search outside of this forum for patien
19	those clinics. I hope my experience will be	helpful	for you. I'm more than willing to
20	you. I'm more than willing to be	helpful.	

Figure 4. KWIC results: *helpful*

Example (9) indicates the function of stating the desire to provide help both as a single group member (*I*) and as an entire community (*we*):

(9) *I am glad to be helpful* (l. 1); *I hope you find my experience helpful* (l. 5); *hope you find we are trying to be helpful* (l. 7); *I'm more than willing to be helpful* (l. 20)

The second purpose refers to offering support, although in various ways as in example (10):

(10) *you will find this forum helpful* (l. 10); *reading others' experience is a helpful coping mechanism* (l. 15); *you may also find it helpful to search outside this forum* (l. 18)

On the other hand, example (11) shows how the meaning of *helpful* refers to the function of providing relevant suggestions:

(11) *I find a hot shower or ice packs helpful* (l. 2); *working with AHS can be helpful* (l. 11); *it is a surprisingly helpful med* (l. 12); *there may be similar meds that could be helpful but have less side effects* (l. 16)

Example (12), instead, indicates that *helpful* relates to expressing feelings of empathy:

(12) *I hope the new GP is helpful* (l. 4); *hope you find the increased dose tolerable and helpful* (l. 6); *it is helpful to have that level of acceptance* (l. 9); *I do hope you find something helpful soon* (l. 17)

Regardless of the different communicative functions, the sense of helpfulness discursively reproduced in all cases suggests that comfort providers always first *align with* peer sufferers to construct their healing talk. Conversely, physicians enter the medical encounter with their own biomedical perspective, thus disregarding the importance of seeking doctor-patient alignment.

Concordances for the node word *sorry* (Fig. 5) show that sympathy was expressed through socially accepted formulas in everyday language as a key feature of online support groups.

1	I am so	sorry	that you've been suffering for so long. I
2	've been suffering for so long. I am so	sorry	to hear this. I know it IS hard to
3	to live with pain day and night. I am	sorry	to hear that you are doing worse. I thought
4	Lyme treatment, is it no longer working? I am	sorry	you are all going through this and pray for
5	for an answer to help us all. I am	sorry	you are going through this. My headache also
6	started with an illness (a sinus infection). I am	sorry	you are having to deal with those scary symp
7	having to deal with those scary symptoms. I am	sorry	you have this headache. Glad you found us th
8	this headache. Glad you found us though. I am	sorry	your daughter is having to deal with this. I
9	so tough for you and your family. I am	sorry	your pain came back. How long has it been
10	has it been since it came back? I am	sorry	your son is suffering so much. Hope he finds
11	so much. Hope he finds relief soon. I am	sorry	you're having to deal with this headache, bu
12	headache, but this is a great support place. So	sorry	for your struggle! Do NOT give up - hang in
13	struggle! Do NOT give up - hang in there. So	sorry	to hear that it is back, or that another
14	aving similarly is here (either way is scary). So	sorry	to hear that your daughter is dealing with t
15	hear that your daughter is dealing with this. So	sorry	to hear what you have to go through. So
16	to hear what you have to go through. So	sorry	your daughter is going through this. I am gl
17	this. I am glad you decided to post. So	sorry	you've had to deal with this headache also.
18	headache also. My start date was close to yours.	Sorry	that you too suffer from this headache. Hang
19	you too suffer from this headache. Hang in there!	sorry	to hear you are having problems with your me
20	ear you are having problems with your medication.	Sorry	you also having this headache. Feel free to

Figure 5. KWIC results: *sorry*

Although the functional purpose of these results appears similar, sympathy is expressed, however, as different degrees of sensitivity. A moderate degree is found in the use of the basic expression *I am sorry* as in example (13):

(13) *I am sorry to hear you are doing worse* (l. 3); *I am sorry you are going through this* (l. 5); *I am sorry you are having to deal with those scary symptoms* (l. 6)

A more intensive degree of sensitivity denoting major emotional involvement is conveyed through the intensifier *so* as indicated in example (14):

(14) *I am so sorry that you've been suffering for so long* (l. 1); *I am so sorry to hear this* (l. 2); *so sorry for your struggle* (l. 12); *so sorry to hear that it is back* (l. 13)

These data point to the importance of sensitivity as a key factor in mediating healing talk, and can thus inform current medical research regarding the condition of the *nocebo response*. Albeit unintentional, physicians' lack of understanding has been recorded to induce anger and distress in patients as a response to this behaviour, thus worsening their health conditions (Greville-Harris – Dieppe 2015).

4.3 Lexical Bundles

Frequency-driven concordance keyword searches yielded 10 top 4-word lexical bundles in the full corpus of 30,153 words of comforting messages as represented in Table 3.

Table 3. Lexical bundles in the comforting corpus

Lexical Bundles	Frequency	N° of Texts (*N*=226)
1. I don't know if	**442**	**223**
2. sorry that you've suffered	**372**	**220**
3. get better for you	**361**	**148**
4. we do know that	**238**	**129**
5. things will get better	**121**	**117**
6. think it is important	103	65
7. was thinking you need	98	57
8. sorry that you too	61	54
9. one of the most helpful	43	25
10. it can be helpful	29	21

Although these lexical bundles are not structurally complete, nor idiomatic in meaning (Biber – Barbieri 2007), they disclose important features of comforting discourse. A striking aspect is given by the conversational-like style mediated through the high proportion of personal stance expressions which hybridise the text-based mode of the comforting messages. Hence,

while plain informal language helps build rapport in comforting, it is still widely undervalued in current pain education and in medical encounters where there is a persistent overuse of specialised jargon (Plastina 2016).

Moreover, results show that bundles 1-5 were more frequently used across group members as highlighted by the bold figures in Table 3; instead, bundles 6-10 occurred across fewer texts in spite of their high frequency. Hence, the former functioned as the main sociocultural constructs of comforting discourse, whereas the latter reflected more individual styles. Hence, comforting discourse was found to be socially constructed through narratives of medical uncertainty (*I don't know if*), *history-building* of illness as a key component of caring (*sorry that you've suffered*; *get better for you*), experiential knowledge (*we do know that*), and through the objectification of the disease (*things will get better*).

The structural categorization of the five key lexical bundles further showed that the main discursive pattern was organised through verb phrase (VP) and dependent clause (DC) fragments, each serving specific functions as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Structural and functional categorization of lexical bundles

Lexical Bundles	Structure	Function	Sociocultural Construct
1. I don't know if	DC	Personal epistemic stance of uncertainty	Acknowledging subjective lack of medical knowledge
2. sorry that you've suffered	DC	Discourse organiser	Care for past suffering
		Referential	Focus on sufferer
		Affective stance	Fellow-feeling of sorrow
3. get better for you	VP	Discourse organiser	Care for future improvement
		Referential	Focus on NDPH-sufferer relation
4. we do know that	DC	Epistemic stance of certainty	Acknowledging and collective sharing of experiential NDPH knowledge
5. things will get better	VP	Referential	Abstract identification of NDPH
		Affective stance	Care for future improvement

The first bundle is structured as an *if*-clause fragment and operates as an *epistemic stance* bundle denoting uncertainty of medical knowledge. The stance is taken subjectively as marked by the personal pronoun *I*, suggesting that comforters acknowledge their limited medical knowledge so as to boost trust in their peers as a key step in caring. This social construct is further reinforced by the fourth lexical bundle, structured as a *that*-clause and operating as an epistemic stance bundle of experiential knowledge. The personal pronoun *we* signals group members' active participation in sharing experiential knowledge collectively for informational support, but also conveys the strong sense of solidarity built by the group to help peers relieve their emotional distress. As a dependent-clause fragment, the second lexical bundle, instead, operates as a *discourse-organiser* bundle, reflecting "relationships between prior and coming discourse" (Biber et al. 2004: 384), marked by the present perfect tense (*'ve suffered*), which emphasises the long-term chronic condition. The bundle is further imbued with a history-building approach to care, as well as serving the affective stance of fellow-feeling, marked by *you* person-centeredness. The third lexical bundle serves a similar functional purpose, although the temporal reference here changes from the past to the future, and the stance object is covertly placed in relation with the sufferer. The fifth and final lexical bundle is a referential bundle which overtly denotes the abstract identification of the illness (*things*), accompanied by an affective stance of care for future improvement conveyed through the verb-phrase fragment *will get better*.

5. Conclusion

Based on the findings from the present study, Table 5 summarises how the structural organisation of comforting discourse was functionally constructed. Although these results are by no means conclusive as they need to be tested on larger corpora also sourced from synchronous media (e.g. chatrooms), they offer thought-worthy insights into an exponentially expanding social discourse practice, which can inform remote sufferers and other stakeholders, including family/friends, medical educators and physicians alike. In the case of the *asymmetrical* doctor-patient relationship, these results mainly shed light on the crucial importance of integrating patient narratives into the practice of therapeutic talk, featured by a *you-centredness* perspective and implemented through a *history-building* approach, which helps patients refrain from *nocebo responses*.

Table 5. The structural and functional organisation of comforting discourse

Structural Organisation	Discourse Functions supporting Comfort
Epistemic stance	
Personal: uncertainty	Avoid misleading information and beliefs Build trust in interactive relationship
Collective: certainty	Share experiential knowledge for informational support Manifest high degrees of Other-centredness to overcome social isolation
Affective stance	
Personal: emotional	Manifest alignment and involvement to reduce emotional distress
Collective: involvement	Provide non-feeling-centred explanations for emotional support
Referential	
Physical	Exhibit high degree of *You*-centeredness
Temporal	Adopt a history-building approach to care
Abstract	Establish disease-sufferer relation to increase emotional support
Discourse organisers	Show sensitivity to avoid *nocebo responses* Predict improvement to help endure hardship

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Address: ANNA FRANCA PLASTINA, University of Calabria, Department of Pharmacy, Health and Nutritional Sciences, Edificio Polifunzionale, Via Pietro Bucci, 87036 Arcavacata di Rende (CS), Italy.

On the semantic features of *prison slang*

Anna Ciechanowska* and Grzegorz Andrzej Kleparski**

** PWSTE Jarosław*
*** Uniwersytet Rzeszowski*

ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of *prison slang* has raised much controversy, and there have been various attempts by scholars of different periods to treat the matter comprehensively. Nevertheless, many of the linguistic features of this particular language variety have been neglected or ignored. As a result, widely and unequivocally accepted conclusions regarding this variety of slang have yet to be drawn. This paper provides an overview of significant lexico-semantic features of *prison slang*, and makes special reference to its ephemerality and creativity, its anti-normative character, its metaphorical variation, its relexicalisation and overlexicalisation, and its inherent tendency to draw on the lexical resources of other varieties, and even other languages.

1. Introduction

Beyond the sphere of ordinary free people, such as stock brokers, lawyers and linguists, lies a separate layer of subculture that thrives within prison walls in most countries of the world. Research into the prison community can provide a wealth of information related to its matrix, yet there remains a lack of precise and in-depth analysis of the specific linguistic repertoire used by inmates. Several explanations for the neglect of investigation into *prison language* are possible. One is that the examination of *prison lingo* in penal institutions has typically been considered part of greater studies dealing with prison from a broadly social perspective, and such studies would not emphasize prison usage to any large degree. A second is that data collection is problematic due to the fact that the subculture of prison institutions is immensely difficult to penetrate because inmates carefully protect much

information, in speaking and otherwise. In fact, the secrecy of *prison slang*[1] hinders the process of collecting a sufficient number of *prison argot* items which would constitute a *sine qua non* for any consistent and detailed analysis. A third is that although *prison lingo* may be said to enjoy a certain level of homogeneity across a larger geographical area, it certainly varies in specific terminology from one more local region to another. A common core of lexical items, collectively labelled as *prison slang*, is likely to be found in most correctional institutions. Widely used terms include *punk* 'an inmate turned out in prison', *shank* 'a knife', *bug juice* 'psychotropic medications', and others. Nevertheless, variation, often reflecting the level of the penal institution and the sociological characteristics of subgroup members, is evident. Further, those characteristics, some of which relate to racial or gang lineage, colour *prison argot* in complex ways.

Regardless of the array of difficulties involved here, a number of attempts at accounting for prison culture, including language use, have been made. They have taken various perspectives and have resulted in works such as those by Clemmer (1940), Maurer (1955), Sykes (1958), Cardozo-Freeman (1984), Szaszkiewicz (1997), Przybyliński (2005), and others. Nevertheless, little attention has been paid in these and other similar studies to the communicative systems of inmates. *Prison slang* has played a relatively small part in these fundamentally socio-cultural works. However, a few studies which specifically target the language of this subculture have been done. Among them are Oryńska (1991), Einat – Einat (2000), Einat – Livnat (2012) and Stępniak (2013). This paper intends to augment that research and to propose a systematic picture of the linguistic features of *prison argot.*

2. Linguistic features of *prison argot*

Although the grammar of *prison argot* approximates that of the greater standard dialect of the language, the vocabulary differs markedly from the standard (cf. Schulte 2010: 47). It is also recognized that this variety is largely a spoken variety (cf. Maurer – Vogel (1954 [1973: 369]). However, a certain amount of written evidence for *prison argot* may be found in diaries, letters, tattoos, ballads, songs, and poems: see also Szaszkiewicz (1997).

[1] On the secret nature of *prison argot*, see also Sykes (1958), Fiszer (2012), Gambetta (2009) and Russel (2014).

At a finer level, we find various additional features of *prison argot*. Perhaps chief among them is that of its creative and ephemeral nature. According to Pollock, "prison slang is a dynamic, constantly evolving entity. Some of the earliest examples may have very different meanings today, if they are used at all. Terms tend to change over time and vary among institutions and across different regions of the country"(2006: 94-95). The fact that prison communities are shifting populations may be responsible in part for the transience of *prison argot*, or *prison slang*, but the effects of population shifts on linguistic usage remain to be demonstrated. Further, *prison slang* must to some extent be ingenious and much of its lexis short-lived precisely because two of its main functions are exclusivity and maintenance of a kind of *anti-society*[2], or counter-reality. Prisoners, apparently, often wish to exclude custodial officers from comprehending their speech, and to maintain a kind of counter-culture. As Schulte has noted, *prison slang* "is constantly renewing itself in order to sustain the vitality that it needs if it is to function at all"(2010: 49). *Prison slang* terms tend to exhibit weaker stability than lexical items that belong to the standard. Maurer – Vogel (1954 [1973: 368]) describe *prison argot* as a language variety "with a high birth rate of words balanced by a high death rate within the in-groups, and a relatively low survival rate compared to standard language". The secret nature of *prison argot* is maintained by means of inventive vocabulary creation but also by the rapid obsolescence and displacement of words. Terms such as *calaboose*, *cross bar hilton*, *hoosegaw* and *slammer* were once used in the sense of 'prison', but they eventually became obsolete and were replaced by others, such as *big house* and *joint*. Lastly, we should not omit to mention here that many of the new words which form the backbone of *prison argot* signify objects integral to prison life, some allowed by prison officials, like cigarettes, and some forbidden, like drugs and make-shift weapons. The words *lemac* and *bull-derm* 'tobacco, cigarettes' have gone obsolete and have been replaced by *fug*, *square*, and *joes*, among others, with the same meanings. The Polish prison environment presents an interesting case. There we encounter several terms that disappeared from the prison lexicon not for the usual reasons, but specifically because of certain sociopolitical and cultural changes which occurred in Poland following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Those terms ceased to be extralinguistically motivated. Terms such as *mosiek* and *esbek*, both used to convey the sense of 'police officer' went obsolete[3]. Likewise, *kolegiant*, the

[2] For more on the issue of *anti-society*, see Halliday (1976).

[3] In one dictionary of the Polish language, *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, the noun *mosiek* is cited as a diminutive form of a common Jewish name *Mosze*, which is used as

semantic reading of which is 'person being incarcerated for committing an offence', fell out of use due to changes in the Polish legal system[4].

In fact, the ephemerality inherent in *prison slang* entails creativity, imagination, humour, expressivity, and irony, which may manifest themselves in various ways. For instance, *prison argot* makes prolific use of figurative language. This is likely related primarily to the fact that prisoners often want to keep their communications secret from guards and certain other prisoners. However, this characteristic serves other functions as well. It is widely acknowledged that life within correctional institution walls can involve highly charged situations in which figurative, colourful, humorous, or ironic language may diffuse tensions. Such usage is capable of alleviating the drudgery of life behind bars and fostering group solidarity, mutual recognition, prestige, and a sense of exclusiveness[5].

Diverse examples may illustrate this point. In English, *mud duck* is used in *prison argot* to mean 'ugly girl' and *broadway* to mean 'a particular floor of a prison where inmates may walk, interact, or reside if the prison is overcrowded'. Note that *mud duck* is an instance of a specific kind of metaphor referred to in Kleparski (1997, 2002, 2007) as *animal metaphor*, or, alternatively, *zoosemy*, whereas *broadway* is an example of *eponymy-based metaphor*. Looking again to the Polish prison environment and its slang, we see that the term *dzieci naczelnika*, literally 'children of the warden', is used in the sense of 'lice'. It should be noted here that this particular term is an example of the conceptual mechanism referred to in Kleparski (1997) as

a derogatory label for a person of Jewish origin. The roots of the negative emotional load of this noun are explained by Peisert (1992), who maintains that the application of the term is related to the fact that as many as 40% of the managerial positions in the Ministry of Public Safety during the times of PRL (the Polish People's Republic) were occupied by officers of Jewish origin (cf. Szwagrzyk 2005). Hence, it should come as no surprise that there had existed certain stereotypes due to which police officers or correctional officers were somewhat naturally associated with people of Jewish origin. On the other hand, the acronymy – based term esbek was used colloquially in the sense of an officer of the Security Service in Poland before 1990, and its roots go back to the combination of letters SB, which derive from *Służba Bezpieczeństwa* (Security Service), the authority which both historically and sociologically has been perceived as an apparatus of control and oppression (see Piotrowski 2000).

[4] Before the turn of the 21st century, the extrajudicial authority in Poland called *Kolegium do Spraw Wykroczeń* (Board for Adjudication of Misdemeanors) was responsible for ruling on offences, but since 2001 such cases have been considered by courts (see Ustawa z dnia 20 maja 1971 r. o ustroju kolegiów do spraw wykroczeń Dz.U. z 1971 r. Nr 12, poz. 118).

[5] For more on the solidarity-maintaining function of *prison argot*, see Pollock (2006) and Einat – Livnat (2012).

reverse multiple grounding or, alternatively, *reversed zoosemy* by Grygiel (2005)[6]. Another striking example of the use of metaphor in Polish *prison argot* is *ogrodnik*[7], literally 'gardener', which is used in the sense of 'village thief'.

Halliday (1976), who made an attempt to account for the *argot* of criminals in terms of an *anti-language,* identified metaphorical variation as one of the three main characteristics of every underworld, or demimonde, *lingo*. If we follow the theory proposed by Halliday (1976), who conjectured that any *anti-society* is, in its structure, a metaphor for society, we may assume that the subculture of prisoners, including its language, is a metaphorical identity itself at the level of the social semiotics. As a result, the metaphorical quality, but also its creativity, imagination, humour and irony in the realm of *prison argot* expressions, is visible up and down the system, and these features, apparently, make the language vivid and constantly current.

The second and third characteristics of underworld *lingos* like *prison slang* which Halliday (1976) identified are relexicalisation and overlexicalisation. As far as relexicalisation is concerned, Halliday (1976) glossed it as the substitution of invented, unofficial words in certain areas of vocabulary in an *anti-language,* and noticed that this mechanism indeed does not influence the entire vocabulary of *prison argot*, but rather is restricted to certain lexical domains, especially those that are of primary importance to members of the subgroup. This claim aligns with one by Partridge (1933 [1979: 29]), who asserted that an *argot* expresses "the primary necessities of life, the commonest actions and functions, the most useful objects, the most useful or the most secret parts of the body, the most frequently occurring adjectives". English *prison slang* contains a wealth of examples that illustrate this feature, such as *crow* which is used in the sense of 'fake or cheap', and *jacket,* which may be employed to convey the human-specific sense of 'witness to a crime (who may testify later)'[8]. Considering once again Polish *prison slang*, and the mechanism of relexicalisation, we find one dictionary which lists hundreds of instances (Stępniak 2013) as well as numerous websites and forums which deal with the subject of Polish *prison argot*. Representative examples include zoosemic *muflon* (literally 'mouflon'), which is evidently used in the human-specific sense of 'a clumsy

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6 On *reversed zoosemy*, see also Kleparski (1997) and Grygiel (2005).

7 For more on the issue of names of professions and occupations, see Cymbalista (2012).

8 This term indicates that, as pointed out by Rusinek (2008a: 126), "there exists a historically universal connection between the conceptual macrocategories HUMAN BEING and CLOTHES, and this connection is not only of physical but also of conceptual nature". For more on this issue, see Kleparski – Rusinek (2008) and Rusinek (2008a, 2008b).

and sluggish person', and *pomarańczyk* (a diminutive form of *pomarańcza* 'orange or person related to an orange'), which is used in the human-specific sense of 'homosexual'[9]. Moreover, it is observed that *prison argot* across languages displays a strong tendency to take in numerous synonyms or near synonyms. As a result, this particular language variety is not merely relexicalised, but rather frequently overlexicalised in certain areas. In other words, it may be characterized by hypersynonymy, which, according to Thorne (2014: 206), is present "when a social subgroup invents far more terms for something than seems strictly necessary. […] The fairly obvious explanation is that these expressions do not just describe something, but have a greater symbolic importance for the group in question". Thus in English *prison argot*, we encounter such overtly zoosemic terms as *street bitch*, *birdie*, *prison wolf* and *jelly fish*, all of which are used in the human-specific sense of 'homosexual', as well as the zoosemic synonyms *gaycat*, *bug*, *cat-j*, and *cuckoo* meaning 'crazy or mentally ill prisoner'. In Polish *prison slang*, *Adela* (a Polish female name), *cięcie* (literally 'cutting'), *motyka* (literally 'pickax'), and *różyczka* (a diminutive form of *róża* 'rose') are all used in the female-specific sense of 'prostitute'. The number of terms used to convey the sense of 'police officer' in Polish *prison argot* is quite astonishing. Here we encounter examples such as *pies* (literally 'dog'), *fragles* (quite likely derived from the name of a muppet actor in the television series *Fraggle Rock*[10]), *flip* (most probably derived from the translated title of the comedy film *Laurel and Hardy*[11], in Polish *Flip i Flap*[12]), *kaczmarek* (a Polish surname), and *skobel* (literally 'staple').

An additional manifestation of the creativity and dynamic nature inherent to *prison argot* is evident in its tendency to draw on the lexical resources of other languages. English *prison slang* is often distinctly colourful and deeply expressive, especially in its Yiddish vocabulary that has contributed to its international nature and its vividness. Partridge (1933 [1979]) draws our attention to the many Yiddish words that have been integrated into *criminal slang* and attributes this to the fact that many Yiddish-speaking Jews were traders and vagabonds, and their contacts with other peoples resulted in language contact and borrowing of terms related

[9] It should be noted that this particular term is an example of the mechanism referred to in Kleparski (2008) as *foodsemy.*

[10] See also http://articles.latimes.com/1987-05-10/news/tv-6213_1_fraggle-rock.

[11] See also http:// www.britannica.com/topic/Laurel-and-Hardy.

[12] One may conjecture that *Flip* has acquired the sense of 'policeman, cop' because the movie character Flip is intimately connected with trouble, and policemen are more or less universally associated with trouble in the criminal world.

to petty crime and other affairs from Yiddish into various other languages. In English *prison lexis*, we come across terms of Yiddish origin such as *gunsel,* which is used in the human-specific sense of 'young male kept as a sexual companion', and *mazuma*, the semantic reading of which is 'money'. English *prison slang* also takes in terms that derive from *Cockney rhyming slang,* such as *bird lime*, which is used in the sense of 'time spent in prison' and *nick*, the semantic reading of which is 'prison'. In Polish *prison slang*, as has been convincingly shown by Kątny (2002) and Geller (1997), the donor languages Yiddish and German have had significant influences. *Giwera*, used in the sense of 'gun', *frajer*, meaning 'person who does not belong to the subgroup *grypsera*' [13], and *szopenfeld* signifying 'theft committed in a shop when a shop assistant is present' all originate from Yiddish. The terms *ajnbruch,* the semantic reading of which is 'breaking the cash register', *ajncel*, used in the sense of 'single cell', and *pinkel*, used to convey the senses of 'stolen money and booty or that which results from a crime' all derive from German. Also in Polish *prison argot* are words which originate from Russian or Ukrainian, such as *adinoczka* (literally 'loner'), which is used to convey the sense of 'single cell', *pokupka* (literally 'shopping') meaning 'theft', and *kułak* (literally 'a kulak' [14]), which serves to convey the human-specific sense of 'economic criminal'. Because Polish has borrowed extensively from the English vocabulary stock, it should come as no surprise that certain English words have found their way into Polish *prison slang*. *Gold*, in the sense of 'jewels', with a semantic reading of *inwitować* 'to welcome somebody' is one. *Return*, used in the sense of 'recidivism' or 'self-defense of criminals against police officers', is another. Clearly, borrowings increase the lexico-semantic complexity of *prison slang*, in fact regardless of whether or not the origins of various non-native terms are known. Of course significant language-external forces are causal to the adoption of most loanwords, and those forces bring about rich, vivid, colourful additions to *prison argot*, additions which, like their native counterparts, so often "satisfy prisoners' need for secrecy and exclusiveness" (Schulte 2010: 48).

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13 The Polish term *grypsera* is a label for a widely understood prison subculture in Polish penitentiaries. An alternative term for *grypsera* is *drugie życie* (literally 'second life'). For more on this issue, see Szaszkiewicz (1997) and Moczydłowski (1991).

14 *Kulak* was a term for a relatively affluent farmer in the later Russian Empire as well as the early Soviet Union though the term was originally used to denote an independent farmer of the Russian Empire who emerged from the peasantry and gained wealth. The sense of the term was broadened and began to take on the meaning 'peasant who resisted handing over their grain to detachments from Moscow' (see Pipes 2001, Conquest 2001).

3. Conclusion

Researchers of various orientations have tackled problems related to the nature of *prison slang*. Most have emphasized relevant sociological phenomena, but a few have attended to particular linguistic patterns. However, depth and explication are still lacking as regards the lexico-semantic character of that language variety. This study has attempted to expand our picture of English *prison argot* as well as *prison argots* of other languages, like Polish, by detailing and exemplifying how *prison slang* is characteristically creative, ephemeral, figurative, and functionally secretive. It has also highlighted that this variety typically involves relexicalisation as well as overlexicalisation, which often leads to hypersynonymy, and it has underlined that subtypes of metaphorical use like *foodsemy* and *zoosemy*, as analysed by the *Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics*, help form the backbone of *prison slang*. Lastly, the discussion has made it clear that borrowing contributes not only to the stock of *prison argot* vocabulary, but also inevitably to the lexico-semantic complexity of the language variety.

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Address: Anna Ciechanowska, Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Techniczno-Ekonomiczna im. B. Markiewicza, ul. Czarnieckiego 16, 37-500 Jarosław, Poland
Grzegorz Andrzej Kleparski, Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, Al. mjr. W. Kopisto 2 B, 35-315 Rzeszów, Poland.

English and the "Multilingual Turn"

Annalisa Bonomo
"Kore" University of Enna

ABSTRACT

What if concepts like "liquid society" and the "complexity of the planetary era" were taken into account in the description of multilingualism and other language phenomena?[1] There is a growing need for possible answers to questions like this but the available evidence is that the term "multilingualism" involves different implicit and explicit language policies, urging pressures and resistances especially in reference to the spread of English and its dominant relationships with other national languages. These are the starting points of this work which considers the social value of communication as the basis of multilingualism and of the evolution of language systems. Thus, the data presented will show English in the middle of the double "listening" of cultural mediation and the imperfect "magnifying" glass of translation, both enforced powers of the so-called "multilingual turn".

1. English for a multilingual world

The dynamic equivalence(s) between source and target text has always stirred long-standing discussions about the nature of translating. Since Nida, the balance between science and art of translating or, the tension between theory and practice, have asked for more consciousness of the importance of "contexts" in defining the translating competence. Hence, the "risky business" of translating as the one represented by Herman Aschmann, translator of the three versions of the New Testament in the Mexican Totonaco. According to Nida:

[1] See Bocchi – Ceruti (2007) and Morin et al. (2004).

> one of the most creative translators I have ever known is Herman Aschmann, a person of limited academic training, but one who became entranced by the cultural content and literary potential of Totonaco, an Indian language in Mexico. Instead of submitting one possible rendering of a biblical expression, he usually had half a dozen ways of representing the meaning of the Greek text. Not only did he produce an exceptional New Testament in Totonaco, but inspired local people to imitate his skill in discovering more and more meaningful ways of communicating a message into an entirely different language-culture (Nida 2001: 7).

Today, most translations imply sophisticated technologies; however, they still deal with a lot of culture-bound elements, and build an intimate relationship between texts and environments (socio-cultural and lexical ones of course); but it is in these "spaces between" that the history of a country begins with its traditions, with its culture(s), with its language. In these spaces the journey of a language starts and in these blurred edges translators need a little bit of "strabismus", as Doyle suggests:

> The notions of strabismus and enterprise lead, respectively, toward a consideration of two heuristic devices which may assist in achieving a better understanding of some of the complexity involved in and flexibility required for felicitous translation. The duality characteristic of a strabismus points toward the importance of binary relationships and /or oppositions; the notion of enterprise points toward a cline representing the choices made and the risks taken by the translator while working from one language toward and into another. […] The sine qua non of translation, the moral operative heart of the enterprise, is the notion of fidelity. […] Yet the translator's requisite strabismus – the eyes incessantly focusing on both the text-that-is and the text-to-be – makes adherence to fidelity no simple matter for, as Barbara Johnson has so aptly described it, the translator cannot help but be a "faithful bigamist" (Doyle 2008: 13-14).

The new map of contacts between different codes and communities overcomes the Romantic view of languages as unique mirrors of their cultures; on the contrary, both native speakers and language learners are pieces of a multi-faceted puzzle of an international socio-cognitive dimension as the one represented by multilingualism and its spread. After all, "multilingualism is the topic *du jour* – at least in critical applied linguistics" (May 2014: 1).

But there is a classifying mania provoked by what May calls "the turn towards multilingualism" (2014: 2). He says:

> The terminological proliferation notwithstanding the increasing focus on superdiverse linguistic contexts is welcome. It has usefully foregrounded multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, as the new norm of applied linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis. It has increasingly challenged bounded, unitary, and reified conceptions of languages and related notions of "native speaker" and "mother tongue", arguing instead for the more complex fluid understandings of "voice" (Makoni & Pennycook 2007, 2012), "languages as social practice" (Heller 2007), and a related "sociolinguistics of mobile resources" (May 2014: 1).

Commenting on the mainstream of the English language as a *lingua franca* does not offer the solution to the blurred edges of the language communication which, since Bloomfield, "arose from relatively practical preoccupations" (Bloomfield 1935: 21). Indeed, the resulting target of the multiracial society we live in, is a new idea of culture as a "practical preoccupation" from which the multilingual debate starts with the different communicative orientations of each people towards a transnational paradigm.

From this, new lines of inquiry can be developed, granted by a greater interdisciplinary approach to language matters which may consider code-switching contexts and non-elite multilingualism (see Balboni 1998: 12ff.) as the outcomes of an increased international mobility which has made people – and their use of the languages – complex and multilingual. In other words, as Cruz-Ferreira argues, "multilingualism has nothing to do with particular languages, because languages cannot be multilingual. People can" (Cruz-Ferreira 2010: 1). This idea finds English as a medium of national and international lives although they can be extremely varied and more or less specialized. It is like a tree with an increasing number of branches; and the branches are the domains in which English is becoming an essential requirement of a global and "liquid" society (Bauman 2000) which still "uses the language as one of its codes" (Bloomfield 1935: 21).

As regards English, a number of possible uses can be observed in science, commerce, entertainment, tourism, and in a lot of professional environments together with higher education sectors working as the main actors of language learning all around the world. A powerful example in this regard can be found in a new application of words like "evolution",

"ecology", and "life of languages", which may still play an important role in defining variation within languages, shedding new light on the modern conditioning factors of such changes. According to such a perspective, the ecology of language as described by Haugen in the seventies, may be again a possible tool for the interpretation of the multilingual society we live in. He stated:

> Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment, parts of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speaker. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit to others (Haugen 2001: 58, italics added).

Now, the question is: how can such ecology be applied to the languages spoken in the global village? And what contribution does it give to the multilingual turn? We think it works as the "host" thanks to which the language "species" develop. As Mufwene points out:

> Parasitic species are a fairly adequate analog chiefly because a language does not exist without speakers, just like parasites do not exist without hosts. The life of a language is, to borrow from Brown (1995: 91), "closely tied to the distribution of its hosts, which provide many of the essential environmental conditions necessary to its survival and reproduction". Many of the ecological factors that affect a language are not physical features of its speakers but features of other parasitic systems that are hosted by the same individuals, such as culture – which brings along notions such as status, gender, and power – and other language varieties (Mufwene 2001: 152).

The metaphor of the parasitic species improves rather than diminish the concept of variation in the "biological life" of languages. Being English the focus of this study, it is impossible to trace its rise and to outline the kind of spread it has in the multilingual puzzle without mentioning the multiple uses, the psychological and sociological conditioning factors which affect the growing demand for it in the world. Its uniqueness lies in the magical interplay between such "hosts" which vary in the way of learning, using and transmitting it in the new international background. This being so, the

study of the spread of English needs to work simultaneously on at least four different levels:

- the use of individuals
- the use of language communities
- the use of English in family bilingualism
- the use of English for specific purposes and professional ones.

The impossible reduction of a language to a sequence of rules makes language itself a concrete manifestation of our actual experience of difference. Anyway, what seems to be questionable of the ecological model of languages is their development through a linear pattern which would impede meaningful changes. In fact, for a multilingual speaker, it is all a matter of interdependence. According to Herdina – Jessner (2000):

> If the rate of growth or the rate of attrition of one language system is dependent on the development or behavior of other language systems used by the multilingual speaker – and /or other interdependent factors – then in does not make sense to look at language acquisition or language growth in terms of isolated language development. […] Instead of looking at the development of individual language systems in isolation, it may make more sense to look at the overall system of languages commanded simultaneously by the multilingual individual and then try to determine the patterns of convergence and divergence of the multilingual system, rather than see the multilingual system as a mere accumulation of the effects of concatenated of sequential individual systems (Herdina – Jessner 2000: 92).

2. English against a multilingual world?

In 2003 House was wondering if it were possible to think of English as an obstacle to multilingualism. More specifically, her question was "English as a lingua franca: a threat to multilingualism?"

Given the widespread use of English all around the world, the myth of monolingualism is surely put into question. Many people use English differently (at least a billion people worldwide) and this recalls Kachru's and McArthur's models of the "world Englishes" spoken today. But the doubt House was referring to, moved from the distinction between "languages of communication" and "languages of identification", drawing on the

findings of some research projects carried out at the University of Hamburg ten years ago.

Despite the success of non-native speakers in using ELF (English as a lingua franca), it still works on the basis of a shared knowledge of meanings which cannot be part of a linguistically determined identity. Effectively, in House's words, such identity:

> needs not be unitary and fixed, but can be multi-faceted, non-unitary and contradictory (Norton 2000), when an individual speaks more than one language. Because EFL is not a national language but a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital, it is a language usable neither for identity marking, nor for a positive ("integrative") disposition towards an L2 group, nor for a desire to become similar to valued members of this L2 group – simply because there is no definable group of EFL speakers. […] Paradoxically as this may seem, the very spread of EFL may stimulate members of minority languages to insist on their own local languages for emotional binding to their own culture, history, and tradition, and there is, indeed, a strong countercurrent to the spread of EFL in that local varieties and cultural practices are often strengthened (House 2003: 560-561).

Put in another way, the unconditioned recognition of a privileged status of English does not solve the problem of communication in all the multilingual domains, which call necessarily for hybridity and not for a new imperialism of languages.

Consequently, the multiple relationships between multilingualism and a new lingua franca need to be reexamined, asking:

- how to consider multilingualism a resource *thanks* to the global rise of the English language?
- how to regulate the transfer?
- how to make multilingual education a meaningful participation tool of democracy?

We may not find all the answers, but, as Robert Phillipson noted, the rhetoric of egalitarian multilingualism is strictly intertwined with concerns of linguistic hierarchisation and marginalization. The study of linguistic imperialism moves from the penetration of the strongest languages in many different countries and several domains of social life. But the pace of this breach is faster and faster today and, from the theoretical foundations of

linguistic imperialism, now it is important to ask how English as a *lingua franca* can or cannot become a *lingua frankensteinia* in many parts of the world[2]. As Mohanty notes in the interesting "Multilingual Education: a Bridge too Far?":

> Phillipson demonstrates that many language-in-education issues in Europe have similarities with postcolonial dilemmas. He cautions against false arguments for English and merely treating English as a lingua franca when it actually functions as a lingua frankensteinia in many parts of the world. He does not deny the role of English in an egalitarian multilingual framework, but pleads for careful analysis of how to counterbalance its adverse and subtractive effects on linguistic diversity, multilingualism and MLE (Mohanty 2009: 8).

Despite the international space gained by English, the empirical studies of its variations around the world show a blurred map of diversity related to the use of it as a foreign/second language. Hence, while the introduction of English in Nigeria is a matter of fact today, the language conditions of countries like Russia, or the Maghreb may be interesting cases in point.

3. The domestication of English? The "cases" of Russia and the Maghreb

English is gaining ground in many countries all over the world. It is a passport for better careers and it works as a mediator between millions of speakers who look at the "language of Albion" as a democratic tool of independence. But musing on the status of English as an international language in areas such as Russia and the Maghreb should deal with the following areas, at least:

- the implications of language education
- language contacts
- the influence of English in terms of functions in the social and public domains

The study of English outside its traditional contexts asks for something more than a mere account of equivalences, assuming that the variables of ESL and

[2] For further discussion of linguistic imperialism see also Phillipson (1992 and 2009).

EFL are too different from the English spoken as a first language to be easily reduced and summed up. As Eddy notes:

> The foundation for the study of English in non-native contexts was laid by the "social-realistic" or functionally oriented approaches to language study of J.R. Firth (1935) and other scholars, such as Labov (e.g. 1963, 1966, 1972, 1974). These studies emphasize the connection between language and society, linguistic pluralism and diversity (Eddy 2008: 6).

What Eddy was referring to in the interesting dissertation about the spread of English in Russian contexts, moved from the socio-political conditions of England, America and Russia after the fall of the Iron Curtain in the late 1980s. Since then, a function-oriented approach to linguistic exchanges, occurred between English and Russia in the new "contexts of situation" – to quote Firth –, has been applied. Even without a colonial past, the level of polyglossia for Russian speakers is now potentially higher especially in relation to Russia's contacts with a lot of Eastern countries. According to Kirkpatrick – Sussex:

> In the past, in the Soviet Union and post-Communist Russia, the traditions of communicating with Asian countries had relied on interpreting and translation between Russian and the target language. Nowadays English has replaced this language-to-language channel by functioning as an intermediary lingua franca. English language pedagogy, which in the past had concentrated on communicating Russian culture to English speakers, and Anglophone culture to Russians, now needs to be recast in terms of multiple Asian cultures, languages and norms […] (Kirkpatrick – Sussex 2012: 7).

However, the extent of the relationship between English and Russian is not a simple one; above all the possible constraints, let us think about the transliteration of Roman letters into the Cyrillic alphabet and some culture-bound differences between the two countries which sound relevant from a linguistic point of view too. Possible questions are then: can we understand different cultures through the use of their key words? Or, in other words, how is lexicon affected by the core values of a country, and what does it tell us about them? Anna Wierzbicka's 1997 study offers a possible answer. Musing on polysemy, allolexy and "valency options", Wierzbicka proposes an interesting linguistic analysis of language matters and their relationship

to cultures, widening the perspective by Sapir according to which language is a symbolic guide to culture. She focused her attention on English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese (so languages very different from each other), musing on key concepts across cultures, such "friendship", "freedom", "homeland and fatherland" above all. What she found out is an interesting comparison of meanings based on a Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). She wrote:

> the theory assumed in this book posits the existence not only of an innate and universal 'lexicon of human thoughts' but also of an innate and universal 'syntax of human thoughts'. Taken together, these two hypotheses amount to positing something that can be called 'a language of thought', or, as I called it in the title of my 1980 book 'Lingua Mentalis'. It is this 'lingua mentalis' which is being proposed, and tested, as a practical metalanguage (NSM) for the description and comparison of meanings (Wierzbicka 1997: 28).

Despite the rich diversity between English and Russian, for example, she makes an interesting comparison between Russian *svoboda* and English *freedom*, showing how the two words might be seen at a first glance as corresponding, while they embody different perspectives on human life[3].

The contact between the two languages necessarily implies debates on word formation and the study of foreign lexical items which refer to a wide range of fields (from trade to technology, from politics to science, from literature to entertainment.) If from the 1920s to the 1940s, Russia registered two groups of loan words, both "lexemes, associated with new concepts, and loan words which replaced already existing Russian lexical items" (Eddy 2008: 83), in the 1950s foreign words were rejected as a result of World War II and the Cold War. Then the history of English/Russian relationships went on with much language resistance and developments concerning the use of a foreign language instead of Russian, which, since the 1960s, had tried to hold a stronger position in higher education and international communication. However, "since perestroika in the 1980s, the significance of Russian as an intra-national and inter-national language has dropped significantly" (Eddy 2008: 93). As a consequence, since the twentieth century, English has had the most significant impact on the Russian linguistic system on different levels: "lexicon, stylistics, semantics, pragmatics, phonology, morphology, graphics, and punctuation". (Rivlina 2005, quoted by Eddy 2008: 93).

[3] For further references on this topic see Wierzbicka (1997: 129-143).

But what is interesting from a linguistic point of view is that this relationship has also been a mutual one; that is why Podhajecka (2006) speaks about "Russianisms *in* English":

> there is some evidence that Russianisms were steadily transferred into the English vocabulary. As they appeared, in some cases extensively, in printed sources, lexicographers started recording them in dictionaries, which are now indispensable resources for reconstructing past language contacts (Podhajecka 2006: 123).

However, while the first Russian words were borrowed in the second half of the sixteenth century by "English merchants and ambassadors of Russia" (Podhajecka 2006: 124) and their number increased considerably in the nineteenth century, most loanwords were taken into English in the twentieth century, as we may guess from the diversification of Russian-American contacts. Anyway "characteristically, towards the end of the century the interest in Russian words decreases. The 1980s brought two keywords of the decade, *perestroika* and *glasnost*, but no other borrowings have become clearly recognizable since". (Podhajecka, 2006: 124). Podhajecka's researches are very stimulating, maybe because the papers on Russianisms are very scarce and mostly dealing with single aspects of borrowing and calquing. For this reason it is worth mentioning her methodology of research and some of her findings about Russianisms. She writes:

> My research material consists of the largest monolingual dictionaries of English. For British English, I took into account Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language (1755) and the OED2. I also consulted three volumes of the Oxford English Dictionary Additions (1993–97 henceforth the OEDA) for some recent vocabulary. As regards American English, I examined the Century Dictionary (1889–91 edition and Supplement) and three consecutive editions of Webster's New International Dictionary: 1913 (1909 edition and Addenda), 1953 (1934 edition and Addenda) and 2000 (1961 edition and Addenda); henceforth, Webster's 1, Webster's 2 and Webster's 3, respectively. Three volumes of the Barnhart Dictionary of New Words (1973, 1980, 1990, henceforth the BDNW) complement the analysis of American dictionaries. […]. From the above-mentioned dictionaries, some of which are now available in the electronic form and are thus easily searchable (the dictionaries that had to be literally 'read' page by page were Webster's 2, the OEDA and the BDNW), I excerpted headwords

> either etymologised as Russianisms (or Sovietisms) or defined in relation to Russia (or the Soviet Union). Next, I compared the lists of words and excluded calques (e.g., five-year plan), loanblends (e.g., refusenik or Gorbymania) and semantic borrowings (e.g., pioneer). Further criteria allowed me to leave out, for instance, specific technical terms (e.g., achtaragdite or uvarovite), toponyms (e.g., Kursk or Scherbakov) and proper nouns in the attributive position (e.g., Molotov cocktail or Stanislavsky technique). Then, to revise the etymologies of the remaining words, I worked with primary and secondary sources in English and Russian, of which the latter included Dal''s (1880–82) and Vasmer's (1986) dictionaries. At this stage, indirect borrowings (e.g., Kremlin or tsarina) and etymologically irrelevant lexical items (e.g., britska or mazurka) were dropped. Finally, problematic words, for which no clear evidence was found, were taken at face value; in other words, their cultural identity was treated as a predominant factor. Cosmonaut, perceived here as a borrowing of Russ. kosmonavt, is perhaps the most conspicuous case. It has to be kept in mind, however, that every etymology presupposes a varying margin of error (Liberman 2005: 239 quoted by Podhajecka 2006: 125).

As we can see from the Russian example, the language matter is full of paradoxes and there are different levels of the concept of domestication of English around the world. That is because more and more countries face the challenge of new complex language issues associated with English as a foreign language or English as a lingua franca. This is also evident because these two concepts are intrinsically different. The range of multilingualism depends on the extent of the language contact, the mastery of the language, and the role played by language education.

Another interesting case is the Maghreb, which has a remarkable geopolitical situation that affects its process towards multilingualism. In such cases, the implications for language policy and planning depends on a wide range of factors such as the ones Ennaji points out referring specifically to Morocco, "bearing in mind the language-power relation, factors like ethnicity, cultural identity, education, literacy, gender, social stratification, and Westernisation intermingle in the everyday life and transactions of Moroccans" (Ennaji 2005: 6). About the spread of English in Morocco Ennaji adds:

> Most educated people like English and would like to see their children learn it. Progressive and conservative parties advocate the teaching

> of English, which has non colonial overtones. Most intellectuals favour English because they see it as the language of international communication, technology, and economic exchanges. […] English is regarded by Moroccan students as being more flexible than French. […] Many Moroccan students tend to turn to English not only because they find it easier to learn, but also because it is an important international language. Additionally, they are less socially penalized when they make mistakes in English than in French (Ennaji 2005: 196).

Aitsiselmi and Marley maintain that:

> As in most of the world today, English is increasingly powerful in a range of domains even in North Africa, where something about the old set of the indigenous languages is changing and, as Aitsiselmi and Marley note – "the production in Berber is gaining a higher profile both in the Maghreb and internationally" (Aitsiselmi – Marley 2008: 187).

The desire for a hybrid space between Arabic and French has worked as an identity quest which can be also linguistically expressed. Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Mauritania and parts of the Western Saharan countries are still coping with the difficult matter of making multilingual education a national priority and a tool of democracy. In fact, as Mortimer (2001) notes:

> Situated between East and West, drawing upon Africa, Europe, and Middle East, the Maghreb as a geographical and cultural entity is capable of privileging cultural pluralism and multilingualism. Writers such as Abdelkébir Khatibi in Morocco, Abdelwahab Meddeb in Tunisia, and Mouloud Mammeri in Algeria have spoken for plurality of language and culture, an ideological perspective that sees beyond territorial boundaries (Mortimer 2001: 5).

Since the 1960s, the independence of the Maghrebian countries opened up new opportunities and contacts with international markets, and the debate about foreign language learning started from the presumed failure of Arabic in scientific and technological sectors. The increasing introduction of English in language curricula and the new training of professionals involved in the process, are still trying to answer the global market's needs even against the resistance from those who still believe in the uniqueness of Arabic and Muslim culture. Indeed, while politicians such as the Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika asked for multilingualism and cultural plurality,

some bloggers from the same regions still wonder about mastering foreign languages writing sentences like these: "Bilingualism is a calamity. Why isn't China teaching its kids a foreign language", or "In the Sadiki school, or Sadiki education, pupils used to start learning French very early since primary school, just like today. Therefore, the problem does not lie in the timing of learning a foreign language, but rather in its methodology, the efficiency of teachers, and the conviction of students about the importance of languages" [4].

As a consequence, musing on foreign languages in the Maghreb, and especially on teaching English as a counterpart of French dominance, is seen, as Gordon states, "potentially neo-colonialist" (Gordon 1978: 172 quoted by Benrabah 2007: 28) and it builds a cultural dilemma which deals with the overcrowding of the classes (an average of 40 students and even 50 in Morocco) and with the introduction of English as a school subject since the third year of primary school.

Effectively, francophonie was part of a global strategy which had a linguistic purpose together with a political one; but in 1999 President Bouteflika pointed out how multilingualism was ready to work as the modernizing engine which Algeria needed. He said:

> Let it be known that Algeria is part of the world and must adapt to it and Arabic is the national and official language. This being said, let it be known that an uninhibited opening up to other international languages – at least those used in the United Nations – does not constitute perjury. […] To move forward, one must break taboos. This is the price we have to pay to modernize our identity. Chauvinism and withdrawal are over. They are destructive[5].

What can we conclude from this? Certainly that each language identity is an unfixed entity. However, Suleiman claims that

> they are always constructed. And they are always contextualized. In short they are in a state of evolving betweenness. The problem arises when we try to eliminate difference or overstate sameness in defining identities (Suleiman 2006: 24).

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4 These are anonymous comments taken from the blog *Zawaya. A Service of Maghrebia* (http: //zawaya.magharebia.com/old_zawaya/en_GB/zawaya/opinion/302.html (accessed: June 24, 2014).

5 This excerpt of a televised speech by Bouteflika, released in 1999 and reported by the newspaper *El Watan*, is quoted by Kaplan – Baldauf, Jr (2007: 10).

This hybrid nature of the greatest postcolonial cultures has been represented by the Francophone literature of French Africa and by the Anglophone bilingualism of the Indian Subcontinent. Hence, the domestication of English in the Maghreb is still something new if compared to the professional standards which English has already obtained in other parts of the world. It means to further the competitiveness of teachers, students and institutions putting Arabic at the top, preserving the value of French, but promoting the spread of English too.

This is what happens in Tunisia, according to Mohamed-Salah Omri:

> In Tunisia, English was initially taught as a third language at a late age in secondary education and at university level. It was taught as a language of culture with focus on American and British history and literatures. […] Changes occurred recently, reflecting local and global developments. Linking the teaching of English to the needs of the country and moving away from the curriculum outlined earlier has become policy. English is called upon to serve a "function rather than cultural" aim. […] This adjustment occurs within the recognition that a wider range of English literatures perhaps closer to students' interests from outside Britain and the United States has become widely available. In recent years English has been making serious headway at the expense of French at the secondary and primary levels of education. The second language in Tunisia remains, however, French. It still wields power and influence in business and politics and in cultural turn. Yet, English is now firmly a voice in the polyphony of languages in the Maghreb (Omri 2006: 56).

4. Concluding remarks

Despite the rising educational resources fostered by the multilingual "turn", it involves the school dimension but implies the widening of the survey, from a language-restricted focus to the anthropological, biological and social dimension of international communication. This study suggests how concepts such as language use and identity need to be reviewed thanks to a multilingual paradigm which accounts, instead, for the irregularity of language systems.

Such achievement considers language both as a *regular* system ready for *regular* acquisition and as a sequence of *non-linear* interactive processes, which have much in common with the dynamic and complex systems of chaos and complexity which are "open and import free energy from the

environment to reorganize themselves to increasingly higher orders of complexity. Finally, these complex, dynamic systems are nonlinear. This means that the effects resulting from a cause will not be proportional to the cause". (Larsen-Freeman 2002: 40). However, such "discrepancies" also lay the basis for interesting empirical data collection, for instance concerning communicative events and their meaning in multilingual contexts. The tools to be used in such cases look for meaning assessment and fall predominantly within the domains of multilingual corpus analysis and in studies of language learning and language use[6].

Indeed, the spread of English in international communication and education plays the language game of a new urgency, which needs new "strategies" rather than "programmes". These programmes are made up of language awareness and translation practice, mediation and cultural interplay which English is an indispensable actor of, tracing the direction for a global demand of multilingualism which enjoys a reasonable health and fair perspective for the future.

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Word-formations of recent borrowings from French to English: An analysis based on data from the *Oxford English Dictionary*

Julia Schultz
University of Heidelberg

ABSTRACT

It is a well-known fact that French has enriched the English lexicon with a considerable number of words since before the Norman Conquest. The French impact on English vocabulary constitutes the focus of many studies on the history of the English language. Yet French words and meanings which have recently been borrowed into English have not received much scholarly attention. Schultz's (2012) monograph represents the first comprehensive appraisal of the phonological and semantic reception of twentieth-century borrowings from French. The results presented in this paper are based on some of the data provided by Schultz (2012), i.e. on the body of twentieth-century French borrowings which have become fairly widespread in present-day English and thus belong to the core vocabulary recorded in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) dictionaries. The present investigation sets out to shed light on the morphological development of the various fairly common borrowings identified by Schultz (2012), concentrating on the different categories and types of word-formations derived from twentieth-century French borrowings. A close review of the linguistic documentary evidence included in the Oxford English Dictionary Online will make it possible to provide an accurate image of the word-formations coined from recent French borrowings.

1. Introduction

1.1 The online version of the *OED* as a source of recent French borrowings and their derivatives

The twentieth-century borrowings included in Schultz's (2012) study were collected from the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The *OED* is continuously under revision. The electronic version of the *OED*,

encompassing the Second Edition which was published in 1989, the *OED Additions Series*, a series of additional volumes published in 1993 and 1997, and a number of updated and new entries which make up the Third Edition, or *OED3*, is available online at <http://www.oed.com>[1].

Most of the lexical items retrieved from the *OED* are borrowings from Standard French. The *OED* also records some borrowings from several different varieties of French as well as from French Creoles (e.g. from Canadian French, Louisiana Creole etc.). The noun *rai*, for instance, specifying a type of Algerian music, reflects Algerian French *raï*. According to *OED3*, it was taken over into English in the later decades of the twentieth century. In addition, the *OED* comprises borrowings with a complex etymological description, i.e. words which were partly influenced by French and partly by another language.

The *OED* also contains items which might be French borrowings. *OED3* distinguishes between words that are *possibly*, *probably* or *perhaps* taken over from French[2]. All the various types of borrowing included in the *OED* were taken into account in Schultz's investigation. The words were categorized as adopted from French as the immediate donor language. Thus, *stroganoff*, for example, denoting a dish made of beef cooked in a sour cream sauce, was classified as an acquisition from French, despite the fact that the French word is ultimately derived from the name of Count Paul Stroganov, a Russian diplomat.

An essential aim of Schultz's (2012) study was to make a differentiation between the twentieth-century French borrowings which seem to occur fairly frequently in present-day English, and those which are known only to the specialist. She points out that "[a] perusal of EFL dictionaries helped to identify those borrowings forming a "core area" of relatively common words (as these dictionaries record words and meanings that have become comparatively familiar in English)" (Schultz 2012: 23). In the present paper, the term *core vocabulary* will be used to relate to those lexical items which are recorded in EFL dictionaries such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*OALD*) and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (*LDOCE*). The focus of linguistic concern of this study will be on the various derivatives of French borrowings which belong to the core vocabulary. Comparatively common borrowings recorded in EFL dictionaries tend to be more integrated than lexical items which are rare in current English, as for instance specialized, technical terms. Hence, it might be expected that borrowings which have

1 For a detailed description of the electronic form of the OED see Brewer (2004).
2 For more information on the revision of the OED see Durkin (1999).

become comparatively widespread in English also undergo word-formation processes. In collecting the different word-formations, the *OED Online* has served as a basic source of information.

Before we move on to the French borrowings listed in EFL dictionaries, let us first look at some definitions of the various categories of lexical borrowing.

1.2 Categories of lexical borrowing

Among the comparatively frequent borrowings surveyed by Schultz (2012), several different types of loan influences are evident, and some of the categories of lexical borrowing outlined by Carstensen (1968) reflect them. These have become broadly accepted, standard categories by which to classify borrowings.

1.2.1 Direct loan

From Schultz's analysis it has emerged that quite a number of loans borrowed from French in the past few decades are direct loans. This term refers to a word or a phrase which is altered little or not at all as it is adopted by the borrowing language. *Vichyssoise* may serve as an example. EFL dictionaries such as the *OALD* give the pronunciation /ˌviːʃiˈswɑːz/, which shows unaltered foreign stress on the last syllable of the word. It is evident that the pronunciation resembles that of the French original *vichyssoise* /viʃiswaːz/ (see the *Trésor de la Langue Française* (*TLF*)). Furthermore, the spelling of the word is the same as in French. Thus, one may argue that the borrowing *vichyssoise* is a direct loan.

1.2.2 Adaptation

An adaptation occurs when a foreign word is actually assimilated into the language adopting it. *Evacuee*, for instance, pronounced /ɪˌvækjuˈiː/ (see *OALD*, *LDOCE*) in present-day English, is an adaptation of French *évacué*. Obviously, the spelling as well as the pronunciation of the French form were anglicized.

1.2.3 Loan translation

It may also be that a lexical item is literally translated into the receiving language. *Third World*, for instance, represents a loan translation, or calque, of French *tiers monde* (see *OED2* second edition).

1.2.4 Semantic loan

The term semantic loan is used to denote the process of borrowing a meaning from a foreign language or a meaning adopted in this manner. An example

is the English noun *absurdism*, which originally referred to "[a]n illogical, incongruous, or ridiculous thing" (*OED3*). It widened its semantic scope under the impact of French *absurdisme* to assume the second sense "[t]he philosophy, first propounded by Albert Camus, that human beings exist in a purposeless, chaotic universe in which attempts to find meaning are futile"(*OED3*).

1.2.5 Pseudo-loan

A pseudo-loan appears to be a borrowing from a foreign language but it is actually absent from it. *Palais de danse*, which now mainly occurs in historical contexts as a designation for "[a] public dance hall" (*OED3*), serves as an example. The item appears to be formed from French elements within English. According to the *OED*, the phrase is not attested in French.

2. The distribution of twentieth-century French borrowings included in EFL dictionaries

Of the 1677 twentieth-century French borrowings suveyed by Schultz in 2012, 225 lexical items were part of the core vocabulary included in EFL dictionaries such as the *OALD* and/or the *LDOCE*. The following list, which reflects the words and meanings which appear to be on everyone's lips, is taken from Schultz (2012: 562-567). It should be noted that it was slightly updated since a few words were given earlier attestations during the *OED* revision work.

The following symbols (placed after an item's first recorded use in English) are employed in the list of twentieth-century French borrowings:

- * may have been adopted from French
- ∞ may be a twentieth-century French borrowing (cannot be found by using the *OED* search options)
- • was adopted from a variety of French or from French Creole
- •• may have been borrowed from a variety of French or from French Creole

2.1 1900-1909

2.1.1 Nouns

anglophone, n. (1900); *francophone*, n. (1900); *physiotherapy*, n. (1900); *radiology*, n. (1900)*; *voyeur*, n. (1900); *arriviste*, n. (1901); *barrette*, n. (1901); *europium*, n. (1901); *monoculture*, n. (1901); *pointillism*, n. (1901); *garage*, n. (1902);

limousine, n. (1902); *neurotoxin*, n. (1902); *pacifism*, n. (1902); *radiotherapy*, n. (1902)*; *velodrome*, n. (1902); *bloc*, n. (1903); *blouson*, n. (1904); *diamanté*, n. (1904); *metro*, n. (1904); *marque*, n. (1906); *mornay*, n. (1906) ; *pacifist*, n. and adj. (1906); *psychoanalysis*, n. (1906)*; *anaphylaxis*, n. (1907); *cassis*, n. (1907); *lutetium*, n. (1907); *syndicalism*, n. (1907); *syndicalist*, n. (1907); *chichi*, n. (1908); *détente*, n. (1908); *digestif*, n. (1908); *cinema*, n. (1909); *fuselage*, n. (1909); *futurism*, n. (1909 attested as a term in music, art and literature in *OED2*); *gaffe*, n. (1909)

2.1.1.1 Proprietary names

Marmite, n. (1902)*; *Michelin*, n. (1902); *Meccano*, n. (1907)*; *Pernod*, n. (1908)

2.1.2 Noun phrases[3]

crème de menthe, n. phr. (1903 as earliest *OED2* example)∞; *déjà vu*, n. phr. (1903); *eau de toilette*, n. phr. (1907 as earliest *OED2* example)∞; *art nouveau*, n. phr. (1908); *haute couture*, n. phr. (1908); *rite of passage*, n. phr. (1909)

2.1.2.1 Proprietary name

Grand Marnier, n. phr. (1905)

2.1.3 Adjectives

pacifist, n. and adj. (1906); *anorexic*, adj. (1907)

2.1.3.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

Congolese, adj. (1900)

2.1.4 Interjection

touché, int. (1904)

2.2 1910-1919

2.2.1 Nouns

sabotage, n. (1910 attested as a term in politics, war and the military in *OED2*); *tutu*, n. (1910); *boule*, n. (1911); *brassière*, n. (1911); *cubism*, n. (1911); *Cubist*, n. (1911 as earliest *OED2* quotation); *rally*, n. (1911); *taupe*, n. (1911); *transhumance*, n. (1911); *georgette*, n. (1912); *vernissage*, n. (1912); *Nebuchadnezzar*, n. (1913); *Salmonella*, n. (1913); *fauve*, n. (1915); *defeatism*, n. (1918); *defeatist*, n. (1918); *collage*, n. (1919)

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[3] The grammatical terminology used in this study is based on Quirk et al. (2008), where, for a detailed definition of *phrase*, see 2.3ff and 2.25ff.

2.2.1.1 Proprietary names
Chardonnay, n. (1911); *Dubonnet*, n. (1913)

2.2.1.2 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun
curie, n. (1910 as earliest *OED2* quotation)∞

2.2.2 Noun phrases
ivory tower, n. phr. (1911); *palais de danse*, n. phr. (1913)

2.2.3 Adjective
surrealist, adj. (1918 attested as a term in art and literature in *OED2*)

2.2.4 Interjection
ooh-la-la, int. (1918)

2.3 1920-1929

2.3.1 Nouns
couchette, n. (1920); *Dada*, n. (1920 attested as a term in music, art and literature in *OED2*); *Internationale*, n. (1920); *leotard*, n. (1920 attested as a term in fashion and sports); *saboteur*, n. (1921 attested as a term in politics, war and the military in *OED2*); *bistro*, n. (1922); *fauvism*, n. (1922 earliest *OED2* quotation); *gigolo*, n. (1922); *lamé*, n. (1922); *pointillism*, n. (1922 as a term in music in *OED3*); *semanteme*, n. (1922); *lipid*, n. (1925); *quiche*, n. (1925); *cinéaste*, n. (1926); *clementine*, n. (1926); *exclusivity*, n. (1926); *pastis*, n. (1926); *racist*, n. (1926)*; *infrastructure*, n. (1927); *plonk*, n. (1927); *surrealism*, n. (1927 attested as a term in art and literature in *OED2*); *couture*, n. (1928 as first attestation in *OED2*); *discotheque*, n. (1929)

2.3.1.1 Proprietary names
cointreau, n. (1920); *Frigidaire*, n. (1926)

2.3.2 Noun phrases
red zone, n. phr. (1920)*; *Tour de France*, n. phr. (1922); *haute cuisine*, n. phr. (1926)

2.3.3 Adjectives
gaga, adj. (1920); *demi-sec*, adj. (1926)

2.3.4 Interjection
Mayday, int. (showing a meaning in nautics and aeronautics in 1923)

2.4 1930-1939

2.4.1 Nouns

derailleur, n. (1930); *globalization*, n. (1930)*; *montage*, n. (1930); *courgette*, n. (1931); *rappel*, n. (1931); *baud*, n. (1932); *mobile*, n. (1932); *racism*, n. (1932)*; *telecommunication*, n. (1932); *aerogramme*, n. (1934); *evacuee*, n. (1934); *beguine*, n. (1935)•; *parole*, n. (1935); *dressage*, n. (1936); *calque*, n. (1937); *crotale*, n. (1938); *montage*, n. (1938 attested as an art term in *OED3*)

2.4.1.1 Borrowings reflecting proper nouns

stroganoff, n. (1932); *vichyssoise*, n. (1939)

2.4.2 Noun phrases

red zone, n. phr. (1931 attested as a political term in *OED3*)*; *crème fraîche*, n. phr. (1936); *Popular Front*, n. phr. (1936); *coq au vin*, n. phr. (c1938)

2.4.3 Adjective

surreal, adj. (1936 attested as a term in art and literature)*; *syntagmatic*, adj. (1937)

2.5 1940-1949

2.5.1 Nouns

cassoulet, n. (1940); *pedalo*, n. (1941); *FIFA*, n. (1946); *francium*, n. (1946); *langoustine*, n. (1946); *absurdism*, n. (assuming a meaning from French in 1948); *bikini*, n. (1948); *aromatherapy*, n. (1949); *Negritude*, n. (1949); *Zydeco*, n. (1949)••

2.5.2 Adjectives

extraordinaire, adj. (1940); *Occitan*, adj. (1945)*

2.6 1950-1959

2.6.1 Clauses[4]

plus ça change, phr. (1955)

2.6.2 Nouns

animateur, n. (1950); *dirigisme*, n. (1951); *motocross*, n. (1951); *revanchism*, n. (1951); *troilism*, n. (1951)*; *cagoule*, n. (1952); *après-ski*, n. (1954); *para*, n. (1958)*; *diglossia*, n. (1959)

[4] This term is not used in this classificatory way in Quirk et al. (2008).

2.6.3 Noun phrases
son et lumière, n. phr. (1957); *film noir*, n. phr. (1958)

2.6.4 Adjectives
probiotic, adj. (1953 attested as a term in biology and medicine)

2.6.4.1 Borrowing reflecting a proper noun
Togolese, adj. (1957)

2.7 1960-1969

2.7.1 Nouns
crudités, n. pl. (1960); *découpage*, n. (1960); *mobile*, n. (1961 as a term in music in *OED3*); *wazoo*, n. (1961)••; *auteur*, n. (1962); *non-proliferation*, n. (1962)*; *organigram*, n. (1962); *cinéma-vérité*, n. (1963); *cinephile*, n. (1963); *découpage*, n. (1963 attested as a cinematographic term in *OED2*); *franglais*, n. (1964); *monokini*, n. (1964); *andropause*, n. (1967); *zester*, n. (1967)*; *cellulite*, n. (1968); *auteur*, n. (1969 attested as a term for an artist and a musician in *OED3*)

2.7.1.1 Borrowings reflecting proper nouns
Chadian, n. (1960)*; *kir*, n. (1966)

2.7.1.2 Proprietary name
Velcro, n. (1960)

2.7.2 Noun phrases
New Wave, n. phr. (1960); *Third World*, n. phr. (1963); *Art Deco*, n. phr. (1966)

2.7.3 Adjective
a-go-go, adj. (1960)

2.7.3.1 Borrowings reflecting proper nouns
Ivorian, adj. (1966); *Nigerien*, adj. (1966)

2.8 1970-1979

2.8.1 Nouns
hypermarket, n. (1970); *salopette*, n. (1972); *intertextuality*, n. (1973); *retro*, adj. and n. (1974 attested as a term in fashion and music in *OED3*)*; *fractal*, n. (1975); *endorphin*, n. (1976); *allophone*, n. (1977)•; *bustier*, n. (1978)

2.8.2 Noun phrases
red zone, n. phr. (1972 attested as a sports term)*; *fromage frais*, n. phr. (1976); *nouvelle cuisine*, n. phr. (1976)

2.8.3 Adjective
retro, adj. and n. (1974 attested as a term in fashion and music in *OED3*)*

2.9 1980-1986

2.9.1 Nouns
garage, n. (1983 first attested as a term for a music style in the 1993 *OED ADD Series*); *SCART*, n. (1983); *rai*, n. (1986)•

2.9.2 Adjective
ludic, adj. (showing a meaning in literature in recent times)

Schultz (2012: 493) draws attention to the fact that the comparatively common French borrowings which belong to the core vocabulary included in EFL dictionaries "point to those areas where the so-called "myth of France" (Chirol 1973) has been best maintained". A close review of the lexical items in the above list reveals that the greatest proportion of fairly common French-derived words and meanings can be found in the domains of art (19 borrowings), cuisine (17 borrowings), fashion (16 borrowings), politics (16 borrowings) and sports (13 borrowings) (see also Schultz 2012: 496). *Dada*, *collage*, *cassoulet*, *kir*, *crème fraîche*, *haute couture*, *leotard*, *bustier*, *détente*, *dirigisme*, *après-ski* and *motocross* serve as examples of recent French borrowings the "ordinary" native speaker of English is familiar with. Obviously, France is noted for its fine arts, gastronomy and fashion. Hence it is by no means surprising that French represents an important donor language in these fields. Schultz comes to the conclusion that

> One might have expected the French impact to continue to be strong especially on art, cuisine and fashion, considering the fact that French has long served English as a source of words in these areas. The results presented in this study answer one's expectations with respect to the language knowledge and use of the educated, "average" speaker of English (2012: 494).

The number of borrowings in the field of politics illustrates the extent to which political or socio-political developments and movements such as, for

instance, *détente*, "[t]he easing of strained relations, esp[ecially] in a political situation" (*OED*2), and *dirigisme*, specifying "[t]he policy of state direction and control in economic and social matters" (*OED*2), can leave their traces in a language. In addition, it is well known that there has been an increasing interest in sports during the last few decades. This might explain why French-derived sports terms including *après-ski* and *motocross* found their way into the English language.

Among the domains related to the natural sciences the field of medicine comprises the highest number of relatively common borrowings. In all, we find ten medical terms in the above sample of words, such as *andropause* and *radiotherapy*. From the *OED3* it becomes clear that the latter may have been adapted from the French *radiothérapie*. The borrowing of words from this area points to the international influence and significance of French research in medicine during the twentieth century.

Similarly, the field of war and the military encompasses quite a few borrowings, i.e. nine lexical items. The majority of words in these areas were adopted from French in the context of the First World War. This holds for *defeatism* and *defeatist*, for example, both of which entered English in 1918.

Technology, mathematics and the humanities belong to the fields with the smallest number of borrowings which have made it into common use. Of the 154 twentieth-century French borrowings which fall into these categories, only 16 lexical items are part of the core vocabulary attested in EFL dictionaries (see Schultz 2012: 488-495). Fairly widespread borrowings from these fields are words such as *fuselage*, which can be assigned to the domain of aeronautics, the mathematical term *fractal*, and *calque*, which chiefly occurs in linguistic contexts as a synonym for a 'loan translation'. Yet the great majority of twentieth-century French borrowings having to do with technology, mathematics and the humanities are technical terms only known to the specialist.

3. The various types of word-formation of recent borrowings from French

Let us now move on to the different word-formations derived from the French borrowings which are part of the core vocabulary listed in EFL dictionaries. As already mentioned, the derivatives of the various borrowings were collected from the *OED Online*. The classification system of the present study departs from the "traditional" model developed by Quirk et al. in 1985 (see the Appendix of the *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*) since

it represents a widely accepted frame of reference to identify the different types of word-formation[5]. I shall restrict myself to those categories which are relevant for the classification of the lexical items investigated in the present analysis.

3.1 Compounding

Compounding refers to the process of combining two (or sometimes more) constituents, each of which usually represents a free lexical morpheme (e.g. *rally car*). According to Quirk et al. (2008: 1567), "[a] compound is a lexical unit consisting of more than one base […] and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word".

63 English compounds are endocentric compounds which contain a French borrowing as their first element, modifying the second constituent, i.e. the head of the compound. The great majority of them are noun compounds. As will be seen, different types of loan influences are part of these formations, encompassing direct loans as well as words which have become assimilated. Examples from the *OED* follow.

3.1.1 Noun compounds

3.1.1.1 'Verbless' compounds

Of the compounds under consideration, 51 items comprise two nouns, as for instance *cinema film* (1912), *cinema star* (1913), *Michelin man* (1954), *curie temperature* (1960 as earliest *OED*2 quotation), *Pernod bottle* (first recorded in 1964 in *OED3*), *bustier dress*[6] (1979) and *rally wheel* (2006 as earliest *OED3* quotation). Several hundreds of examples documenting the usage of these compounds in present-day English can be found in *LexisNexis*, a database which comprises editions of a great variety of newspapers from the last 20-30 years, ranging from *The Times* and *The Independent* to *The New York Times*. The following passages taken from both recent English newspaper articles and the *OED* exemplify the typical use of the compounds *cinema film*, *cinema star*, *bustier dress* and *Michelin man*:

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[5] For a comprehensive overview of the different approaches to word-formation (outlining the structural, cognitive and sociopragmatic perspectives), see Schmid (2011).

[6] It seems noteworthy that the English noun *dress* is derived from the verb *to dress*, which ultimately goes back to the Old French form *dresser* 'to arrange' (see the etymological information in the *OED*2).

(1) *US Official News*, June 18, 2015; "From Pyramids to Spectres: A Look at the Met's 'Cinema Films' "
Metropolitan Museum of Art has issued the following news release:
In 2013 I wrote about a 1929 Met catalogue entitled Cinema Films: A List of the Films and the Conditions under which They Are Rented, a collection of educational "cinema films" that the Met used to rent out to various schools and cultural institutions in the New York City area. The films range from straightforward informational ones, like Pyramids and Temples of Ancient Egypt, to the patently bizarre, like The Spectre – a "Colonial fantasy" about "a malign apparition which appears to the superstitious eyes of a seventeenth-century New England family." (*LexisNexis*)

(2) *Sunday Independent*, January 10, 2016; "Michelle Doherty takes on her biggest role; With a handsome partner, a successful media career, and a much-longed-for baby, Michelle Doherty appeared to have everything. So why did she feel so sad? She tells Julia Molony about her battle with the baby blues"
Michelle Doherty strolls down Oxford Street looking like someone who has stepped down off a billboard, her long hair swinging, her smile almost as broad as her wide-brimmed hat. […] Her approach to learning a new craft was to simply hand herself over completely to the director, and it's a strategy that seems to have worked really well for her so far. "I'm in their hands", she says. "I'm like, 'you're directing me, you tell me what you think. I'm relying on them to tell me if I'm doing it right or not' ". It's been a happy new discovery, this unexpected talent she's discovered, though she's by no means consumed with ambition to become a cinema star. (*LexisNexis*)

(3) "2006 *Daily Tel.* 29 Nov. 28/3 The LBD has never been out of fashion. From simple shifts and dramatic tunics to flirty baby-dolls and vampy bustier dresses, it comes in every style imaginable." (*OED3*)

In contrast to *cinema film*, *cinema star* and *bustier dress*, the compound *Michelin man* shows some semantic variability after its first attested use in English. *Michelin man* originally functioned as the name of "a cartoon character whose body and limbs are composed of layers of pneumatic tyres, giving a rotund, ridged appearance" (*OED3*). From the *OED3* it becomes apparent that it can also be used allusively in English, denoting "a person resembling the Michelin man in some way (as wearing heavily padded clothing, being overweight, etc." *Michelin man* is first recorded in this meaning in the 1990s in the *OED3*:

(4) "1991 *Sports Illustr.* 14 Oct. 36/1 Bonilla legged out 44 doubles this year…, despite a body that puts most people in mind of the Michelin Man."

Examples like *home cinema* (1918), where the acquisition from French (i.e. *cinema*) functions as the head of the compound, are scarce. A careful perusal of the *OED3* documentary evidence reveals that *home cinema* is mainly confined to British English, as the following quotation shows:

(5) "1978 *Economist* 4 Nov. 88/2 (*heading*) Home cinemas… Films will be the key 'software' for the cassette video recorder." (*OED3*)

3.1.1.2 'Verb and object' type

Quirk et al. (2008: 1570) state that these compounds "adopt a mode of presentation which (where possible) links compounds to sentential or clausal paraphrases". The compound *rally driver* (1937 as earliest *OED3 quotation*), for instance, belongs to the type 'verb and object' as it consists of an object and an agential noun in *-er*:

(6) "1990 *Petersen's 4-wheel & Off-road* May 7/1 A former European rally driver who has competed and won… the Paris-Dakar Rally." (*OED3*)

According to Quirk et al.'s (2008) model, the corresponding underlying sentence structure could be described as follows: 'X drives a rally' or 'X drives rallies'. *Pernod-drinker* (1953) is another compound which falls into this category (cf. 'X drinks Pernod'). It quite often occurs in French contexts in English, or in contexts somehow associated with France. This is corroborated by the linguistic material available in *LexisNexis*. In a 1995 article included in the *Evening Standard*, for instance, which deals with presidential elections in France, the use of *Pernod drinkers* renders the described scene more authentic and picturesque:

(7) *Evening Standard* (London), February 7, 1995; "One Barre to the grey man's victory; THE BUSINESS OF POLITICS" Andrew Garfield looks at the forthcoming French Presidential battle
WITH five months to go before France's Presidential elections, no one in Paris can talk of anything else. Political soothsayers at the big British and American investment banks have had their clients running for cover.
This has been over the prospect of the maverick Gaullist Jacques Chirac storming to power on a populist ticket designed to appeal simultaneously to the likes of Sir James Goldsmith and the disaffected

> Pernod drinkers in the soulless high-rise estates on the wrong side of Marseilles. (*LexisNexis*)

The item *rally driving* (1954 as earliest *OED3* quotation) differs slightly from the afore-mentioned examples since it consists of an object and a verbal noun in *-ing*. Even though this type appears to be fairly productive in present-day English, not many examples are found among the word-formations under review.

3.1.2 Adjective compounds

Twelve adjective compounds including a French borrowing are cited in the *OED*. Examples are compounds which Quirk et al. (2008) would assign to the type 'verb and adverbial', as for instance *rally-proved* (1960) (cf. 'X proves it in the rally'), as well as 'verbless' formations like *lipid-soluble* (1964) and *retro-cool* (1991).

3.2 Affixation

Let us now come to the word-formations which were derived from twentieth-century French borrowings by means of affixation. I shall begin with suffixations.

3.2.1 Suffixation

45 formations have been coined by adding a suffix to a twentieth-century borrowing from French. Here is an overview of the most common suffixes (in alphabetical order) which yield new words based on French borrowings:

3.2.1.1 Noun suffixes

3.2.1.1.1 Denominal nouns

<-er> as in *Popular Fronter*, n. phr. (1940); *motocrosser*, n. (1968); *Third Worlder*, n. phr. (1970);

<-ing> as in *sabotaging*, n. (1923); *rappelling*, n. (1938); *après-skiing*, n. (1963); *Popular Fronting*, n. phr. (1969);

<-ism> as in *Dadaism*, n. (1920); *voyeurism*, n. (1924); *Popular Frontism*, n. phr. (1938); *ivory-towerism*, n. (1945); *auteurism*, n. (1968); *Third Worldism*, n. phr. (1970);

<-ist> as in *collagist*, n. (1953); *ivory-towerist*, n. (1954); *aromatherapist*, n. (1970); *monoculturist*, n. (1973);

<-o> as in *plonko*, n. (1963);

<-osis> as in *lipidosis*, n. (1941);
<-ship> as in *auteurship*, n. (1972);

Of the word-formations listed above, *plonko* constitutes a colloquial term in Australian English for "[a]n alcoholic" (*OED3*), e.g.

(8) "2004 *Geelong Advertiser (Austral.)* (Nexis) 13 Nov. 44 The word was associated with plonkos; unsavoury or unfortunate men who had a dependence on sixpenny dark-cheap port." (*OED3*)

Motocrosser and *voyeurism* were subjected to a semantic development after their first recorded usage in English. The former has been attested since 1968 in the meaning of "[a] motorcycle designed for use in motocross" (*OED3*). One year later, the word adopted a second sense, designating "[a] person who rides such a motorcyle" (*OED3*):

(9) "1969 *Times (San Mateo, Calif.)* 27 Oct. 34/1 (*advt.*) We have the potent 125CC, 250, new 360 racers available for the serious motocrosser." (*OED3*)

As to *voyeurism*, the item has been documented in a metaphorical meaning since 1958, as shown in the following *OED2* example:

(10) "1958 *Oxf. Mag.* 8 May 409/1 Oxford … seems to appeal to a disagreeable mixture of envy and voyeurism."

3.2.1.1.2 Deadjectival nouns

<-ity> as in *surreality*, n. (1936);

3.2.1.2 Adjective suffixes

3.2.1.2.1 Denominal adjectives

<-al> as in *infrastructural*, adj. (1963) and *andropausal*, adj. (1988);
<-ed> as in *montaged*, adj. (1970); *leotarded*, adj. (1972); *velcroed*, adj. (1972);
<-ic> as in *pacifistic*, adj. (1908); *semantemic*, adj. (1938); *cellulitic*, adj. (1982);
<-ish> as in *ivory-towerish*, adj. (1963)
<-ist> as in *auteurist*, adj. (1976) and *troilist*, adj. (1976);

Of the denominal adjectives derived from French borrowings, *montaged*, "used in a montage; created by the technique of montage" (*OED3*), is first recorded in a figurative use in English:

(11) "1970 E. Roberson *When thy King is Boy* 22 But old men o the lapsing crease The bulgy varicose of thread So wide the many montaged limbs Of age's tremor." (*OED3*)

3.2.1.3 Adverb suffixes

According to Quirk et al. (2008: 1556), the adverb suffix *-ly* "can be very generally added to an adjective in a grammatical environment requiring an adverb […] so that it could almost be regarded as inflexional". The adverb *surreally*, for instance, is first recorded in 1982, according to the *OED*. It goes back to *surreal*, which may correspond to French *surréel*.

3.2.2 Prefixation

In addition, the *OED* contains word-formations which are derived from French borrowings by means of prefixation. The examples which can be adduced are *post-Cubist*, adj. and n. (1914) and *anti-racist*, n. (1938). Several borrowings are combined with neo-classical items which go back to Latin or Greek, such as *neo-* in *neo-Dada*, n. (1961). Examples include *phospholipid*, n. (1925), *telecinema*, n. (1930), *anarcho-syndicalism*, n. (1934), *anarcho-syndicalist*, n. (1937), *phacoanaphylaxis*, n. (1948) and *mucolipid*, n. (1956). Of these, *telecinema* has become obsolete. The *OED* reports that it occasionally occurs in historical contexts in English as a designation for "telecine" or "[t]he name of a building in the Festival of Britain of 1951 in which television programmes could be shown on a large screen as in a cinema" (*OED2*), as in:

(12) "1977 M. Strickland *A. Thirkell* x. 157 Angela treated the events [of the Festival of Britain, 1951] with the greatest scorn, but she agreed nevertheless to be interviewed on the 'telecinema'." (*OED2*)

3.3 Conversion

Schmid (2011: 187) points out that in conversion (also referred to as *functional change*, *functional shift*, *transposition* and *zero-derivation* in scholarly literature on word-formation)[7], "[t]he commonly accepted idea is that a lexeme

[7] For details on the use of these terms, see Marchand (1969: 360), Pennanen (1971: 17ff., 25ff.), Štekauer (1996: 23ff.) and Bauer – Valera (2005).

changes from one word class to another without formal marking while at the same time remaining in the original word class". The noun *calque*, for instance, which was taken over from French in 1937 as a designation for "[a] loan translation" (*OED2*), was converted into a verb in 1958 in English, as illustrated by the following *OED2* quotation:

(13) "1958 A.S.C. Ross Etymol. 34 MnE *that goes without saying* is a translation-loan of (better, is calqued on) MnFrench *cela va sans dire*."

Following Quirk et al.'s (2008) approach, the following types of conversion occur among the lexical items surveyed in the present investigation.

3.3.1 Denominal verbs

e.g. *garage*, v. (1906) (from *garage*, n. (1902)); *sabotage*, v. (1918) (from *sabotage*, n. (1910)); *rappel*, v. (1950) (from *rappel*, n. (1931)); *rally*, v. (1956) (from *rally*, n. (1911)); *calque*, v. (1958) (from *calque*, n. (1937)); *voyeur*, v. (1959) (from *voyeur*, n. (1900)); *montage*, v. (1979) (from *montage*, n. (1930))

3.3.2 Denominal adjectives

e.g. *racist*, adj. (1927) (from *racist*, n. (1926)); *fauve*, adj. (1953) (from *fauve*, n. (1915)); *francophone*, adj. (1962) (from *francophone*, n. (1900)); *anglophone*, adj. (1965) (from *anglophone*, n. (1900))

It is possible that the formation of the de-nominal adjectives listed above may have been influenced by the corresponding French items (i.e. the adjectives *raciste*, *fauve*, *francophone* and *anglophone*), all of which are attested earlier in French than in English (see *OED*, *TLF*).

3.3.3 Deadjectival nouns

e.g. *anorexic*, n. (1913) (from *anorexic*, adj. (1907)); *gaga*, n. (1938) (from *gaga*, adj. (1920)); *Togolese*, n. (1962) (from *Togolese*, adj. (1957)); *Occitan*, n. (1964) (from *Occitan*, adj. (1945)); *Nigerien*, n. (1967) (from *Nigerien*, adj. (1966))

As in the case of the de-nominal adjectives, the de-adjectival nouns in the afore-mentioned list may have been coined under the impact of the equivalent French forms *anorexique*, *gaga*, *togolais*, *occitan/occitane* and *Nigérien*, which function both as adjectives and as nouns in French.

Occasionally, even an interjection undergoes conversion, as for instance *ooh-la-la*, first attested in 1918 as an adaptation of French *oh là là*, an exclamation "[e]xpressing surprise, appreciation, excitement, etc."

(*OED3*). Some time after its first recorded use, *ooh-la-la* underwent a morphological-semantic development in English, so that it could also be used as an adjective in the sense of "[s]exually attractive or provocative" (*OED3*), as a noun denoting "[a]n utterance or exclamation of 'ooh-la-la'!", "[s]exual titillation or provocativeness" (*OED3*), and even "a sexually attractive or provocative woman" (*OED3*). This is corroborated by linguistic evidence included in the *OED*, e.g.

(14) "1929 *New Yorker* 26 Oct. 30 'My public', she has confided to friends, 'demands that I be an oo-la-la French girl and show my legs'."

(15) "1952 S.J. Perelman *Ill-tempered Clavichord* (1953) 72 Their silken ankles a target for the ardent glances of gendarmes..muttering appreciative ooh-la-las."

(16) "1952 'J. Tey' *Singing Sands* xiii. 215 'I like my iniquity with some ooh-la-la in it'. 'Hasn't Daphne got any ooh-la-la?' 'No. Daphne's very la-di-da'."

(17) "1960 I. Cross *Backward Sex* 72 If this red-haired oo-la-la gets out of hand, I'll fix her for you."

In addition, the interjection *ooh-la-la* was converted into a verb in English, as the following *OED3* quotation shows:

(18) "2001 *Mail on Sunday* (Nexis) 9 Sept. 60 Back they all rushed, positively aglow with superlatives and ooh-la-la-ing over Nicole Kidman in her fishnets."

None of these uses is paralleled in French.

3.4 Back-formation

Back-formation (sometimes also referred to as *back-derivation*)[8] refers to the process of forming a new lexical item, typically by removing an affix/a morpheme or a morpheme-like unit from the base of word. It may also denote the "product" of this process, i.e. the word created in this

[8] For an overview of the different word-formation processes and the terminology used in this field, see Schmid (2011).

manner. Only three back-formations of the twentieth-century French borrowings under review can be found. Two of them are adjectives, such as *transhumant*, which is first attested in 1932 in the *OED* as a derivative of the borrowing *transhumance*, n. (1911). There is also *surreal*, adj. (1937), which is either a back-formation of the French borrowings *surrealism*, n. (1927), *surrealist*, adj. and n. (1918)[9], or an adaptation of the French *surréel* (see *OED2*). *To psychoanalyse/psychoanalyze* (1911) is the only verb in this category. According to the *OED*, it goes back to the noun *psychoanalysis* (1906), which was borrowed from German *Psychoanalyse* or French *psycho-analyse* (now usually spelt *psychanalyse* in present-day French) (see *OED3*).

3.5 Clipping

In contrast to back-formation, in clipping the word class and the semantics of the original form usually stay the same. Among the words presented in this study, we find borrowed nouns (and occasionally noun phrases) which were clipped at the end, i.e. back-clippings. Examples are *palais*, n. (1928) (from *palais de danse*, n. phr. (1900)), *bra*, n. (1936) (from *brassiere*, n. (1911)), *disco*, n. (1957) (from *discotheque*, n. (1929)), *telecom*, n. (1963) (from *telecommunication*, n. (1932)), *limo*, n. (1968) (from *limousine*, n. (1902)), *moto*, n. (1971) (from *motocross*, n. (1951)) and *sab*, n. (1978) (from *saboteur*, n. (1921)). In the case of *vacky*, n. (1940), which is derived from *evacuee*, n. (1934), an adaptation of French *évacué*, both the first and the last element of the source word were omitted with subsequent suffixation of *-y*. It constitutes a rare example of middle-clipping.

The reader may observe that the afore-mentioned list of clippings contains several everyday words (i.e. *disco*, *limo* and *bra*) which quite often occur as the modifier or head in formations like *disco music*, *disco dress*, *stretch limo* and *Wonderbra*, e.g.

(19) "2005 K. Cino *East Shore Babe* ii. 22 Katherine was known for her dark sunglasses and loud radio playing disco music." (*OED3*)

(20) "1992 D. Kondo in J. Tobin *Re-made in Japan* (1994) x. 185 The Comme des Garçons showings of 1991 including an evening collection reminiscent of Paco Rabanne's disco dresses of the 1960s." (*OED3*)

[9] The borrowings *surrealism* and *surrealist* are ultimately derived from the French forms *surréalisme* and *surréaliste* (see *OED2*).

(21) "1987 E. Leonard *Bandits* v. 61 He saw the white Cadillac stretch limo." (1993 *OED Additions Series*)

(22) "2001 C. Glazebrook *Madolescents* 225 It's chock-full of women's undies, lacy teddies, silky French knickers and camisoles, Wonderbras, thongs and stuff." (*OED3*)

3.6 Blending

In blending or word mixing, two words are combined into one lexeme. Examples which were formed on the basis of borrowed words are *tankini*, n. (1985), a blend of *tank top* and *bikini*, which came from French into English in 1948, *machinema* (with its variant spelling *machinima*) first attested in 2000 in *OED3* as a derivative of *machine*, and the French borrowing *cinema*, n. (1909). Of these, *tankini* originated in American English (see *OED3*). Its first attested use in the *OED3* is a passage taken from a 1985 article which was published in the *Los Angeles Times*:

(23) "*1985 Los Angeles Times* (Nexis) 13 Oct. (Mag. section) 42 Making the biggest splash in Anne Cole's new 'tankini'."

The *OED* takes in further examples, such as *Tubism*, n. (1955), reflecting *tube* and the borrowing *cubism*, n. (1911), *bulimarexic*, adj. and n. (1976), which consists of the elements *bulim-* (in *bulimia*, n.) and *-orexic* (in the French borrowing *anorexic*, adj. (1907)), with modification of the vowel <o> to <a>. *OED* examples are:

(24) "1978 N. Gosling *Paris 1900-14*165 Fernand Léger … attracted by the Cubist experiments … developed a variety of his own, based on interlocking cylinders – a style which was nicknamed 'Tubism'." (*OED2*)

(25) "1976 M. Boskind-Lohdahl in *Signs* Winter 343 Relating anorexia to bulimia, it may also help to stimulate successful therapies for young women whom I shall describe as 'bulimarexics'." (*OED3*)

(26) "*2006 Eating Behaviors 7 389* A higher frequency of death wishes and suicidal feelings in the bulimarexic group." (OED3)

Furthermore, there is *telco*, n. (1978), which combines *tel-* in *telephone* or *telecommunication* and *co-* (in *company*). Like *tankini*, *telco* was first recorded in American English, as shown by the following *OED3* quotation:

(27) "*1978 Fortune 17 July 102/2* We hope that even the large telco's will have switched over by the end of 1979."

4. Conclusion

From the present analysis it has emerged that a considerable number of the now fairly common twentieth-century borrowings from French show manifold categories of word-formation, such as compounding, affixation, conversion, back-formation, clipping and blending. The number of derivatives points to the fact that recent acquisitions from French included in EFL dictionaries are comparatively frequently used in present-day English and thus typically have become morphologically integrated.

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Address: JULIA SCHULTZ, University of Heidelberg, English Department, Kettengasse 12, 69117 Heidelberg, Germany.

Parallel and comparable corpora in investigating modal verbs in legal and literary discourse

Bogumiła Pacyna

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

ABSTRACT

This article offers a qualitative and quantitative analysis of modal verbs that were found in an online corpus, called the Lagun Corpus. The case of modal verbs has been the subject of much debate in the literature not limited only to one type of discourse. In this paper various texts are analysed; however, the primary focus is on legal and literary texts. The analysis developed in this paper shows the dominance of one modal and explains the rejection of others. It also gives an account of the usefulness of corpora in translation research and seeks to determine the most appropriate corpora for translators. In particular, the paper highlights parallel and comparable corpora as those most relevant to translators.

Keywords: modal verbs, corpora in translation studies

1. Introduction

This article aims to add to the discussion on the nature of modality in the English language. It outlines the results of a case study conducted on English modal verbs. The case study is divided into three parts: the first describes the data, the corpus used to collect the data, the aim of this case study and discusses its research questions. Parts two and three show the results of the case study and answer the research questions. Moreover, the theoretical background for the paper presents the usefulness of corpora in translation research.

2. Corpora in translation

Kübler – Aston (2010: 501-502) state that corpora can be of use in the three stages of a translation process, that is, documentation, drafting, and revision. First, in the documentation process, corpora provide a set of texts from a range of various disciplines, and are thus a source of specialised terminology and constituents in a given discourse. Second, in the drafting process as explained by Varantola, corpora may give "reassurance when checking hunches or finding equivalents translators are not familiar with" (2000: 118). Finally, in the revision process corpora can confirm "readability, comprehensibility, coherence, grammaticality or terminological consistency" (Kübler – Aston 2010: 501-502). The observations presented by Kübler – Aston also hold for corpora in translator training. It is emphasised that corpora may

> develop awareness of cross-cultural similarities and differences, of strategic alternatives and of the role of context. They can also improve linguistic and world knowledge, help in the acquisition of new concepts or new uses and develop awareness of the technical issues involved in computer-assisted translation (Kübler – Aston 2010: 512).

Kenning (2010: 494) mentions that translation scholars utilise corpora in translation research, first of all, to estimate the impact a source text may have on a target text, the so called translationese phenomenon. Some forms and structures may be adopted in the target text, such as discourse conventions or complexity. Moreover, scholars would also describe elements that distinguish a translated language from a non-translated one – see Baker (1996: 176-177).

Following Kenning (2010: 492-493), it is worth noting that corpora can be applied in contrastive linguistics to analyse lexical items, syntax, or discourse. Scholars claim that corpora can be used to describe languages more precisely, to show the degree to which some patterns are shared by languages as well as serving a good function in testing a pre-formed hypothesis.

Kenning (2010: 487) enumerates two types of corpora that are particularly useful to translation scholars: parallel and comparable corpora. A parallel corpus can be utilised in translation training, bilingual lexicography and machine translation (Kenny 2001: 51). Furthermore, such a corpus may "provide information on language-pair specific translational behavior, to posit certain equivalence relationships between lexical items or structures

in source and target languages (Kenny 1998; Marinai – Peters – Picchi 1992) or to study the phenomenon of translationese" (Schmied – Schäffler 1996). Comparable corpora are believed to be most useful to translation scholars as they provide accurate information about translated texts (Kenny 2001: 53). Kübler – Aston (2010: 510) suggest that it may be difficult to create "a strictly comparable corpora for specialized domains". There may not be enough texts in languages different from English. The question that arises here is *how comparable and analysable* the corpora can be. Kenning draws the conclusion that all the merits and drawbacks confirm scholars in the belief that balancing between corpora is the best alternative, emphasising that "exploiting several corpora leads to a fuller and more accurate account of the phenomenon under investigation" (2010: 496-497).

3. Case study

3.1 Data and the aim of the research

The data for this study were collected from an online parallel corpus, called the Lagun Corpus, comprising Basque, Spanish, French, Polish and English. Only the English-Polish part was used in the study where English was the source text. The study was conducted in 2012. At that moment, it was an experimental version of the tool. The corpus functioned with a simplified search engine; however, despite its narrow remit, it was still possible to obtain interesting results from it. The corpus included texts from literature, such as prose, theatre, religion, (1,178,138 words), journalism (14,126 words), scientific, such as human science, exact science, social science and natural sciences, (408,402 words) and technical texts, such as juridical texts, (436,575 words): overall 2,037,241 words.

The purpose of this corpus study is to test the feasibility of the following research questions: (1) Which modal verbs are most frequently used in the English part of the corpus? (2) In which of the particular English texts are modal verbs most frequent? (3) Which meaning of *shall* and *would* is most frequent? (4) How are *shall* and *would* translated from English into Polish in the Lagun Corpus?

Three groups of modal verbs were tested in this corpus study: central, marginal and semi-modals, following the division proposed by Depraeter – Reed (2006: 269). The first group comprises *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*,

should, *will*, *would* and *must*. The second group comprises *dare*, *need* and *ought to*. The third group comprises *have to*, *be able to*, *be going to*, *be supposed to*, *be about to* and *be bound to*.

3.2 The frequency of modal verbs

Table 1 shows the findings of the corpus study concerning the frequency of use of the modal verbs. The table reveals the instances of modal verbs found in scientific texts, technical texts, literature, and journalism. The total body of research consists of 11,390 instances of verbs. *Must* and *must not* were analysed separately and are presented in separate columns, bearing in mind the essential difference in meaning.

Table 1. Modal verbs found in four types of discourse

Modal verb	Records found	Literature	Scientific texts	Technical texts	Journalism
can	815	599	176	40	–
could	710	667	39	2	2
may	716	81	101	534	–
might	226	190	22	14	–
shall	**2059**	96	32	**1931**	–
should	410	268	111	31	–
will	572	359	163	38	–
would	**1023**	**925**	81	12	5
must	425	293	54	78	–
must not	15	6	4	5	–
dare	44	37	7	–	–
need	229	130	51	41	7
ought to	71	54	17	–	–
have to	152	130	19	2	1
be able to	96	78	11	5	–
be going to	112	112	–	–	–
be supposed to	15	13	2	–	–
be about to	34	34	–	–	–
be bound to	8	2	6	–	–
Total	11390	7734	896	2745	15

Firstly, the study revealed that the most frequent modal verbs are *shall*, with over 2000 records, and *would*, with over 1000 records. *Can*, *could and may* are also used very often, with over 700 records found for these verbs. Approximately 500 records were found for *should*, *will* and *must*. Less frequent verbs were *might*, *need*, *have to* and *be going to* where 226, 229, 152 and 112 records were found respectively. The least common verbs are *dare*, *ought to*, *be able to*, *be supposed to*, *be about to* and *be bound to*. Fewer than 100 records were found for these verbs.

Secondly, literature appears to be the most common type of discourse in which modal verbs are used. However, it should be taken into account that over 57% of the total words collected in the corpus come from literature. Likewise, technical texts and scientific texts are abundant in modal verbs. The smallest number of instances were found in journalistic texts. This is due to the low number of data from journalism.

Moreover, three central modals appear frequent in literature, namely *would, can* and *could*. *May* and *shall* are used in technical texts more often than in literature or scientific texts. Verbs which were found in fewer than 500 instances will not be discussed here. Another conclusion is that semi-modals are rare in use in all forms of texts.

Furthermore, it may be observed that *shall* is one of the most frequently used verbs and it is mostly found in juridical texts (technical texts). In these texts *shall* is used to establish rights and duties.

Finally, it is remarkable that only a few instances of modal verbs were found in journalistic discourse. Modal verbs in newspaper articles comprise less than one per cent of the total number of records. This anomaly can be accounted for by the small number of data from journalism (only 14,126 words).

3.3 What is *shall* and *would* most common meaning?

The main objective of this part of the corpus study is to reveal the most common use of *shall* and *would* in literature and juridical texts. Moreover, translations of *shall* and *would* from the Lagun Corpus will be examined. Table 2 presents the main uses of *shall* and *would* and their frequency in literature and juridical texts.

The data suggest that *shall* is more common in juridical texts and its use is restricted to formal instructions. Over 1800 instances with this meaning were found. In only about 80 instances was *shall* used to express prohibition. On the other hand, *shall* in literature is much rarer and is used to express certainty, suggestions and intentions.

Table 2. *Shall* and *would* in literature and juridical texts

Modal verb and its use		Literature	Juridical texts (Technical texts)
SHALL	1) certainty	50	–
	2) prohibition	–	79
	3) formal instructions	–	1852
	4) suggestions	22	–
	5) intentions	24	–
WOULD	1) regularity in the past	**251**	–
	2) thinking about the future	**383**	12
	3) reported speech	**179**	–
	4) unwillingness	1	–
	5) assumption	2	–
	6) instructions and appeals	2	–
	7) offers and invitations	11	–
	8) regret	–	–
	9) politeness	1	–
	10) question tags	4	–
	11) wishes	63	–
	12) preference	5	–
	13) certainty	21	–

As can be seen from the table above, *would* is mainly used to express future, regularity in the past or in reported speech. Moreover, it is apparent from this table that *would* occurs in very few instances with the meaning of certainty, wish or offer. A small number of records representing unwillingness, assumption, instructions, politeness or question tags were noted. No records were found for regret. Finally, as Table 2 shows, there is a significant difference between literature and legal discourse, where only twelve records of *would* were identified.

3.4 Translation

This section provides translations of sentences from the Lagun Corpus. The examples present English sentences with *shall* and *would* as well as their Polish translations. The first two examples come from legal documents. The remaining six examples come from literature.

(1) Everyone **shall contribute** to sustain public expenditure according to their economic capacity, through a fair tax system based on the principles of equality and progressive taxation, which in no case shall be of a confiscatory scope.
Wszyscy **wnoszą** wkład w podnoszenie podatków publicznych zgodnie ze swoimi możliwościami za pośrednictwem sprawiedliwego systemu podatkowego inspirowanego przez zasady równości i progresywności, który w żadnym wypadku nie może przybrać rozmiarów konfiskaty.

(2) The sum of the amounts deemed necessary, fixed in the specific programmes **shall not exceed** the overall maximum amount fixed for the framework programme and each activity.
Suma kwot uznanych za niezbędne, ustalonych przez programy szczegółowe, **nie może przekroczyć** łącznej maksymalnej kwoty przewidzianej dla programu ramowego i dla każdego działania.

(3) My mother sometimes tells me that never in my whole life **shall** I ever again **see** rivers as beautiful and big and wild as these, the Mekong and its tributaries going down to the sea, the great regions of water soon to disappear into the caves of ocean.
Matka mówi mi czasem, że nigdy w życiu **nie zobaczę** rzek równie pięknych jak właśnie ta, równie wielkich i dzikich jak Mekong i jego odnogi spływające do oceanu, wodne obszary, które nikną w głębinach mórz.

(4) "**Shall** we **listen** to the news?" Sarah asked.
Posłuchamy wiadomości? Zapytała Sara.

(5) She said, "I **shall do** what he tells me to do".
Zrobię to, co mi każe.

(6) I was frightened but I knew I **would** never **give up**.
Bałem się, ale wiedziałem, że się nigdy **nie poddam**.

(7) It happened every day. Of that I'm sure. It must have come on quite suddenly. At a given moment every day the despair **would make its appearance**.
Tak musiało być co dzień, mam co do tego pewność. Musiało to być okrutne. Codziennie w pewnym momencie **zjawiała się** ta rozpacz.

(8) The woman went in ahead of me and immediately started to remove the newspapers very carefully from the furniture. I told her I **would do** that myself. She ignored me. I raised my voice and told her to quit it, I wanted to be alone to relax, I had had a long journey.
Kobieta weszła przodem i natychmiast z wielką uwagą zaczęła ściągać gazety z mebli. Powiedziałem je, że sam to zrobię. Nie słuchała. Powtórzyłem głośno żeby zostawiła, że po długiej podróży chcę zostać sam, w spokoju.

These few examples show that English modals can be translated differently into Polish. In most translations there are no Polish modals used, e.g. in sentences (1), (4), (5), (7) and (8). A modal verb appears only in (2). However, the translations transmit a similar spirit to the original sentences. Moreover, the translations are easily comprehensible and read well as if they were originally written in the target language. There are no spelling errors or missing words. That proves the accuracy of the translations.

4. Conclusions

Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that *shall* and *would* are the most common modal verbs used in the English part of the Lagun Corpus. It has also been noted that the frequency of occurrence of *dare*, *ought to*, *be able to*, *be supposed to*, *be about to*, and *be bound to* is low and therefore these modals are not analysed in this study.

Moreover, it has been shown that *shall* is mainly used to express formal instruction and *would* carries future meaning. These modal verbs appear most often in two types of texts, namely literary and juridical texts. *Shall* is more common in juridical texts whereas *would* in literary texts.

The final observations pertain to the translation of modals from English into Polish in the Lagun Corpus. It has been shown that in most of the translations modal verbs do not occur but still the sentences convey the same feeling to the source sentences. These findings enhance our understanding of modal verbs and may serve as a base for the future study of the subject.

This paper has also given an account of and the reason for the widespread use of corpora in translation studies. In short, corpora can be useful for the translation process and provide a whole gamut of functional vocabulary items or confirm initial considerations.

Additionally, contrastive linguists may satisfactorily compare languages thanks to corpora. It has been proved that parallel and comparable corpora appear to be most helpful tools for translators. However, it has been shown that complimentary use of the corpora is of a real benefit.

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Address: BOGUMIŁA PACYNA, Faculty of English, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, al. Niepodległości 4, 61-874 Poznań, Poland.

Reflexivity in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: A Corpus Study

Sylwia Pielecha
University of Warsaw

ABSTRACT

The main goal of this paper is to propose a new approach to the semantic classes of reflexive constructions in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints.* Before analyzing the corpus data, the study tries to explain what reflexivity actually means and how it is described by various scholars on the semantic level. It also examines the most common technique conveying reflexivity: constructions involving the use of the Old English personal pronouns, sometimes followed by a proper form of *-self* (Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Mitchell 1985; van Gelderen 2000). However, in addition to truly reflexive meaning, Old English personal pronouns could render other meanings. For instance, they could express a situation in which the Agent is not the Patient but its benefactor. Moreover, they could accompany pseudo-reflexive verbs, i.e. verbs used with an inanimate Subject. Also, personal pronouns could be used to express reciprocity. Last, they were employed to express a situation in which the Agent was not also a typical Patient, but its presence was essential for the completion of an action.

1. Introduction

Among the many changes that English has undergone over the centuries is one which regards how reflexive relations are expressed. It is commonly accepted that the term "reflexivity" is used to express a co-reference of two arguments of a verb. In Modern English, reflexivity is mainly rendered by a set of *self*-pronouns which refer to the Subject. Therefore, while discussing reflexivity, many scholars define reflexive verbs as those followed by a reflexive marker. However, the definition is difficult to apply to Old English because that language lacked specialized reflexive pronouns.

Instead, personal pronouns, co-referential with the Subject, were employed to convey reflexivity. Over time, the Old English personal pronouns started being accompanied by structures with the pronoun *self*, which otherwise played the role of an intensifier. As the present work will show, not all the uses of co-referential personal pronouns guaranteed the verb to demonstrate a truly reflexive meaning. For instance, personal pronouns could be used in reciprocal situations or could be only benefactors of an action, but the action itself would have had no impact on the Subject. Moreover, the Old English personal pronouns were also employed in sentences with an inanimate Subject (cf. Ito 1998:58). The last class to be presented here comprises sentences in which the Agent and the Patient do not directly refer to each other, but are somehow involved in an action.

The data for the present study come from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The line numbers in the examples correspond to the numbers in the corpus. The translations of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* are taken from Skeat (1881).

2. Theoretical background

Before discussing the way Old English expressed a reflexive meaning, an analysis of reflexivity is required. It is generally accepted that the term "reflexive" refers to a reflexive marker or two co-indexed arguments. In Modern English the role of the marker is played by a reflexive pronoun being one of the arguments of a verb. However, not only reflexive pronouns imply reflexive meaning. In Modern English, as in Old English, there is a class of inherently reflexive verbs requiring no object (Everaert 1986, Reinhart – Reuland 1993). Thus, saying that a reflexive marker is the hallmark of reflexivity is rather inadequate. Therefore, in this work, using a semantic criterion, reflexivity will be understood as a situation where "a participant acts on himself or herself, rather than on any others" (Asher – Simpson 1994: 3504).

Generally, there are two strategies used to express reflexivity. Cross-linguistically, languages can use a nominal and/or a verbal strategy. Faltz (1985) divides the former into reflexive pronouns (e.g. Latin *se*), head reflexives and adjunct reflexives (e.g. English *-self*). He claims that only if a language uses head or adjunct reflexives can the same marker be used for both the reflexive and the intensifier. This claim is also true as regards Old English because in that language the reflexive and the intensifier could have the same form. These reflexive verbs are transitive, and Faltz (1985) calls them "argument reflexives". The second strategy a language can employ to

express reflexivity is the use of a verbal predicate or an affix. Old English, just like Modern English, had a group of reflexives which rendered a reflexive meaning via a verbal predicate, called by Faltz (1985) "verbal reflexives", for it is the inherent property of a verb rather than a reflexive marker that yields a reflexive meaning. Modern English verbal reflexives are intransitive.

As pointed out by Haiman (1983: 803), a verbal strategy is typical of verbs denoting actions which we normally perform on ourselves rather than others. He calls these verbs "introverted verbs". He also distinguishes another type of verbs: "extroverted verbs". These verbs are typically other-directed and languages having two ways of rendering reflexivity usually use a nominal strategy to express this type of reflexivity. A similar classification is proposed by Lyons (1968: 361-362), who distinguishes between overt (explicit) and covert (implicit) reflexivity. The first class includes verbs requiring the presence of a reflexive marker whereas the second comprises lexically reflexive verbs. Verbal reflexives are intransitive and project only one argument. When it comes to their semantics, it can be said that they involve two theta roles assigned to the same argument.

3. Reflexive classes in *Lives of Saints*

The first class of reflexive verbs to be discussed is composed of "grooming verbs" (cf. Kemmer 1993: 16). These verbs involve actions we usually perform on our bodies. Typical representatives of this group are verbs such as *wash*, *shave* and *comb*. These verbs can be perceived as prototypical reflexives because they are typically performed by people on themselves. Therefore, in Modern English grooming verbs are inherently reflexive and require no overt argument. In Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, as shown in (1), grooming verbs' counterparts of today's inherent grooming verbs are mainly accompanied by a co-referential pronoun. As Peitsara (1997: 278) states, "many verbs that from the present-day point of view are intransitive may in early English be connected to coreferential pronouns, which needed otherwise be interpreted as objects of the action".

(1)

(a) and wolde **hine baðian** on þam wlacum wætere [and desired to bathe himself in the luke water] **(**ÆLS *Forty Soldiers*, 156)

(b) and **unscrydde hine sylfne** [and unclothed himself] (ÆLS *Forty Soldiers*, 210)

(c) **unscrydde hine** eallne [stripped himself entirely] (ÆLS Forty Soldiers, 242)
(d) and þonne **hi sylfe baðian** [and then bathe herself] **(**ÆLS *Æthelthryth*, 41)
(e) Iudas ða **hine gescrydde** mid his scinendan byrnan [Judas then girt himself with his shining breast-plate] (ÆLS Abdon & Sennes, 279)
(f) and **scrydde hine** mid hæran [and clothed himself with haircloth] (ÆLS *Martin*, 444)
(g) and (he) **scrydde hine** mid hæran [he clothed himself with haircloth] (ÆLS *Martin*, 659)
(h) Martinus þa sona **hine sylfne unscrydde** [then Martin immediately unclothed himself] (ÆLS *Martin*, 912)
(i) **He scrydde hine** ða mid þam ylcan reafe [then he clothed himself with the same garment] **(**ÆLS *Martin*, 933)

In *Lives of Saints*, there are three grooming verbs, none of which is intransitive. This shows that modern inherent reflexive verbs could first be non-inherent verbs which, with time, acquired an idiomatic meaning (Grimshaw 1982). Moreover, the items in (1) show that the same reflexive verb could be accompanied either by a bare pronoun or by a pronoun with a proper form of *-self*. Therefore, we can say that probably it was not only the verb itself that was responsible for the choice of a strategy. Likely, there were other factors, such as poetic metre or dialect, which could exert an impact on the choice of a reflexive strategy.

In (1), only two verbs are accompanied by *-self*. As claimed by Möhlig – Klagen (2000: 250), Old English verbs that developed into today's transitive verbs were commonly used with personal pronouns accompanied by *-self*, whereas verbs that developed into today's inherent reflexive verbs were usually followed by a bare personal pronoun.

Aside from grooming verbs, there are many other prototypical reflexive verbs, i.e. verbs which express a situation in which the Agent performs an action on itself rather than other potential Patients. These verbs are often called "true reflexives". As Ito (1998: 60) states, every verb can belong to this group on the condition that it can be a potential reflexive. Semantically, unlike verbal reflexives, this type of verb does not form a natural class. In *Lives of Saints* reflexives belonging to this class could be followed by a personal pronoun on its own or followed by *-self*:

(2)
(a) and **eow sylfe** underþeodað þæra cyninga gesetnyssum [and subjugate yourselves to the king's commands] (ÆLS *Forty Soldiers*, 23)

(b) ða Eugenia **hi** gebletsode [then Eugenia blessed herself] (ÆLS *Eugenia,* 171)
(c) and wolde **hine** behydan [and desired to hide himself] (ÆLS *Basil*, 471)
(d) and mid healicum synnum **hi sylfe** fordyde [and was destroying herself by deadly sins] (ÆLS *Basil*, 527)
(e) Þa bræd se sceocca **hine sylfne** to menn [then the devil turned himself into a man] (ÆLS *Forty Soldiers,* 222)
(f) and alysað **eow** fram witum [and release yourself (sic) from torments] (ÆLS *Sebastian*, 395)
(g) Þa gebæd **hine** Thomas bealdlice to his Drihtne[then Thomas boldly commended himself to his Lord] (ÆLS Thomas, 403)

All the verbs in (2) are true reflexive verbs, for their objects refer back to the subject and the subjects are both the initiators and the endpoints of the actions. Still, the presence of a personal pronoun did not guarantee a true reflexive. As presented in (3), the same construction could imply reciprocity. Old English had different ways to imply a reciprocal meaning: for instance, it used words having meanings similar to *each other*: *ægðer*, *naþer*, *oþer*, *æghwylc*, *ælc*, *gehwa*, *gehwylc*, *ænig* used with *oþer*. (cf. van Kemenade 1994: 127). Still, the plural forms of personal pronouns could also express reciprocity:

(3)
(a) Hi þa sona begen begyrndon **hi** caflice, and to Gode gebædon [then forthwith they both begirt themselves vigorously, and prayed to God] (ÆLS Sebastian, 247)
(b) ðæt is se lichama and seo sawl winnað **him betweonan** [that is the body and the soul, fight between themselves] (ÆLS Auguries, 7)

Item (3) contains examples expressing a mutual relation with two participants. In addition, a personal pronoun could express a situation with at least three participants who exert an impact on each other. As presented by Nedjalkov – Geniusiene (2007: 404), reciprocal specifiers are words or phrases which are reciprocal in meaning. They distinguish two types of reciprocal specifiers: one meaning *mutually* and the second meaning *among/between our/your/themselves*. The latter meaning is found in the following examples:

(4)
(a) and þas ðreo þing habbað annysse **him betwynan** [and these three have unity among themselves] **(**ÆLS *Christmas*, 119)
(b) nu we swa recelease syndon, and swa reþe **us betwynan** [now we are so careless and so cruel among ourselves'] (ÆLS *Maurice*, 132)

(c) secgende **him betwynan** [saying among themselves] (*ÆLS Sebastian*, 456)
(d) þæt hi beon ungeðwære and þwyre **him betwynan** [that they shall be disagreeing, and perverse among themselves] (*ÆLS Pr Moses*, 235)
(e) and menn beoð geworhte wolice **him betwynan** [men are made unjust amongst themselves] (*ÆLS Pr Moses* 294)

This use of personal pronouns should come as no surprise because many languages employ reflexive markers to render a reciprocal meaning. For instance, German employs reciprocal verbs accompanied only by the unambiguous reciprocal pronoun *einander*. However, if a verb allows for the use of the marker *sich*, reflexive and reciprocal readings are possible:

(5) Sie küssen sich [they kiss each other] or [They kiss themselves]

Actually, in many languages, reciprocal markers are the same as reflexive markers. This is the case because "reciprocal markers often develop from reflexive" (Asher – Simpson 1994): for example, in Spanish the pronoun *se* can have a reciprocal and/or a reflexive meaning (Buttefield 2006: 515):

(6)
(a) Margarita **se** estaba preparando para salir. [Margarita was getting (herself) ready to go out]
(b) **Se** escriben a menudo. [they write to each other]
(c) **Se** golpean [they are hitting themselves] or [they are hitting each other]

It is generally believed that in Modern English the reflexive pronoun *-self* cannot play the role of a reciprocal specifier meaning *mutually*. However, as presented in (7), in some rare cases, *self* can have this reciprocal reading (Ryan 2004: 251):

(7) Ok ladies and gentlemen, now that George and Saddam are done introducing **themselves**, we can move on to the business of the day.

Still, not all the uses of Old English personal pronouns resulted in either reciprocal or truly reflexive interpretation; they were employed in sentences in which the Agent does not act on itself but only draws advantages from the action expressed by the predicate:

(8)

(a) and **him** munuclif aræran, swa swa se oðer gemynte [and establish monasteries for himself, as the other had intended] (ÆLS *Maur*, 117)

(b) and smeade hu he mihte þæt mæden **him** begitan [and he sought how he might get the maiden for himself] (ÆLS *Agatha*, 7)

(c) we soðlice feohtað for **us sylfe** [we verily fight for ourselves] (ÆLS *Abdon & Sennes*, 312)

(d) and nacode scrydde, and nan þing **him sylfum** [and dress the naked, and (kept) nothing for himself] (ÆLS *Martin*, 51)

(e) and on Mediolana **him** mynster arærde [and erected for himself a monastery in Milan] (ÆLS *Martin,* 188)

(f) he gestaðelode **him** mynster [he built for himself a monastery] (ÆLS *Martin*, 310)

In (8), personal pronouns are co-referential with the subjects. However, the Agents do not carry out the actions on themselves; they are only benefactors of the action carried out on other objects. Therefore, the items cannot be called true reflexives and have to be treated as of a distinct group.

The next type of reflexives is the pseudo-reflexive (Ito 1998: 58). This type is possible only with an inanimate Subject, and in Modern English the verb itself is intransitive. For instance, in the sentence *the fire extended itself*, *fire* is an inanimate subject, but it is capable of extending itself. As shown in (9), in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, there are two examples of pseudo-reflexives: (9a) accompanied by a personal pronoun followed by *-self*, and (9b) accompanied by a bare personal pronoun:

(9)

(a) and ealle lichamlicra þinga hiw heo mæg on **hyre sylfre** gehiwian [and every form of corporeal things can shape within itself] (ÆLS *Christmas*, 225)

(b) ac se lig **hine** todælde on twegen dælas sona [but the flame instantly divided itself into two parts] (ÆLS *Agnes*, 220)

Also, the examples in (10) do not imply a typical reflexive meaning, for the verbs do not have a direct impact on the Subject. Nevertheless, the items can be called reflexive since the participants have to contribute to the completion of the actions. Therefore, they can also be treated as a reflexive class:

(10)

(a) hu se hælend be **him sylfum** spræc [how Jesus spoke of Himself] (ÆLS *Christmas*, 13)

(b) and to þam ecan life gelæde þurh **hine sylfne** [and bring eternal life through Himself] (ÆLS *Auguries*, 268)
(c) swa swa Crist astealde þurh **hine sylfne** þa bysne [as Christ set the example through Himself] (ÆLS *Maccabees,* 846)
(d) and we magon understandan þæt hyre leoht is of **hyre** [and we can understand that her light is from herself] (ÆLS *Christmas*, 73)
(e) ac ic nelle secgan unsoð on **me sylfe** [but I will not speak untruth of myself] (ÆLS *Ash Wed*, 191)

To recapitulate, in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, reflexivity was expressed by personal pronouns, sometimes accompanied by a proper form of *self*. The first group of reflexives comprises true reflexive verbs of which grooming verbs are the best example. They are used in a sentence where the Agent is employed in an activity expressed by the predicate. Another way of rendering a reflexive situation is by means of reciprocal verbs followed by a personal pronoun. They can be perceived as reflexive for they express a two-participant event in which each of the participants is both the initiator and the endpoint of a given action.

Personal pronouns were also used to express a situation in which the Agent is only a benefactor. This class cannot be called truly reflexive because the Agent and the Patient are two distinct entities. The next group presented is comprised of pseudo-reflexive verbs. These verbs are always used with an inanimate Subject. The last group discussed expresses a situation in which the Agent, perhaps indirectly, participates in the action expressed by the predicate.

4. Conclusions

Generally, reflexivity refers to the constructions that use grammatical means to co-index the semantic and/or syntactic arguments of a verb. In Old English, unlike in Modern English, personal pronouns could be bound in their local domain, for they sufficed to convey a reflexive relation. Still, with time, the Old English intensifier *-self* developed into reflexives and thus the two could have the same form. Therefore, sometimes it is quite difficult to distinguish between the reflexive and the emphatic use of pronouns. In languages such as English, where the two are identical, the differentiation can be based on a syntactic or a semantic criterion. On the basis of the semantic criterion, we can recognize at least four types of reflexives. In Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* all reflexives are "argument reflexives" for they are followed by a personal pronoun, sometimes accompanied by a proper form of *-self*. The first class

of reflexives consists of true reflexive verbs. The best representatives of this class are grooming verbs. In the text under discussion, there are three grooming verbs, none of which is intransitive. Aside from that of a truly reflexive meaning, there are also other classes of reflexive applications in the manuscript. For instance, personal pronouns could be used in reciprocal situations. Reciprocal verbs can be considered reflexive, for they express a mutual action in which two participants are both the Agent and the Patient. Moreover, they could be employed in sentences where the Agent is only a benefactor of an action, but the action itself would not exert any impact on the Subject. This class of reflexives differs from true reflexives, because, the Agent in no way carries out the action on itself. Moreover, the Old English personal pronouns were also employed in sentences with an inanimate Subject. The last class presented here comprises sentences in which the Agent and the Patient do not directly refer to each other, but the Agent is somehow involved in an action, and thus this class can be seen as reflexive.

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Address: SYLWIA PIELECHA, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Instytut Anglistyki, ul. Hoża 69, 00-681 Warszawa, Poland.

On the projection of FOODSTUFFS on the macrocategory BODY PARTS

Aleksandra Zofia Kowalczyk
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

ABSTRACT

In recent literature scholars have worked out a number of new categories of meaning development, such as zoosemy, plantosemy and fooodsemy. In this paper we shall focus on the mechanism of foodsemy, a new semantic category proposed by Kleparski (2008), and in particular the cases of food metaphor that are targeted at human beings. Most frequently, the process discussed here involves projection of attributive features and values, sometimes positive, yet most frequently negative, associated with members of the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** onto the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**. The purpose here is to present a limited set of metaphorical transfers involved in the conceptual macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS**. Mechanisms of metaphorical extension to the conceptual categories **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** and **MALE PRIVY PARTS** from the lexical macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** shall be illustrated and discussed here. In other words, the analysis will investigate the metaphorical use of food-related terms, such as *candy*, *cookie*, *apple pie*, *meat*, *beef*, *mutton*, *sausage*, *cauliflower* as they are applied in reference to female or male privy parts.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to illustrate and discuss a number of well-defined metaphorical transfers which are related primarily to the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** and which represent cases of historical shift to the human-related conceptual macrocategory that will be referred to here as **BODY PARTS**. It must be pointed out at the outset that the great majority of transfers that will be analyzed below may be said to fit within the schema <FOODSTUFF AS FEMALE/MALE PRIVY PART>. However, closer scrutiny will also reveal individual examples of foodsemic transfers that affect other names for parts of

the human body. For example, English *noodle* is employed in the sense 'head' and *bacon* is figuratively used with reference to the buttocks. Similarly, Polish *dynia* 'pumpkin' developed at one stage of its evolution a secondary meaning, that of 'head', and *kartofel* 'potato' is metaphorically used in the sense 'big nose'. In German *der Kurbis* 'pumpkin' is used either in the sense 'big head' or 'bald head', *die Tomate* 'tomato' serves to convey the sense 'head', and *das Brotchen* 'bun' means 'breast' in German slang. Additionally, *Apfel* 'apple' is a component of *der Apfelpopo*, meaning 'round bottom'.

The analysis of foodsemy has become the focus of academic discussion for a number of linguists. In Poland the discussion was started by, among others, Kleparski (1997); more recently, the problems of foodsemy were discussed by such linguists as Cymbalista (2009), Kleparski (2012), Kowalczyk – Kleparski (2015) and Kudła (2016). The analytical apparatus used in this analysis follows the methodological path developed in Kleparski (1997) and Kiełtyka (2008). We shall make use of the notion of conceptual domains, such as for example the DOMAIN OF TASTE […], the DOMAIN OF SHAPE […], and the DOMAIN OF FUNCTION […], which are helpful in formulating the rhythm of metaphorical extensions, foodsemic transfers among others. Within the model adopted here lexical meanings are accountable by means of mechanisms of highlighting various attributive values that may be specified for conceptual domains. For instance, for the DOMAIN OF TASTE […] one may specify such attributive values as <BITTER>, <SWEET>, <SOUR>, while the DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY presupposes such attributive values as <JUICY>, <SPONGEY>, <DRY>, <STICKY>, <SMOOTH>, <EVEN>, <UNEVEN>, <LOOSE>, <LUMPY>. Finally, we shall employ the notion of conceptual categories such as, for example, **FOODSTUFFS**, **FEMALE HUMAN BEING**, **MALE HUMAN BEING** or **BODY PARTS**.

The body of foodsemic transfers that is subject to our analysis falls into two major categories, that is transfers that target **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** and those that target **MALE PRIVY PARTS**, both of which may ultimately be viewed as being embedded in the conceptual macrocategory **BODY PARTS**. In the discussion which follows, we shall be dealing with metaphorical transfers that provide a clear indication that the process of foodsemy is not restricted to a single word class, but rather has affected members of various grammatical categories. One may trace examples of foodsemy among English verbs such as *fork*, *spoon*, *juice*, *milk*, *bun*, *nut*, *make pancakes*, *make cheese* or *have a cup of tea*, all of which are euphemisms for 'have sexual intercourse'. Examples may also be found among nouns such as *food*, *bun*, *toast*, *breakfast*, *sandwich*, *candy*, *salt*, *cheese*, *cheesecake*, *salad* or *spoon* (all of these signifying the sexual act). Let

us start our analysis with the set of cases of metaphorical transfers in which various names of foodstuffs and food related objects have come to stand for female privy parts. The majority of data and data supporting quotations have been taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English*, *The Probert Encyclopedia of Slang*, *Online Slang Dictionary* and *Urban Dictionary*. Reference materials used to corroborate data include the *Concise New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* and *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*.

2. Foodsemic Transfers Targeting the FEMALE PRIVY PARTS and FEMALE BREASTS Categories

2.1 FEMALE PRIVY PARTS viewed foodsemically

Let us start our discussion of the subject of foodsemy with the examples of transfers involving the microcategory **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**. The following table contains lexical items, their metaphorical senses and selected examples of usage contexts. Due to limitations of space not all lexical items are backed up with illustrative quotations. However, the given examples are, hopefully, sufficient to illustrate the mechanisms of foodsemy. The data given in Table 1 attempts to encircle the scope of foodsemic shifts in the category **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**. All the lexical items are grouped into six subcategories on the basis of the metaphorical senses they have developed, such as 'female privy parts', 'vagina', 'the labia', 'vulva', 'red-haired woman's pubic hair and vulva' and 'hymen'.

Table 1. **FOODSTUFFS** for **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**

Metaphorical sense	Lexical items	Examples of usage contexts
1. 'female privy parts'	• *bun* • *cookie* • *mutton* • *meat* See also other cases: • *candy* • *beaver pie*	You Turtle, did you see her *bun* last night? Her *cookie* was so nicely shaven. He can't quite believe she hawks her *mutton* in hexagonal horn-rimmed spectacles. It would be unbearable, but less so, if it were only the vagina that was belittled by terms like *meat*.

2. 'vagina'	• *bread* • *muffin* • *honey box* • *jelly roll* • *fur burger* • *cauliflower* • *oyster* • *bacon sandwich* • *lunchbox* • *juice box* Other cases: • *cake* • *cake hole* • *golden doughnut* • *apple* • *apricot* • *peach* • *honey pot* • *sugar dish* • *jelly* • *bacon rashers* • *beef* • *a bit of meat* • *meat* • *meat seat* • *mutton* • *bean* • *cabbage* • *fish* • *cup of tea*	Yo, her *bread* is tight! Hey baby, can I butter your *muffin*? I believe Leila's running hot in the *honey box*, said Sadie. Come and eat my *jelly roll*! *Fur burger* is my favourite snack. I ain't gonna give you my *cauliflower* any more! Wow, did you see the *oyster* on that chick in the movie? Her pussy looks like a flapping *bacon sandwich*. She's still a virgin. I bet she's got a totally unopened *lunchbox*. Man, I want to eat her *juice box* tonight!
3. 'the labia'	• *beef curtains* See also: • *meat curtains*	…the former rock star went out partying at the Bellagio in Vegas and showed the world her hairless *beef curtains*, cuz she knows we just can't get enough of that.
4. 'vulva'	• *pie*	Dude, let's go and get some *pie*.
5. 'a red-haired woman's pubic hair and vulva'	• *fire pie*	Don't be shy… show us your *fire pie*!

6. 'hymen'	• *cherry*	Associated with the growing heterosexual awareness of high-school students are such words as *cherry*, which in appropriate contexts takes on the familiar slang meaning 'hymen', while a *cherry-buster*, logically, is 'a professional deflowerer'.

As regards the morphological structure of the lexical items that represent food products and food related objects but have undergone foodsemic transfers so that they may denote 'female privy parts', we find here simple lexical items, complex nouns and *of*-phrases. We observe that complex nouns are as numerous as simple nouns as well as that the body of morphologically complex items is represented by such complex nominal formations as *bacon rashers*, *beef curtains*, (*vertical*) *bacon sandwich*, *beaver pie*, *cake hole*, *cup of tea*, *jelly box*, *jelly roll*, *juice box*, *fire pie*, *golden doughnut*, *honey box*, *honey pot*, *lunch-box*, *meat curtains*, *meat seat*, *sugar dish.* The remaining lexical items employed foodsemically are simple nouns, such as *apple*, *apricot*, *bean*, *beef*, *bun*, *cabbage*, *cake*, *cauliflower*, *cherry*, *cookie*, *jelly*, *fish*, *meat*, *muffin*, *oyster*, *pie.*

The language data included in the table above contain a variety of names of foodstuffs such as the bakery products *bun*, *cake*, *cake hole*, *cookie*, *golden doughnut*, *jelly roll*, *muffin*, *pie* as well as the fruits *apple*, *apricot*, *cherry* and the vegetables *bean*, *cabbage*, *cauliflower*, but also types of meat, meat products, or products containing meat, such as *beef*, *beef curtains*, *meat*, *bacon rasher*, *bacon sandwich.* Finally, there is a group of miscellaneous terms for foodstuffs and food-related containers such as *fish*, *oyster*, *jelly*, *cup of tea*, *juice box*, *lunch-box*.

The body of examples of foodsemic transfer provides evidence that certain values presupposed for the attributive path of DOMAIN OF TASTE […] and DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY […] in the senses of Kleparski (1997) are most frequently responsible for the foodsemic transfers between the source domain **FOODSTUFFS** and the target macrocategory **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**. Within the two domains one can distinguish various attributive values. Evidently, the two values that may actually be said to be projected are the values <SWEET> and <JUICY>, and these two are thought by Kleparski (1997) to be responsible for the foodsemic transfer of food-related lexical items such as *cake*, *cake hole*, *bun*, *beaver pie*, *cookie*, *fire pie*, *golden doughnut*, *honey box*, *honey pot*, *muffin*, *sugar dish* (attributive value <SWEET>) and *apple*, *apricot*, *jelly*, *jelly box*, *jelly roll*, *juice box* (attributive value <JUICY>).

Let us turn now to those foodsemic transfers tabulated above, particularly the ones that involve names for meat and meat-based products. These data exhibit various historically conditioned associations between meats or meat products and sexuality, variously understood. The relatively large number of transfers adduced here indicates that meat-based foodsemy is a highly productive mechanism of metaphorical transfer in English. Note the instances of *meat*, *a bit of meat*, *mutton*, *bacon rashers*, *beef*, *beef curtains*, *meat curtains*, *meat seat* and *bacon sandwich*. It is evident from the body of documented cases discussed above that one may speak of a sexually-oriented conceptualization of meat products. Metaphorical transfers of these meat-related words evidently follow the path of development that may be rendered <SEXUAL USE OF A PERSON AS CONSUMPTION OF MEAT>.

However, while talking about **FOODSTUFFS** in the context of sexuality it is worth mentioning that meat-based metaphorical extensions are by no means restricted to the female type. English data has recently been discussed in detail by Kleparski (2012: 43-49), who notes that the meaning of *meat* enables us to conclude that the noun *meat* in English slang can be used in the sense 'sexual partner', and this may have provided the basis for the rise of various metaphorical formations. Thus, the human-specific sense of *meat* is echoed, for example, in the semantics of such complex nouns as *meat markets* or *meat racks*, which are used in current English in reference to bars for singles where one can find someone for sexual consumption, so to speak. Additionally, the *of*-phrase *a bit of meat* stands in modern English for sexual intercourse or a prostitute. Finally, such complex nouns as *fresh meat, hot meat* and *raw meat* may be used in the sense of 'prostitute' or 'vagina' [1].

Let us now focus our attention on the miscellaneous cases of foodsemic transfers where the DOMAIN OF FUNCTION […] seems to play a crucial role. Here, it seems that the basis for the semantic transfer of complex names such as *cup of tea*, *lunch box*, *cake hole* and (*vertical*) *bacon sandwich* may have been provided by a container metaphor. Additionally, the metaphorical development of several complex nouns presumes either a <SWEET> or a <JUICY> conceptual element, or both. This may also, in some way, be linked to the DOMAIN OF FUNCTION […] (cf. *jelly box*, *juice box*, *honey box*, *honey pot*). The semantics of these complex expressions as well as the immediately preceding ones may be seen to presuppose the element <CONTAINER>, as reflected in the terms *box*, *hole*, *cup* and *pot*. These terms represent a concept whose primary feature is the ability to hold or contain something. Understood

[1] It may be noted that, like other languages, Polish exhibits a number of diminutive forms for meat denoting lexical items that are used in reference to female sexual partners, e.g. *mięsko* (diminutive of *mięso* 'meat'), *cielęcinka* 'veal', *wołowinka* 'beef', all of which may denote 'an attractive and sexually available woman'.

in this way, the holding/containing function aligns on a sexual plane with the containing function of an abstracted vagina involved in a sexual act.

Ideally, one would hope to provide explanations for all the metaphorical transfers adduced above. However, certain metaphorical processes pertaining to them defy explanation. The cases of *bean*, *cabbage* and *cauliflower* cited here are extremely difficult to account for. In such cases, isolating the basis of metaphorical shift is distinctly problematic as it is not conceptually linked to either of the proposed schema <SWEET PERCEIVED AS POSITIVE> or <SEXUAL USE OF A PERSON AS CONSUMPTION OF MEAT>. Additionally, the basis cannot be linked to either of the attributive qualities <SWEET> or <JUICY>. When we take foodstuffs such as *cabbage* or *cauliflower*, we see no obvious triggering or conditioning conceptual element that may be said to have been responsible for the rise of the sense 'vagina', nor the DOMAIN OF TASTE […], the DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY […] or the DOMAIN OF FUNCTION […][2].

2.2 FEMALE BREASTS viewed foodsemically

The data in Table 2 attempt to encircle the scope of transfers of lexical items linked to the category **FEMALE BREASTS**. The body of lexical items involved here comprises four meaning groups, where metaphorical senses, such as 'female breasts', 'large female breasts', 'small female breasts' and 'female nipple' are backed up with selected examples of usage.

Table 2. **FOODSTUFFS** for **FEMALE BREASTS**

Metaphorical sense	Lexical items	Examples of usage contexts
1. 'female breasts'	• *brownies* • *cakes* • *coconuts* Other cases: • *apples* • *grapes* • *lemons* • *mangoes* • *cupcakes* • *bacon bits*	Wow, look at her *brownies*. They look so delicious. What they want is shows where one guy kicks another guy in the belly while a dame leans over them with her *cakes* falling out of her negligee. Man, I saw Rachel's *coconuts* last night!

[2] Broadening the scope to consider such domains as the DOMAIN OF SHAPE […] or the DOMAIN OF COLOUR […] one can still see hardly any point of conceptual contact.

2. 'large female breasts'	• *melons* Other cases: • *grapefruits* • *watermelons* • *pumpkins* • *heavy cream*	I wanna squeeze those *melons*! Keira has nice *melons*!
3. 'small female breasts'	• *chestnuts* See also: • *fried eggs*	Yeah, well, rather disappointing *chestnuts* he said, eyes locked onto the woman's breasts.
4. 'a female nipple'	• *strawberry* • See also: • *cherry*	I played with my girl's *strawberries* last night.

As far as the morphological status of lexical items linked to the conceptual macrocategory **FEMALE BREASTS** is concerned, it is notable that the majority of them are simple words (cf. *apples*, *brownies*, *cakes*, *coconuts*, *chestnuts*, *cupcakes*, *grapefruits*, *grapes*, *lemons*, *mangoes*, *melons*, *pumpkins*, *watermelons*, *cherry*, *strawberry*). Three of them, however, are complex nouns (*bacon bits*, *heavy cream*, *fried eggs*).

When analyzing the cases of foodsemic transfers regarding the category **FEMALE BREASTS** (see Table 2), it is striking that the examples which preponderate here are chiefly terms for fruits (*apples*, *grapefruits*, *grapes*, *lemons*, *mangoes*, *melons*, *watermelons*, *cherry*, *strawberry*). Still, there are a few words for sweet food items (*brownies*, *cakes*, *cupcakes*), and one instance of a term for a type of meat (*bacon bits*). Earlier, it was stated that terms for meat products occupy a special role in the mechanism of metaphorical transfers and that they constitute a relatively numerous group of cases of foodsemic developments. However, the majority of cases of transfer related to the category **FEMALE BREASTS** are connected with the attributive value <SWEET>. Consequently, the transfers tabulated may be said to be conditioned by the presence of the attributive value <SWEET> which is presupposed by the conceptual dimension of (TASTE). Extralinguistically, fruits are generally sweet and evoke positive connotations. Hence, we may conceive of the schema <SWEETNESS PERCEIVED AS POSITIVE>. However, one may also argue that in a number of cases the DOMAIN OF SHAPE may be proved to play a vital role in the rise of foodsemic transfers such as *grapefruits*, *mangoes*, *melons*, *watermelons* used in a sense '*female breasts*'. We observe that transfers in this category are conditioned by conceptual dimensions, such as the DOMAIN OF SHAPE […] and the DOMAIN OF

SIZE [..], due to evident visual resemblances. Such resemblances are evident in metaphorical transfers of food-related nouns such as *apples*, *coconuts*, *chestnuts*, *grapefruits*, *grapes*, *mangoes*, *melons*, *pumpkins*, *watermelons* where the attributive value <ROUNDISH> is projected onto the qualities of female breasts. Similarly, various attributive values presupposed by the DOMAIN OF SIZE […], such as <LARGE>, <AVERAGE>, <BIG> or <SMALL>, are transferred onto the size of female breasts, and thus terms like *grapefruits*, *melons*, *watermelons* and *pumpkins* stand for 'large breasts', those for average size fruits, like *apples*, *coconuts*, *grapes*, *lemons* and *mangoes* stand metaphorically for average-size breasts, and those like *chestnuts* serve to encode the sense 'small breasts', whereas *fried eggs*, for example, stands for small breasts and a flat female chest.

3. Foodsemic Transfers Targeting the MALE PRIVY PARTS Category

Let us now pass on to the last, yet apparently the most numerous category. The data collected in Table 3 include a set of lexical items linked to the category **MALE PRIVY PARTS** and all the foodsemic shifts may be grouped into four meaning categories, where metaphorical senses such as 'penis', 'small penis', 'penis and testicles' and 'testicles' are the result of figurative extensions.

Table 3. **FOODSTUFFS** for **MALE PRIVY PARTS**

Metaphorical sense	Lexical items	Examples of usage contexts
1. 'penis'	• *beef* • *meat* • *meat whistle* Other cases: • *beef torpedo* • *beef bayonet* • *beef bugle* • *hot dog* • *love steak* • *meat puppet* • *pork sword* • *salami* • (*love*) *sausage* • *tube steak*	I laid her down on the sofa and placed my *beef* directly into her. I think a man has gotta be a bit large in the *meat* department to get that wash board effect. What're you going to do on the variety show? Red wanted to know. Perform on the *meat whistle*?

	• *bacon assegai* • *banana* • *pear* • *cucumber* • *gherkin* • *breakfast burrito* • *cheese and crackers* • *cod and hake* • *candy stick* • *sugar stick* • *lollipop*	
2. 'small penis'	• *peanut*	Hey Holly, have you seen the new boy and his *peanut*? He's so cute, I want him.
3. 'penis and testicles'	• *fruit basket* Other cases: • *bacon assegai* • *meat and two vegetables*	Tried to kick him in the *fruit basket*, at least. No sure if I connected.
4. 'testicles'	• *nuts* • *beans* • *eggs* Other cases: • *apricots* • *grapes* • *plums* • *chestnuts* • *nuts* • *beans* • *delicacies* • *eggs*	Listen, if you don't let us in to see this movie, I'm gonna kick you square in the *nuts.* I was playing football and got kicked in the *beans*. I mean, even if I whacked off your *eggs*, I don't think I'd really get to you.

As regards the morphological structures and qualities of the terms identified, the number of simple nouns (*banana*, *bean*, *beef*, *cucumber*, *gherkin*, *lollipop*, *noodle*, *meat*, *mutton*, *peanut*, *pear*, *salami*, *sausage*, *apricots*, *chestnuts*, *delicacies*, *eggs*, *grapes*, *nuts*, *plums*) equals the total of complex nouns (*breakfast burrito*, *beef torpedo*, *beef bayonet*, *beef bugle*, *candy stick*, *cod and hake*, *fruit basket*, *hot dog*, *love steak*, *meat puppet*, *meat whistle*, *pork sword*, *love sausage*, *sugar stick*, *tube steak*, *bacon assegai*, *cheese and crackers*).

While analyzing cases of metaphorical transfers related to the macrocategory **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** and **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**,

we observed that meat-based foodsemy is the most productive. However, meat-based metaphorical extensions are not restricted to the female type. What is more, the data tabulated for the third category **MALE PRIVY PARTS** show that the terms for meat products are the most numerous (*beef*, *beef torpedo*, *beef bayonet*, *beef bugle*, *hot dog*, *meat*, *meat puppet*, *meat whistle*, *mutton*, *pork sword*, *salami*, *sausage*, *tube steak*, *bacon assegai*) and greatly outnumber terms reflecting fruit-based transfers (*banana*, *pear*, *apricots*, *grapes*, *plums*), vegetable-based transfers (*bean*, *cucumber*, *gherkin*), and sweet products transfers (*candy stick*, *lollipop*, *sugar stick*). Hence, the data collected for this category of metaphorical transfers indicate that the values presupposed for the DOMAIN OF TASTE […], the DOMAIN OF CONSISTENCY […], and the DOMAIN OF FUNCTION […] are not the ones responsible for the foodsemic transfers between the source domain **FOODSTUFFS** and the target category **MALE PRIVY PARTS**, as was true in the case of the category **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**. Here, the metaphors are based on the DOMAIN OF MEAT PRODUCTS […] and the transfer schema that seems to be at work is <SEXUAL USE OF A PERSON AS CONSUMPTION OF MEAT>. As can be seen, a sexually-oriented conceptualization of meat products is not restricted only to vocabulary items used in reference to women, but also to men.

Another representative group of metaphorical transfers is formed by the set of lexical items involving fruit-related words (*banana*, *fruit basket*, *pear*, *apricots*, *grapes*, *plums*). It seems that the basis for the metaphorical transfer involved here stems from the nature of the attributive values presupposed for the DOMAIN OF SIZE […] and the DOMAIN OF SHAPE […]. It is noticeable in transfers such as those regarding *banana*, *pear*, *peanut*, *sausage*, *cucumber*, *gherkin* or *candy stick*, where visual resemblance between the male organ and some food items is clearly manifest. At the same time, there are good grounds to argue that figurative senses of such lexical items as *candy stick*, *lollipop* are conditioned by the activation of the DOMAIN OF FUNCTION as both *lollipop* and the body part denoted may be licked: the former as a rule, the latter on intimate occasions.

4 Conclusions

The lexico-semantic system of any language is constantly in a state of flux, and here we have attempted to shed some light on the mechanism of metaphorical extension by identifying metaphorical transfers of vocabulary

items related to the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS**. Although establishing pertinent rules is problematic at best, the mechanisms operating here are far from random. Firstly, figurative extensions of words connected with food and eating relate metaphorically, in the majority of cases, to the conceptual macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**, both **MALE HUMAN BEING** and **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** (here **MALE/FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**). Secondly, the material scrutinized shows a substantial number of euphemistic developments that serve to encode taboo terms connected with sexuality. Thirdly, evidence adduced indicates that numerous metaphorical transfers are closely connected with extralinguistic conditions; the productivity of a given foodsemic type of metaphorical transfer is frequently triggered by extralinguistic knowledge, and – in particular – familiarity with a certain type of food.

The analysis here suggests the general conclusion that the majority of foodsemic figurative extensions are based on attributive features and sensory experiences related to the DOMAIN OF TASTE […], as evidenced in *bun*, *cake*, *cupcake*, *cookie*, *brownie*, *pie*, *golden doughnut*, *muffin*, *candy*, *apple* and *apricot* which reveal that sweet foodstuffs are often equated with **MALE/ FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**. Furthermore, it is indicated that the schema <SWEETNESS PERCEIVED AS POSITIVE> is the basis of numerous transfers of vocabulary items referring to **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** and that the schema <SEXUAL USE OF A PERSON AS CONSUMPTION OF MEAT> is the same in most transfers of items referring to **MALE PRIVY PARTS.** Additionally, it seems that in both categories affecting vocabulary metaphorically employed with reference to **MALE/FEMALE PRIVY PARTS**, metaphorical transfers tend to be based on a set of attributive characteristics and values of sensory experience, including (TASTE: <…>, <…>), (SHAPE: <…>, <…>), (SIZE: <…>, <…>) and (CONSISTENCY: <…>, <…>). As regards **MALE PRIVY PARTS**, the semantics of *cucumber*, *gherkin*, *sausage*, *hot dog*, *pork sword*, *salami* and *banana* plainly reference a visual resemblance. On the other hand, some cases of vocabulary items used with respect to **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** are linked to the attributive values presupposed by the DOMAIN OF FUNCTION […]. Thus, a container metaphor is responsible for the development of such compounds as *jelly box*, *juice box*, *honey box*, *honey pot*, *lunch box* and *cup of tea*. Unfortunately, all categories include metaphorical transfers that cannot be accounted for as easily as these, and the mechanisms operating in those instances are indeterminable. For example, transfers regarding *fish*, *oyster*, *bean*, *cabbage*, *cauliflower* and *heavy cream* seem thus far to defy any explanation.

Interestingly, the mechanisms that have operated in the three categories discussed in the foregoing are similar. Still, the number of items upon which they operate differs substantially. Table 4, with the numbers of cases involving the names of sweet foods, fruits or meats and meat products, clearly shows which possible schemata of metaphorical development discussed in the previous part of the paper are responsible for the transfers of lexical items that come to be used in reference to female and male privy parts.

Table 4. Number of foodsemic transfers involving specific food items in various categories

FEMALE PRIVY PARTS	FEMALE BREASTS	MALE PRIVY PARTS
Sweet food items: 14 Meat/meat products: 10 Fruit: 4	Fruit: 11 Sweet food items: 4 Meat/meat products: 1	Meat/meat products: 16 Fruit: 9 Sweet food items: 3

It is also worth mentioning that several of the cases of semantic shift tabulated here are used in reference to both **MALE PRIVY PARTS** and **FEMALE PRIVY PARTS** (*meat*, *beef*, *mutton*, *bean*, *apricot*, *grapes*) indicating that, generally speaking, sexuality is associated with consumption. However, the human female tends to be associated more with sweetness as well as consumption. Also, in some cases, lexical items may develop two metaphorical meanings, as in *peach*, the first sense of which serves to encode the sense 'attractive female', and the second a body part with the emerging sense of 'vagina'. It should be noted that lexical items such as *apple pie*, *cake*, *bun*, *cookie*, *cupcake*, *candy*, *muffin*, *peach*, *cherry*, *fish* and *cabbage* have undergone a similar development from 'a female person' to 'a female privy part'.

A final general observation pertains to the registers in which such lexical items deriving from foodsemic transference are employed. A substantial number of senses transferred foodsemically are restricted to informal contexts, in fact to colloquial and slang usage. When psychological considerations or social attitudes are taken into account, it is possible to implement euphemistic expressions in order to avoid taboo words connected with sexuality and to find substitutes that are more acceptable. This is evidenced in the uses of *bun*, *cake*, *cookie*, *muffin*, *apple*, *peach*, *apricot*, *honey box* and *sugar dish*, all of which serve to convey the sense 'vagina' as well as *hot dog*, *sausage*, *banana*, *pear*, *cucumber* and *lollipop*, which all mean 'penis'.

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Address: Aleksandra Zofia Kowalczyk, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, Al. Racławickie 14, 20-950 Lublin, Poland.