Revista Canaria de

ESTUDIOS INGLESES

Universidad de La Laguna 80 2020

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Universidad de La Laguna

PUBLISHER
Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de La Laguna
Campus Central. 38200 La Laguna.
Santa Cruz de Tenerife.
E-mail: servicio.publicaciones@ull.edu.es

DESIGN
J.H. Vera/Javier Torres/Luis C. Espinosa

TYPESET BY
Servicio de Publicaciones

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80
ISSN: 0211-5913 (edición impresa) / ISSN: e-2530-8335 (edición digital)
Depósito Legal: TF 275/81

Revista Canaria de
ESTUDIOS INGLESES
80

Servicio de Publicaciones
UNIVERSIDAD DE LA LAGUNA, 2020

REVISTA canaria de estudios ingleses. –N.º 1 (1980)–. –La Laguna: Universidad, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1980–
Semestral
ISSN 0211-5913
1. Literatura inglesa-Publicaciones periódicas 2. Lengua inglesa-Gramática-Publicaciones periódicas I. Universidad de La Laguna. Servicio de Publicaciones, ed.
820(05)
802.0-5(05)

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SPECIAL ISSUE

A Philologist World of Words: The Medievalist, the Functionalist, the African Explorer

In honor of Prof. José S. Gómez Soliño

INTRODUCTION

RCEI (Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses) was born in 1980 under the auspice of the, by then doctors, Pedro J. Marcos, Asunción Alba and Pablo Domínguez. Their efforts to maintain the journal were soon after assisted by other pillars of the so-called "English Department", among them: Bernd Dietz, Fernando Galván, Justine Tally, John Amador Bedford and also José S. Gómez Soliño.

Our biannual journal has been hosting monographies devoted to linguistics or literature in which many relevant national and international scholars have published their research. This issue, number 80, will be devoted to an academic figure, Prof. José S. Gómez Soliño. His works on Historical Linguistics, Functional (Discourse) Grammar and African Studies are measured by the recognition received outside the limits of the Canarian archipelago.

In these forty years of RCEI, Prof. Gómez Soliño has likewise contributed to the journal's growth in different ways, not only as author but also as a subdirector, secretary, editor, reviewer and as an instigator of young researchers to publish here their first papers. Moreover, he transmitted to his students the pride of having our own Department's journal and always praised the work of the colleagues that sustained it, among others, Manuel Brito Marrero who directed RCEI from 1995 to 2014 and, since then, its present Director J. Ignacio Oliva Cruz.

It seems, therefore, that a monographic issue like "A Philologist World of Words: The Medievalist, the Functionalist, the African Explorer", is plenty justified. A title with which we intend to reflect his moves in a scholar life full of diverting but interconnected interests. We are certain that many could and would have wanted to participate in this tribute to Prof. Gómez Soliño, but this monographic issue only intends to be a small representation of colleagues and disciples in each of the three main fields Prof. Gómez Soliño has been involved. As mentioned before, many present-day relevant scholars have established academic and friendly links with him, and many colleagues of our generation, like the two of us, had Prof. Gómez Soliño as their thesis director or as a mentor in one or another field of interest. We hope them all to feel represented here and we want to express our gratitude to all the exemplary authors who have actually contributed to this volume.

The Historical Linguistics part holds three works. The first by a renowned international figure, Prof. Jeremy Smith, who became acquainted with Prof. Gómez Soliño through his academic affection for Glasgow University and specially for Prof. Michael Samuels. Prof. Smith's work brings into consideration distinctive forms of handwriting in similar codicological contexts. As it is proposed, these can be interpreted as markers that identify different communities of practice. These *scriptae*

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.01
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 9-11; ISSN: e-2530-8335

deserve further study and this can only be possible by bringing together, in a wider linguistic frame, disciplines like palaeography and book history, thus reconsidering the concept of philology.

The second work is by Prof. Francisco Alonso-Almeida. Once a student in Prof. Gómez Soliño's class, he has developed a prolific career in ULPGC without neglecting his relationship with ULL. He has been able to conjoin modern linguistic approaches with medieval and renaissance studies in his historical pragmatics works. Here, back to his origins, Prof. Alonso-Almeida offers a detailed critical edition of a manuscript on bloodletting, but not only that, his study also recalls a wider as well as closer philology, one which requires a more individualized approach to texts as complementary and basic to corpora studies.

This first part is closed by Prof. Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre, a well-known representative of English historical linguistics in Spain, whose article on "the cline from code-switching to borrowing" is concerned with one of the first historical interests of Prof. Gómez Soliño, the private letter collections from the late fifteenth century, in this case the Cely's letters. Conde-Silvestre's work relates to multilingual contexts, travelling and people's connections, somehow, these aspects are significant on how Prof. Gómez Soliño became involved in the other two fields that complete this volume.

Prof. Gómez Soliño's second field of interest, which has been certainly influential in the research on English Linguistics carried out in our department, is the study of language from a functional perspective, more specifically in the framework of Functional (Discourse) Grammar.

The Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) section of this issue holds three papers. The first by Prof. Lachlan Mackenzie, a renowned international linguist with whom Prof. Gómez Soliño has held a long-standing relationship of admiration and friendship. Prof. Mackenzie's work explores the role of discourse in Functional (Discourse) Grammar, expounding on the main attempts, among which Prof. Gómez Soliño's work is acknowledged, to integrate the analysis of discourse into FDG. After a detailed presentation of this debate, mainly centred on the relation between conceptualization, a private and individual process, and language, a public manifestation, Prof. Mackenzie concludes that FDG, in order to explain verbal interaction as strategic, should focus on the "publicly available phenomena of language". FDG aims at accounting for the internal properties of Discourse Acts and the relations between them, and not for each individual's conceptualization. Thus, he concludes, FDG could not be a grammar of discourse.

The second FDG contribution is by Prof. Evelien Keizer, professor of English Linguistics at the University of Vienna and an active and prolific researcher on FDG. Prof. Keizer addresses a hitherto neglected topic within FDG, which has always been an outstanding issue for Prof. Gómez Soliño, namely the placement of extra-clausal constituents (EECs). Based on an analysis of authentic data from different corpora of English, the author provides a detailed and thorough account of the interpersonal, contextual and processing factors that determine the placement of EECs. Keizer concludes that these factors can be neatly-integrated into FDG placement rules if an interpolated position, in addition to the now distinguished

preclausal and postclausal positions, is distinguished within the model and if EECs are analysed as separate Discourse Acts.

The FDG section is closed by Dr. Daniel García Velasco, one of the most renowned exponents of FDG in Spain. His study of *-ing* borrowings into peninsular Spanish highlights, in line with Prof. Gómez Soliño's view of language as an instrument of verbal interaction, the importance of integrating the grammar component into the theory of verbal interaction. After analysing the main properties of *-ing* borrowings through language contact, García Velasco concludes that this process shows the impact of sociolinguistic features, such as social prestige, on contact-induced language change. Therefore, to provide an accurate explanation of this linguistic phenomenon, external social factors should be given due importance. Thus, it is argued that the role of the Contextual Component of FDG, feeding the Morpho-syntactic encoder, is essential for accounting for contact-induced language change.

Prof. Gómez Soliño's interest for linguistic typology, so closely connected to FDG, as well as his personal concern to get to know our closest surroundings, promoted his involvement in African Studies.

The first paper in the African Studies part is by Dr. Alioune Badara Thiam, at present teaching at Gaston Bergen University (Saint-Louis), he wrote his doctoral thesis under Prof. Gómez Soliño's supervision, with whom he shares the interest in linguistic typology and sociolinguistics. This paper offers an account of loanwords in the Wolof language from a typological perspective. After a thorough analysis of an extensive corpus of borrowings in Wolof, the author concludes that linguistic borrowing in the Wolof language, with little exception, conforms to the general principles set forth by Haspelmath and Tadmor in their Loanword Typology Project.

The African Studies section is closed by Dr. Violetta Jojo Verge, whose paper represents Prof. Gómez Soliño's interest in African cultural and socio-political issues. The author, adopting Arjun Appadurai's concept of gastro-politics as framework, reveals us the post and neo-colonial tensions created during the re-encounter of African peoples coming from different places and cultures.

To close this volume, a more personal portrait was necessary and this is provided by the interview held with Prof. Basilio Valladares Hernández. The union of an internationally renowned figure in the hard sciences field with a linguist is per se notable. Prof. Valladares Hernández delineates a humanist, in the broadest sense of the word, to compose the picture of José Gómez Soliño.

ON *SCRIPTAE*: CORRELATING SPELLING AND SCRIPT IN LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH

Jeremy Smith
University of Glasgow

Abstract

In 1963, Michael Samuels identified a sequence of late Middle English spelling-patterns that he termed "types of incipient standard". Other "types" have since been identified, e.g. in copies of John Gower's Confessio Amantis and Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Life of Christ. This article argues that manuscripts containing such texts, which were also transmitted in distinctive forms of handwriting and in similar codicological contexts, were products of identifiable communities of practice, and that the correlation of spelling and handwriting such manuscripts manifest represented "expressive" usages characteristic of particular kinds of discourse. Such scriptae, as they might be called, seem to "function as markers of difference and belonging, and be involved in the creation of identities at different levels of social organisation" (Sebba 36). This paper attempts to bring paleography and book history into the realm of linguistic enquiry, as part of a reimagined philology.

Keywords: Writing-systems, spelling, palaeography, communities of practice, scriptae, *reimagined philology*.

SCRIPTAE, CORRELACIÓN ENTRE ORTOGRAFÍA Y CALIGRAFÍA EN EL INGLÉS MEDIO TARDÍO

Resumen

En 1963, Michael Samuels identificó una serie de modelos ortográficos en el inglés medio tardío a los que denominó «tipos de estándar incipiente». Desde entonces se han señalado otros "tipos", como por ejemplo en las copias del Confessio Amantis de John Gower y el Mirror of the Life of Christ de Nicholas Love. Este artículo defiende que los manuscritos soporte de tales textos, aquellos que también fueron transmitidos con caligrafías distintivas y en contextos codicológicos similares, fueron el producto de comunidades de práctica identificables. La correlación entre ortografía y caligrafía que se manifiesta en estos manuscritos, representa usos «expresivos» propios de tipos específicos de discurso. Estos que podemos designar como scriptae parecen funcionar, en palabras de Sebba (36) como «markers of difference and belonging, and be involved in the creation of identities at different levels of social organisation». Este trabajo intenta trasladar la paleografía y la historia del libro al ámbito de la investigación lingüística como parte de una reconceptualización de la filología.

Palabras clave: Sistemas de escritura, ortografía, paleografía, *scriptae*, reconceptualización de la filología.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.02
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 13-27; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. ON WRITING SYSTEMS

In comparison with the study of sounds, the study of writing –from a linguistic point of view– remains, with some honourable exceptions, surprisingly under-researched. It is for that reason, no doubt, that even the term for the study is uncertain: graphonomy, graphology, graphiology, and grammatology have all been used at various times and various places, and with various theoretical connotations. And much of the most insightful work in this area, most notably for Anglicists interested in early English studies that by the late Angus McIntosh, dates from the 1950s through the 1970s. Only in recent years has there been a change, as evidenced by the appearance of dedicated journals such as *Writing Systems Research*, first published in 2009.

Why this comparative neglect? One reason may be that writing has generally been seen by linguists as essentially secondary to speech, and thus intrinsically 'less interesting'. Thus the traditional terms to describe writing systems, viz. *logographic* and *phonographic*, refer to the writing-speech relationship. To sum up briefly: in a *phonographic* language there is a mapping (however conventional) between grapheme and phoneme (or cluster of phonemes), while in a *logographic* language, where there is a mapping between a conventional symbol and a word or morpheme. The relationship between these different systems is of course clinal, and many languages which are essentially phonographic often frequently deploy logographs, e.g. symbols such as '8' or '&' in English texts, corresponding to phonographic 'eight' and 'and' in English but 'huit' and 'et' in French. The discourse community of educated writers and readers of standard written English have in such cases mutually agreed that the signifiers 'eight' and '8' map onto a signified numerical concept (see further Smith's "Issues of Linguistic Categorization" and references there cited). But in both systems the issue is to do with the mapping between written and spoken signifier.

The same relationship existed in antiquity, where, according to the doctrine of *littera* developed by authorities such as Donatus and Priscianus, a written *figura* ('figure') mapped onto a spoken *potestas* ('power'), with a shared *nomen* ('name') (see Benskin's "The Letter <þ>" and references there cited). This usage underpins the traditional method for teaching initial literacy in western European languages, according to which, for instance, the figura <c>, with the nomen /si:/, expresses or "says" the potestas /k/. In this case too, of course, the mapping between writing and speech is explicit.

Yet a little thought indicates that written language has a quite distinct function from speech. The latter, ever since it first emerged in human society until the invention of speech-recording at the end of the nineteenth century, has been necessarily evanescent. Writing, however, emerged for the specific purpose of communication across time and space –originally it seems for the recording of business transactions as societies became more complex. This functional distinction has significant implications for the formal characteristics of writing-systems.

Another issue is to do with the distinction between the figura, which is commonly referred to by modern linguists as a *grapheme*, or as the grapheme's realisation, or *allograph*. Here there is an overlap between linguistic study and

disciplines generally seen as distinct, such as *paleography* (the study of older forms of handwriting) and *typography* (the study of printed letter-forms). These latter disciplines have themselves developed their own distinctive terminology for allographic usages. Typographers thus classify *typefaces* (or *fonts*) as Arial, Baskerville, Calibri, Caslon, Garamond, Gill Sans, Times New Roman and so on. Many of these fonts, as their names suggest, had distinctive cultural associations; thus, for instance, roman fonts were first developed by the great Venetian printers in the fifteenth century as a humanist attempt to recuperate in print the appearance of high-status handwriting and inscriptions from antiquity. In Britain the roman font became usual for editions of Latin texts in the sixteenth century, competing with antiquarian "Gothic" *blackletter*, in Britain sometimes referred to as *pica English*, which was used for the printing of texts inherited from the medieval vernacular tradition. Typographical choice was therefore culturally meaningful.

Comparable behaviours, with (*mutatis mutandis*) similar cultural connotations, can be discerned in the history of handwriting. Almost all present-day English educated cursive ("joined up") handwriting is modelled ultimately on the clerks' script of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the famous *round hand* celebrated in (e.g.) Gilbert and Sullivan's *HMS Pinafore*. A *script*, or "ideal" usage, is and was realised in the handwriting (i.e. the *hands*) of individuals, and thus the manifestations of modern handwriting are very varied. However, all hands aim, more or less successfully in terms of communicative effectiveness, at a particular script-model (for the distinction, see Parkes, *passim*).

Before the emergence of the round-hand script, other scripts were commonly deployed. The most notable in English texts were: *italic*, used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a humanistic script; *secretary*, the common cursive script from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, commonly deployed in documents; *anglicana*, the cursive book-script used in the production of literary manuscripts from the fourteenth century onwards; and *textura*, a non-cursive script used for the reproduction of high-status texts where the speed possible with cursive scripts such as anglicana or secretary was not a requirement.

It is interesting to note that the script/hand distinction, whereby paleographers and analysers of modern handwriting distinguish between a script (the model in a scribe's mind's eye) and a *hand*, the actual and distinctive realisation of the script by an individual scribe, clearly mirrors the *emic/etic* categorisation so characteristic of linguistic enquiry. However, it is notable that –with comparatively few exceptions– scholars have not correlated disciplines such as paleography and typography with broader trends in linguistics. In this paper, an attempt is made to bring them into closer articulation, as part of a *reimagined philology*. The approach taken here relates to an issue with which Jose Gómez Soliño has been closely associated: the emerging standardisation of written English at the end of the medieval period.

2. TYPES OF 'INCIPIENT STANDARD'

Notoriously, Middle English was the 'age of written dialects', where an item like THROUGH is recorded, in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (= LALME), in 500 different spellings, ranging from broadly recognisable (from a present-day perspective) *thurgh* and *thorow* through *þoro*, *þru3* to such exotic-seeming forms as *3urx*, *dor3* etc. From a modern perspective such variety seems chaotic, but in medieval terms the variety of usages is comprehensible; if you and I have agreed, within our discourse community, that a form such as <3urx> is our spelling for the item THROUGH then there is no difficulty, and only becomes problematic if we wish to use the spelling in communicating with other discourse communities with different practices. In Middle English conditions there was a widespread (and prestigious) alternative to using written English to communicate over time and space: use Latin. Only towards the end of the medieval period did written English start to take over some national rather than local or restricted functions, and that change underpins the rise of more commonplace spellings and the disappearance of forms with more restricted currency.

For many years, the accepted account of spelling-standardisation was that first developed by the late Michael Samuels in 1963, in his article "Some applications of Middle English dialectology". The date is significant: in 1963, many of the major developments in the historical study of language, notably the rise of historical sociolinguistics as a distinctive approach to the subject, had not yet happened (indeed, Samuels in later work may be taken as a prime mover in that latter development, notably in his classic monograph *Linguistic Evolution*). So, it is perhaps not surprising that some of his formulations made in the 1963 article have suffered from subsequent over-interpretation.

Perhaps the most influential of these formulations was Samuels's identification of what he referred to as "Types" of "incipient standard". Drawing on his extensive experience in the analysis of the manuscript evidence for the Middle English Dialect Project, which later resulted in the appearance of the first version of LALME some twenty years later, Samuels identified four Types that could be distinguished by the appearance of groups of particular English spellings in clusters of manuscript witnesses. Type I, according to Samuels, appeared in the latter half of the fourteenth century and persisted in use until the middle of the fifteenth, while Types II through IV represented a chronological sequence over the same period, reflecting what he interpreted as patterns of immigration into the capital.

In Samuels's typology, Type I –which he referred to as "Central Midlands Standard"– was a usage which as its name suggests was based on that commonly found in Middle English dialects of the central midlands. Type I texts characteristically use a mixture of forms common in the Central Midland counties in Middle English times, e.g. *sich* 'such', *mych* 'much', *ony* 'any', *silf* 'self', *stide* 'stead', *3ouun* 'given', *si3* 'saw'. Types II, III and IV, the remaining 'incipient standards' he identified, represented varieties of English found in discrete clusters of texts whose language was localised or localisable in the London area. Characteristic of Type II is the present participle inflexion in *-ande*, and the lexeme *þerk* 'dark', both found

otherwise in Norfolk and Suffolk; such forms led Samuels to correlate the rise of Type II with a perceived pattern of immigration from East Anglia, encouraged by the social disruption associated with the Black Death. Other characteristic Type II forms include *werld* 'world', *þat ilch(e), ilch(e)* 'that very', *noiþer, noþer* 'neither', *þei(ȝ)* 'though', *þai, hij* 'they'. Frequently attested Type III forms –many of them the same as in Present-Day written English– include *world*, *thilke*, *that ilk(e)* 'that very', *neither*, *though*, *they*, *yaf* 'gave', *nat* 'not', *swich(e)* 'such', *bot* 'but', *hir(e)* 'their', *thise* 'these'. Characteristic Type IV forms include *gaf* 'gave', *not* 'not', *but*, *such(e), theyre* etc. 'their', *thes(e)* 'these', *thorough/þorowe* 'through', *shulde* 'should'.

Samuels's four "Types" have received a lot of commentary and criticism since they were first described in 1963, some of it misconceived. It is important to realise that the Types represent focused –not fixed– usage within the cline "that is the total range of [Middle English] dialectal variation" (Sandved, 39); they are not in any way "standards" comparable with Present-Day "educated" written English, i.e. a usage that has undergone all the stages of standardisation usually identified, viz. selection, elaboration, codification and acceptance (for which see classically Haugen).

Since Samuels's discussion, further research –not least the rise of historical sociolinguistics as a distinctive and relevant discipline– has taken matters forward without, I would argue, occluding the basic typology. Type I (so-called "Central Midlands Standard"), which Samuels associated with inter alia Wycliffite texts, is now better seen as a broad lingua franca adopted widely to promulgate university learning into the vernacular. The remaining usages, viz. Types II through IV, which Samuels saw as varieties characteristic of or originating in London, –as has already been flagged– are seen now as reflecting waves of immigration into the capital during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[1] Type II forms are found in such manuscripts as Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498 and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.2.1 (the Auchinleck Manuscript), from the middle to the end of the fourteenth century. Type III forms appear in key literary manuscripts of Chaucer and Langland dating from around 1400, e.g. the well-known Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* (San Marino, Huntington Library, MS EL 26 C.9), and also in some London documents. Type IV forms are commonly found in certain government documents after about 1430; for that reason, Samuels in 1963 perhaps rather unfortunately labelled this Type as "Chancery Standard" (a formulation based on German *Kanzlerdeutsch*). This terminology has been especially controversial because of attempts made, notably by John Fisher and his associates, to link the usage with a supposed Lancastrian "language policy".[2]

[1] This correlation between the "Types" and demographic change has been recently challenged, notably in forthcoming work by Laura Wright, presented in an important keynote paper at the International Conference on Middle English in Florence, 2019. I do not propose to address that issue here; as I hope will become apparent, I am taking a different approach to the Types.

[2] For an extended outline of the standard account of the four Types, see Smith's *An Historical Study of English* 68-73; the sequencing of the Types is perhaps not as clear-cut as a casual reading of "Some Applications of Middle English dialectology" by Samuels might suggest. It is worth

3. ON SCRIPTS

Another area of research that has developed hugely since 1963 has been in the area of paleography and codicology, now generally subsumed in the larger discipline of book history. Especially noteworthy for the purposes of this paper has been the work undertaken by scholars such as Ian Doyle and Malcolm Parkes, and subsequently by Linne Mooney and her associates Simon Horobin and Estelle Stubbs, on the identification of scribes active in more than one manuscript (see especially Mooney and Stubbs, and Horobin).

Seminal in this context was an important article published by Doyle and Parkes in "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century". In this article the authors identified a cluster of scribes active in the large-scale production of key literary texts –not just these works but also including writings by other major fourteenth-century authors such William Langland and John Trevisa– in the London area. The article abounded with insights, not least the conclusion that two scribes were each responsible for copying two of the four most important early manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, and that these scribes had also contributed to the copying of a multi-scribe manuscript of the *Confessio Amantis*. Subsequently, Linne Mooney and her team have identified a host of manuscripts that can be assigned to particular scribes, and they have even gone on –although the ascription has been subsequently challenged– to assign names to these copyists, most famously Adam Pinkhurst, "Chaucer's own scribe" (see famously Mooney's article "Chaucer's Scribe").

Mooney and Stubbs associated many of these scribes with the activities of London's Guildhall, but even if this association is not accepted it is clear that these men, many of whom were clearly engaged on a collaborative venture, viz. the production of major literary manuscripts, formed what in many disciplines has become known as a "community of practice". The notion, first identified in Lave and Wenger-Trayner, began in anthropological and educational studies, but rapidly

noting that, given the dynamic growth of London in the late Middle Ages, the city would have been a linguistic melting pot. See also Smith's "John Gower and London English" and "Chaucer and London English", and references there cited. For some further thoughts on Type II, see also Hanna. For an authoritative discussion of "Chancery Standard", including a critique of especially Fisher's views on its status, see Benskin's "'Chancery Standard'" and references there cited. Many insightful comments on the complexities of standardisation of spelling in the late medieval period were pursued further by Samuels in a later article of 1981, "Spelling and dialect", which explicitly drew on the major research undertaken by Jose Gómez Soliño, especially in his important doctoral thesis which he pursued in part, early in his career, while a native language assistant at Glasgow University. It is possible that scholars –including, I should confess, myself in earlier publications– have focused overly, and arguably anachronistically, on "standard language" during the late medieval period, and should instead –as I will argue shortly– see these Types as distinct kinds of linguistic practice rooted in societies where vernaculars had roles rather different from their present-day functions. Arguably the only real standard written language in England, in the late medieval period, was Latin.

spread into other fields, including linguistics. Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet have defined the notion as follows:

> A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together in mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, power relations –in short practices– emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a community of practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages (464).

Communities of practice are to be distinguished from, though overlap with, two other notions in widespread use in pragmatic studies: *social networks* and *discourse communities*. In social network research, which is widely practised in several disciplines (e.g. history, sociology and anthropology, politics and economics), links between groups and individuals may be mapped in terms of close or weak social ties. Perhaps especially relevant for the current paper, however, is the notion of discourse communities, i.e. communicative networks that engage with a common world-view and express their ideologies –however conflicting– in mutually comprehensible ways. However, communities of practice differ from discourse communities in that while the latter share a common language they do not share a mutual endeavour.[3]

Whether or not the precise identification of individuals by Mooney and her team is accepted –and as Simon Horobin has argued in a recent conference presentation[4], such identifications are essentially a matter of greater-or-less plausibility, as is often the case in historical research– it is fairly clear that the scribes engaged in the production of literary manuscripts in London in the first decades of the fifteenth century characteristically deployed a distinctive form of handwriting: anglicana formata. To illustrate: some 26 manuscripts of the *Confessio Amantis* have been dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Of these manuscripts, no fewer than 19 are either written wholly or largely in anglicana formata. A similar picture can be given for the *Canterbury Tales*, where all six of the principal early witnesses for the text were copied in anglicana formata: the aforementioned Ellesmere manuscript; Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 392D (the Hengwrt manuscript); London, British Library, MS Harley 7334; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 198; London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 851; and Petworth House, Kent, MS 7. The appearance of anglicana formata in an earlier London document, the *Petition of the Folk of Mercerye* from 1387 (see Chambers and Daunt), shows that the usage was already commonly deployed in the administrative circles in which Chaucer moved, as did scribes such as Adam Pinkhurst and those like him.

[3] On discourse communities, see Swales. For communities of practice as distinct from discourse communities, see the collection of papers edited by Joanna Kopaczyk and Andreas Jucker.

[4] At a symposium held in York in 2019 to mark Linne Mooney's retirement. I understand that the paper is shortly to be published.

The deployment of this calligraphic form of cursive handwriting –a new development at the period, replacing earlier less elaborate scripts– is presumably a response to the expectations of the target discourse community for attractive copies of what was becoming a "canonical" set of literary texts associated with an anglophone court culture. Such copies were produced by communities of scribal practice of the kind Mooney and her associates have identified, even if one quibbles –as some have– about the precise identification of the scribes in question. Whether or not these scribes worked together as part of a distinctive "Guildhall group" (Mooney and Stubbs)[5], it seems likely that such scribes nevertheless formed a distinct community of practice, writing for a particular set of discourse communities who would have become increasingly accustomed –and might have come to expect– to encounter such written-language features.

Book historians –most notably Ralph Hanna– have also in recent years identified earlier comparable communities of practice in the London area. Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498 is an impressively large book that was put together in London in the second half of the fourteenth century. Of the manuscript's nine medieval items, several are translated from Anglo-Norman: a translation from Robert de Greetham's *Miroir*; an exposition on the ten commandments preceded by an account of the pains of hell and the joys of heaven; an annotated Apocalypse; a prose *Complaint of Our Lady*; and a translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. A Latin Psalter with an interlinear Middle English gloss also appears. Other texts are English in origin: a Gospel Harmony, unique to the manuscript, introducing the translation of the *Miroir*; a clutch of short prayers at the volume's end; and, placed between the glossed Psalter and the *Complaint*, a copy of the early Middle English *Ancrene Riwle* in a modified form: *Þis good book Recluse*. The Pepys scribe also copied at least two other, more modest manuscripts: London, British Library, MS Harley 874, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. MS 622. The main text in Harley 874 is the annotated *Apocalypse* found in Pepys 2498, although set out more simply; Harley's decoration is restricted to the unshowy deployment of simple red initials.

Hanna has compared Pepys 2498 with another contemporary London book: the well-known Auchinleck manuscript of Middle English romances, now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.2.1. Unlike Auchinleck, Pepys 2498 contains only devotional writings in prose. However, like Auchinleck, the Pepys manuscript draws in many instances from materials originating in the West Midlands. All four manuscripts are copied in an earlier version of anglicana, with very comparable deployment of rubrication, used especially for shading initial letters in verse-lines.

Typologically in terms of contents Laud 622 is positioned between Pepys and Auchinleck, bringing together the former's religious concerns with the romance contents of the latter. Laud's main text is the romance of *Kyng Alisaunder* (folios 27v-

[5] See Warner, and references there cited, for a different view. Simon Horobin's response in this lively controversy has already been referred to; see footnote 4 above.

64r), followed by a note of remarkable things and places to be seen by pilgrims to the Holy Land (folios 64r-64v). Other texts include *The Siege of Jerusalem* (possibly the most widely-circulated Middle English alliterative poem apart from *Piers Plowman*); *The Vision of St Alexius*; Adam Davy's *Five Dreams about Edward II*; an incomplete *Temporale*; *Fifteen Tokens before the Day of Judgement*; and *Lines on the Birth of Christ*. It may be noted that *Kyng Alisaunder* also appears in the Auchinleck Manuscript, and indeed in appearance and layout Laud 622 is very similar to Auchinleck. It seems therefore very plausible that all four manuscripts are products of the same London book-trade, and quite possibly the same "community of practice", designed for the use of a distinct "in-and-out-of-court" discourse community, possibly for the court of Edward III or for the family reading of a socially-aspirant merchant (Doyle). As Hanna argues, both Pepys 2498 and Auchinleck

> were produced for similar London audiences. In both [...] the same activities of literary appropriation occur, for both are imitative products which present English texts derived from aristocratic Anglo-Norman environments (Hanna 154).

Much recent research has focused, as these examples demonstrate, on the London book-trade: an explicable focus, given the astonishing growth in the city's size and importance during the later medieval period. However, it is important to realise that comparable behaviours can be distinguished outside the metropolis from the late fourteenth century onwards. Perhaps the best known such pattern is that associated with Lollardy, the hugely-influential "premature Reformation" initiated by the Oxford theologian John Wycliffe at the end of the fourteenth century. As Mary Dove and others have demonstrated, Lollardy was a team-effort, and although –because it was swiftly condemned– those involved in such enterprises as the production of the "Wycliffite Bible" translation tended to keep their involvement anonymous, it is, as Dove conclusively argues, clear that

> the production of the first English Bible was conceived as a group endeavour. The translators did far more than turn the Latin Bible into English. Their hugely ambitious project involved editorial, hermeneutic and linguistic biblical scholarship. Aware that one of the most telling arguments against biblical translation was the danger of translating from a corrupt text of the Latin Bible, the translators wanted to give their English readers a Bible they could rely upon as an apt and accurate rendering of a carefully edited original (Dove 79).

Although there are –perhaps surprisingly, given what has just been cited– a wide variety of formats for Wycliffite bibles and associated texts, there is a tendency for them to be presented in a particular script: non-cursive textura. Textura emerged as a high-status script in the middle ages, deployed where speed was not a primary requirement but where the scribe wished to flag the special dignity of the work in question: choosing textura, in other words, was a foregrounded vector of meaning for the discourse community that encountered it.

The "meaningfulness" of textura may be illustrated easily from some copies of the Wycliffite Bible. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 277 is an enormous

display pandect of this text, copied in textura between c.1415-30 and owned –we might think rather surprisingly –by a Carthusian monastery. It contains –along with a comprehensive collection of navigational aids, including little tabs of parchment attached to the edges of leaves to mark books of scripture– cues such as *in refectorio* ('in the refectory') "sometimes followed with the number of folios to be read" (Wakelin 90).[6]

Bodley 277 is therefore a "display" pandect, and it is perhaps unsurprising that it is presented in a high-status script such as textura. However, it is worth noting that textura could also appear in humbler copies of the same text. For instance, Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 176 (T.8.8) is an early fifteenth-century copy of the Wycliffite Bible measuring 15.9 × 10.8 cm: a small object, with – by comparison with Bodley 277 – modest decoration. Yet it too is copied in a version of the textura script, a sign of the esteem in which the text was held. And another manuscript of the Wycliffite translation of the Pauline epistles, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 6127, is even smaller –12 × 8 cm– but is similarly presented in a calligraphic textura script accompanied by a complex system of rubrication, including internal glossing of words apparently deemed obscure by means of a binomial underlined in red, e.g. *we moun conforte hem þ^t ben in al pressure or ouerleijnge by þe exortacon or monestinge*. Many other copies of the Wycliffite Bible, e.g. the important "earlier version" in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 959, used as the basis for the modern edition for the work (Lindberg), were similarly presented.

4. ON SCRIPTAE

There would seem therefore to distinctive clusters of texts associated with particular script-types during the late medieval period; and knowledgeable readers will have observed that these clusters are linked not only by the deployment of particular scripts but by particular spellings. In his seminal article of 1963, Samuels flagged the sources for his first three Types as follows:

Type I (inter alia):

> "A majority of the manuscripts of Wyclif's sermons and tracts [...] Practically all copies of the later version of the Lollard Bible, and most copies of the earlier version."

Type II:

> "The full list comprises:
> (i) Auchinleck MS hands 1 and 3.
> (ii) The Early English Prose Psalter in BL Add 17376.
> (iii) MS BL Harley 5085.

[6] Wakelin supplies a fine illustration of the manuscript (88-9).

(iv) Three manuscripts in the hand of a single scribe: Magdalene College Cambridge Pepys 2498, Bodley Laud Misc. 622, and BL Harley 874.
(v) St John's College Cambridge MS 256.
(vi) Glasgow Hunterian MS 250.'

Type III "is represented chiefly by":

"(i) A number of the documents printed in Chambers and Daunt, *London English 1384-1425*,[7] and in Furnivall, *Early English Wills*.[8]
(ii) The language of Chaucer, as vouched for by a consensus of the best MSS, corroborated by the evidence of (i).
(iii) The text of *Piers Plowman* in Trinity College Cambridge B.15.17.
(iv) The language of Hoccleve, as established by a consensus of the MSS."

It would seem that, with regard to witnesses, there is a rough correlation between the three Types of (to use Samuels's term) "incipient standard" and the deployment of particular scripts: textura for Type I, anglicana for Type II, and anglicana formata for Type III (which appears in the sources distinguished as (i)-(iii) above). Although more archival research across all these witnesses is certainly required to make the arguments conclusive, and there are undoubtedly exceptions –Hoccleve's own autograph manuscripts survive[9], and are both written in a variety of secretary script– there is a clear tendency here that is worth further investigation. It is certain that questions of communities of practice –and of the expectations of discourse communities– will be central in any such programme of research.

However, it should also be noted that such tendencies cut across other patterns and correlations characteristic of vernacular usages during the period, where the correlations are not so clear-cut. Here the Gower tradition –which as we have seen was in the first decades of the fifteenth century characteristically presented in anglicana formata– is rather distinct. Many of the linguistic features found in the earliest manuscripts of the *Confessio* will be familiar to any student of Chaucer who will have almost certainly first encountered that poet's writings as transmitted through the spellings and grammar of the Ellesmere manuscript. Grammatical features common to both Ellesmere and the most authoritative early manuscripts of "the Gower tradition", e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 3, and San Marino, Huntington Library, MS EL 26 A.17, include, for instance, the inflected form of the vocative adjective in *Mi goode fader*, compared with the uninflected strong form in *som good ansuere*; the inflected plural *hise*[10]; the present plural verb in *–en*, e.g. *helpen*; and the pronoun *hem* 'them' (alongside *pei* 'they' elsewhere).

[7] i.e. Chambers and Daunt 1931.
[8] i.e. Furnivall 1882.
[9] San Marino, Huntington Library, MSS HM 744 and HM 111, and Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V.iii.9.
[10] In the form *hise*, the inflexion *-e*, being an analogical linguistic innovation, is not counted towards the iambic measure of the line.

Spellings in Fairfax 3 that align with Type III include *bot* 'but', *schold(e)*, *whan* 'when', *wol* 'will' etc.

Other forms in Fairfax 3 are somewhat distinct from those in Ellesmere, but not uncommon in London texts of the period, as witnessed by (for instance) the documents collected by Chambers and Daunt. Some forms such as *noght* 'not' (cf. prototypical Ellesmere *nat*, though *noght* is a minor variant in that manuscript), *such(e)* (cf. Ellesmere *swiche*), *þese* (cf. Ellesmere *þise*) are not especially regionally distinctive. The spelling *ferst* 'first', though traditionally a south-eastern usage, is fairly common in many texts that can be localised to London at the time.

However, other forms are more uncommon within the Middle English dialect continuum, and certainly atypical of late fourteenth-century London usage. For instance the present participle inflexion in *–ende*, in *wakende*, and the syncopated third person singular verb in *makþ*, though not unknown in earlier London texts, would undoubtedly have been considered archaic by the Ellesmere scribe –they were certainly recessive in Middle English dialects– while the spelling *oghne* 'own' (adjective) would have seemed decidedly odd; the online LALME has sporadic records of *oghne* and similar forms (e.g. *oghene*) from the North Midlands, but there is a much more focused cluster in Kent. These non-London usages, when supplemented by forms from elsewhere in Fairfax 3, such as *seluer* 'silver', *soster* 'sister', *þerwhiles þat* 'while', *boþen* 'both', *ȝoue* 'given', *or … or* 'either … or' and medial *<-h->* in *hyhe* 'high', *sihe* 'saw' etc, enabled Michael Samuels and myself many years ago to identify the language of Fairfax 3 –in all scribal stints– as a mixture of Kentish and Suffolk usage (see Samuels and Smith). And since this distinctive usage was also found in other copies of the *Confessio* with a distinct genetic ancestry reaching back to the archetypal ancestor of the text, such as the Stafford manuscript, it seemed to Samuels and myself a reasonable assumption to consider this archetypal language to be that of John Gower; that Gower was associated with land-ownership in Kent and Suffolk would seem to offer some support to –albeit of course not absolute proof of– this conclusion.

Whether or not our localisation of the archetypal language of the Gower tradition with Gower's own usage is still accepted, it is nevertheless an intriguing fact that a number of these linguistic features persisted in the Gower tradition through and beyond the fifteenth century. Of the 49 extant manuscripts of the *Confessio*, for instance, no fewer than 30 retain forms of 'own' with medial *–gh-*, either as *oghne*, *oughne* or in a slightly modified form, e.g. *ogne*. Variants of *sihe* 'saw' (cf. Ellesmere *saugh*) are even better attested in the *Confessio*, appearing in 43 witnesses, including the printed editions by Caxton (1483) and Berthelette (1532, 1554).

It is clear, therefore, that a precise correlation of script and Samuels's Types is not to be had. Such fuzzy matching is however to be expected at a time when, although the dignity of English as a written language is beginning to emerge there are no clear models as to which form of English is to be the model. As is increasingly being noted, linguistic standardisation in the written mode is a complex business. The traditional view was that standardisation emerged as a result of the increasing "top-down" prestige of a particular model usage, viz. that found in late medieval/early modern London, and such prestige must be part of the story. But more important,

it is now understood, were also "bottom-up" pressures to do with communicative function: as literacy in English became more widespread, with readers likely to encounter a wider range of new texts, so what Samuels back in 1963 termed –to modern eyes rather inappropriately– "grosser provincialisms" became more communicatively inconvenient, and were replaced by forms with wider currency at the time when the text was being reproduced (see Smith's "Standard language in Early Middle English?", 136 and references there cited). Such linguistic choices of less dialectally distinctive forms represent decisions made on pragmatic grounds, aimed at improving the legibility of the text for the intended discourse communities for whom the texts were being produced.

Nevertheless, it seems clear from the arguments presented in this paper that there are some patterns, however fuzzy: model usages associated with particular clusters of texts, both in terms of scripts and spellings. Scripts and spellings are features of what has been called "expressive form" (Bell 632) relating to dynamic, shifting socio-cultural processes, imperatives and functions as those texts are transmitted across time and space. Such "written-language" features can be said, in Mark Sebba's helpful formulation, to 'function as markers of difference and belonging, and be involved in the creation of identities at different levels of social organisation' (36). They form what have recently come to be called *scriptae*, usages characteristic of particular discourses and transmitted through the activities of particular communities of practice. And the argument of this paper has been that the discussion of such scriptae, as part of a recuperated or *reimagined philology*, requires disciplines such as linguistics and paleography, hitherto seen as distinct, to be brought into closer articulation.[11]

Reviews sent to author: 11 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 28 January 2020

[11] The identification of the Types with particular genres/text-types was to my knowledge first suggested in a conference paper by the late Matti Rissanen, but I owe the recuperation and repurposing of the term *scripta* –derived from the practice of French philologists– to Wendy Scase. For the term, see e.g. von Wartburg, and more recently Cerquiglini. Bringing together the broad set of philological disciplines, perhaps within such powerful overarching frames as *historical pragmatics*, seems to be an important step forward for research in this area. For a developed discussion of such matters, see Smith's forthcoming *Transforming Early English*.

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A MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXT ON PHLEBOTOMY

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Abstract

This paper has a twofold objective. The first one is the edition of the text in Wellcome Library, MS5650, ff. 58v-61v, and the second one concerns the study of its language and its textual organisation. To my knowledge, this manuscript has not been edited before, and belongs to a volume of fifteenth-century medical items bound together. There is apparently no relationship among these items, and the only connecting thread is the practical nature of these texts. The analysis of the language will allow me to tentatively locate the text from a dialectal perspective. This detail along with the analysis of the physical features of the text will help me to provide a more exact date of production of MS5650, ff. 58v-61v. For a more comprehensive study of the text, its characterisation from a genre perspective is offered. The conclusions of this paper comprise all the partial findings, and in so doing a complete picture of MS5650, ff. 58v-61v as both a social and a linguistic object is presented.

Keywords: Edition, Middle English, Phlebotomy, Wellcome Library, Textual Criticism, Textual Genre.

UN TEXTO SOBRE FLEBOTOMÍA EN INGLÉS MEDIO

Resumen

Este artículo persigue un doble objetivo. El primer es la edición del texto en Wellcome Library, MS5650, ff. 58v-61v, y el segundo se refiere al estudio del estudio de su lengua y de su organización textual. Hasta donde es posible indagar, no hay información de que este manuscrito no haya sido editado. Pertenece a un volumen de textos médicos del siglo xv, aparentemente, no hay relación entre los documentos del compendio, y su único hilo conductor es la naturaleza práctica de los textos. El análisis de los rasgos lingüísticos me permitirá ubicar el texto dialectalmente. Esto, junto con el análisis de las características físicas del texto, me permitiría proporcionar una fecha más exacta de producción del MS5650, ff. 58v-61v. Para un estudio más exhaustivo del texto, se ofrece una caracterización del mismo desde una perspectiva de género. Las conclusiones de este trabajo incluyen todos los resultados parciales y, al hacerlo, una imagen completa de MS5650, ff. 58v-61v, como objeto social y lingüístico.

Palabras clave: edición, Inglés Medio, flebotomía, Wellcome Library, crítica textual, género textual.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.03
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 29-49; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. INTRODUCTION

Medieval medical texts have received uneven editorial attention in the last decades. While every effort has been done to produce seemingly extensive and representative compilations of these texts, the majority of which largely funded by public institutions, thorough critical editions of Old English and Middle English medical texts are still expected[1]. The idea of what is scientific today has motivated frantic waves of medieval textual compilations in order to meet the quantification rules in contemporary scientific methodology ruled by statistics, indicators, and probabilistic means. Depending on the interests of the compilers, some of these corpora contain lemmatizations, other include part-of-speech XML-tags, and very refined compilations present, say, additional information on visual aids in the manuscripts from which the texts have been excerpted. The direction taken in scholarly linguistic research is commendable and, of course, very much needed to comply with the rules of the game. This article pursues, however, a different goal, and an edition of a bloodletting text in the fashion of the work done back in the mid-twentieth century is intended. The product of this edition might be eventually of use for later inclusion in the mentioned larger textual databases, should the text meet the needs of the compilers and of the purposes of the compilation.

This article proposes an edition of the text in the Wellcome Library, MS5650, ff. 58^{v}-61^{v}, along with information pertaining to its physical and language features. A glossary of Middle English words will be given after the edition for ease of reading. This said, the structure of this paper is, as follows. Section 2 offers an overview of phlebotomy in the Middle Ages, with an indication of earlier work performed on phlebotomy texts from this period. Later, in section 3, I focus on a description of Wellcome Library, MS5650, henceforward W, in codicological terms. In the following section, I offer information on the palaeographic, language and dialectal features of W. The last section is the edition of this item with textual apparatus, notes and a glossary of words excerpted from the edited text.

2. PHLETOBOMY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Medieval medicine is both an art and a craft, and sufficient proof has come to us in the form of textual witnesses attesting for the interest medicine arouse among medieval scholars and layfolk (see Voigts). The education in medicine was extremely dear in the medieval period, and so was therapeutic assistance by learned professionals. This was among the reasons to find alternatives, less expensive means of therapeutic treatments. Evidence of this is found in the number of practical texts

[1] Surprisingly, medieval recipe compendia have received much editorial attention in the last centuries and nowadays of different quality. For a careful edition of medieval *receptaria*, see Hunt and Benskin. An instance of an earlier edition is Ogden.

based, as was pointed out in Alonso-Almeida and Carroll, as well as in de la Cruz Cabanillas, on academic texts. These texts circulated on demand and served an instructive function in those cases in which ordinary healers needed to perform some medical technical procedures. Thus, an English text on bloodletting like the one edited here represents a much lighter version of its phlebotomy master texts in either Latin, or in their translated forms in English or Norman French.

Phlebotomy by bloodletting has a long history coming down from earlier than the Egyptians (Davis 6). In the Middle Ages, this practice was also known and used, even if we cannot precise the popularity and frequency among practitioners. The truth is that countless medical texts contain directions on how to perform the procedure of bloodletting on humans, and where this should be done (see Voigts and McVaugh). A good example is the *homo venarum* found in the Wellcome manuscript 8004, f. 18r. This represents a beautiful decorated figure of a man surrounded by portions of text in either red or black ink indicating the place and names of veins in the body along with a short description, e.g. "The vayn in the vtturst part of þe nose opynd helpis þe brayne & clense þ*e* mynde" (my transcription). This information is very similar to the description of the therapeutic functions of bloodletting depending on the veins on which this operation is carried out in W, ff. 58v-81v.

A technical aspect of bloodletting reports on the specific days in which this practice could be done, and almanacs often contain this information for availability to the surgeon or barber. They believed that there were good and bad days for bloodletting depending on the position of the moon and the planets (Stell 16). Parapia (491, after Dingwall 40) formulates this by drawing from historical evidence:

> A manuscript dated 1595 'Ane Gude Boke of Medicines' states 'for letting of blude thair be thrie perrellous dayis in the year', and gives the following advice 'The last day of Apryll the first Monday of August and the last Monday of December. These thrie dayis be forbidden for they ben all ye waynes full of bode of every man. And yrfoir gif a women or man be latten blude on these dayis they sall dye wtin xv dayis'. There were, on the other hand, some auspicious days for, bloodletting. If the procedure was carried out on 18 April there would be no fever; on 3 April no headache; and on 17 December or September, St Lambert's day,' he shall not fall in no dropsie, fransy or tisyke'.[2]

In W, ff. 58v-61v, astrological significance is disclosed in the reference to months of the year and festivity days rather than as exact reference to the moon, the stars and the planets in order to signal recommendation to practice or to avoid certain therapeutic procedures. Medieval books and quires on practical medicine contain numerous instances of how, where and when a person should undergo bloodletting in order to restore balance of their bodily fluids, and consequently of their good health conditions. This belief was perpetuated over centuries (Siraisi 97),

[2] The months mentioned here coincide with those mentioned in W, f. 58v, but the days mentioned in both are different, except for the month of December.

evidence of which are the number of books mentioning and describing this excess of fluids and how to avoid this bodily disorder. Much of this knowledge recaps on the classical masters, as Hippocrates Galen and Socrates, who recommended the elimination of excessive humoral substance (Matheson 247). This information is echoed in medieval medical works, written either in Latin or in other vernaculars (cf. the pseudo-Bedan *De Minutione Sanguinis, sive de Phlebotomia* and Mirapice's work on bloodletting).

The practice of bloodletting could be innocuous to some extent, but it could also be life threatening, and that is the reason for some to disdain it, as is the case of the English Helmontians in the seventeenth century, in favour of a more rational and chemistry-based type of treatment (Taavitsainen et al. 19), as pointed out by Wear (383): "Blood-letting symbolised for Helmontians the intransigent hostility of Galenic medicine to any questioning of its methods and to any innovation". The advent of a more scientific type of medicine meant the abandonment of this practice, at least in the developed countries. W, ff. 58v-61v, relies on contemporary circulating texts, which were based on the works of the classical writers and their witnesses, and still recommends bloodletting on certain days and on certain dietary conditions, as we shall see.

3. W WELLCOME LIBRARY, MS5650

London, Wellcome Libray, MS5650 is described under the heading 'Medical compendium in English' in the online catalogue of the digital collection of the Wellcome Library (London, UK). According to this online catalogue, MS5650 seems to be in a fragile condition. Torn edges and dirt on the first leaves suggest a later binding. The date of production is approximately the fifteenth century. This will be later supported using palaeographic and linguistic data.

The manuscript contains 120 folios and two vellum final flyleaves and this volume is bound in medieval wood boards covered by leather. Quires are sawn and put together by three double thongs attached to the margin of the boards. The book spine shows sewing method as it has not been covered with leather. There is no decoration on the covers, but there is evidence of a missing metal clasp to keep the book close. The volume is 220 × 155 mm. According to the catalogue details, folios 1, 8-9, 16, 22-23 are vellum. Collation is also provided in the catalogue, and reads, as follows (this collation uses pages rather than folios): 1 16, 2 16 wanting 1-2, 15-16 (15-16 probably blank), 3 12, 4 12, 5 12 wanting 10-12 probably blank, 6 10 wanting 7-10 probably blank, 7 14 wanting 9-14 probably blank, 8 16, 9 4, 10 15, 11 10. Quires missing between 8 and 9 and 10 and 11.

Visual inspection of the digitised manuscript reveals that f. 7 is severely damaged to the extent that more than two thirds of the folio have been torn away. Despite the description of quire 2 as wanting folios 2, 15 and 16, my examination of the book and the text on those folios reveals that these folios are present in the volume. The text follows nicely from one folio to the next. The excessive dirt on f. 16^{v} indicates that this quire was loose for a good while until bound as part of

the volume. Quire 3 had originally 8 folios, wanting 1-2, 3-4. Quire 4 also had 8 folios, wanting now 13-14, 15-16. From quire 5 onwards, there is no contemporary foliation starting '2' until folio 97 in present day script.

W is written by different scribes in English and Latin. The catalogue informs that the volume was compiled in the Westmoreland area. There are also additions by later hands. The practical nature of W is evinced in the items collected, among which there are medical and culinary recipes along with a treatise of the diseases of women, with some others. The exact contents taken accurately from the catalogue are the following:

Item	Contents
ff. 1r-28v The 'Boke of maschalse'	Incipit: 'The boke of marschalse here it schall begyn...Iff þat þou hafe stede folse to kepe...' Explicit: 'Explicit per dominum Johannem Marshall vicarium sancti Michell de Appelby'
ff. 29r-40v Herbal	Incipit: 'Ruw is hot and dry and dos goode to þe stomak...'
ff. 41r-58r Treatise on the sicknesses of women	Incipit: 'Here begynnys the sekenes off women whylk is callyd the moder. Also we salt understande þat women has lesse hete in þe body þan men...'
ff. 58v-61v Phlebotomy treatise	Incipit: 'Ffor blode lettynge. Seth þe authoritie of ypocras þe noble phisiciane...The vayne in þe myddest of the for hede serves for hede ache and for þe mygrayn...'
ff. 62r-67v Trotula, Tractatus de egritudinibus mulierum	
ff. 68r-75v Collection of culinary recipes for meat, fish and vegetable dishes	Incipit: 'Hic incipit modus iusquendi qualiter cocus se habebit in coquinis circa cibaria diversa preparanda. Swan. To slee all maner of birdes to roste þame and to sause þame...'
ff. 76r-88v Recipes for drinks, salves, unguents, etc.	Incipit: 'Here may thou lere diverse manner off makyng of salves, drynkes, siropes, plasters, oyntementes, and gude entretes...'
ff. 89r-91v Tract on making aqua vitae	Incipit: 'Aqua vite and þe makyng þeroff. Take camphore... in distillatorio cum vino ponantur et ad lentum ignem distilles.'
f. 91v On the making of oils	Incipit: 'Her beginnys þe makyng off oylys. Oleum masticis ...'. The end of the work is wanting.
ff. 92r-95v Treatise on uroscopy. The beginning and end of the work are wanting	
ff. 96r-120v Recipe collection	Incipit: 'Ictericia. Item ad [?] mundificare cutem cum aceto albo tepido et decoctione capille veneris eupatorii et ordei ...'

Catchwords in W include f. 11r 'ye hors they', f. 13r 'whyle', f. 16v '*ya*t fyng*er*', f. 24r 'surs of rye', f. 52v 'make ye mod*yr* to drawyn hyr vpp in water', f. 86r 'erthe', f. 88v 'pan', f. 91v 'Oyle of swete almond', f. 115v '& ye hete', f. 120r 'res'. These catchwords are accurate. The folios mentioned correspond to modern foliation, as some medieval folios are missing from the original.

The support of W is paper, but parchment has been used on folios 1, 8-9, 16, 22-23. There are some folios on which lines have been scored for designing the writing space. These lines have been done by pressing some point of lead to mark the paper without using ink. Others do not present these lines. No traces of pricking have been detected. The text is written in a single column throughout with some marginal additions in contemporary and later hands.

Ordinatio in running text is supported by specific headings preceding some items, and the use of red ink and red underlining in the case of the recipe compendium. The use of red paraph marks also serve this same function. W is certainly not rich in the use of decoration. There is one initial capital letter <H> with only a right shank, being the second missing in the form of a large minuscule <h>. This letter occupies approximately five lines, and it has been designed in brown with shades of red and a curly spine to finish at the top. Hanging red initials are used in the two tracts on the diseases of women. In the case of the *Tractatus de egritudinibus mulierum*, initials appear only from folio 64r up to 67v. A hanging initial is also found on f. 1r at the start of the 'Boke of Maschalse'. In the case of our text, there is a manicule in a later hand used as a signalling device to indicate the suitable time for bloodletting on f. 59v. Another marginal note is 'no¶' on f. 58v to indicate unfavourable days for bloodletting.

As to early provenance and ownership, following the information on the catalogue, there are the fifteenth- to seventeenth-century signatures of Lancelot Denton on f. 22r, Georgius Harrison, Thomas Gent and Mary Williamson ff. 22v-23r, Recardus Hygins f. 23v, Edward Johnstone f. 96r-v. On flyleaves, information from a rental for Appleby and the surrounding area. The volume was acquired from Christie's (3 Dec. 1986, lot 349) and purchased from Dr David Segal in 1989, as noted in the online catalogue.

4. W, ff. 58v-61v

The text edited here from W is an instance of a medieval medical practical knowledge being taken from learned sources dealing with medical matters. As I shall show in due course, this text seems to be a digested version of a technical text in which jargon has been reduced to a very minimum, so that a non-trained practitioner may be able to understand the information given. I have consulted several databases and catalogues of manuscripts in order to ineffectively identify any other extant version of this text.

W, ff. 58v-61v, is the work of a single scribe under the contemporary heading 'For blode lattyng'. The text is written using a cursive hand mixing letters from the anglicana formata and the secretary scripts in a sort of brownish ink; in some portions of text the ink is clearly fading away. The style in our manuscript item shows looped descenders, as in the case of the letter <y, h, j, x> and the ampersand <&>, for example. Instances of looped ascenders include some cases of the letters <s> and <f>, the letters <k, l, h> and some abbreviations. Letter <a> reflects the characteristic Anglicana double-compartment. Letter <g> also reflects the typical

Anglicana 8-shape. There are the 6-shape letter <s> and the tall <s>. The forms the letter <r> shows in the manuscript are the short type and the long descender type. There is also the round <r>, as used in the word *thorow*, for instance.

The contents of this item include the unfavourable days for bloodletting and when in the day bloodletting is recommended (ll. 1-12); the bloodletting veins, location of veins and their therapeutic associated benefits (ll. 13-187); and the virtues of bloodletting (ll. 188-191). As indicated in the notes, reference is made to Hippocrates through Isidore of Seville's writing (ll. 2-3), probably from the appended item to Isidore's *Etymologies*, i.e. *De initio medicinae* (Codoñer 18). A closer reading of the text reveals that the *Etymologies*, including its appended item, does not seem to be the main source for W, ff. 58v-61v.

There is, however, evidence that the source of our edited text might be the pseudo-Bedan *De minutione sanguinis sive de phlebotomia*. Even if our Middle English text is not evidently an accurate witness of the *De minutione*, information on the favourable and the unfavourable days for practising bloodletting might have been taken from this text, as shown in the following excerpts, which additionally shows the influence of astrology on surgical procedures:

Plures sunt dies Ægyptiaci, in quibus nullo modo nec per ullam necessitatem licet homini vel pecori sanguinem minuere, nec potionem impendere, sed ex his tribus maxime observandi, octavo Idus April. illo die lunis, intrante Augusto: illo die lunis, exeunte Decembri: illo die lunis, cum multa diligentia observandum est, quia omnes venæ tunc plenæ sunt (*De minutione* in Giles 350).	Seth ye autorite of Ypocras, ye noble phisiciane Ysoder tellis yat yer be thre days in ye ȝere jn ye whilk dayes a man ne sall noght be lett blode. And these bene ye dayes: the 8 kalender of April, the forth day of August, the laste day of Decembre (W, f. 58v).
De ambis temporibus incidimus, propter effusionem oculorum. De subtus lingua, duas propter rheuma gingivarum, vel vitia oris, et dentium dolorem (*De minutione* in Giles 350).	The two vaynes vnder ye tonge serues for swetyng & fluxes & totheache & gommes and rewmes of the hede & appostems and squisies of the throte & for swonnynges & sikkynges & ye cowth & for ye wikkyd euele & for all vices of the mouthe (W, f.59r)

W, ff. 58v-61v, is written in English throughout, and to my knowledge, dialectal provenance has not been yet confirmed, and W has not been considered for localisation in the LALME, either. Evidence based on this manuscript indicates a northern stratum, especially Westmorland in Cumbria.

As to language use, nouns in this text do not present traces of Old English inflections, except for marking the plural and the genitive form. The inflectional endings for the plural are *–s* and *–n* (numbers in brackets refer to lines in the edition), as in *vaynes* (8) and *eene* (24), respectively. These two inflectional ways of forming the plural may be used for the same word at the same time: *bones* and *bonen* (66), *armes* (10) and *armen* (80), *vaynes* (8) and *vaynen* (123). The genitive is also marked with *–s*, as in *a womans flowres* (152), *ballokkes stones* (126), although zero marking is also possible, as in *ballok stones* (163). Mutated plurals as the result of an earlier i-umlaut have been also identified, as in *fete* (12)/ *feete* (151) and men (132).

Adjectival distinctions concerning gender, case and number are not retained in this text (cf. Horobin and Smith 106). Adjectives appear to be invariable, and

there is no trace of the OE strong/weak distinction on these forms: *vnclene* (8), *gude* (19), *strayte* (82), *lytyll* (115), *cold* (173), *right* (173). Degree is expressed in this text by means of synthetic devices: *–er* for the comparative, as in *lawer* (129) and *–mare* (122), and *–st* for the superlative, as in *myddest* (13). There is also the use of *best* (111) and *next* (41) as a case of irregular superlative. As to adverbs, these are formed by the addition of the suffix *–ly*, *onely* (9), *specially* (68), and *namelyche* (92); the last one still reflecting the OE adjectival suffix *-lic,* also used with final *–e* to form the adverbial form.

Pronouns in the text include: (a) personal: 3s, neuter: *jt* (7)*, it* (19), gen. masc.: *his/ys* (110); 3s obj. masc. *hym* (171); 3pl.: yai (78); gen.: *yair* (158); obj.: *yane* (158); (b) indefinite: *one* (71), *other* (69); (c) partitive: *ylkan* (34); (d) demonstrative: *these* (5).

Articles are *ye* (2)/ *the* (25), and *ane* before words with vowels initially, as in *ane euyle* (14).

Verbs in the infinitive have generally no specific endings, although forms may carry final *–e* and one case of *–en* as the result of inflectional levelling from Old English *–an* ending for the infinitive. These forms may cooccur with *(for) to*: *for to wete* (7), *for to clens* (27), *to blede* (64), and *for to staunchen* (151). The verbs for the present tense indicative show inflectional endings for the indicative third person singular and plural. Forms include 3s *–is, –ys* and *–es*, as in *hauntis* (92)*, tellis* (3)*, seruys* (55), *serues* (71), and 3pl. *–yn*, as in *clepyn* (133). These forms suggest, as already pointed out, a northern stratum for W, ff. 58v-61v. Present subjunctive apparently carries no additional person marking, and its form is alike the indicative simple past. There is the only instance of 3s *swone*. The imperative is like the infinitive with or without the ending *–en*: *wessch* (168) and *bathen* (176).

The passive is made up of the verb *to be* in the infinitive or in its obliques; the past participle endings are weak *–ed, –id*, and *–t*; and strong *–n*: *is called* (18)*, i clepyd* (84), *be latt* (133), *be lattyn* (10). The verb *to be* is: subjunctive *be* (170); 3 s prs. ind. *ys, is*; 3 pl. prs. ind. *bene, or*. Preterite-present verbs in this text are *moie* 's. may sg.' (167), *may* 'may pl.' (157), *mete* 'might' (78), *mot* 'must' (38), most 'must' (68), *sall* 'shall' (134), shall (169), *shuld* 'should' (10). These forms have been attested in areas of the North, except for the variant *mete* 'might' that is not registered in the *LALME*. The forms *shall* and *shuld* are not very common in the North from which this text seems to be. The variant *shall* in this area is very distinctive occurring only in five LPs. One of which corresponds to the dialectal area of Westmorland.

This state of the language roughly confirms the catalogue date for this manuscript entry, i.e. the 15th century, although, particularly, in the case of the item edited here, an approximate date should be some point in the late 14th century. This is also supported by the dialectal localisation of this text which shows some degree of standardisation although a number of colourful forms still persist.

The linguistic profile (LP) given below has been designed following the directions in the *LALME* and localisation has been performed focusing on the information in this LP and on the morphological evidence described earlier. Sporadic forms are given within triple brackets.

TABLE 1. *LP WELLCOME LIBRARY, MS 5650, ff. 58v-61v*	
THE	ye
THESE	these
IT	it, yt
THEY	yai
THEM	yane
THEIR	yair
WHICH	ye whilk
EACH	ylkan
MAN	man
ANY	any, ony
MUCH	mekill
ARE	bene (((or)))
IS	is, ys
SHALL sg	sall, shall
SHOULD	shuld
AGAINST	agayn(e), (((a3ene)))
NOT	noght
THERE	thare, yer
MIGHT vb	mete
THROUGH	yorow, thorow
BETWEEN adv	bytwix, betwix
CALL vb	call-, clep-
DAY	day
DAYS	dayes
EVIL	euel(e), euyle, euylle
EYE	een
EYES	eenen
FIRST weak adj	fyrste
GOOD	gude, gode
HAVE pres	haue, hafe
LOW	lawer
[C]OLD	cold, cald
ONE pron	one
OTHER adj.	other
TWO	two
WIT inf KNOW	wete

Dialectal localisation of the text has been carried out focusing on the LP in Table 1, as already said, and also on the dot maps in the *LALME*. The LP shows some distinctive Northern features. The forms for *bene* and *or* are found in this area. In the case of the former, it is attested in the dialectal regions of Yorkshire and Westmorland. As to the latter, this form does not appear in the *LALME*. The form SHALL: *sall* is quite spread in the North, and SHALL: *shall* is more exclusive in this area and is registered in the *LALME* in Westmorland and Northumberland. The form *shuld* is recorded in specimens from Durham, the Isle of Man and Westmorland. Another defining feature is *agayn* 'against'. This form is not widespread in the North and appears in Westmorland and Yorkshire. The form *azene* is not a northern feature, and it has been attested in the county of Norfolk in the LALME, and this might suggest that this form is a variant as the result of copying from an exemplar or a variant as the result of the scribe's own idiolect (cf. Benskin and Laing).

The localisation of the word *thare* 'there' has been found in the areas of Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, York, and Lincolnshire. The form *betwix* 'between' in its current manuscript form in two words is extensively used in Westmorland and neighbouring areas. The forms *gude* and *gode* for the item GOOD have been registered for several counties of the North, including York, Lincolnshire, and Durham, among others, and the region of Westmorland, where both *gude* and *gode* coexist. The same happens with the variants *hafe* and *haue*, being the second of these far more popular than *hafe* in areas of the North, although both forms have been attested in documents of the Westmorland area.

The word *lawer* for the item LOW is localised in some areas of the north-east of England to Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire. The distinction <a/o> preceding the homorganic consonant cluster <-ld> keeps both variants in the text edited here, hence *cold*, *cald* (see Jordan-Crook 92 for the *cald* variant). The form with *a* is basically found in areas of the North. In the text, another form with *a* from its ancestor Old English long sound /a:/ is identified, i.e. *–mare* in the word *ouermare* (122-123). All these features confirm the Northern stratum of W, ff. 58v-61v, specifically the region of Westmorland, as suggested by the number of variants in the edited text localised in this area. A comparison of the LP designed here with LP 389 in the LALME is clarifying. Actually, this LP 389 also includes evidence of fortition of the voiceless interdental fricative represented in spelling by <-th> in numerals into voiced or voiceless plosive sounds represented in spelling by <-t> or <-d>. In W, the form *seuened* 'seventh' suggests the same process of fortition.

The lexicon of W, ff. 58v-61v, reflects the type of words that are representative of this type of medical technical texts, even if, as already pointed out, jargon has been kept to a minimum in order not to hinder understanding to the non-professionals. The vocabulary used in this text suggests different traditions. This encompasses the names of sicknesses, plant names, medical products and implements. These lexical items display a high influence of Latin (or Greek via Latin) and French. Some examples taken from the text may illustrate the influence received from these languages (information has been drawn from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Middle English Dictionary*): *colica passio* < ML *colica passio*; *mygrayn* < OF *migrai(g)ne* (<L *hemicrania* < Gr *hemikrania*); *apostemes* < OF *aposteme, apostume, empostume*

and ML *apostema*; *jaundes* < OF *jaunice, gaunisse* and AN *jauniz*; *feuers* < OE *fefer* < L *febris*; *kancer* < OE *cancer* < L *cancer*; < medieval squisies < Latin *squinancia*, *-antia*, apparently formed by confusion of Greek *συνάγχη* and *κυνάγχη*; *venegre* < OF *vinaigre*, *vinagre* and AN *vinegre*, *vinegar*; and *spices* < OF *espece*, *espi(e)ce*, *espis(c)e* and AN *spece* from L *species*.

5. EDITION

A set of editorial principles has been followed in the edition of W, ff. 58v-61v. The scribe's own spelling conventions have been fully respected throughout this edition, including cases of variation to avoid concealing dialectal information. Variation in the use of <u> and <v> to indicate either a vowel or a consonant quality has been retained. The vowel sound represented by the letter <i> in the PDE word *list* can be either <i, j> or <y>. These are also shown in the edition.

Abbreviations are expanded in conformity with the rest of the manuscript's spelling, and these are indicated using italics for reasons of their dialectal significance. Otiose marks in script have been excluded from the transcription, but abbreviation marks have been identified with reference to similarly spelled-out words used in the recipe book. These abbreviations are curly strokes to indicate the omission of a final *-er,* a sort of upturned <ə> to signal *-es/-ys*, and tildes that indicate a missing nasal sound as in the word *man*. The ampersand symbol <&> has also been retained in the edition. Supralinear letters, normally <t> and <e>, are also shown.

The scribe quite often uses word boundaries, which are meaningless in PDE. In this edition, I have amended those misdivisions, as I have not clear evidence that division has been purposefully intended by the scribe in all the cases. These words are *a for, a boute, a bove, a gayne, a ȝene, be hynd, be twix, blodelattyng, hede ache, with in,* and *with oute*.

As to punctuation in the original, the scribe of W, ff. 58v-61v, uses several times the *punctus*, the *virgula suspensiva*, and the hyphen to establish periodic division within the text. These marks indicate the structure of the text, as well as the reading pauses. Paraph marks are deployed as marginal notes to signal therapeutic directions related to bloodletting.

Punctuation in the edition is editorial. Some uses of the punctus reflect PDE use of the point. The same applies to the simple and double virgule, and a PDE point has replaced this punctuation mark. Occasionally, the virgule and the punctus combine to indicate a same kind of segmentation. In these cases, a PDE point is also used. Other times either the punctus or the virgule may appear after an adverbial phrase, in sequences of any type of phrases, and before the word *and* (in phrases and clauses). All these instances of the punctus or of the virgule are a PDE comma or nothing in the edition. The punctus surrounding numerals have been removed from the transcription. The genitive is left as it stands in its manuscript presentation, without apostrophe, e.g. *mans mynde* rather than *man's mynde* (f. 60v).

The paraph marks in the margins have been retained as these are considered contemporary visual aids. There is one case of a triple virgule in the original to

separate off two simple sentences. This mark is a point in the edition. An editorial colon has also been added. Capitalisation follows PDE conventions, and <ff> in initial position has been reduced to minuscule single <f>, except in the case of the word *ffeuerȝer*, which is capitalised, thus *Feuerȝer*.

The folio numbers are included in the edited text, and each line corresponds to a line in the manuscript. Lines are editorial and are given in the margin as a reference aid to follow the description of the text given earlier in this paper.

58^{v} For blode lattyng.

Seth ye autorite of Ypocras, y^{e} noble phisiciane Ysoder tellis yat *ye*r be thre dayes
in ye ȝere jn ye whilk dayes a man ne sall
noght be lett blode. And these bene y^{e} dayes:
the 8 kal*ender* of April, the forth day of August, the
laste day of Decembr*e.* Jt is for to wete
yat all the vaynes of ye hede yai bene vnclene after
mete, saue onely ye vayne vnd*er* ye chyn.

Also ye vaynes of the armes shuld be lattyn
blode afor mete. And ye vaynes of ye handes & of
y^{e} fete after mete.

The vayne in y^{e} myddest of the forhede s*er*ues for
hedeache & for y^{e} mygrayn yat is ane euyle
y*a*^{t} takes halfe y^{e} hede & makes it to ake.
And also for the litarge y*a*^{t} is ane euylle y*a*^{t} makes
a man to forgete al y*a*t he heres and y*a*^{t} co*m*mes yorow a
postym yat is called litarge. And it waxis behynd
no¶ ye hede. And it is gude for y^{e} fransye &
wodenes, and for y^{e} brayne yat is defouled,
and for newe meselry.

The two vaynes in y^{e} temples a[t] both partes of the hede
s*er*ues for akyng of the dece eres and for mekill
wat*er*ynge of y^{e} eene and agayne
grete hete of the temples.

The two vaynes behynde y^{e} eres s*er*ues for
to make a man haue gude mynde & for to clens y^{e}
face & for ye spottes in y^{e} face & for rewms &
filthes of the teth & y^{e} gomes & for all
vices of y^{e} mouthe.

2 Seth] There is an indication for the later addition of a hanging initial, i.e. <s> given in minuscule in contemporary hand, same script and ink. This initial has been, therefore, added in this edition.

1 58v] **2** Seth] eth **23** dece] ^dece

59r The two vaynes in y^{e} eres within *ser*ues for tremelyng of the hede & stoppyng of the hede & for tyngelyng of y^{e} eres & for newe defenes. The two vaynes in y^{e} nekk ylkan of yane *ser*ues for all swellyng*es* & sup*er*flewites of y^{e} cheuwyng*es* teth & gomes & chekes and for boches & appostymes of the throte withjn & withoute & yat blodelattyng mot be done with grete sotelte.

The two vaynes in y^{e} two cornes of y^{e} eres next y^{e} nose *ser*ues for derkenes of y^{e} een & for webbes & clowdes & pynnes of y^{e} een & for all fluxes & greuans of ye eene. The vayne of y^{e} topp of y^{e} nose *ser*ues for hedeache & for y^{e} flux of ye eene & of the heuede.

The two vaynes y*a*^{t} bene in ye jowes of the mouth *ser*ues for schewes of y^{e} face & for schab*es* & schab of ye heued.

The two vaynes vnder y^{e} tonge *ser*ues for swetyng & fluxes & totheache & gommes and rewmes of the hede & appostems and squisies of the throte & for swonnyng*es* & sikkyng*es* & ye cowth & for ye wikkyd euele & for all vices of the mouthe.

The vayne in ye hole of the nekk *ser*uys for hedeache for wodenes & fleble mynde and fluxes & rewmes of the brayn & of ye forhede & for all the hede.

59^{v} The vayn vnder y^{e} chyn *ser*ues for swellyng & akynge of y^{e} iowes & of y^{e} pappes & y^{e} breste & for rottyng & stynkyng*es* of y^{e} nosethrylles & boche in nosethrelles.

The hede vayne of both y^{e} armes ache of yane is gode to blede for hedeache & for destres of ye hede & for greuans of the shuld*er* bones & akyng of ye rig bone*n* & foulfallyng*es* & swellyng*es* & fluxes of y^{e} een & wiky deuel ane yis bledyng most be specially befor all other tymes of ye yeer vppon ye seuened day of ye moneth of May.

63 ache] ~~ak~~ache

The two medil vaynes of ayther arme one
ser*ues* for alle sorwes & defautes greuance
& passions & cardiacles of ye hart & for ye
brest & y^e^ stomak & y^e^ ribbes & ye sydes &
for all ye membres with in ye body & for all
vices of ye lunges & stoppyng yat makes
a man haue strayt breth & stynkyng, & speci-
ally yai mete blede y^e^ fifte day of Septe*m*bre.

The two vayns in ye sercle of ye elbowes
on ayther arme*n* one ser*ues* for akyng of y^e^
brest & for ye lunge & for y^e^ mydrife & for

strayte breth & for ye tisik & for y^e^ crampe
& for akynge of y^e^ worme yat is clepyd colica passio.

f. 60^r^ The vayne bytwix y^e^ lityll fynger & y^e^ leche
y*a*^t^ is next on ayther hande ser*ues* for swel-
lyng*es* of y^e^ stones & of y^e^ brest & for wlatyng*es*
& for y^e^ jaundes & for all vices of y^e^ mylte
yat co*m*mes thorow feuers or any oth*er* causes

The vayne betwix y^e^ thome & y^e^ next fyng*er*
on ayther hande ser*ues* for hedeache yat
hauntis a man, & namelyche ye vaynes of the thome. Ye
fyrste ven*n*es or gude for all
feuers, & namely for y^e^ quarten, for schedyng
of ye gall, & for wikkyd brynnyng, & for a rede
nose, & for flux of teres in ye eene*n*.

The vayne wi^t^*h*jn y^e^ thees next y^e^ shear ser*ues*
for all vices of ye emeraudes & for y^e^ flux &
ye blodymenyson & for ye chaudpysse & for ye
^blodder.
The vayne in y^e^ rigg bone ende
ser*ues* for all y^e^ greuans of rig bone & of y^e^ bak/

The two lyuer vaynes on ayther arme one
ser*ues* for tremellyng*es* schrynkyng*es* of synowes in y^e^
armes & handes & fyngers & a3ene all feblyng
rotyng & defaute of ye lyuer of
ye lung*es* & ye brest & y^e^ mylk & ou*er* mekill
waxing of ye gall & for akyng of ye bakk
& ye shuld*er* bones & ye ribbes & ye sides & all ye
membres within & for bledyng at ys nose & for all
feueres. The best day of y^e^ yer*e*
is ye seueneth day of May.

f. 60^v^ The two vaynes on ayther side one of ye
body bene clepyd craluestelle & yan bene

aboute ye lytyll fyng*er* and s*er*ues for y^{e} hanches & for ye eene*n* & for ye face & for oth*er* partes of ye body.

The two vaynes in ye thees with in on ayth*er* hempp s*er*ues for akyng*es* of ye reynes & y^{e} bledd*es* & for all maner of gowtes & dropsies and shrynkyng*es* & swellyng*es* of all ye body. Thare bene two vaynes on ye pyntell ye ou*er*-mar*e* vayne*n* s*er*ues for y^{e} crampe & for ye euel y*a*^{t} is callyd Collica Passio y*a*^{t} is a swellyng in ye wombe & wynde horlyng*es* & for all man*er* swellyng*es* of ballokk*es* stones & for ye wombe & for ye stone*n* euele & for ye bledd*er* & for ye reynes.

The vayne lawer on y^{e} pyntell next y^{e} huske is gude for y^{e} dropcy & all his spices.

.9. Thar*e* bene two vaynes thre fyngers mele above ye knees on ayther kne, one yat men clepyn "sagittes". If yai be latt blode, ye man sall dye on one sodenly with leyh3ni*n*g. Bewar of yat.

The two vaynes vnd*er* y^{e} knees in both y^{e} legg*es* yat is in ye harmmes, yai s*er*ue for all passions & ye defaute of ye reynes & ye bled*ere* & for f. 61^{r} ye longes & entrayles agayne boches and postemes & swellyng*es* & rotyng*es* of the thees & legg*es*, & specially agayn ye goute in the heppes & ye legg*es* handes & fete.

The two veynes on y^{e} lytyll too ayther fote one s*er*ues for ye reynes & y^{e} bledder & for the gendryng*es* membres & for ye palsie & for all euele goutes.

The two vaynes vppon y^{e} grete too on ayth*er* fote one s*er*ues for whebbes & spottes in y^{e} face & for all greuance & apostemes & boches & a gayn y^{e} kancer & y^{e} fest*er* y*a*^{t} co*m*mes in y^{e} theis & legg*es* & shennes & feete & for to staunch*e*n a womans flowres.

156 after] aster

The two vaynes vnder y^e^ inner ancles on
ayther fote one s*er*ues for sande in y^e^ bledd*er*
& for ye stone*n* & for women y*a*^t^ bene noght
clene purged after child berynge*s* & for wo-
men y*a*^t^ may noght consayfe, and also for to
make yane hafe yair floures when yai
bene stopped.

The two vaynes vnd*er* ye vtterer ancles on
ayther fote one s*er*ues for greuance of the
hanches & y^e^ longes & y^e^ reynes & for swel-
lynge*s* & boches & apostemes & for y^e^ ballok

f. 61^v^ stones & for lattyng off vryne & for y^e^
chaudpysse.

When any vayne shall blede on y^e^ fete, ¶
y^e^ fote moie be sett in hote water.

Iff ony swone for bledynge*s* & it be wynter ¶
tyme, wessh his face with hote water
& ye palmes of his handes & ye soles off his feete.

And if it be somer tyme, wash hym w*i*^t^*h* ¶
cald water & make hym brake & put to
his nose yeyll pulioll & mynte & horseme*n*t
& spryng cold aysell or venegre on his nakyd side.

And if y^e^ place swelle y*a*^t^ bledys, take oyle & ¶
louke water in wynter & lay to w*i*^t^*h* a cloute.
In somer bathen & froyte y^e^ soles of his
fete with cold water.

And fro saynt Petres day in Feuer3er in- ¶
to ye vtaues day of ye assu*m*pc*i*o*n*, vse the
on ye left syde.

The vertues of blodelattynge. It kepys
a mans mynde. It brynges it agayn. It
clensys his bledd*er*. It tempers his brayn.
It hetys his marow. It coppyus his hering*es*.

167 61v] *venerabil*; marginal note located in the header section of the page written in a different hand and different ink; also the word *venerbil*, blurred –intentional rubbing-off. **181** left] lest.

6. GLOSSARY

The glossary includes all the words contained in the edited text whose spellings and/or meanings differ in any aspect from PDE and may cause confusion in the interpretation of the text. The order is alphabetical. There is no conflation as regards alternative spellings. Thus, variants like <j>, <y>, <i>, for instance, are entered as they appear in the MS. For ease of reference, I provide the line where an instance of each entry appears. For the glossary, I have mainly used for reference the MED and the OED, though some other sources have also been consulted, such as the editions by Mowat, Henslow, Ogden; and as the manuals by Hunt, Norri (*Names of Sicknesses* and *Names of Body Parts*).

The following abbreviations are used:

adj.	adjective	e	early	ppl.	past participle
adv.	adverb, adverbial	fem.	feminine	pron.	pronoun
art.	article	gen.	genitive	prpl.	present participle
aux.	auxiliary	imp.	imperative	prs.	present simple
comp.	comparative	ind.	indicative	subj.	subjunctive
conj.	conjunction	L	Latin	sg.	singular
def.	definite	n.	noun	sup.	superlative
dem.	demonstrative	pers.	person	v.	verb
dvbln.	deverbal noun	pl.	plural		

appostymes: *n. pl.* a gathering of purulent matter in any part of the body; a large deep-seated abscess #37.
ayther: *pron.* either #91.
blodder: *n.* bladder #100.
blodymenyson: *n.* discharge from the bowels containing blood #99.
boches: *n.* a hump, a swelling, a tumour #37.
cald: *adj.* cold #171.
cardiacles: *n. pl.* from L *cardiaca*; a malady characterized by pain in the heart and palpitation; also, a disease characterized by feebleness and profuse sweating; #73.
chaudpysse: *n.* A urinary or venereal disease #99.
cloute: *n.* a piece of cloth #175.
craluestelle: *prob.* the subclavian vein and artery #116.
defautes: *n.* lack #72.
defouled: *n.* damage #20.
destres: *n. pl.* the right hand #65.
dropcy: *n.* A morbid condition characterized by the accumulation of watery fluid in the serous cavities or the connective tissue of the body #130.
een: *n. s.* eye #41.
euyll(e): *n.* pain #16.
Feuer3er: *n.* February #178.
flebe: *adj.* feeble #56.
fransye: *n.* insanity, delirium, madness, mental derangement #19.
froyte: *v.* rub #176.
greuans: *n. see* **greuaunce** #105.

greuaunce: *n.* grievance #72.
hanches: *n. pl.* the part of the human body between the lowest ribs and the thighs, the hips, haunch #115.
harmmes: *n. pl.* arms #137.
hempp: *n.* the plant hemp #119.
heued(e): *n.* head #45.
jaundes: *n.* jaundice; A morbid condition caused by obstruction of the bile, and characterized by yellowness of the conjunctiva, skin, fluids, and tissues, and by constipation, loss of appetite, and weakness #88.
leche: *n.* the bare skin? #85.
leyhȝning: *dvbln.* haemorrhage?? #134.
litarge: *n.* white or red lead #16.
medil: *adj.* middle #71.
mekill: *adj.* much #23.
meselry: *n.* leprosy or similar disfiguring disease #21.
mete: *n.* food, meal #11.
mot: *v.* must #38.
mygrayn: *n.* hemicrania #14.
mylte: *n.* the spleen #88.
or: *v. 3 pers. pl.* are #93.
pyntell: *n.* the penis #129.
rewms: *n. pl.* Watery or mucous secretions, esp. as collecting in or dripping from the eyes, nose, or mouth, originally believed to originate in the brain or head and to be capable of causing disease #28.
rottyng: *dvbln.* putrefaction #61.
schab: *n.* scab #48.
sercle: *n.* anatomical feature of circular form; in this case the cubital area #79.
squisies: *n. pl.* suppurative tonsillitis #59.
strayt -breth: *adj.* short of breath #77.
superflewites: *n. pl.* excessive growth #35.
swone: *v. pres. subj.* faint #168.
thees: *n. pl.* thighs #118.
thome: *n.* thumb #90.
tyngelyng: *dvbln*. The ringing of the ears; a thrilling or unpleasant tickling of the ear #33.
vayne: *n.* vein #9.
vices: *n. pl.* a physical imperfection, a disorder #54.
vtaues: *n. pl.* the eighth day following a feast day, counting the day itself, an octave #179.
waxis: *v. 3 pers. s.* to increase in size through natural growth, grow #18.
wlatynges: *dvbln.* sickness of the stomach; nausea; vomiting #87.
wodenes: *n.* unsoundness or derangement of mind, lunacy, mania, madness #20.
ylkan: *pron.* each one #34.
yorow: *prep.* through #17.

7. CODA

This paper proposes an edition of a hitherto unedited fifteenth-century English text on phlebotomy. This text has never received scholarly attention, and there is, therefore, no information as to its language, dialectal provenance, or early history and affiliation. This article fills the gap and offers this information. The poor physical condition of the manuscript volume calls for an immediate action to preserve codicological and linguistic details. One important finding of this study concerns the sources of W, ff. 58v-61v, which cannot be safely attributed to Isidore of Seville, as referenced in the original text. I have found, however, some evidence relating this text with the pseudo-Bedan *De minutione sanguinis sive de phlebotomia*, which, like our text, contains astrological information useful for bloodletting procedures.

A study of the language of the text has been very helpful for the dialectal localization of the text of W, ff. 58v-61v. For this purpose, a linguistic profile of the scribe has been done using a questionnaire to evince highly dialectal forms. Many of the variants obtained reveal the Northern stratum of this text, and I have suggested the region of Westmorland as a likely area of provenance. This information might be of use as an addition to the data for this county already given in the LALME in other new localizations of Middle English documents.

As pointed out in the introduction of this paper, editorial work here has greatly followed the tradition of mid-twentieth century editors of medieval texts. The purpose of doing this is to provide cultural, paleographic and linguistic evidence to understand and contextualize the text. Editions like the one presented here are also beneficial for students and for researchers, not exclusively in (historical) linguistics, but also in the history of sciences. If otherwise as it stands, a fresh and tailor-made version of this text can be produced after the edition presented here in order to be included in larger compilations of similar texts for computerized linguistic research.

Reviews sent to authors: 2 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 28 January 2020

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REVISITING THE CLINE FROM CODE-SWITCHING TO BORROWING: EVIDENCE FROM THE LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH CELY LETTERS (1472-1488)*

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Abstract

In this paper I examine the relationship between code-switching and lexical borrowing in the Cely letters (1472-1488). Most researchers agree in situating these concepts at the opposite ends of a diachronic continuum, so that code-switches, in the course of time and given the adequate circumstances, may become integrated borrowings in the recipient language. There is, however, some controversy as regards the classification of intermediate phenomena such as non-assimilated or nonce borrowings. Yuron Matras has recently proposed a set of criteria which, in my opinion, are useful to categorise the intermediate elements in the continuum. These criteria are applied to a selection of words from the Cely letters. As such, the analysis of these terms helps test the historical validity of Matras's benchmark, at the same time as it determines the necessity of keeping a distinctive terminology.

Keywords: code-switching, lexical borrowing, non-assimilated borrowing, Cely letters, Middle English.

LA GRADACIÓN DE CAMBIOS DE CÓDIGO Y PRÉSTAMOS: UNA RECONSIDERACIÓN A PARTIR DE DATOS PROCEDENTES DE LAS CELY LETTERS (1472-1488)

Resumen

A partir del análisis del corpus de correspondencia medieval conocido como Cely letters (1472-1488) profundizo aquí en la relación entre cambio de código y préstamo léxico. Los investigadores está de acuerdo en situar ambos conceptos en los extremos de un continuo diacrónico, de modo que los cambios de código, en el curso del tiempo y en las circunstancias adecuadas, pueden integrarse en la lengua receptora como préstamos; sin embargo, hay discrepancias al abordar categorías intermedias, como los llamados préstamos no integrados o nonce borrowings. Yuron Matras ha propuesto una serir de criterios que permiten categorizar estos elementos intermedios en el continuo. La aplicación de estos criterios a una selección de voces extraídas de las Cely letters permite verificar su validez histórica a la vez que determina la prioridad de mantener las distinciones terminológicas.

Palabras clave: cambio de código, préstamo léxico, préstamo no integrado, *Cely letters*, Middle English.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.04
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 51-72; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will delve into the trite relationship between code-switching and borrowing in the historical context afforded by the Cely letters: a well-known collection of 247 documents exchanged by this London family of wool merchants and their associates between 1472 and 1488. Most of the correspondents were probably monolingual speakers of English and, in fact, all the letters are written in this language, except two in French and one in Dutch. The following broad view of code-switching, proposed by Penelope Gardner-Chloros, is adopted as a methodological starting point: "the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people. It affects practically everyone who is in contact with more than one language or dialect, to a greater or lesser extent" (*Code-switching*, 4). This view-point also entails a broad approach to bilingualism as one end in the continuum extending from the ability to use two or more languages in different degrees, to pure monolingualism at the other, with a range of intermediate contours that may include a passive familiarity with the L_2 (Thomason *Language Contact*, 30-32; Matras 111-112). I think this model properly fits the late medieval context of the Cely letters, when pure monolingualism was exceptional –as it is in the modern globalised world– and texts were "composed and received in a multilingual network of allusions, undergirdings, expectations, resonances" (Wogan-Browne 7; see also: Pahta 529).

As such, code-switching is often used as an umbrella term that can be applied to a range of language mixing and contact phenomena. A majority of scholars in the field have proposed to see all language-contact phenomena in a continuum, with code-switching –whose elements have "recognizable limits in the sentence or text" (Gardner-Chloros *Code-Switching*, 26)– situated at its centre, and other language mixing phenomena placed towards the extremity: "fused lects" –"stabilized mixed varieties," where the languages affected are integrated to such an extent that they form a single grammatical system instead of two separate ones– and "language mixing," where it is not the "individual switch points that carry significance but the uses of the overall switching mode" (Auer 309-322; see also: Gardner-Chloros *Code-Switching*, 10-13; Gardner-Chloros "Contact...," 192; Pahta 529). At the other end of the continuum, code-switching leads into borrowing, since the latter is usually assumed to start "as spontaneous code-switches [...] generaliz[ing] themselves among speakers of the host language" (Gardner-Chloros *Code-switching*, 12; Gardner-Chloros "Contact...," 195; see also: Romaine 123-124; Thomason "Contact...," 694-696; Bullock and Toribio 2; Schendl and Wright 23-24). In between, other phenomena such as "non-assimilated (nonce) borrowings," "loan translations" (calques) and "semantic extensions" can be contemplated.

* Financial support for this research has been provided by Fundación Séneca, the Murcian Agency for Science and Technology (grant no. 20585-EE-18). This support is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

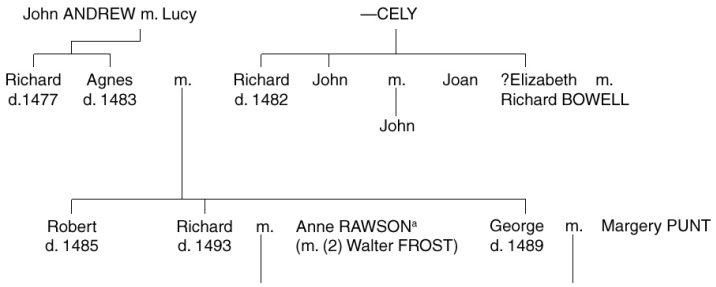

Figure 1. Core members of the Cely family: first and second generations (adapted from Hanham *Celys...*, 2).

2. THE MULTILINGUAL BACKGROUND OF THE CELYS AND THEIR CORRESPONDENTS

The Cely collection comprises letters written by members of the family and by people of different extraction related to them. As regards the Cely family, the eldest member is the London Merchant of the Staple Richard Cely the elder (d. 1482) (see figure 1). Most of his letters are sent to his son George Cely (d. 1489), when the latter was working at Calais, first as an apprentice and then as a factor. In 1482, after his father's death, he moved to London, where he married Margery (in May 1484) and took over the responsibility of the family business in partnership with his brother Richard Cely the younger (d. 1493). Other core members of the Cely family (see figure 1) are John Cely, also a Merchant of the Staple who gathered wool for his brother Richard the elder, and Robert Cely (d. 1485), who had become full member of the Staple Fellowship by 1474-1475 (Hanham *Celys...*, 82). The bulk of the extant correspondence is written by William Cely (d. 1489), probably a family dependant who took over the job of factor at Calais when George returned to London; as such, he is not included in the family chart.

Most of the other correspondents are related to the wool trade, either as factors or as staplers. The former include Thomas Kesten –an associate of Richard the elder in charge of the Calais end of business– and the attorneys John Dalton and Thomas Granger. Merchants of the Staple include William Adam, John Dycons, William Dalton, Thomas Colton, John Eldurbeck, Ralph Lemyngton, William Maryon –a close friend and neighbour of the family– John Pasmer, John Sambach, Richard Ryisse, John Spencer and Harold Stawntoyn. Letters by the mercers Harry Bryan, Robert Eyrick and John Roose also appear. The collection also includes letters by the servants Robert Good and Joyce Parmenter and by the wool supplier William Mydwinter. Two letters by Robert Radclyff, the Major of the Stapler's Lieutenant at Calais, are also preserved. The gentry is represented by Sir John Weston, prior to the English branch of the order of St. John of Jerusalem (1476-1489) and the Cely's immediate patron, as well as by Sir Edmund Bedyngfeld, who was Knight of the

Bath at the Coronation of Richard III in 1483, Sir Ralph Hastings (d. 1495) and Sir Roland Thornburght. There is one letter by an anonymous Vicar of Watford and some by unknown correspondents, like R. Coldale, Nicholas Knyveton, John Goldson, Thomas Miller, R. Shipden and the anonymous R.A. Finally, one letter addressed by Margery Cely to her husband George is also preserved.

Even if the headquarters of the Celys were situated at Mark Lane, near the Tower of London, the routines of the wool business involved a great deal of mobility in the form of journeys to the wool-producing regions of England, especially the Costwolds, thence to London, where wool was stored, and to Calais, where members of the Fellowship of the Staple were enforced by law to ship and sell their products at a fixed rate (Hanham *Letters...*, xviii-xix). In the late fifteenth century, Calais, which had been an outpost in France since 1346, was frequented by merchants of different nationalities: French, Dutch, Spanish, Lombards, German and English (Hanham *Celys...*, 222). Calais was clearly a multilingual town. Factors also travelled from Calais to different marts in the Low Countries –Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom and, especially, Bruges– where diverse economic transactions were made, involving other English staplers and merchant adventurers, but also Lombard or Flemish bankers and Spanish businessmen. The marts were also attractive for shopping, and some of the letters contain lists of products that merchants, their family and friends asked factors to get for them (Hanham *Letters...*, xix; Hanham *Celys...*,115-147). In this context, language contact must have been the norm.[1]

Despite this multilingual setting, there is evidence that people of various origins dwelt in different streets and frequented different inns. But there is also evidence that settlements were often arranged in public houses, although the extent to which bargaining involved the use of the foreign language by any of the parts is unclear. Obviously, a spoken command of French and/or Dutch would have been useful for merchants and factors and there are proofs that apprentices were often trained in languages (Stenroos 25). In the *Paston Letters* a young man is recommended as being "well spokyn jn Inglyshe, metly well in Frensche and very parfit in Flemyshe. He can wryght and reed" (Davis 600; see also: Hanham *Celys...*, 248). Similarly, the French-English phrase book published by William Caxton in c. 1480, *Dialogues in French and English*, contains model bilingual conversations "on toures and fayrs" / "villes et festes" or "the marchandyse of wulle" / "les marchandises des laires" (Bradley 1; see also: Hanham "Who made...?," 715; Häckner 144); despite its obvious interest for merchants, there is no evidence that the Celys were able to use it.[2]

[1] As such, one letter in Dutch and two French ones appear in the collection. The Dutch letter was addressed to George Cely by Jan Vanderheyde in October 1477 asking to be sent "iiij sacken myddel Cutsewout" ['four sarplers middle Costwold'] (Hanham *Letters...*, no. 14, ll. 6-7). Two letters in French are also included: a well-known letter sent by Clare to George Cely in May 1479 where she declares her love for him (no. 54) and one letter addressed by Waterin Tabardy to George Cely promising to send "vng home porteur [decheste] pour conduire l'omme as hotoirs" (no. 62, ll. 2-3).

[2] These are clues that French in fifteenth-century England was still learnt in some circles, together with Latin, in parallel to literacy training (Schendl and Wright 19; see also: Ingham "Anglo-

Martina Häcker has claimed that knowledge of French among the Celys could have been limited. She reaches this conclusion after the analysis of the lexicon used by the core correspondents and the absence of significant differences in the stock used by the members of the family who remained in London and those who were stationed at Calais. Moreover, she notices that the majority of non-English technical terms related to the wool trade are Flemish, which, from her point of view, discards that a suitable command of French accompanied negotiations in Flanders (and Calais): "English and Dutch must [...] have been close enough for English settlers to understand Dutch buyers and vice versa. For negotiations with French buyers English merchants would probably have used intermediaries" (144-145). In this sense, bargaining with "Hollandars" is described by Richard Cely the younger in a letter sent from Calais to George Cely in September 1478:

> Syr, her be com iiij felyschyp of Hollandars –thay be the harddeste men that euer I spake with [...] Syr, I wos in hand wyth them for owr fellys, and set the Cottyswold at xiiij [noblys] xx d., or not, and contre at xiij noblys xl d., or not, and then tay wold refewy a scarttayn and I wald not, and wat thay wyll do I wotte not 3eyt (Hanham *Letters...*, no. 34, ll. 14-21)

In the same letter, Richard describes his deals with French "marchantys of Roon" [Rouen]:

> Syr, her ys marchantys of Roon, and thay wolde by good Cottyswold woll, and thay spake to me and desyryd to haue had iij sarplers, iij partys in hand of payment xxv s. iiij d. my li., and halfe 3er daye of the therd penny, mony corant in Flandyrs. And I ansford them and thay wold geue me redy mony xxv s. iiij d., mony corant at Calles [...] thay schould haue iij or iiij. And watt thay wyll do I wot not 3eyt (Hanham *Letters...*, no. 34, ll. 4-11)

No reference is made in these texts to the language used in the negotiations; however, the vividness of the description seems to imply that, in both contexts –English-Dutch and English-French– both parties were involved in conversation and understood each other, probably using their own language, since no interpreters, either in the French or the Dutch languages, are mentioned.

Norman...," 1-7; Ingham *Transmission...*, 27-38). Tim William Machan has studied the circulation of French grammars in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and finds evidence that French was still "a language with prestige in certain repertoires" (367; see also: Bennett 332). He gives notice of fifty-two printed manuals for teaching French to English speakers in the fifteenth century; a figure that increases to one hundred and thirty nine in the sixteenth. Some of them, like *Manières de langage* (1396), the anonymous *Liber Donati* (early fifteenth-century) or William Caxton's *Dialogues in French and English* (c. 1480), included "model putative conversations for travellers and merchants working in France" or collections of legal and commercial texts in French, which leads Machan to compare them to "modern Berlitz book[s]" (368; see also: Rothwell 546). In addition to the cultural allure of French, this also points to a pragmatic interest on the part of French learners in late medieval England.

Distinguishing between oral and written skills in French may be useful in this context, leading to the possibility that some of the Celys –particularly those at Calais– could have acquired some command of the former, but not of the latter. Evidence of this can perhaps be drawn from the well-known bilingual French-English notes scattered at the dorse of letter no. 49, originally sent to George Cely by John Dalton (15 April, 1479), but reused later by the recipient to scribble his own notes. These notes contain the following four lines of French text, probably corresponding to the lyrics of a drinking song:

> Je boy Avous mademoy selle / Je vous plage movnsenyuevr //
> Poirsse ke vous l estes se belle / Je boy, etc.
> Je sens lamor rensson estyn selle ke me persse par me le kowre /
> Je boy a [...] Je voue plege movnsenywr / (Hanham *Letters...*, no. 49, ll. 12-15)

> "I drink to you, mademoiselle / I pledge you, sir // Because you are so pretty / I drink, etc. I feel love in its spark which pierces me through the heart / I drink [...] I pledge you, sir /" (Hanham *Celys...*, 50)

They are followed by a list of French words and phrases –which I have highlighted in italics– with their English translation, in the fashion of a French lesson:

> *de davns* wyth in / *de horsse* wyth hov[te] *Bosonye* besy //
> *shavnte* // syng / // *vn shavnssovne* / an song
> *lere* / Rede *vn shen* an doge / *shovtt* hott
> *ffrett* covld
> *Je le vous hay de kavnt je Raye* / I have sayd yow whan
> I go // *Je swy hovntesse* / shamed *Je swy Hovntesse* //
> I am shamyd (Hanham *Letters...*, no. 49, ll. 16-22; my italics).

It is possible, Alison Hanham surmises (*Celys...*, 50), that George wrote these notes while he was in the company of a French-speaking lady, as suggested by the feminine ending in "Je swy Hovntesse"; this lady was probably Clare, who had written a French love letter to him (no. 54) and had probably become his mistress by the time the notes were scribbled. The lady may have been dictating the French lyrics to George and then, noticing that he was not writing properly, interrupted the transcription to teach him some useful French words and phrases, which her lover wrote down, together with the English translation. An interesting issue here is the defective command of written French on the part of George, whose spelling of French words is almost phonetic, as the mere comparison of the third line "Je sens lamor rensson estyn selle ke me persse par me le kowre" with the correct French version "Je sens l'amour en son étincelle qui me perce par mi le coeur" clearly shows. Other instances of this phonetic rendering of French are reflected in the omission of final mute <t> as in *de* (French *dit*) and <s> in *swy* (French *suis*). Likewise, sometimes spaces are inserted before stressed syllables, separating articles and pronouns from nominal or verbal forms, as in *horse* (French *de-hors*) or "je Raye" (French *j'irais*). This suggests that George Cely is following here the English stress-based system of word division, with primary stress falling on the first root syllable (Häcker 142-

143). Nevertheless, I believe that from the flagrant written French mistakes in this playful lesson, one cannot conclude that George Cely was wholly unfamiliar with oral French; obviously he could communicate with Clare "to their mutual satisfaction" and, as seen above, he had dealings with French-speaking customers. It is clear that he could not write French properly, but "in his business dealings [he] had probably little need to [do it] [...] and it seems unlikely that he was quite so ignorant of the spoken language" (Hanham *Celys...*, 50-51). To a certain extent, George and other members of the family staying at Calais may have been "naturalistic" or "folk bilinguals" who had learnt some rudiments of the second language (French) through first-hand contact with people speaking it, but had not received the formal instruction that "elite bilinguals" did (Skutnabb-Kangas 97). This is the context for my study of code-switching and borrowing in the Cely letters.

3. PROBLEMS IN THE CONTINUUM FROM CODE-SWITCHING TO BORROWING

Code-Switching and borrowing have been situated by a majority of scholars within a cline, especially from the diachronic perspective which assumes that switches, in the course of time, may become fully accepted borrowings:

> Every loan presumably starts life as spontaneous code-switching and some of the switches then generalize themselves among speakers of the host language. The diachronic nature of this process is shown by the fact that transfers which occur at different historical stages of contact between the languages may go through quite different processes of integration and end up looking quite different in the receiving language (Gardner-Chloros "Contact...," 195; see also: Gardner-Chloros *Code-Switching*, 12; Thomason "Contact...," 694-696).

Scholars usually rely on the classical criteria of integration –at structural and community levels– and frequency to distinguish between established or integrated borrowings and code-switching (Poplack, Sankoff and Miller). The former usually show structural integration –morpho-phonological and semantic, reflected in the displacement of native synonyms– and, at the social level, relative acceptance by the community, which often leads to repeated use in the repertoire of more and more community members (frequency). The latter, however, tend to be limited in number; they are usually accepted in the speech of bilinguals, but may be rejected by many monolingual speakers (Appel and Muysken 182; Romaine 112-114; Gómez Capuz 150-153; Gimeno and Gimeno 119). Despite general reliability, these criteria have exceptions: not all loanwords are morpho-phonologically assimilated into the receiving language and not all code-switches are spontaneous or transient; some one-word switches may become recurrent in the community language even if they lack linguistic integration (Winford 182). Additional problems impinge on the application of these criteria to the analysis of historical materials, especially medieval ones. Arja Nurmi and Päivi Pahta have summarised them as follows:

> ... [t]he most commonly used criteria, structural integration and frequency, are difficult to apply. As structural integration of a lexical item is continuous rather than discrete, in a historical perspective it is often impossible to determine the degree to which a given item has been assimilated into the host language at a given point. Defining the degree of phonological assimilation from written evidence is also problematic. The assessment is complicated by fluctuation in spelling, and the use of abbreviations and suspensions in medieval handwriting suppresses the distinction further [...] Frequency does not serve as a firm basis for classification either. Often there is not enough evidence to determine whether a word was frequent in the usage of an individual or widespread in the community at the time (425).[3]

Integration and frequency alone are not sufficient criteria to distinguish "one-word insertional switches" from "non-assimilated borrowings": "on the spot borrowings that are structurally integrated but have not necessarily reached a wide level of propagation within the speech community or within a corpus" (Matras 106; see also: Winford 172-173). Shana Poplack, David Sankoff and Christopher Miller proposed the term "nonce borrowings" for those one-word items, probably spontaneous in the speech of bilinguals, which have a very low frequency of occurrence in a given data corpus –sometimes they occur only once– but, however, are already morphosyntactically integrated in the receiving language. As such they contrast with "established loanwords" which, in addition to full linguistic integration, show widespread diffusion across the community (50; see also: Poplack and Sankoff 102-105; Poplack and Meechan 131-132; Thomason *Language Contact*, 133-136; Gardner-Chloros *Code-Switching*, 12). The existence of exceptions –see, among others, Treffers-Daller, Samar and Meechan, Stammers and Deuchar– has led some authors to question the necessity of using separate labels for these two lexical outcomes of language contact. For instance, Barbara E. Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio avoid the term code-switching in this context and use "unassimilated borrowing" for all one-word lexical instances (5), while Michael Clyne prefers switches to embrace all individual lexical transferences and proposes "transmission" for complete crossings from one language onto another (75; see also: Myers-Scotton "Comparing..., 20-22").

One sensible solution is to look individually at each problematic instance before deciding on its status as a conscious code-switch, a "one-off occurrence" or

[3] Scribal conventions such as abbreviations and suspensions, among others, may also impinge on the clearcut distinction of codes in cases of medieval written languages in contact; the difficulty of attributing abbreviated words and morphemes to one language or another may be added to the extensive range of variability in texts from the period and the absence of contemporary descriptions which may help take definite decisions (Nurmi and Pahta 425). In this sense, Gardner-Chloros avoids referring to codes or matrices in studying historical contact phenonema: they are "produced by individuals who use their repertoire of languages according to circumstance; what belongs to one language and what belongs to another is not necessarily clear and identifying a single primary language in bilingual speech or writing may not be possible" ("Historical...", 24-25; see also: Gardner-Chloros *Code-Switching*, 10-13; Pahta 530-531; Pahta, Skaffari and Wright 7).

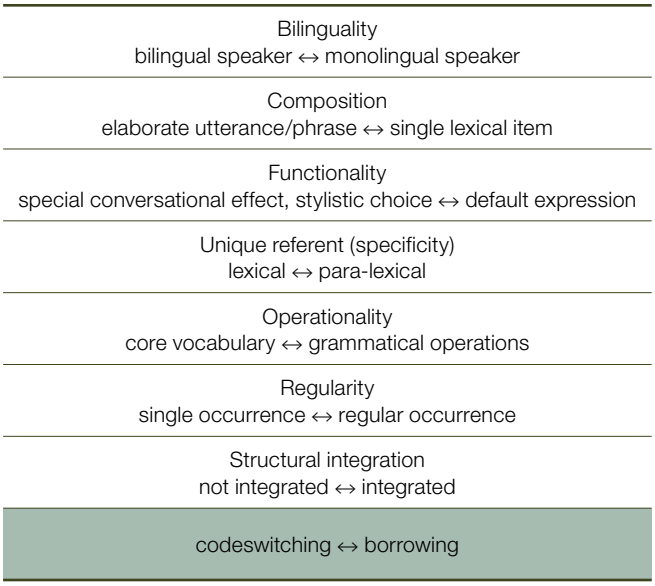

Figure 2. Dimensions of the code-switching borrowing contimuum (Matras 111).

an integrated borrowing (Gardner-Chloros *Code-Switching*, 12). With this aim, scholars have proposed further criteria. Myers-Scotton (*Duelling...*, 175-202), in addition to linguistic integration and diffusion across the community, also handles dictionary and age of attestation to refine the loanword/code-switching divide –see also, among others, Schatz, Pfaff and Backus. In his seminal handbook *Language Contact*, Yuron Matras has proposed a complete set (110-114). Some of his criteria have been successfully applied by Herbert Schendl ("Code-Switching...," 39-59) to the analysis of texts from the history of English, particularly to tell switches into Latin from Latin borrowings in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*.[4] In discussing these criteria (see figure 2), I will combine Matras's description with Schendl's reformulation for historical application. Both authors, however, see each criterion as a continuum in itself –within the broader code-switching cline defined previously.

[4] For the application of these and other criteria to the elicitation of borrowings and code-switches in different texts and periods in the history of English see, among others, Schendl ("Linguistic aspects...," "Mixed-language..." and "Multilingualism..."), Nurmi and Pahta, Crespo and Moskowich, Gardner-Chloros ("Historical..."), as well as the different chapters in the volumes *Code-Switching in Early English* (Schendl and Wright, eds.) and *Multilingual Practices in Language History* (Pahta, Skaffari and Wright eds.).

1. The "bilinguality continuum." Matras understands "bilinguality" as a lax concept which can be extended from the ability to use two or more languages, in different degrees, to cases when there is just a rudimentary knowledge of one of the languages involved in the contact situation. In this continuum the key issue to distinguish switches from borrowings is the ability of the individual to maintain the separation between subsets of his or her linguistic repertoire using them in separate contexts, so that "monolingual speakers are not able to activate any word form from another code and only incorporate borrowings through the diachronic process of propagation through the speech community" (Matras 211). Obviously, this is an extreme situation, especially in the late medieval context and in the multilingual background where most of the Cely letters were produced; in this case some degree of mixing, –i.e. "of drawing elements of the full repertoire regardless of subset affiliation"– would have been expected (128).
2. The "functionality continuum" situates code-switches as "conscious and discourse-strategic" elements more likely to fulfill special effects –textual, stylistic, conversational, etc.– than borrowings. As such, code-switches are often "triggered in a non-random way by situational or contextual factors [and they] constitute an alternative to a default formulation of the same propositional content" (Matras 112). At the other end of the continuum, borrowings are often "the only expression in the language representing the particular concept" (112).
3. The "specificity continuum" assumes that some one-word switches usually "entail a referencing procedure [...] beyond the generic labelling of concepts or objects and resemble the assignment of word-forms as individualised identity badges," in this way approaching the borrowing end of the continuum (Matras 112). This means that loans are more likely to fill in a lexical gap in the receiving language or may involve the displacement of synonyms, while code-switches tend to add themselves as a further option to the native equivalent (Gardner-Chloros *Code-Switching*, 32; Gardner-Chloros "Contact...," 196). This may be reflected in technical and institutional vocabulary as well as in local affectionate terms of address.
4. The "structural integration continuum" understands switches as morphologically non-integrated elements, despite being usually syntactically integrated. On the contrary, borrowings are both morphologically and syntactically integrated. As regards non-assimilated borrowings, the degree of phonological integration is a key issue, since, by definition, this is gradual and variable, as most examples from the Cely letters will show.
5. Structural integration can be related to the "compositional continuum" which contemplates "the uniqueness and context dependency of the structure that is derived from the other language," with context-dependent insertions approaching switches and, vice versa, borrowings being freely established elements (Matras 112).
6. The "regularity of occurrence continuum" considers that switches usually have an overall low frequency of occurrence and a restricted textual distribution,

while borrowings are "deemed appropriate in whichever language context that is being activated" (Matras 113).

7. Finally, code-switches and borrowings have to be situated in an "operationality continuum" where the latter tend to be produced "non-consciuosly in order to reduce the processing effort associated with the selection/inhibition mechanism" while the former usually require maintaining "consistent control over the selection mechanism around automated, non-referential operational elements such as discourse markers, indefinites, etc." (Matras 113). This may be connected with the replicability of borrowed items by monolingual speakers and in successive monolingual contexts (147).

The application of these criteria has allowed Matras to differentiate prototypical instances of one-word switches from assimilated borrowings in the following terms:

> The prototypical, least controversial kind of borrowing thus involves the regular occurrence of a structurally integrated, single lexical item that is used as a default expression, often a designation for a unique referent or grammatical marker, in a monolingual context. The least controversial code-switch is an alternational switch at the utterance level, produced by a bilingual consciously and by choice, as a single occurrence, for special stylistic effects (Matras 113-114).

The organisation of these criteria into a cline also allows to distinguish different sections in the continuum, so that refined gradings can be established to accommodate other outcomes such as non-assimilated or nonce borrowings, among others.

4. ONE-WORD LEXICAL SWITCHES AND NON-ASSIMILATED (NONCE) BORROWINGS IN THE CELY LETTERS

4.1. Methodology

In this section the above criteria will be applied to analyse some vocabulary items from the Cely letters which are neither clear one-word lexical switches nor well-established borrowings but can easily be located in different spots of the cline between them. Most of the items selected are not included in the canonical historical dictionaries: the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Simpson, Profitt *et al.*; henceforth *OED*) and the *Middle English Dictionary* (Lewis *et al.*; henceforth *MED*). However, some words included in these sources have also been analysed, either because the text from the Cely letters exemplifies an earlier attestation, or because they reflect a minor spelling –and possibly phonological– variant of a contemporary lemma. All the items analysed have been selected after the careful perusal of the letters –the methodology of corpus linguistics being difficult to implement– which also means that the lists of items is far from exhaustive. As a matter of fact, the complete analysis of the vocabulary in the Cely letters is beyond the scope of this paper, which simply

aims at testing the reliability of Matras's criteria and their usefulness for the study of the historical lexicon.

The lexical items have been plotted against most of the categories discussed above, except "operationality," which, as a psycholinguistic concept, would probably need a personal contact with informants to be discerned. The fact that I am dealing only with lexical, detachable elements means that they are all context-free and, as a result, they are all "compositionally integrated," which makes this category irrelevant for the analysis. Etymological, contextual and linguistic information has been drawn for each item and each criterion has been scored in a range of 1, 0.5 or 0 –or sometimes 1 and 0– thus establishing a cline in which 1 is nearer the borrowing end of the spectrum and 0 nearer the switching one. This procedure also implies that some of the categories have been renamed as, for instance, "non-bilinguality" or "non-functionality" in order to agree with the positive significance of the scoring process.

1. Non-bilinguality. Scores in this category are assigned according to the background of the informant, in the belief that those who had stayed or remained at Calais would have been immersed in a multilingual context (0) while those who remained in London were not (1), unless there is evidence that they had some training in French and/or Dutch. Writers, like Richard Cely the younger, who spent some time at Calais but returned to London and spent most of his life there are assigned 0.5.
2. Non-functionality. In this case 0 applies to lexical items which, in addition to their referential function, fulfill some discoursive or textual ones, and 1 to purely referential elements.
3. Specificity. Scores in this category are assigned by looking at the semantic extent of the lexical item. Some of them clearly fill a lexical gap in the receiving language which means that they are nearer the borrowing end of the continuum and score 1; on the contrary, if they are not filling a gap they score 0. The existence of residual synonyms or variants in the receiving language scores 0.5.
4. Structural integration. All the items selected for analysis are morphologically integrated, so one key issue here is phonological integration, which is marked with 1, 0.5 or 0 depending on the degree of separation from the source language.
5. Regularity of occurrence. Scores are given considering whether the lexical item appears in other texts or not. Items which are used only once in the Cely letters and/or are limited to letters by the same author score 0, while those appearing in several letters by different authors score 0.5; finally, words featuring in other texts from the period would show a high degree of community integration and score 1. In the case of lemmas included in the reference sources, some degree of integration (at least 0.5) is assumed.

4.2. Results and discussion

These criteria have been applied to fourteen different items with the results displayed in table 1, which reflects their position nearer or further from the switching end of the cline:

TABLE 1. ONE-WORD LEXICAL SWITCHES AND NON-INTEGRATED BORROWINGS IN THE CELY LETTERS

	Non-bilinguality	Non-functionality	Specificity	Integration	Regularity	Total
essynglar	0	0.5	0/0.5	0/0.5	0	0.5/1.5
ambawght(er)	0	1	0	0.5	0	1.5
maleffett	0	1	0	0.5	0	1.5
abesaunce	0	1	0.5	0.5	0	2
vent, wente	0.5	1	0	0	0.5	2
gruff	0	1	1	0.5	0/0.5	2.5/3
pattysch[yd]	0.5	1	0.5	1	0	3
fforhowse	0	1	1	1	0/0.5	3/3.5
ynschyppyng	0	1	1	1	0/0.5	3/3.5
bowhay	0.5	1	1	1	0	3.5
clot	1	1	1	0	0.5/1	3.5/4
synksen	1	1	1	0.5	0.5	4
howyser	1	1	1	1	0.5/1	4.5/5
inuiatory	0.5	1	1	1	0.5/1	4/4.5

Essynglar, with a score of 0.5/1.5, is the item nearest the switching end of the cline. It is an adjective used by George Cely in the opening salutation of a letter sent from Calais to Sir Thomas Weston (non-bilinguality = 0): "Ryhht whorshypffull syr and myn essynglar good Lord" (Hanham *Letters...*, no. 178, l. 1). The *OED* does not record this form, which is probably a variant of *singler* (< Old French *sengler*, *sangler*) recorded by the *MED* with the meaning "excellent" in a similar letter context in 1447 (s.v., *adj*[1b]). Its presence in the formulaic opening of the letter confers upon it a discoursive, ritualistic function added to its referential meaning (non-functionality = 0.5). As regards specificity, the presence of alternative synonyms in English, such as *excellent* (since c. 1400, *OED* s.v.) may also imply a reduced score (0.5). There is a slight orthographical deviation from the French source –the ending <-er> replacing the French <-ar>–, although this may be due to a reinterpretation of the word in connection with Latin *singularis*, which would score 0 in integration. No other attestations of this form have been found (regularity = 0).

Ambawght(ers) scores 1.5 and is also near the switching end. It is used by William Cely to describe an "embassy" or the "ambassadors" participating in it:

"last passyd all the ambawght..." (no. 242, ll. 1-2) (non-bilinguality = 0). As such, this is probably modelled on Dutch *ambacht(er)* and contrasts with the systematic use in the corrrespondence of the French borrowing AMBASSADOR, with the variants *ambassettor*, *imbassettor*, *inbassador*, *inbassetorys*, which the *OED* traces back to c.1374 (s.v., *n.*) and is also common in other letters by William Cely himself. The word has no specific textual or discourse function (non-functionality = 1), and, by the time it was used, there were already synonyms well-integrated in English (specificity = 0). This item shows only a slight adaptation into English, with the mere addition of the final sequence <wght> instead of the original <cht> (structural integration = 0.5). There are no other attestations (regularity = 0).

A similar case is *MALEFFETT* (1.5) which appears twice in a letter sent from Calais by William Cely (non-bilinguality = 0): "ffor any malefette don be any oder Englysche man" (no. 213, l. 39) and "ffor noo malefett doon by any Flemyng" (l. 39). As such, this item is not included either in the *OED* or in the *MED*, although *malefit* appears in the former with the meaning "[a] misfortune, a disadvantage" first attested in 1755 (s.v., *n.*). The meaning of *malefett*, probably based on French *malfait*, is clearly "offence" (Hanham *Letters...*, 326). It has a purely referential function (non-functionality = 1). As regards specificity, it does not fill any lexical gap in the receiving language (0) and its structural integration into English is minimal, with a mere change from French <ai> to English <e> (0.5). No other attestation of this item has been found (regularity = 0) which means that it is near the switching end of the cline.

ABESAUNCE scores 2 and approaches the central part of the cline. It is used by William Cely in a letter sent from Calais and therefore scores 0 in non-bilinguality: "[a]nd the cheyffe rewlers of Gaunte be com to Brugys [...] to be vnder the abesaunce of the Kynge of Fraunce" (no. 241, ll. 18-20). This word probably results from a confusion of the Anglo-Norman borrowing *obeisance* –"the action or fact of obeying," attested, according to the *OED*, since 1382 (s.v., *n*)– with the later loan *abaisance* (< Central French *abessance*): "the act of expressing deference or respect, usually a bending forward of the body"; this is first attested in *Ordinances of Chivalry* from 1486, one year before William wrote this letter (*OED* s.v., *n*; see also: Hanham *Letters...*, 301). *Abesaunce* does not perform any specific discourse or textual function in the letter (non-functionality = 1); it does not fill a lexical gap either, although the confusion with an already existing loan may score 0.5 in specificity. As regards phonological adaptation, the partial reorganisation on the basis of *obeisance* –introduction of <e> and insertion of <u> in the –*ance* ending– points to some degree of integration into English (0.5). William Cely is the only user of this form, which means that it scores 0 in regularity.

VENT, *WENTE* also scores 2. It appears in letters by William Cely –"here hathe ben a grett vent of end wull" (no. 220, l. 35)– and Richard Cely the younger (no. 147, l. 19): "I thynke heffe he hawthe any wente at Calles" (no. 147) (non-bilinguality = 0.5). Both are based on French *vente*, meaning "sale," whose first

attestation as a noun in the *OED* is from 1548 (s.v., *n.*). If so, the Celys appear to be among the earliest users of this referential item (non-functionality = 1). It lacks, however, complete specificity in so far as it does not fill a lexical gap in the receiving language and synonyms exist (0), like *sale* (< Old Norse *sala*) (OED s.v., $n._2$) and *purchase* (< Anglo-Norman *purchas*) attested since the early fourteenth-century (OED s.v., *n.*). It is not phonologically integrated into English (0), but probably enjoyed some regularity of use, at least among the merchant community at Calais and the Low Countries (0.5).

With a score of 2.5/3, *Gruff* is in the middle of the cline. It is used once by William Cely to describe second-class or coarse wool: "hytt ys a very gruff wull" (no. 234, l. 53) (non-bilinguality = 0). The connection to Middle Dutch *grof* is confirmed by the *OED*, which mentions a first attestation from 1533. (s.v., *adj.*[1a]). This example from the Cely letters is obviously an earlier instance of a technical term (specificity = 1) which has no additional discoursive or textual function (non-functionality = 1). However, its structural integration is low, based on a change of the root vowel <o> for <u>. The absence of regularity may again be due to the lack of additional written evidence from merchants and factors in Calais, among whom, as a technical term, this would probably have been widespread (regularity = 0/0.5).

Pattysch[yd] scores 3 and is also in the middle of the cline. The phrase "[w] hord is heyr that [...] Gawnt and Bergys ys pattyschyd to the Frensche kyng" (no. 169, ll. 22-24) is used by Richard Cely the younger to announce the treatise signed between Gaunt-Bruges and the French, probably in 1482 (Hanham *Letters...*, 281). It scores 0.5 in non-bilinguality. The word is neither listed in the *OED* nor in the *MED*. According to Hanham this may be based on Old French **patiser* or French *pactiser*, "to come to terms with" (*Letters...,* 330). As such, it has no additional discoursive function (non-functionality = 1), and it is highly integrated in orthographical and possibly phonological terms (structural integration = 1). Nevertheless, it is not a technolect filling a gap in the language, since other synonyms for it, such as *accord* and *agree*, are attested respectively in the early fourteenth (*OED*, s.v., *v.*[I1a]) and fifteenth centuries (*OED*, s.v., *v.*[II3a]) (specificity = 0.5). No other instance of this term has been found (regularity = 0).

Fforhowse, with a score of 3/3.5, is used by George Cely in a letter sent from Calais (non-bilinguality = 0) to express the action of "moving wool from one store to another": "I prayow lat Kay fforhowsse the xx sarplers off my ffaders owt of John Prowdys wollhowsse vnto the wollhowsse besyde my stabull" (no. 105, ll. 25-26). As such, it is not included in either the *OED* or in the *MED*. A likely connection with Dutch *verhuizen* (removal) is proposed by Hanham (*Letters...*, 317). If so, this would be nearer the borrowing end of the continuum, scoring one point in both non-functionality and specificity, in so far as the word fills a lexical gap in the receiving language and has no additional discoursive of textual functions. It is highly adapted to English spelling (and possibly phonology) and scores one point in structural integration. The absence of further attestations is the only aspect hindering

its classification as an assimilated borrowing, although it simply may be due to lack of evidence (regularity = 0/0.5)

Ynschyppyng also scores 3/3.5. It is used by William Cely with the meaning of "[t]o put into a ship [...]; to embark": "they schuld cause men to londd agayne syche gooddys as they were ynschyppyng wythal" (no. 212, ll. 47-48) (non-bilinguality = 0). The *OED* includes the word, but gives the date 1615 for the earliest attestation, etymologically relating it to Middle Dutch *inscepen* (s.v., *v.*). The use in the Cely letters certainly antedates this example. As an exclusively referential (non-functionality =1) and structurally well-integrated (1) lexical item, it appears to be situated at the borrowing end of the continuum, showing a high degree of specificity (1); however, it is not attested as a regular Middle English word, although it is likely that other shipmen at Calais were familiar with the Dutch term and its incipient adaptation into English (regularity = 0/0.5)

Bowhay scores 3/3.5 in the cline. Richard Cely the younger uses this form in a letter sent from London (non-bilinguality = 0.5): "as for your pesse of gowlde whe cannot fynd hyt ȝeyt, nethur heyr no whord of my bowhay" (no. 126, ll. 1-2). It has been interpreted as a variant of BOY, referring to "a male servant, slave, assistant, junior employee" (*OED* s.v., *n.*[1a]); however, the *OED* does not include *bowhay* among the fifteenth-century variants, although *boay* and *boaye* appear. The ambiguity of the context, together with the fact that the two Cely brothers normally used *boy(e)* may question this interpretation. Alison Hanham relates it to Flemish *boe* or Middle Dutch *boeier*: "a medium-sized vessel [...] popular in the sixteenth century for trading between Britain and the Low Countries" (*Letters...*, 274). She also contemplates a relationship to French *boie/buie*, meaning "a bowl, a vessel for liquids or a tub" –a kind of barrel in which goods were packed (274). In either case, it is a technical term (specificity = 1) with no additional discourse or textual function (non-functionality = 1). It is highly adapted to English spelling (structural integration = 1), despite non-existing evidence of further attestations (regularity = 0).

Clot scores 3.5./4 and approaches the borrowing end of the continuum. It is used by Richard Cely the elder: "I sopose it wyll coste a vj s. or vij s. clotys, lynys spynys and all" (no. 56, ll. 17-18). It is included in the *OED* as a fifteenth-century variant of *cleat* –"a wedge"– with possible influence from Middle Dutch *clot*, as shown in *The Promptorium Parvulorum* (c. 1449): "clyte or clote, a vegge" (s.v., *n.*; see also: Hanham *Letters...*, 263). The use by a non-bilingual speaker with no direct contact with the multilingual reality of Calais means a score of 1 in non-bilinguality. It is a technical term with an exclusively referential function (specificity = 1; non-functionality = 1). However, the retention of the Dutch spelling points to the absence of structural integration (0), although the similarity between both languages may account for this. Finally, as regards regularity of use, its inclusion as a variant in the *OED* may point to some circulation outside this letter, at least among members of the merchant classes (regularity = 0.5/1).

Synksen and its variants –*Syncyon*, *Synxon*, *Syn(s)chon*, *Synsson*, *Syngsyon*, *Sencyon*, *Senschon* and *Senchan*– refer to the mart celebrated in Antwerp during the Whitsun festivity. It scores 4 and appears at the borrowing end of the cline. As such, it is etymologically connected with Middle Dutch *sinsken*, although it does not appear in the *OED* or in the *MED*. The number of variants, together with its use by several correspondents (William Cely, George Cely, Richard Cely the younger), some of them with no direct contact with the continental side of business –Richard Cely the elder, John Dalton, John Cely– may imply that it is a highly technical term (specificity = 1) with a high score in non-bilinguality (1). It is also regularly used in the Cely letters, although no attestations elsewhere have been found (regularity = 0.5). It is obviously a pure referential term, with no additional discoursive or textual functions (non-functionality =1). The different variants show distinct degrees of phonological and spelling adaptation, although its "foreing" origin can still be recognised (structural integration = 0.5).

Howyser shows the highest score in the borrowing end of the cline, 4.5/5. It is used in the heading to a list of expenses in George Cely's hand: "Logged at the howyser in Barow" (no. 151, l. 49). The mercer Robert Eyrick mentions the same place in the endorsement of letter no. 154, sent from London to George Cely at Bergen-op-Zoom "beyng in the howyser at Barow" (l. 22). As such, it scores 1 in non-bilinguality. The term is not included in either the *OED* or the *MED* and, according to Hanham, it may be related to Middle Dutch *huushere*: "the concierge who, among other functions, took care of money and valuables for the merchants of his nation" (*Letters...*, 279). In the second example, the meaning may have shifted to "the house under [the *howyser*'s] care," probably "set apart for the use of the English merchants at Bergen-op-Zoom" (279). This means that the word may have been common among the English community in Calais and the Low Countries and by extension among merchants in London. It scores one point in non-functionality and, as a semi-institutional name, it clearly fills a gap in the receiving language (specificity = 1). It is also highly integrated into English spelling (structural integration = 1). As regards regularity, the use by two correspondents in the collection means at least a score of 0.5 and, despite lack of evidence, does not exclude that other merchants could have used it (regularity = 0.5/1)

Finally, *Inuiatory* also shows the highest score, 4.5/5. It is described by Hanham as a "corruption of inventory" (*Letters...*, 322) and as such it is used by Richard Cely the younger: "I fynd the inuiatory of syche godys [...] on that syd of the see" (no. 165, ll. 6-7) (non-bilinguality = 0.5). This attestation (from 1482) is earlier than the example included in the *OED* with the meaning "[a] list, catalogue; a detailed account," from 1589 (s.v., *n.*[2a]), and antedates in one year its use in the English-Latin wordbook *Catholicum Anglicum* (c. 1483) with the meaning: "a [...] list of articles [...] found to have been in the possession of a person at his decease or conviction" (s.v. *n.*[1]). The item is clearly used with a referential function (non-functionality = 1) and fills a technical gap in the language (specificity = 1). However, its inclusion in the 1483 glossary together with its Latin cognate –"Inuitory,

inventarium"– may mean that it was not widely understood outside certain circles, which sanctions its technicality; comparison with Latin also evinces a degree of structural integration (1) and points to the regularity of its use (0.5/1).

5. CONCLUSION

The categorisation of other items in the Cely letters –and in many other late medieval English sources– is ambiguous and it is difficult to classify them in the continuum from code-switching to borrowing as either "one-word lexical switches" or as "non-assimilated (nonce) borrowings." There are, for instance, other words of French and Dutch origin whose first attestation in the *OED* is a quotation from the Cely letters: *pawyn* (Hanham *Letters...*, no. 71, l. 7) – "[a] thing [...] given into another's keeping as security for a debt" (*OED* s.v., *n*[3])– *prest* (no. 15, l. 14) –"to lend money; to advance a loan" (*OED* s.v., *v.*)– *rasure* (no. 142, l. 30), as a variant of *razer*: "a level measure, chiefly used for grain" (*OED* s.v., *n*[2]). Other French and Dutch terms are used as technical terminology to indicate different units of measure: *awne* (< French *aune*) (no. 136, l. 40) – "a measure of length used chiefly for textiles [...] typically in the range of 55-195 centimetres," whose first attestation in the *OED* is also from the Cely letters (1481) (s.v., *n.*)– or *blotte* (< Middle Dutch *bloot/blote*) (no. 165, l. 16), not attested as such in the *OED* and referring to "packs of wool weighing less than 364 lbs" (Hanham *Letters...*, 280).

TABLE 2. ITEMS FROM THE CELY LETTERS IN THE CONTINUUM FROM CODE-SWITCHING TO BORROWING

Code-switching	0	
		ESSYNGLAR
	1	
		AMBAWGHT(ER), MALEFFETT
	2	*ABESAUNCE , VENT/WENTE*
		GRUFF
	3	*PATTYSCH[YD]*
		FFORHOWSE, YNSCHYPPYNG, BOWHAY
	4	*CLOT, SYNKSEN*
		HOWYSER, INUIATORY
Borrowing	5	

My analysis has not intended to cover all lexical items in the corpus and has been limited to fourteen ambiguous ones. I think that it confirms, on the one hand, the soundness of Matras's criteria, not only for the distinction between one-word lexical switches and integrated borrowings, but also for discriminating other outcomes of language contact situated in-between them, particularly the so-called non-assimilated or nonce borrowings. The quantitative assesment of each of the

categories proposed by Matras in connection to etymological, linguistic and other contextual information discriminates between those items which are neither proper switches nor integrated borrowings, by situating them nearer the code-switching or the borrowing ends of the continuum (see table 2). Items whose total score is less than two, such as *abesaunce*, *ambawght*, *essynglar*, *malefett* or *vent/wente*, could probably still be labelled as switches. Those items totalling a score of 3.5/4 to 4.5/5, including *clot*, *howyser*, *inuiatory* and *synksen*, would admit a definition as nearly integrated borrowings, notwithstanding their future relationship to the English lexicon. Items with scores between 2.5 and 3.5 –*bowhay*, *fforhowse*, *gruff*, *pattysch(yd)* or *ynschyppyng*– could still be non-assimilated borrowings which, despite their origin in the necessity to name specific or technical referents, did not finally find their way into the English wordstock, possibly because their referential sphere was highly connected to aspects of business in Calais and the Low Countries. In any event, it seems that the criteria of specificity, integration and regularity are still basic in deciding on one or another categorisation. Eventually, I think these results leave the door open to the necessity of maintaining a distinctive terminology for the intermediate parts in the cline from code-switches to borrowings.

Reviews sent to author: 20 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 30 January 2020

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WHY FUNCTIONAL DISCOURSE GRAMMAR IS NOT, AND COULD NOT BE, A DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

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Abstract

This article begins by tracing the debate within Functional Grammar (FG), to which José Gómez Soliño was a contributor, on the role of discourse in that model. That debate ultimately gave rise to Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) as a grammar of the Discourse Act. Discourse Acts group into Moves, but attempts to circumscribe the Move grammatically have not been successful, and FDG has focused on phenomena that occur within the Discourse Act and between Discourse Acts. Reviving Dik's model of verbal interaction, the article goes on to interpret FDG as a tool for the realization of the speaker's and hearer's communicative strategies as they seek a certain meeting of minds through the use of language. The article concludes by asserting that FDG is not a grammar of discourse, nor could it be.

Keywords: Functional Grammar, Functional Discourse Grammar, Discourse Act, strategy, discourse.

POR QUÉ LA GRAMÁTICA DISCURSIVO-FUNCTIONAL NO ES, NI PODRÍA SER, UNA GRAMÁTICA DEL DISCURSO

Resumen

Este artículo hace un seguimiento del debate sobre el papel del discurso dentro de la Gramática Funcional (GF), debate al que José Gómez Soliño ha contribuido, y que acabó dando lugar a la Gramática Discursivo-Funcional (GDF) como gramática del Acto Discursivo. Los Actos Discursivos se agrupan en Intervenciones (*Moves*), pero los intentos de circunscribir las mismas gramaticalmente no tuvieron éxito, y por tanto la GDF se ha centrado principalmente en los fenómenos que ocurren tanto dentro de un Acto Discursivo como entre distintos Actos Discursivos. Reavivando el modelo de interacción verbal de Dik, el artículo interpreta la GDF como una herramienta para la comprensión de las estrategias comunicativas de emisores y receptores que buscan un cierto encuentro de mentes a través del uso del lenguaje. El artículo concluye afirmando que la GDF no es una gramática del discurso, ni jamás podría serlo.

Palabras clave: Gramática Funcional, Gramática Discursivo-Funcional, Acto Discursivo, estrategia, discurso.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.05
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 73-87; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. INTRODUCTION

José Gómez Soliño, in addition to his countless other achievements, was for several years an active and creative contributor to Simon C. Dik's Functional Grammar (FG; Dik *Theory of Functional Grammar*, *Theory of Functional Grammar. Parts 1 and 2*), especially in the nineties of last century, when he was teaching FG at the University of La Laguna, writing articles (notably Gómez Soliño "Texto y Contexto", "Organización Jerárquica") and inspiring his pupils, not least the guest editor of this volume, to embrace a lifelong commitment to the further development of the theory. The major years of José's involvement with FG corresponded with the premature illness and death of Simon Dik (†1995), a time that was not only emotionally difficult for the international band of adherents of the theory but also one of great doubts: could FG continue without its intellectual father? if so, what direction should it take? Inevitably, Simon had left behind not only a rich library of publications but also a number of more inchoate ideas, many of which found their way in more developed form into Dik (*Theory of Functional Grammar. Parts 1 and 2*), edited by his doctoral student, colleague and ultimate successor, Kees Hengeveld. In this period of flux, the question that was predominant in the workshops and conferences of those years concerned the role of discourse in FG. After all, had Simon not written that "the highest aim of a functional grammar of a particular language is to give a complete and adequate account of the grammatical organization of connected discourse in that language" (Dik *Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1* 12)? This was the very question to which José made the most important and lasting of his contributions – contributions that were to feed into the emergence of a successor theory to FG, Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld and Mackenzie *Functional Discourse Grammar*).

FG, as originally conceived by Dik (*Functional Grammar*), was first and foremost a grammar of the clause. In understanding this, it should be borne in mind that FG arose in the context of the emergence of various other grammars of the clause (or 'sentence'), not least Generative Grammar, but also Generative Semantics with its quasi-logical representations, Case Grammar, Relational Grammar and many others, and at that time Dik saw himself as working with several of the same presuppositions as those rivalling theories (Mackenzie "First History"). This focus on clause grammar was also apparent in Dik's work on the computational implementation of FG (*Functional Grammar in PROLOG*). The later push towards the inclusion of discourse considerations in FG arose from a number of factors: (a) functionally oriented linguists across the world were increasingly turning to the analysis of discourse and its interface with grammar (M.A.K. Halliday, Wallace Chafe, Talmy Givón, Sandra Thompson and many others); (b) in the application of FG, it was becoming ever more apparent that numerous properties of clausal grammar (anaphora, focus, extra-clausal constituents, sentence type, etc.) could not be fully understood without reference to the discourse context; (c) most of the practitioners of FG at that time were not linguists *pur sang* but teacher-researchers in departments of foreign languages whose daily work confronted them with both grammar and textuality (e.g. Co Vet [French], Casper de Groot [Hungarian],

Jadranka Gvozdanović [Serbo-Croat-Bosnian], Kees Hengeveld [Spanish], and Mike Hannay, myself and José Gómez Soliño [English]); and (d) the FG group included the forceful presence of classicists[1] like Machtelt Bolkestein, Harm Pinkster, Caroline Kroon and Albert Rijksbaron, whose corpora of Latin and Greek texts were by definition textual and increasingly consultable via computer concordance programs. More generally, the rise of corpus linguistics was also enticing FG linguists away from Dik's practices of using introspective data and invented pseudo-English sentences to elucidate theoretical points towards the consultation and analysis of attested material, i.e. written texts or transcriptions of oral performance.

This shift towards the discursive came to dominate the debates of the nineteen-nineties in the international FG community. Some maintained that discourse is essentially a dynamic process occurring in time while grammar describes the product of linguistic activity and that the two were therefore incommensurable. Grammar may have developed as a highly suitable tool for understanding the results of discourse production, and the influence of discourse factors may be detectable in language users' grammatical choices, but the two domains could not be collapsed into a single theory. Others took the view that the products of discursive activity (those written texts and transcriptions that were now readily available in corpora) could and should be analysed in ways that were analogous to the FG analysis of individual sentences. The layers that had come to be the hallmark of Dik's presentation of the theory (*Theory of Functional Grammar*) could, it was argued, be extended upwards into the domain of discourse, allowing FG to encompass discourse without doing any injury to its inner consistency. Among the major exponents of this view were Kees Hengeveld ("Cohesion"), Ahmed Moutaouakil ("On the Layering"), and –as we shall see below– José Gómez Soliño ("Texto y Contexto", "Organización Jerárquica"); Dik's posthumous work (*Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 2*) also suggests an endorsement of this position.

The debate was to be resolved in 2000, when Kees Hengeveld proposed a new model (published as Hengeveld "The Architecture") in which both sides could find enough of their commitments reflected. This model –dubbed Functional Discourse Grammar to reconcile the opposing views– retained the FG notion that discourse could be analysed using a system of layers with a full arsenal of operators, restrictors and modifiers, while also separating 'discourse' from 'grammar' by instituting three levels of analysis, an Interpersonal Level for 'pragmatics and rhetoric', a Representational Level for 'semantics' and an Expression Level for 'morphosyntax'.[2] This new model did not spring like Athena from the brow of Zeus but had its roots in the vibrant discussions of the preceding years and notably in the work of José Gómez Soliño. The purpose of this brief contribution to José's richly deserved *homenaje* is to trace the lines of connection between his thinking and FDG as currently constituted

[1] Simon Dik was himself a classicist by training.

[2] The Expression Level was later to be divided into Morphosyntactic and Phonological Levels.

and practised. In particular, my aim is to argue that despite its full name, FDG is not, and could not be, a 'discourse grammar'.[3]

Section 2 will present FDG as a grammar of the Discourse Act, showing the advantages of limiting the framework in this way. Section 3 revives Dik's model of verbal interaction in order to situate an understanding of verbal interaction as strategic and of grammar as a tool for attaining one's strategic goals. The paper ends with a brief conclusion.

2. FDG: A GRAMMAR OF THE DISCOURSE ACT

In essence, while FG was a grammar of the clause, FDG (Hengeveld and Mackenzie *Functional Discourse Grammar*) is a grammar of the Discourse Act. Discourse is seen as actional in nature, the result of one human being's expenditure of energy in an effort to communicate thoughts, feelings, requests, warnings, etc. to other human beings. This overall activity is divided into Discourse Acts: many are expressed as clauses, but they may just as well show up as a non-clausal succession of phrases, a single phrase, a single word or a combination of clauses.

The Discourse Act (symbolized as A_1) is the central concept of the Interpersonal Level of analysis within FDG. The inner structure of A_1 contains four elements, all of which are prefigured in Gómez Soliño ("Organización Jerárquica" 52-53):

An indication of the type of Illocution (F_1)
A variable identifying the Speaker $(P_1)_S$
A variable identifying the Addressee $(P_2)_A$
The Communicated Content (C_1)

A defining principle of FDG is that elements are specified in the analysis only if they have some consequences for the form in which a Discourse Act is expressed. Clearly, every A_1 contains an Illocution defining the type of speech act to be encoded (distinguished in morphosyntactic and/or phonological structure), and no A_1 lacks at least some communicated content. As for the necessity of including the speech participants in (A_1), Gómez Soliño ("Organización Jerárquica" 53) gives an example from Spanish *¿Está cansada?* 'Are you tired?', arguing that here "a user of Spanish is carrying out an interrogative act the ultimate form of which is affected by the fact that the function of addressee is performed by a woman with respect to whom the speaker does not adopt an equal position";[4] in other words, translated into the FDG

[3] The translation frequently employed in Spanish, 'Gramática Funcional del Discurso', is therefore misleading and should be avoided.

[4] "un usuario del español realiza un acto interrogativo cuya forma final está condicionada por el hecho de que la función de receptor está desempeñada por una mujer respecto de la cual quien desempeña el rol emisor no se muestra en un plano de igualdad"

formalism, the presence of the third person form *está* and the feminine form *cansada* can only be explained by including the respective variables in the grammar, with P_J, the Addressee, being marked as 'high' and 'female', alongside the indication of the interrogative illocution:

(1) $(A_I: [(F_I: \text{INTER } (F_I))\ (P_I)_S\ (\text{hf } P_J)_A\ (C_I)]\ (A_I))$

The Communicated Content, in keeping with the Interpersonal Level as a whole, is actional in nature and consists of a series of Subacts, i.e. the mini-acts of reference and predication (or 'ascription') carried out in the performance of a Discourse Act. It is here that the 'pragmatic functions' of Topic and Focus are located; again, these are assigned only where there is some formal feature of the unit under analysis, be it morphosyntactic or phonological (or both), that needs to be accounted for.

Of particular interest in the present context is the question of possible layers of analysis higher than A_1. FDG has adopted the position that Discourse Acts group into Moves (M_1):

(2) $(M_1: [(A_1) \ldots (A_n)]\ (M_1))$

This proposal develops work in the mid-nineties by Caroline Kroon (*Discourse Particles*), who –herself drawing on Eddy Roulet's notion of *intervention* (see Roulet, Filliettaz and Grobet *Un Modèle* for a comprehensive presentation)– proposed the use of the term Move for an autonomous contribution to an ongoing interaction. The expression *movimiento* is also used by Gómez Soliño ("Organización Jerárquica" 57) for the unit expressed as a 'text block' (*bloque textual*), but he sees the Move as a representational rather than interpersonal unit. These text blocks are themselves part of larger 'text frames' (*marcos textuales*), which in turn form part of *textualizaciones*; these nested layers form part of his vision of text and discourse as thoroughly hierarchical. FDG differs, as we shall see, in taking the Move as the highest layer of grammatical interest.

In dialogue, a Move either opens up the possibility of a reaction (an Initiation Move) or is itself a reaction (a Reaction Move). Thus a question-answer sequence, or a greeting and response pair, counts as a succession of Initiation and Reaction Moves. So far so good, but in practice, it has proved difficult to find precise and conclusive evidence for the demarcation of Moves, especially in more protracted texts, since they have been defined functionally, in terms of their occurrence in dialogue, rather than formally. It has not been possible to identify fully reliable morphosyntactic or phonological clues to their presence. Hengeveld and Mackenzie (*Functional Discourse Grammar*) and Keizer (*A Functional Discourse Grammar for English*) do suggest various pointers to Move status: (a) expression as an Utterance (U_1) ending with a falling intonation (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 51); (b) the insertion of *so* to indicate a return to the main line of a narrative after an interruption to provide background information (51-52), of *by the way* to introduce a digressive Move (Keizer 49) or of *in sum* to introduce a summarizing Move (50); (c) the use of expressions

like *to cut a long story short* to introduce a Move that rounds off a story (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 59); (d) the deployment of 'grammatical elements' like *however* to introduce a contrasting Move (59-60); (e) the domain of reflexivity in Lezgian (373);[5] (f) the use of paratones; (g) the possibility, in English, of reducing two Moves to one phonologically by 'flapping' an Utterance-final /t/ as /ɾ/ (431). Although these criteria make intuitive sense, they are indeed no more than pointers or tendencies. None of these phenomena are necessarily present, and none are necessarily distinctive of Moves as opposed to Discourse Acts or, possibly, larger stretches of discourse. After all, not all Moves have a falling intonation (most questions do not, for example), and nor do all have paratones (as is conceded by Hengeveld and Mackenzie *Functional Discourse Grammar* 430); *however* could just as well link two Discourse Acts (60), as could /t/-flapping; the markers *so*, *by the way*, *in sum* and even *to cut a long story short* could all precede a discourse span much longer than could be reasonably regarded as a Move; and finally, although the observation about Lezgian reflexives is intriguing, it clearly could only be generalized –if it is verified– to the few languages that have interpersonal triggering of reflexivity.[6]

The conclusion must be, then, that to date no reliable formal correlate has been found of the Move, "the largest unit of interaction relevant to grammatical analysis" (Hengeveld and Mackenzie *Functional Discourse Grammar* 50). Does this mean that the Move should (at least provisionally) be consigned to the scrapheap of discarded grammatical concepts? I believe it does not. Rather, the Move should continue to be recognized as the domain within which the relations among its constituent Discourse Acts are examined and defined, and this proposal aligns strongly with the presentation in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (*Functional Discourse Grammar*), where the most frequent collocates of 'Move' are *in*, *within* and *contains*; i.e., the Move serves to define the upper limit of FDG's concerns. This in turn reflects the fact that FDG, as its name indicates, is a grammar, and more specifically a grammar of the Discourse Act. A Functional Discourse Grammar is therefore concerned with both the internal properties of the Discourse Act (i.e. everything that lies inside the scope of the A_1 variable) and its external properties (i.e. the relations among the Discourse Acts in the set $\{(A_1) \ldots (A_n)\}$ that lies within –and in technical terms 'restricts'– the (M_1) variable).

The goal of FDG is thus not to attempt an analysis of units larger than the single Move. Such attempts, it should be said, were made in the FG framework, as we have seen in the proposals of Gómez Soliño ("Texto y Contexto", "Organización Jerárquica") and notably in the final chapter of Dik (*Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 2* 409-441), significantly titled 'Towards a functional grammar of discourse'.

[5] See Dik (*Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 2* 421) for a similar case pertaining to the scope of reflexives in Latin.

[6] Moreover, the long-distance reflexive in the Lezgian example (329) in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (*Functional Discourse Grammar* 373) occurs within the frame of indirect speech, suggesting that the domain within which reflexivity holds may in fact be a Propositional Content (i.e. a representational rather than interpersonal grouping).

There, in the course of setting out "the bare outlines of what a theory of discourse should look like" (409) and in keeping with achieving the "highest aim" cited in Section 1, Dik considers two types of discourse that are consciously structured by language users: the job interview and the story. The former is structured as a set of "boxes within boxes within boxes" (424) –[Opening rituals [Procedure [State of knowledge [Exchange of information] State of Knowledge] Procedure] Farewell Rituals]– in a manner that is reminiscent of grammatical organization. However, we should not be fooled into thinking that this nesting structure is any more than a top-down administrative measure introduced to bring order, efficiency and comparability rather than being in any sense a reflection of human communicative strategies. If anything, this structure is applied by committee chairs to prevent job interviews from falling prey to the usual incremental, one-thing-leads-to-another sequencing of normal conversation that is the natural object of discourse-grammatical inquiry. Dik's other example (*Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 2* 430-431), which is analogous to Gómez Soliño's ("Organización Jerárquica" 64-66) treatment of an oral narrative, is concerned with the seven-stage structure of narratives as Opening – Abstract – Orientation – Events and Evaluation – Resolution – Epilogue – Closing. However, this structure was induced from data by various analysts (notably Labov and Waletzky "Narrative Analysis"), but without any claim to being a hypothesis about permissible and impermissible stories. In addition, this proposal strays very far from grammar in the sense that the formal consequences of the various 'episodes' of the structure, if any, are at best optional. As Philip N. Johnson-Laird said of similar 'story grammars', "no story grammarian has ever formulated an effective procedure for determining the membership of such categories" (*Mental Models* 362). Gómez Soliño ("Organización Jerárquica" 66), too, in pursuit of persuading his readers that discourse is structured hierarchically like grammar, invites them to consider the use of discourse markers, tenses, direct speech, proper names and pronouns, as well as lexical patterns, but these disparate phenomena (if present) are still far from constituting a grammar of discourse. And when it comes to conversational interaction, the natural area of human verbal exchange, the point about reducing discourse to grammar is made most effectively in the following words of Stephen C. Levinson:

> Interaction is characterized by action chains and sequences [...] governed not by rule but by expectation. Thus, there is an assumption that a question expects an answer, but there is no rule that a question must be followed by an answer. [...] The outcome of a momentary interaction is something none of the parties can plan in advance–it is a contingent product. *That is why there is no such thing as a formal grammar of discourse*. (Levinson "On the Human" 45-46; my emphasis)

3. A STRATEGIC VIEW OF FDG

The "contingent product" referred to by Levinson occurs, as Gómez Soliño ("Organización Jerárquica" 44) points out, within a dialogic situation. The dialogicality of communication has played a significant role in the recent development of FDG (cf. Mackenzie "Dynamicity and Dialogue") alongside, and to some extent in rivalry with, the speaker-oriented view articulated in the initial pages of Hengeveld and Mackenzie (*Functional Discourse Grammar* 1-2): "a model of grammar will be more effective the more its organization resembles language processing in the individual". This latter, 'orthodox' view has favoured a unidirectional derivational interpretation of FDG as modelling a succession of operations: the sequence starts with the speaker's pre-linguistic cognitive activity and communicative intention (modelled in the Conceptual Component), followed by the speaker's operations of formulation and encoding in the Grammatical Component (with input from the Contextual Component), leading ultimately to the phonetic, graphic or possibly gestural articulation in the Output Component (Hengeveld and Mackenzie *Functional Discourse Grammar* 6). The alternative dialogical view brings Dik's (*Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1*) perspective back into play, one that emphasizes the strategic nature of linguistic communication. It is summarized by Gómez Soliño ("Organización Jerárquica" 45) in Figure 1.

Figure 1 represents the speaker (*emisor*) and the hearer (*receptor*) at some moment in a dialogue. What they share is the code (*código*), i.e. they both have the ability to use a shared language actively and passively, and the environment (*medio*), i.e. the communicative situation in which they find themselves. What they do not share is their individual stores of 'pragmatic information' (*información pragmática*), which are entirely personal and cover the totality of knowledge, beliefs, preconceptions, feelings, etc. that together constitute the mind of an interactant at a particular moment. From this perspective, linguistic communication is an attempt by language users to bridge the gap between their minds, exploiting their shared linguistic competence and awareness of their situation. Given a particular intention, the speaker performs a Discourse Act, formulating and encoding their ideas in such a way that the resultant Utterance has a reasonable chance of effecting the desired change in the pragmatic information of the receiver. The latter, in decoding the Utterance, then attempts to reconstruct the presumed communicative intention of the speaker. In other words, the speaker anticipates (*anticipación*) the hearer's reconstruction (*reconstrucción*) of the Utterance (*expresión lingüística*).

What this means is that the form of words chosen by the speaker to perform the Discourse Act contributes to, but does not dictate, the interpretation; the speaker's words are not a complete verbalization of their communicative intention, not least because of the omnipresence of motivations additional to the mere conveyance of knowledge, such as the desire to remain polite; and the information decoded by the hearer forms only part of the significance they will derive from the utterance, a significance which will, for example, also contain elements of the hearer's evaluation of the speaker. The Discourse Act is therefore said to be underdetermined, i.e. its

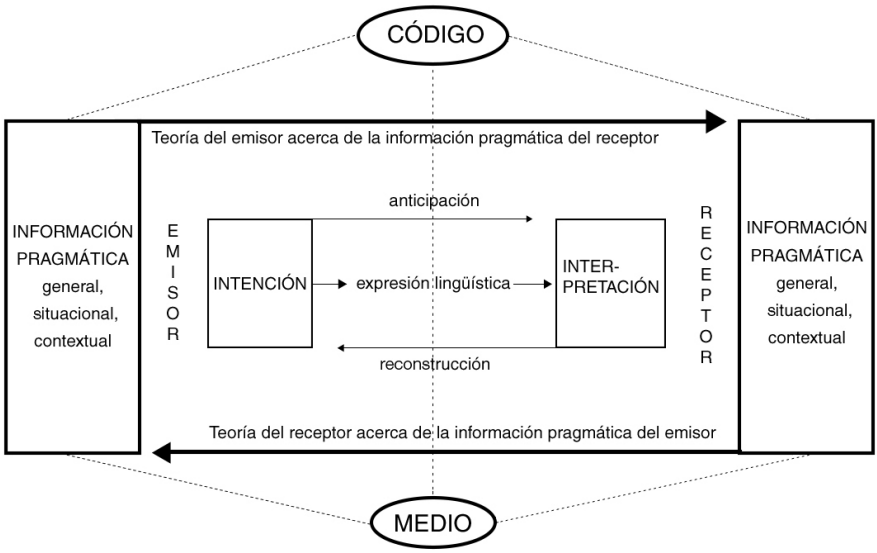

Figure 1: Dik's model of dialogical interaction as diagrammed by Gómez Soliño ("Organización Jerárquica" 45).

content is very much less than its total import, but it is also an essential trigger of that import.[7]

The import of a Discourse Act cannot generally be deduced or induced from the result of decoding; rather, as Randy J. LaPolla has argued, the kind of reasoning used is abductive ("On the Logical Necessity"), a form of reasoning that we use to make sense of our perceptions. For example, if we observe that the streets are wet, we may abduce that it has been raining. Note that a characteristic of our abductive abilities is that we may be wrong: the streets may for example be wet because they have newly been hosed down in the fashion common in many Spanish towns. In dialogue, too, the hearer is using clues to try and make sense of what the speaker has said, through the process of reconstruction mentioned in Figure 1; the functional properties of the utterance are among the most salient of these clues. Consider the following mini-interaction:

(3) A: I'd like to invite you to have dinner with me.
B: Unfortunately I have promised to visit my Aunt Rose tonight.

[7] Thom Scott-Philipps ("Nonhuman Primate Communication") argues that all animal (including human) communication advances in this way; the only exception is 'quorum sensing' among bacterial cells.

The decoding of this simple pair of Moves is relatively straightforward. Nevertheless, it does involve various abductive inferences on the part of A and B:

(4)
(a) *I'd like to* – this is formulated as a conditional, but B will probably infer that no conditionality is actually intended.
(b) *invite* – this typically connotes that A is willing to pay, but is B necessarily to infer that this will be the case, and how does B feel about that?
(c) *you* – this is a clear instance of underdetermination in English, which lacks the Spanish *tú* vs. *vosotr@s* distinction; is A to infer that his or her life partner is also invited or not?
(d) *have dinner with me* – this literally means 'consume an evening meal together', but does A maybe have more in mind?
(e) A makes no mention of the time, but B clearly infers from the situation that A means 'tonight'.
(f) *I have promised to visit my Aunt Rose tonight* – B's response apparently has nothing to do with having dinner with A, but given shared social knowledge about the timing of dinner, promises, family commitments and possibly the role of 'white lies' in conversation, A can abduce that B is turning him/her down. There is a clue to this inference in the adverb *Unfortunately,* which may be an expression of B's displeasure at having made a commitment to visit an aunt or their regret at being unable to accept the invitation, or simply a politeness marker softening the blow for A – A can only guess! Another clue may be found in B's inclusion of *tonight*, which makes their inference (e) explicit but also could leave open the possibility of other evenings, especially if contrastive intonation is used on this word.

The role of grammar, from this perspective, is to facilitate strategic interplay in dialogue. One property of utterance production and interpretation that has received some attention in FDG is its incrementality (Hengeveld and Mackenzie *Functional Discourse Grammar* 24): the process of 'making sense' (the inferential process) is not postponed until the utterance is complete, and the speaker knows this too, and various properties of FDG, notably the 'depth first' principle that enforces encoding of material as soon as possible, reflects this fact. Another property of abductive inference is that it involves guesswork, as we have seen. Hearers also make guesses about how an incomplete utterance will continue and end, and they may even interrupt the speaker if they are confident about those guesses. This, too, has found its way into FDG in the countdown to P^F, the final position in a morphosyntactic unit (Mackenzie "Dynamicity and Dialogue" 67-69). Many grammatical properties of informal dialogical interaction are understandable in the framework of sensitivity to the real-time production and interpretation of utterances: the division of speech into relatively short Discourse Acts, with various preparatory and corrective Acts; the initial position of Topic elements which limit the hearer's search space; the signalling function of anticipatory elements like English *it*, often associated with extraposition;

and the prominence given to contrastive elements by clefting, which restricts the contexts within the hearer can make sense of what is being said.

Alongside such pragmatically inspired grammatical options as topicalization, extraposition, and clefting, there are also hard and fast rules, especially in a rather syntactically rigid language like English. LaPolla ("Why Languages Differ" 131), comparing English and Chinese, observes a contrast which applies analogously between English and Spanish:

(5) (a) The man dropped the watermelon and burst.
(b) El hombre dejó caer la sandía y estalló.

In Spanish the unexpressed subject of the second coordinated clause could be either the man (*el hombre*) or the watermelon (*la sandía*), but the speaker is likely to have intended that the latter burst; this is an inference that the speaker will expect the hearer to make. In English, by contrast, there is an inviolable rule that the subjects of two coordinated clauses must be identical unless a different subject is specified in the second clause: (5a) can therefore only mean that the man burst, and the hearer has no freedom to infer anything else. LaPolla regards such grammatical rules as "constraints on interpretation" (122-123), i.e. their functionality resides in limiting the abductive inferences that the hearer is permitted to make.

The view of a grammar that emerges from this perspective is that of an instrument, an intricate tool that language users deploy in order to bridge the differences between their individualities. This entails that the two representations of meaning that characterize the FDG analysis of a Discourse Act, the pragmatic meaning shown at the Interpersonal Level and the semantic meaning shown at the Representational Level, do not replicate the speaker's conceptualization or even their communicative intention but rather are created as part of a strategic 'campaign' to have the desired effect on the hearer. For instance, a Subact is never inherently a Topic, but may be treated as one as part of the speaker's communicative strategy; a request is never inherently an Interrogative Illocution, but again may be treated as one in an indirect speech act strategy.

This strategic approach has been very effectively examined and applied by Mike Hannay and Caroline Kroon ("Acts and the Relationship"). After a detailed demonstration of the fact that a Discourse Act need not correspond to a syntactic clause, they argue that it is a matter of the speaker's "strategic planning" (104) how their ideational material is chunked into Discourse Acts, distinguishing those that are substantive (referential and/or ascriptive) and those that are regulatory (like *let me see* or *y'know).* They go on to show that the most reliable clues to Discourse Act status are prosodic divisions (with a loose relation to punctuation) and contend that what distinguishes (6c) from (6a) and (6b) is how the speaker strategically divides the message into Discourse Acts:

(6) (a) He waited, for ages.
(b) He waited. For ages.
(c) He waited for ages.

In (6a) and (6b), Move (M_I) is divided into two Discourse Acts, the second being an elaboration of the first – the punctuation difference is seen as relatively insignificant – while in (6c) (M_I) consists of a single Discourse Act. The contrast is, in Hannay and Kroon's terms, not one of ideas, but of acts:

(7) (a) $(M_I: [(A_I)\ (A_J)_{Elab}]\ (M_I))$ (= (6a), (6b))
(b) $(M_I: (A_I)\ (M_I))$ (= (6c))[8]

An important implication of this strategic view of FDG is that there is no direct flow between our conceptualization processes and the formulation of Discourse Acts, since the latter operation is the result of the speaker's strategic planning. As mentioned above, the workings of the grammatical component are triggered by a Conceptual Component, which in many ways is a continuation of Dik's notion of pragmatic information. For Hannay and Kroon, it is in this pre-grammatical component that speaker develops both their ideas and their strategies for conveying them, for example by dividing an idea over two or more Acts or by combining two or more ideas into a single Act. The question has arisen among practitioners of FDG whether it is the grammarian's job to represent these ideas and strategies. John H. Connolly ("Conceptual Representation") has argued in favour of doing so, proposing ways of reverse-engineering a conceptual representation from the Interpersonal and Representational Levels. Others (Hengeveld and Mackenzie "Reflections on the Lexicon") have defended the view that this is neither desirable nor achievable.

The debate can be framed in terms of Levinson's distinction between A-theorists and B-theorists ("From Outer to Inner" 14): the former equate semantic structure and conceptualization and are strongly identified with cognitive linguistics, while the latter, with whom Levinson sympathizes, argue that thought and meaning must be sharply distinguished. He mentions a number of points made by B-theorists (16ff.): (a) the existence of lexical gaps, even of entire lexical fields that are absent, for many realms of experience cannot be expressed in language; (b) the multiple discoveries made by (post-)Gricean pragmatics showing that we very often do not say what we mean; (c) the ubiquity of deixis in our languages (consider almost all the elements in *I am going to the local airport tonight*); (d) the way language forces us to take a perspective on our thinking; and many others. Levinson's conclusion is obvious (23): language is public, while thought is private, and individual. A corollary of the private, individual status of thought is that it differs from one person to the next; as Robert Epstein wrote in a recent essay ("The Empty Brain"), "*there is no reason to believe that any two of us are changed the same way by the same experience*" (emphasis his), giving the example of two people's reactions to attending the same concert. For FDG, which is clearly a B-theory in Levinson's terms, the implication

[8] At the Phonological Level, (6a) and (6b) will be analysed as an Utterance (U_i) containing two Intonational Phrases (IP_i) and (IP_j), or (6b) possibly as two utterances (U_i) and (U_j). (6c) will form a single Utterance with a single Intonational Phrase.

is that grammarians need to focus on the publicly available phenomena of language in order to understand how it works as a strategic device.

4. CONCLUSION

In concluding, let us consider the repercussions of the preceding argument for FDG's stance with respect to the analysis of discourse. It will be clear that the original motivation for developing the theory was bound up with the observation that many grammatical phenomena can only be fully understood in their discourse context. In (8B) *he* and *him* are in generative grammar said to be "free" (unlike reflexive pronouns, which are "bound"), but in FDG they must be linked to their antecedents in (8A):

(8) A: What does John think about Bill?
B: He likes him.

The grammar must contain co-indexing mechanisms that link *he* to *John* and *him* to *Bill*, but this is far from forming a complete account of the mini-discourse in (8). B's answer is, like all utterances, strategic. As a grammarian, one can only speculate why B says so little or why he/she uses a mildly positive verb, but as an interactant, A will notice this and interpret B's utterance in terms of A's own pragmatic information and their assumptions about B's pragmatic information. This is the kind of 'discourse analysis' that we all carry out constantly every day, but looking on from the outside, as it were, the grammarian has nothing to add except observations about cohesive links, shifts of tense, discourse markers, evidentials, etc. These observations are essential to the academic discipline of discourse analysis but they do not add up to a grammar in the way that FDG does aspire to provide a complete account of the internal properties of Discourse Acts and their interrelations within the Move. For that reason, FDG is not, and indeed could not be, a grammar of discourse.

Reviews sent to author: 28 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 29 January 2020

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THE PLACEMENT OF EXTRA-CLAUSAL CONSTITUENTS IN FUNCTIONAL DISCOURSE GRAMMAR*

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Abstract

Although Functional Discourse Grammar offers a detailed set of placement rules for the linear ordering of elements within the clause, phrase and word, little attention has been paid to the placement of extra-clausal constituents (EECs). Thus, so far there has been no systematic attempt to link the rhetorical or discourse-pragmatic functions of EECs to the position they take vis-à-vis (elements of) their host; nor has there been any attempt to integrate any observations about the position of ECCs into the general placement rules proposed in FDG. Using authentic data from various corpora of English, this paper shows that FDG can capture the (interaction between the) various interpersonal, contextual and processing factors that determine the linear placement of EECs. In addition it is argued that the placement of EECs can be integrated into the placement rules of FDG, provided that a third extra-clausal position (interpolated) is distinguished for ECCs interrupting the host.

Keywords: extra-clausal constituents, rhetorical function, information structure, linear ordering, processing.

EL ORDEN DE LOS CONSTITUYENTES EXTRA-CLAUSALES EN LA GRAMÁTICA DISCURSIVO-FUNCIONAL

Resumen

Aunque la Gramática Discursivo-Funcional ofrece un conjunto detallado de reglas de colocación para establecer el orden lineal de los elementos dentro de la oración, frase y palabra, el orden de los constituyentes extra-clausales (CECs) ha recibido poca atención. Así, hasta el momento no ha habido ningún intento sistemático de relacionar las funciones retóricas y pragmático-discursivas de los CECs con la posición que estos ocupan con respecto a (elementos de) la unidad que los alberga; tampoco ha habido ningún intento de integrar las observaciones sobre su posición en las reglas generales de colocación de la GDF. Usando datos reales extraídos de varios corpus del inglés, este artículo muestra cómo la GDF puede dar cuenta de (la interacción entre) los distintos factores interpersonales, contextuales y de procesamiento que determinan la colocación de los CECs. Asimismo, se sostiene que el orden de los CECs puede integrase en las reglas de colocación de la GDF, siempre que se distinga una tercera posición extra-clausal (intercalada) para los CECs que interrumpen la unidad que los alberga.

Palabras clave: constituyentes extra-clausales, función retórica, estructura de la información, orden lineal, procesamiento.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.06
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 89-121; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. INTRODUCTION

Unlike most functional (and cognitive) theories or approaches, Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) offers a detailed set of placement rules for the exact linear ordering of elements within the clause, phrase and word. In accordance with the directional function-to-form nature of the theory as a whole, these rules apply in a top-down, hierarchical manner, with units representing (inter)subjective, discourse-pragmatic or rhetorical information being assigned a position before units from lower levels and layers, representing various kinds of semantic information (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 309-310; Keizer, *A Functional* 184-185).

One thing that is still missing, however, is a systematic approach to the placement of what Dik (*The Theory I* 310-211) calls "extra-clausal constituents" (ECCs), often also referred to as "parenthetical elements", "disjuncts" or "theticals", i.e. "elements that are not part of the clause proper, but more loosely connected with it in ways which can most adequately be described in terms of pragmatic functionality" (*The Theory I* 310; see also *The Theory II* 379). Consider, for instance, the italicized expressions in (1), which consist of two units that are semantically (i.e. truth-conditionally), syntactically and prosodically independent, but which are nevertheless related at some discourse-pragmatic or discourse-organizational level:

(1) a. *As for the students*, they won't be invited.
b. I'm afraid, *Peter*, that you are going a bit too fast.
c. John was, *so they say*, a bright student.
d. He's a nice chap, *your brother*.
(examples from Dik, *The Theory I* 311; see also Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 55-58)

In FDG, the italicized elements in (1) have been analysed in different ways. The expressions in (1a) and (1d) have been analysed as separate (Subsidiary) Discourse Acts with a rhetorical function expressing the specific relation to their host (or Nuclear Discourse Act): Orientation in (1a) (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 55) and Correction (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 56) or Clarification (Dik, *The Theory I* 311) in (1d). Vocatives like *Peter* in (1b), on the other hand, have been analysed as the lexical head of the Addressee participant in an independent Interpellative Discourse Act (see Section 4.2). In other cases, such as *so they say* in (1c), the expression has been analysed as a modifier of an interpersonal layer (in this case, a reportative modifier at the layer of the Communicated Content; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 103; Keizer, "The interpersonal level" 856).

* I am very grateful to Riccardo Giomi and Matthias Klumm for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper, many of which have, in some way or other, been included in the present version. All remaining errors are naturally entirely my own.

However, although some attention has been paid to the analysis of ECCs and their rhetorical or discourse-pragmatic functions, little has been said about the relation between these functions and the position ECCs take with regard to (elements of) their host. Nor has there been any attempt to integrate any observations about the exact position of ECCs (in particular the interpolated ones in (1b&c)) into the general placement rules proposed in FDG.

Using authentic data from various corpora of English (Davies, *The British National Corpus* (BYU-BNC); Davies, *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA); Davies, *News on the Web Corpus* (NOW)), the current paper attempts to fill this gap (partly at least) by addressing the following questions:

– Which interpersonal and contextual factors influence the placement of ECCs vis-à-vis (constituent parts of) their host (Nuclear Discourse Act)?
– How can any tendencies observed in the placement of these elements be integrated in the placement rules of FDG?

The structure of the paper is as follows. First, Section 2 provides a general overview of the relevant aspects of the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar, in particular its top-down, hierarchical organization, its different levels and layers of analysis, and its interaction with other, non-linguistic components. Section 3 subsequently describes how the theory's hierarchical organization is used to account for the linear ordering of constituents. Section 4 presents a summary of how ECCs have been dealt with in Functional Grammar (Dik, *The Theory I*, *The Theory II*) and Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional*). Next, Section 5 examines the various factors involved in the placement of several types of ECCs, and shows how an FDG analysis incorporating these factors can account for their position vis-à-vis the clause. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. FUNCTIONAL DISCOURSE GRAMMAR: BRIEF INTRODUCTION

2.1. General characterization

Functional Discourse Grammar, the successor of Dik's (*The Theory I*, *The Theory II*) Functional Grammar, has been characterized as a "structural-functional" theory of language (Butler 30), in that "it seeks to reconcile the patent fact that languages are structured complexes with the equally patent fact that they are adapted to function as instruments of communication between human beings" (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* ix; cf. Dik *The Theory I* 3). The result is what Hengeveld & Mackenzie (*Functional* 26) describe as "a form-oriented function-to-form" model. FDG is "function-to-form" in the sense that, in a top-down fashion, the model starts with the Speaker's communicative intention and from there works its way down to articulation. In this way, "FDG takes the functional approach to language to its logical extreme", as pragmatics is taken to govern semantics, pragmatics and

semantics to govern morphosyntax, and pragmatics, semantics, and morphosyntax to govern phonology (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 13). At the same time, however, FDG is "form-oriented", in that it only seeks to account for those pragmatic and semantic phenomena that are reflected in the morphosyntactic and phonological form of an utterance (e.g. Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 39; 40).

The privileged role of pragmatics is further reflected in the fact that FDG takes as its basic unit of analysis not the clause (a morphosyntactic unit), but the Discourse Act (a communicative unit; see also below). This means that FDG can accommodate not only regular clauses, but also units larger than the clause, such as complex sentences, and units smaller than the clause, such as interjections or single phrases. Moreover, in order to represent all linguistic information relevant for the formation of a linguistic expression, FDG analyses Discourse Acts in terms of independent pragmatic, semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological modules, which interact to produce the appropriate linguistic expression. Together, these four levels, and the primitives feeding into these levels, form the grammatical component of the model (the FDG proper; see Figure 1).

The grammatical component, however, does not operate in isolation, but interacts with three extra-linguistic components: a contextual component, containing non-linguistic information about those aspects of the immediate discourse context that affect the form of a linguistic utterance (see also Connolly, "Context", "The Contextual Component"; Cornish; Alturo et al.; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, "Grammar"); a conceptual component, which contains the prelinguistic conceptual information relevant for the production of a linguistic expression, and which forms the driving force behind the grammatical component (see e.g. Connolly, "The Contextual Component"); and an output component, consisting of spoken, signed or written forms. A general outline of the model is given in Figure 1.

2.2. Four levels of analysis

The four levels of representation used in FDG are the outcome of two types of operations: Formulation and Encoding, dealing with meaning and form, respectively. The operation of Formulation results in representations at the first two levels, which capture all the relevant pragmatic and semantic aspects of a linguistic expression. The operation of Encoding subsequently takes care of an expression's morphosyntactic and phonological properties. Each of the four levels is hierarchically organized into a number of different layers.

The highest level of representation is the Interpersonal Level (IL), which deals with "all the formal aspects of a linguistic unit that reflect its role in the interaction between the Speaker and the Addressee" (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 46). The most inclusive layer at this level is the Move (M), which forms "the largest unit of interaction relevant to grammatical analysis" (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 50). Each Move consists of one or more Discourse Acts (A), defined as "the smallest identifiable units of communicative behaviour" which, unlike Moves, "do not necessarily further the communication in terms of approaching a conversational

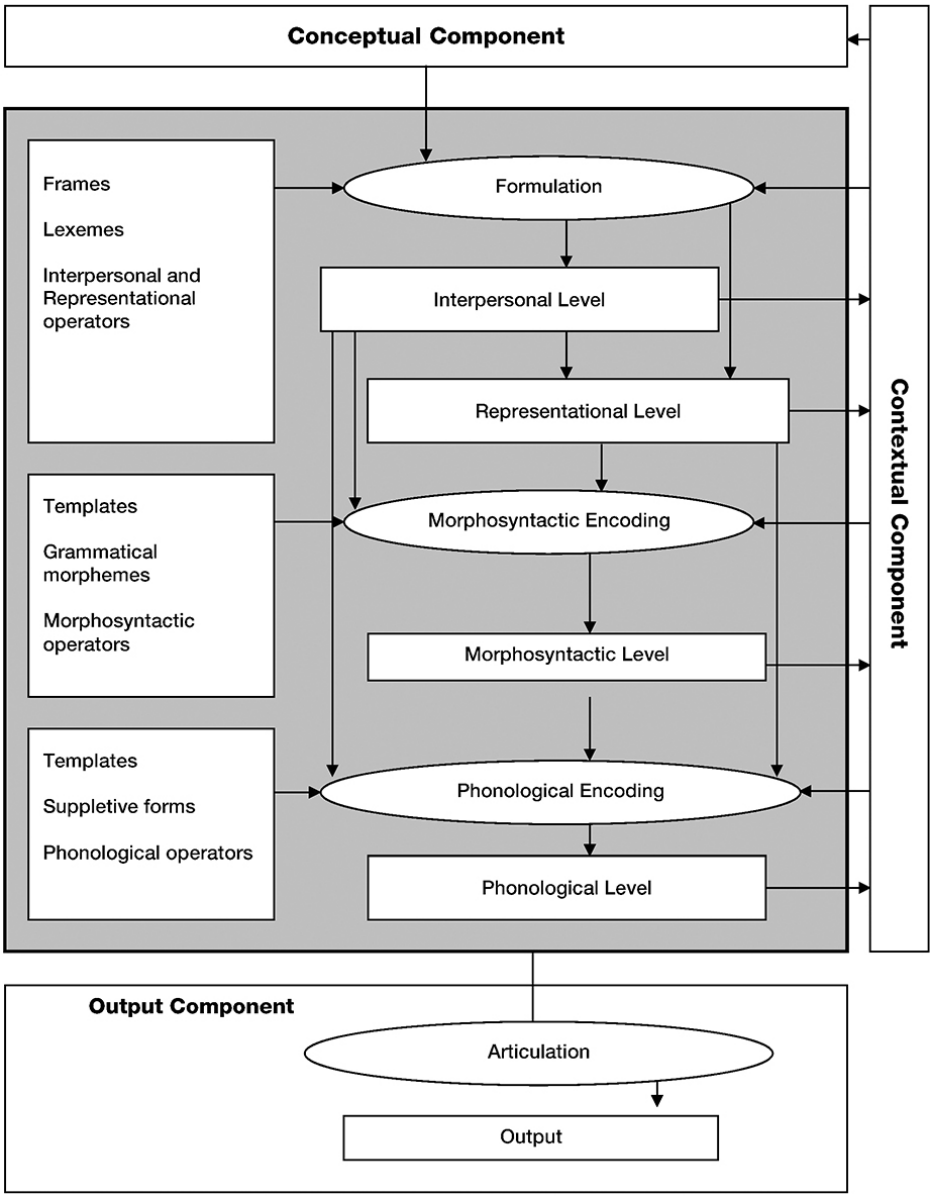

Figure 1: General layout of FDG (based on Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 13).

goal" (Kroon 85; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 60). These Discourse Acts, in turn, consist of an Illocution (F), the Speech Participants (P_1 and P_2, representing the speaker and the addressee) and a Communicated Content (C), which "contains

the totality of what the Speaker wishes to evoke in his/her communication with the Addressee" (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 87). Within the Communicated Content, one or more Subacts of Reference (R) and Ascription (T) are evoked by the Speaker. In addition, each of these layers is provided with a slot for operators and modifiers, providing additional grammatical and lexical information, respectively, about the layer in question.[1]

To illustrate the kind of information that is dealt with at the Interpersonal Level, and the kind of units (layers) distinguished at this level, consider the sentence in (2):

(2) a. I frankly cannot afford a holiday this year.
b. $(M_I: (A_I: [(F_I: \text{DECL } (F_I): \text{frankly } (F_I))\ (P_I)_S\ (P_J)_A\ (C_I: [(T_I)_{FOC}\ (+\text{id } R_I: [+S, A]\ (R_I))\ (-\text{id } R_J: (T_J)\ (R_J))\ (+\text{id } R_k: (T_K)\ (R_k))]\ (C_I))]\ (A_I))\ (M_I))$

In (2b) we find a Move (M_I), consisting of a single Discourse Act (A_I), which in turn consists of an Illocution (F_I), the two Speech Participants (P_1 and P_2), and a Communicated Content (C_I). Since we are dealing with a declarative sentence, the Illocution (F_I) has the abstract head DECL; in addition, the Illocution is modified by the illocutionary adverb *frankly* (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 82; Keizer, "Interpersonal adverbs", "The semantics"). The Communicated Content consists of three Subacts of Reference, one evoking the speaker (R_I), one evoking the entity described as *a holiday* (R_J) and one evoking the temporal entity described as *this year* (R_K), as well as three Subacts of Ascription, one evoking the property 'afford' (T_I, which, as the element presenting the most salient information is assigned the pragmatic function Focus), and the other two evoking the Properties 'holiday' (T_J) and 'year' (T_K) (assigned to the referents evoked by R_J and R_K, respectively). Two of the Subacts of Reference, R_I and R_K, are specified by the operator +id, indicating the speaker assumes the addressee to be able to identify the referent evoked; the third, R_J, is marked as unidentifiable.

The second level of Formulation, the Representational Level (RL), deals with the semantic aspects of a linguistic expression, i.e. with those aspects of a linguistic expression that reflect the way in which language relates to the (real or imagined) world it describes (cf. Halliday and Hasan's ideational metafunction). The units at this level represent the different linguistically relevant types of entities in the extra-linguistic world (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 131; cf. Lyons 442-447). The highest layer at this level is that of the Propositional Content (p), which represents a mental construct which can be evaluated in terms of its truth. The Propositional Content consists of one or more Episodes (ep), i.e. sets of States-of-Affairs (e) that

[1] For distinguishing between operators and modifiers, FDG relies on two criteria: modifiability (modifiers can themselves be modified, operators cannot); and focality (modifiers can be focalized, operators cannot). Note that the use of two criteria also leads to the distinction of a third group, consisting of elements that are focalizable but not modifiable (lexical operators; see Keizer, "The grammatical-lexical"; Hengeveld).

are coherent in terms of time, space and participants. Each State-of-Affairs (e) is, in turn, characterized by a Configurational Property (f^c), consisting typically of a lexical (typically verbal) Property (f^l) and one or more arguments. These arguments, which may refer to any type of entity, are typically headed by a nominal lexical property. Here, too, each layer is provided with a slot for operators and modifiers, the former expressing grammatical information (e.g. tense, aspect, modality or number), the latter additional lexical information (e.g. manner, time or place adverbs) concerning the layer in question.

A Representational Level analysis of sentence in (2a) above is provided in (3):

(3) $(p_i: (\text{pres } ep_i: (\text{neg } e_i: (\text{abil } f^c_i: [(f^l_i: \text{afford } (f^l_i)) (\text{sing } x_i)_A (\text{sing } e_j: (f^l_j: \text{holiday } (f^l_j)) (e_j))_U] (f^c_i)) (e_i)) (ep_i): (1 \text{ prox } t_i: (f^l_k: \text{year } (f^l_k)) (t_i)) (ep_i)) (p_i))$

The highest layer of analysis here is the Propositional Content p_i. This Propositional Content contains a single Episode ep_i, which in turn consists of a single States-of-Affairs e_i. This State-of-Affairs is headed by a Configurational Property f^c_i, consisting of the verbal Property *afford* (f^l_i) and its two arguments (the Individual *I*, represented as x_i, and another State-of-Affairs, *a holiday*, represented as e_j). The representation further contains a modifier (the time denoting element *this year*, t_i, modifying the Episode), and a number of operators: the tense operator 'present' at the layer of the Episode, the negation operator 'neg' at the layer of the State-of-Affairs, the facultative participant-oriented modality operator 'abil' at the layer of the Configurational Property (see Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 212; Dall'Aglio Hattnher & Hengeveld) and the singularity modifier 'sing', indicating number for the countable entities x_i, e_j and t_i.[2] Finally, the two arguments x_i and e_j are provided with a semantic (macro-)role, Actor (A) and Undergoer (U), respectively.

The output of the operation of Formulation forms the input to the operation of Encoding; at this stage, it is no longer possible to add or change any meaning components to the utterance. The first level of Encoding, the Morphosyntactic Level (ML), accounts for all the morphosyntactic and linear properties of the linguistic units triggered by the two levels of Formulation. The largest unit of analysis at this level is that of the Linguistic Expression (Le), which typically contains one or more Clauses and/or Phrases. Clauses (Cl), in turn, may consist of one or more Phrases and Words, as well as of other Clauses. Phrases may contain one or more Words, as well as other Phrases or Clauses. Words, finally, consist of one or more Morphemes (not included in the analysis below). Phrases, Words and Morphemes are further categorized on the basis of the kind of head they have. Thus there are, for instance, Verbal Phrases (Vp), Nominal Phrases (Np) and Adjectival Phrases (Ap), as well as Verbal Words (Vw), Nominal Words (Nw) and Adjectival Words (Aw). In addition,

[2] In standard FDG the operator '1' is used to indicate both singularity and the numeral *one*; to distinguish between the two, Keizer ("English partitives" 33) introduces the operator 'sing' for singularity.

there are Grammatical Words (Gw), which typically correspond to operators at the levels of Formulation. Finally, it is at this level that the syntactic functions Subject and Object are assigned. A morphosyntactic analysis of the sentence in (2a) is given in (4):

(4) $(Le_i: (Cl_i: [(Np_i: (Nw_i: I (Nw_i)) (Np_i))_{Subj} (Vw_i: can (Vw_i)) (Gw_i: not (Gw_i)) (Vp_i: (Vw_j: afford (Vw_j)) (Vp_i)) (Np_j: [(Gw_j: a (Gw_j)) (Nw_j: holiday (Nw_j))] (Np_j))_{Obj} (Np_k: [(Gw_k: this (Gw_k)) (Nw_k: year (Nw_k))] (Np_k))] (Cl_i)) (Le_i))$

Finally, the Phonological Level converts the input from the three higher levels into phonological form. Once again the layers at this level are hierarchically organized. The highest layer, the Utterance (U) consists of one or more Intonational Phrases (IP), which in turn consist of Phonological Phrases (PP) (which divide into Phonological Words, which are made up of Feet, which contain Syllables; these are not included in the representation below). The layer that is most relevant for the current discussion is that of the Intonational Phrase, which, in the default case, corresponds to a Discourse Act at the Interpersonal Level. Intonational Phrases are characterized internally by the presence of a complete intonational contour, and externally by the presence of intonational boundaries. A possible (simplified) phonological representation of example (2a) is given in (5). This representation contains one operator, 'f ', indicating a falling intonation at the layer of the Intonational Phrase (triggered by the presence of a Declarative Illocution at the IL).

(5) $(U_i: (f\ IP_i: [(PP_i: /aɪfræŋklɪ/ (PP_i)) (PP_j: /kɑntəfɔːd/ (PP_j)) (PP_k: /əhɒlɪdeɪ/ (PP_k)) (PP_l: /ðɪsjɪə/ (PP_l))] (IP_i)) (U_i))$

3. LINEAR ORDERING IN FUNCTIONAL DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

Where in the framework of Functional Grammar Dik (*The Theory I* 399-415) provided a list of general and specific universal principles for the ordering of constituents (LIPOC),[3] FDG offers a set of functionally-inspired, to some extent language specific, placements rules. Guided by the general tendencies observed by Dik, these rules provide a more precise account of the possibilities of and restrictions on the ordering of elements within the clause, phrase and word. The system proposed is functional in that the placement of constituents is (almost) entirely determined by information contained in the higher two levels, with elements being placed in a top-down, outward-inward manner (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 310-316; Keizer, *A Functional* 184-191); in other words, units from the Interpersonal

[3] Language independent preferred order of constituents.

Level are placed before units from the Representational level, and, within each level, hierarchically higher (more inclusive) layers before lower (inner) layers.

Another distinction relevant for the ordering of element is that between core and non-core units,[4] i.e. between elements within and outside the head of the Communicated Content at the Interpersonal level (content frame) and within and outside the head of the Configurational Property at the Representational Level (predication frame):

(6) $(M_1: (A_1: [(F_1)\ (P_1)_S\ (P_2)_A\ (C_1: [\ ...\ (T_1)\ (R_1)\ ...\ ]\ (C_1))]\ (A_1))\ (M_1))$

Content Frame
(core unit)

(7) $(p_1: (ep_1: (e_1: (f^c_1: [(f^l_1)\ (x_1)\ (x_2)\ ...\ ]\ (f^c_1))\ (e_1)\ (ep_1))\ (p_1))$

Predication Frame
(core unit)

At both the Interpersonal and the Representational Level, non-core elements are placed before core elements; at the Interpersonal level, for instance, functions, operators and modifiers of the Move, Discourse Act, Illocution and Communicated Contents are placed (in that order) before any of the Subacts; while at the Representational Level, functions, operators and modifiers of the Propositional Content, Episode or State-of-Affairs are placed before the predicate and its arguments.

Finally, it is assumed that, cross-linguistically, languages make use of one or more (up to four) absolute positions for the placement of (in this case clausal) elements. English has three absolute positions: an initial (P^I), a medial (P^M) and a final (P^F) position. As soon as one of these positions is filled, one or two relative positions are created (e.g. P^{M+1}, P^{F-1}). In addition, languages make consistent use of a preclausal and postclausal position (to accommodate what is often referred to as left and right dislocation). The following thus represents a potential template for Linguistic Expressions in English:

(8) P^{Pre} | P^I P^{I+1} P^{M-1} P^M P^{M+1} P^{F-2} P^{F-1} P^F | P^{Post}

In order to illustrate how these placement rules apply, consider the following (rather contrived but grammatical) example:

[4] Hengeveld and Mackenzie (*Functional*) do not use the terms core and non-core, using the terms hierarchically related (non-core) and non-hierarchically related (core) elements instead. This, however, is confusing since some of the non-core units (e.g. the Illocution) is in fact a non-hierarchically related unit.

(9) She will luckily probably meet him again next week.

As the only interpersonal modifier, the attitudinal adverb *luckily* (modifying the Communicated Content) is the first element to be placed in one of three absolute positions, ending up in position P^{M}. The adverb *probably*, as the highest representational modifier (scoping over the Propositional Content), is the next element to be placed, going to the newly created position P^{M+1}. Subsequently, the modal auxiliary *will* (represented as an operator at the layer of the Episode) is placed in P^{M-1}, the Episode modifier *next week* in clause-final position (P^{F}), and the frequency adverb *again* in the pre-final position (P^{F-1}). Finally, the main verb, subject and object and are placed in positions P^{M+2}, P^{I} and P^{M+3}, respectively.

(10)	P^{I}	P^{M-1}	P^{M}	P^{M+1}	P^{M+2}	P^{M+3}	P^{F-1}	P^{F}
	she	will	luckily	probably	meet	him	again	next week

It will be clear that many of these placement rules agree with the general principles listed in Dik's LIPOC: for instance, within a Linguistic Expression, Clauses will typically be iconically ordered (Principle of Iconic Ordering; see Dik, *The Theory I* 399; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 283-284); the Principle of Centripetal Orientation (Dik, *The Theory I* 401) is reflected in the fixed (and iconic) order in which auxiliaries appear in English; Dik's Principle of Domain Integrity is captured by the fact that complex constituents are first assigned a position as a whole, and tend not to be interrupted by other constituents, as well as by the fact that operators and modifiers tend to be placed next to the head (or actually the other way round in the current system) (Dik, *The Theory I* 402; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 285); the Principles of Functional Stability and Pragmatic Highlighting (Dik, *The Theory I* 403; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 286-287) are reflected in the fact that constituents with certain functions often appear in designated positions (e.g. Subject in P^{I}; Focus elements in P^{I} or P^{F}); etc.

However, in strong contrast to this highly detailed system of linear placement of elements within a Discourse Act, very little has been said in FDG about the placement of ECCs (in the form of Subsidiary Discourse Acts) in relation to their hosts (Nuclear Discourse Acts). Before addressing this issue, let us look at ECCs in some more detail.

4. ECCS: DEFINITION, ANALYSIS, FUNCTION

4.1. General characterization

ECCs (disjuncts, parentheticals, theticals) are typically defined as non-truth-conditional (non-propositional and/or syntactically non-integrated elements that are nevertheless related to an (element from) a host clause (e.g. Chafe; Quirk *et al*. 612-615; Espinal; Ifantidou; Fraser; Dik, *The Theory I* 310-311, *The Theory II* 381; Haegeman; Pullum & Huddleston 575-577, Huddleston et al. 1350-1353; Potts;

Dehé & Kavalova; Bonami & Godard; Heine et al. 159; Halliday & Matthiessen 184, see also 190–193). In many cases, the definition used also includes prosodic non-integration of the element in question (e.g. Dik, *The Theory I* 310-311, *The Theory II* 381; Haegeman 333; Pullum & Huddleston 575-577, Huddleston et al. 1350-1353; Potts; Bonami & Godard; Heine et al. 159; Halliday & Matthiessen 190-193), sometimes as a necessary, defining feature (e.g. Huddleston et al. 1350; Potts). For the purposes of the present paper, I will rely on Dik's (*The Theory II* 381) properties of ECCs:

1. ECCs either occur on their own, or are typically set off from the clause proper by breaks or pause-like inflections in the prosodic contour; they are "bracketed off" from the clause by such prosodic features;[5]
2. ECCs are never essential to the internal structure of the clause with which they are associated; when they are left out, the clause still forms an integral whole;
3. ECCs are not sensitive to the grammatical rules which operate within the limits of the clause, although they may be related to the clause by rules of coreference, parallelism, and antithesis which may also characterize relations between clauses in ongoing discourse.

An additional property of ECCs mentioned by Dik (*The Theory II* 383; see also Heine et al. 159) is that ECCs tend to have a large degree of positional mobility: many of them may precede or follow the host, as well as interrupt the host at various places. This, of course, raises the question of what determines where a particular ECCs appears vis-à-vis the host. Before we address this question, however, let us have a look at how ECCs have been analysed in FDG.

4.2. The analysis of ECCs in FDG

In FDG, the ECC status of an element is captured at the Interpersonal Level. Here, however, different types of ECC have been analysed in different ways.

[5] As mentioned above, in FDG this means that, generally speaking, ECCs are realized as Intonational Phrases at the Phonological Level, characterized by the presence of a complete intonational contour and boundary tones preceding and/or following the unit in question (see e.g. Crystal 205-206; Bolinger 185-189; Cruttenden 30-34; Nespor & Vogel; Gussenhoven; Dehé, "The relation", *Parentheticals*). As is well-known, however, there is significant variation in the prosodic realization of ECCs, both between different types of ECC and within a particular type (e.g. Astruc; Astruc & Nolan; Dehé, *Parentheticals*). Moreover, the presence or absence of a prosodic boundary need not always be communicatively motivated, and may be influenced by a range of a-functional factors, including speech rate, fluency (hesitation), (syntactic or prosodic) length/complexity (of ECC and preceding unit), and eurhythmy. For the purposes of this paper, however, it will be assumed that commas indicate intentional prosodic boundaries (which in all cases would lead to a plausible interpretation; see e.g. Astruc, Astruc & Nolan).

In most cases, they correspond to separate (Subsidiary) Discourse Acts; in other cases, they are analysed as modifiers of a particular interpersonal layer.

As mentioned in Section 2, Moves consist of one or more Discourse Acts. If a Move contains more than one Discourse Act, these can be related in two ways: if two Discourse Acts have equal communicative status, the relationship between them is one of equipollence; if one Discourse Act (the Nucleus) is communicatively more important than the other (a Subsidiary), the relationship between them is one of dependence. In the latter case a rhetorical function representing the relationship between the two Acts is assigned to the Subsidiary Act. Thus, in (1a), repeated here as (11a), the left-dislocated element *As for the students* is represented as a Subsidiary Discourse Act with the rhetorical function Orientation; in (12a) (= (1d)), *my brother* functions as a Subsidiary Discourse Act with the function Correction (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 55-56). Since in FDG there is a default, one-to-one relationship between Discourse Acts at the Interpersonal Level and Intonational Phrases (IPs) at the Phonological Level (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 432; Keizer, "Interpersonal adverbs"), the two Discourse Acts in (11b) and (12b) are taken to correspond to two Intonational Phrases at the Phonological Level, as shown in (11c) and (12c).

(11) a. *As for the students*, they won't be invited.
b. IL: $(M_I : [(A_I$ –as for the students– $(A_I))_{Orient}$ $(A_J$: –they won't be invited– $(A_J))]$ $(M_I))$
c. PL: $(U_i$: $[(IP_i)$ $(IP_j)]$ $(U_i))$

(12) a. He's a nice chap, *your brother*.
b. IL: $(M_I : [(A_I$ –he's a nice chap– $(A_I))$ $(A_J$: –your brother– $(A_J))_{Cor}]$ $(M_I))$
c. PL: $(U_i$: $[(IP_i)$ $(IP_j)]$ $(U_i))$

In some cases, however, the two Discourse Acts may be realized as three Intonational Phrases at the Phonological Level. Such a non-default relation may be communicatively motivated, as in those cases where a Nuclear Discourse Act is deliberately interrupted by a Subsidiary Discourse Act (an Aside), as in example (13), leading to the use of three separate IPs:

(13) a. The teacher, *who is not very organized*, had forgotten all about it.
b. IL: $(M_I$: $[(A_I$. – the teacher had forgotten all about it – $(A_I))$ $(A_J$: – the teacher is not very organized – $(A_J))_{Aside}]$ $(M_I))$
c. PL: $(U_i$: $[(IP_i)$ (IP_j) $(IP_k)]$ $(U_i))$

In FDG, vocatives are analysed as Interpellative Discourse Acts. In those cases where the vocative consists of a proper name, as in (14a), the Discourse Act has an abstract Illocution (INTERP), while the proper name functions as the head of the Addressee $(P_J)_A$ (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 79):

(14) a Bert!
b. $(A_I$: $[(F_I$: INTERP $(F_I))$ $(P_I)_S$ $(P_J$: Bert $(P_J))_A]$ $(A_I))$

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When the vocative is in a dependency relation with another Discourse Act, e.g. *Peter* in (1b) (repeated here as (15)), it may be analysed as a Subsidiary Discourse Act with the rhetorical function Address (cf. Dik, *The Theory I* 311), indicating who the Nuclear Discourse Act is directed at:[6]

(15) a. I'm afraid, *Peter*, that you are going a bit too fast.
b. $(M_I: [(A_I: –$ I'm afraid ... too fast $– (A_I)) (A_J: [(F_I:$ INTERP $(F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J:$ Peter $(P_J))_A] (A_J))_{Addr} (M_I))$

In other cases, however, especially when the ECC takes the form of an interpersonal (non-truth-conditional) adverbial clause or phrase, FDG analyses the ECC as a modifier at the appropriate layer at the Interpersonal Level. Thus, the ECC *so they say* in (1c) (repeated below as (16)) would be analysed as a modifier of the Communicated Content, used by the speaker to indicate the source of the information provided (cf. Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 103; Keizer, "The interpersonal level" 856). Similarly, the adverb *frankly* in (17) has been analysed as a modifier of the Illocution, as it serves as a comment on the (in this case Interrogative) Illocution (meaning either "I ask you frankly why you did it" or "I ask you to tell me frankly why you did it"; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 82).

(16) a. John was, *so they say,* a bright student.
b. $(M_I: (A_I: [(F_I:$ DECL $(F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: –$ John was a bright student $– (C_I):$ **so they say** $(C_I))] (A_I)) (M_I))$

(17) a. *Frankly*, why did you do it?
b. $(M_I: (A_I: [(F_I:$ INTER $(F_I):$ **frankly** $(F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: –$ why did you do it $– (C_I))] (A_I)) (M_I))$

Keizer ("Interpersonal adverbs", "The semantics"), however, argues that such an analysis should be reserved for prosodically integrated adverbials only (as these also still retain a degree of syntactic integration),[7] and that prosodically non-integrated, fully parenthetical adverbials like those in (16) and (17) are better analysed as Subsidiary Discourse Acts. We will come back to this issue in Section 5.2.

[6] This may seem redundant, given that the Discourse Act already has an Interpellative Illocution, with the proper name heading the Addressee. However, the Illocution and the Rhetorical function fulfil different functions: the former serves to indicate whose attention is being drawn, the latter to indicate that this is also the person the host is addressed to.

[7] In the sense that there are restrictions on their (absolute and relative) position, and their occurrence in the complement of verbs; moreover, in V2 languages, they still trigger inversion (Keizer, "Interpersonal adverbs", "The semantics").

4.3. The functions of ECCs

From the above it will already have become clear that ECCs can fulfil different kinds of functions in the discourse (for an overview, see also Kaltenböck et al. 9-11). Dik (*The Theory II* 384) distinguishes four types of functions, two of which are important for the purposes of the present paper:[8]

1. Interactional management: greetings and vocatives (summonses, addresses) and minimal responses; Dik (*The Theory II* 384-386)
2. Discourse organization: boundary markers (e.g. initiators and topic shifters), Orientation markers (including Themes) and Tails (which may serve to clarify, modify, specify or correct; Dik (*The Theory II* 386-405)).

In their discussion of Subsidiary Discourse Acts, Hengeveld & Mackenzie (*Functional* 53-58) describe some of the rhetorical functions these Acts can have. In example (18a) we are dealing with a case of Motivation, as the Subsidiary Discourse Act provides the speaker's motivation for uttering the Nuclear Discourse Act; example (18b) provides an example of Orientation (Dik's Theme; see also example (11)); in (18c) we have a Discourse Act with the function of Correction (see also example (12)); in (18d), the Subsidiary Discourse Act has the rhetorical function of Concession (as shown by the possibility of adding a performative); and (18e) contains an Aside (see also example (13)):

(18) a. *Watch out*, because there will be trick questions in the exam.
b. *My brother*, I promise not to betray him.
c. I promise not to betray him, *my brother*.
d. The work was fairly easy, *although (I concede that) it took me longer than expected*.
e. The students, *who, frankly, had worked hard*, passed the exam.
(examples from Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 53-58)

Hannay & Keizer also analyse non-restrictive nominal appositions, such as those given in (19)-(21), as separate Discourse Acts provided with a function capturing their specific discourse (rhetorical) function. These functions come in three major groups (cf. Quirk et al. 1308-1313). The first is that of identification, which applies to those cases where the non-restrictive apposition is intended "to enable the hearer to identify the referent of the host, not necessarily uniquely, but sufficiently for the current discourse purpose" (Hannay & Keizer 169); it may take the form of specification, description or reformulation. An example of specification is given in (19):

[8] The other two types distinguished by Dik are attitude specification (*Ouch!*, *Dammit!*, *Hurray!*; Dik, *The Theory II* 386) and discourse execution (responses and tags; *The Theory II* 405-407).

(19) The Foreign Minister of the UK, *Boris Johnson*, says the presidency of Donald Trump could be a "moment of opportunity" for a fresh start. (COCA, newspaper)

The second major category of discourse function is that of justification; appositions with this function are meant to forestall the question "Why is this relevant?" (Hannay & Keizer 173). One subtype of justification is reference justification, as the apposition serves "to justify the speaker's referring to a particular person at that particular moment" (Hannay & Keizer 175), as in example (20):

(20) Last year, Peter Tatchell, *the gay rights activist*, invaded the stage to give an impromptu address. (York Minster invaded by angry fathers, *The Guardian*, 12 July 2004)

The third major category is that of labelling, i.e. those cases where a new label (typically a proper name) is attached to an unfamiliar discourse entity, as in (21):

(21) But Mr Hobson's mother and his ex-wife, *Kay*, had pleaded with him to give himself up. (Hunt ends for most wanted man, *The Guardian*, 26 July 2004)

As pointed out by Dik (*The Theory II* 383), there may be a relation between the specific discourse or rhetorical function of an ECC and its preferred position (e.g. in the case of Themes and Tails); in other cases, however, an ECC "may occur, with much the same function" in virtually any position (Dik, *The Theory II* 383). In the next section we will consider some of the factors that determine where an ECC eventually appears.

5. THE PLACEMENT OF ECCS

5.1. Introduction

As mentioned before, one generally accepted feature of ECCs is that they are positionally mobile (e.g. Dik, *The Theory I* 311, *The Theory II* 379, 383; Heine *et al*. 159). This does not mean, however, that placement is entirely free or arbitrary: in many cases, there clearly is a link between the discourse-pragmatic or rhetorical function of the ECC and its position vis-à-vis its host. Thus, Subsidiary Discourse Acts with the function Orientation/Theme tend to end up in preclausal position (e.g. *The Theory II* 388), while those serving as Tails of Afterthoughts appear in postclausal position (Dik, *The Theory II* 403). In many cases, however, rhetorical function alone is not enough to predict position: vocatives, such as *Peter* in (1b), may

end up in preclausal, postclausal and interpolated[9] position (Dik, *The Theory II* 385), while Motivations may occur in preclausal and postclausal position (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 54). Furthermore, as is well-known, non-restrictive relative clauses, although typically immediately following their antecedent (as in example (13)), may, for a variety of reasons, be placed in postclausal position (see discussion in Section 5.2).

Similarly, prosodically non-integrated adverbs can occur in a whole range of positions, as shown in example (22) for the illocutionary adverb *frankly*:

(22) a. *Frankly*, I don't think they keep Obamacare. (COCA, spoken)
b. And, *frankly*, last night was one of the big nights. (COCA, spoken)
c. You, *frankly*, are a bit of a slut. (BYU-BNC, pop-lore)
d. In those kind of cases, *frankly*, it's the person who is making statements with a lot to lose (COCA, spoken)
e. I would say, on balance, *frankly*, the mainstream press, which is decried often by conservative as liberal, is more professional and more accurate and faster to correct mistakes than probably it was in an earlier era. (COCA, spoken)
f. It has, *frankly*, all been downhill for House Tyrell since then (COCA, magazine)
g. And he covered, *frankly*, a lot of ground when he was in that briefing room (COCA, spoken)
h. And I'd like to take it to that place because, *frankly*, the place where the Republicans are going now with their budget is a very bad place for our country. (COCA, spoken)
i. I think that's a question, *frankly*, you'd have to ask the Democrats (COCA, newspaper)
j. and I'd never, *frankly*, thought about it before, because I never knew anybody intimately in the business world (COCA, spoken)
k. And so, we have seen this for decades, for years, *quite frankly*. (COCA, spoken)

Finally, corrections, as cases of self-monitoring, can occur in almost any position (Dik, *The Theory II* 402; Geluyckens 122-124; see also Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 55-56):

(23) a. But we already have a pa, *or rather we had one*. (COCA, fiction)

[9] This term was introduced by Keizer ("Interpersonal adverbs" 82) for Subsidiary Discourse Acts interrupting their host (to be distinguished from the term medial, used for Discourse Act internal elements).

b. But, as I understand it, the reason that your parents were sent back - *or rather that your dad was* - was that they say he participated in helping to destroy a mosque, (COCA, spoken)
c. I always say, once the year turns even, *that is, an election year*, you are less likely to see any major legislative accomplishments (COCA, spoken)

From this very brief overview, it will be clear that the placement of ECCs is determined by a number of interacting factors, including the following:[10]

– processing factors (planned vs. unplanned ECCs; complexity)
– rhetorical function (relation to the host)
– targeting (relation to particular unit within the host)
– information structure (strengthening or weakening of the backgrounded status of the ECC; pragmatic function (topic/focus/contrast) of the ECC or (elements of) the host)

In what follows, we will look at a number of corpus examples illustrating the different types of ECCs mentioned so far (orientational noun phrases, vocatives, motivational *if*-clauses, non-restrictive relative clauses and appositions, and reportative adverbials), to try and answer the following questions: how can the interplay between these factors be captured in FDG?; and how can the placement of ECCs be integrated in the placement rules of FDG?

5.2. The placement of planned Subsidiary Discourse Acts

5.2.1. *Orientational ECCs*

Let us start with those ECCs which, due to their specific discourse function, can be assumed to be deliberately placed in a particular position. These include those elements that, for communicative purposes, are placed in preclausal position, such as elements with the rhetorical function Orientation (including what Dik (*The Theory II* 385) classifies as Addresses). Their preclausal position also indicates the fact that they have wide scope: they pertain to the following Discourse Act as a whole. Sometimes, as in example (24a), their function is purely discourse-organizational: they serve to draw attention to the particular (discourse relevant) piece of information (participant or topic) that the following clause (representing the Nuclear Discourse Act) is about. These participants may be discourse-new (Prince, "The ZPG letter"), as in examples (24a) and (24b); note, however, that they are nevertheless to some degree hearer-old (familiar, inferrable; Prince "Toward a taxonomy", "The ZPG letter"), in that they are either related to (e.g. examples (24a) and (24b)) or evoke

[10] For a similar approach to the placement of 'thematic parentheticals', see Hannay & Gómez González.

(example (24c)) a previously mentioned discourse participant. In other cases the orientational Subact is resumptive (example (24d)), in which case it can be used to signal a shift in discourse topic. Note that in all these cases, the orientational Subact functions as a link between the previous and the following discourse, i.e. as a coherence enhancing device (Dik, *The Theory II* 388).

(24) a. I am the classic example of a passive-aggressive kind of guy. And it's amazing. I'm sitting here. Let me tell you what happened. *My girlfriend*, she's so upset with me. We're in the middle of a big, huge argument right now. (COCA, spoken)
b. *My daughter, Leila, who is eighteen*, she came home all excited. (COCA, spoken)
c. We're not married, but she and I have been together for seven years now, and we have a wonderful son - awesome kid, man. The complete opposite of what I was his age - happy. *My son*, he looked at me one day when I yelled at him. He shook. Oh, my God, that was me. (COCA, spoken)
d. In addition to intervention in production, the other two pillars of Wang's policies were inflationary monetary policy and permanent war. Wang seized control of copper output, quadrupling the issue of bronze coin (von Glahn 2005, 71), which set off rising inflation. *As for military adventures*, during his short tenure Wang managed to initiate wars against a series of regional powers simultaneously, including the Ly dynasty in modern Vietnam, and his followers frequently returned to the theme of war. (COCA, academic)

In many instances, however, orientational Discourse Acts also carry pragmatic information, as in the following examples, where they serve to indicate contrast between the referent introduced by the orientational Discourse Act and another, previously introduced discourse referent. This particular combination of orientation and contrast triggers prosodic prominence on the orientational element (Kumail's parents vs. Emily's parents in (25a); the (un)insured vs. the insurers in (25b)):

(25) a. Not that what *Kumail's parents* did was not good parenting. But *my parents* – I've always been a little bit more with them, ... (COCA, spoken)
b. they argued that the individual mandate is the "heart" of the health-care law, and without it, both the number of uninsured Americans and premiums would skyrocket (...). # And many conservative health policy experts agree repealing only the individual mandate is a crummy idea. # "Having guaranteed issue and community rating without some sort of mandate is structurally a rather dangerous thing to do," Robert Graboyes, a health-care scholar at the Mercatus Center. "It's an invitation to a death spiral." # *As for insurers*, they're terrified that Republicans are considering "skinny repeal" as a possibility. (COCA, newspaper)

The placement of these Subsidiary Discourse Acts vis-à-vis their hosts is quite straightforward: they are simply put in preclausal position before any of the constituent parts of the Nuclear Discourse Act is placed in position. For example (25a) this would lead to the (simplified) representation at the Interpersonal Level (26a) and template at the Morphosyntactic Level (26b):

(26) a. $(M_I$: ... $[(A_I$ – my$_{CONTR}$ parents – $(A_I))_{Orient}$ $(A_J))]$ ... $(M_I))$

b. P^{Pre} | P^{I} P^{M-1} P^{M} P^{M+1} P^{M+2}
my parents

5.2.2. *Vocatives*

Not surprisingly, vocatives can also occur in preclausal position. Here they may be used to start a new discourse, as in example (27a) (Dik, *The Theory II* 387), or they may constitute an attempt on the part of the speaker either to draw the attention of a particular discourse participant, as in (27b) (Dik's (*The Theory II* 385) Addresses; cf. Leech's (108, 116) attention drawing function), or to draw other speech participants' attention to a particular speech participant, as in (27c), where the use of the proper name *Nancy* is as much for the benefit of the audience (listeners) as for the addressee herself:

(27) a. *Dear friends*, I am pleased to get in touch with you through Twitter. (COCA, magazine)

b. (SP:PS052) Wait a minute, don't touch the knife. I'll move the sandwiches. *Andrew*, will you leave it please. Don't interfere.

c. DICKERSON# And we're back with more from our CBS correspondent round table. *Nancy*, I want to start with you, picking up on the point that Jan was making about what Democrats are going to do to resist the -- Mr. Trump's picks.

In these preclausal positions, the use of a vocative is clearly planned, i.e. conceptualized (in the Conceptual Component) and evoked (in the grammar, at the Interpersonal Level) together with their host. This may also be true for vocatives in later positions, as towards the end of the passage in (28a), where the vocative is used in indicate a change in addressee (from Kevin to Ron). Deliberate uses of a vocative can also be found in (28b), where the use of a title to explicitly address the hearer may be regarded as an expression of politeness (since the addressee is fully identifiable; cf. Leech's (111) honorifics). In addition, the particular placement of the vocative in both (28a) and (28b) may be inspired by a wish to separate the topical (or rather background) information from the focal (most salient) information (see Hengeveld & Mackenzie, *Functional* 89-92):

(28) a. (Nichols:) Now *Kevin*, you're joining us from Washington, and we will start with you. Do you think people even understand what the Redskins'

name means? KEVIN-GOVER, -DIREC# more and more people are beginning to understand. You know, it's always been a frustration of mine that we couldn't seem to be a part of the public discourse and get people to listen and focus. Because once you do listen and focus, the answers become very clear that this is not a word that should be used NICHOLS# Yes. You talked a little bit, *Ron*, about your own family history and how that plays into the way you see this issue. (COCA, spoken)

b. There have been a lot of questions, *Doctor*, about family members trying to reach their loved ones, (COCA, spoken)

In addition, vocatives can be placed deliberately in postclausal position, as a way of emphasizing, or more specifically confirming (often in a way expressing some annoyance or exasperation), who it is that the message is intended for (as in examples (29a) and (29b)), thus combining a rhetorical function (vocative) with a pragmatic one (emphasis). Despite their postclausal position, these vocatives may be assumed to be planned by the speaker, in which case they may be analysed as Subsidiary Discourse Acts with the function Addressee (see above). The specific interactional function of the vocative may be captured by adding an operator ('conf' for confirmation) to the Addressee Speech Participant in the Subsidiary Discourse Act. In that case, it would be the presence of this operator, in combination with the interpellative nature of the ECC, that triggers the postclausal position (as illustrated in (30) for example in (29b)).

(29) a. I also said every morning you went to work you were terrified, *Bobby*. (BYU-BNC, conversation)

b. Well, somebody has to do that work, *Steve*. (COCA, spoken)

(30) $(A_I: [(F_I: \text{DECL } (F_I)): (P_I)_S\ (P_J)_A\ (C_I: -\text{ somebody ... work } -\ (C_I))]\ (A_I))\ (A_J: [(F_I: \text{INTERP } (F_I))\ (P_I)_S\ (\textbf{conf}\ P_J: \text{Steve } (P_J))_A]\ (A_J))_{Addr}$

In sum, the position of vocative ECCs seems to be determined by a combination of factors. First of all, there is the fact that these expressions are used as vocatives, i.e. attention-drawing devices (e.g. examples in (27)). Secondly, there is the discourse-organizational element of task urgency: when does the speaker find it necessary or expedient to explicitly mention the addressee (e.g. examples in (28)). And thirdly, there are pragmatic factors involved, as in (28a) and (28b)), where the vocative separates the focal from the background information, and in (29), where the final position is triggered by the wish to confirm the identity of the addressee (which may then trigger further implicatures on the part of the hearer).

So how can the placement of (at least some of) these vocatives be accounted for in FDG? Clearly, the combination of an interpellative Discourse Act with the rhetorical function of Address favours the preclausal position, especially at the beginning of a conversation, or at a point in an ongoing discourse where a different participant is being addressed. Especially in the latter case, an interpolated position is also possible. Consider the following example:

(31) KING: It had to be horrific for you GARDNER: It really didn't sink in KING: Really? GARDNER: It really hadn't sunk in that something was critically wrong with him. You know, we've had situations like this, where there's been small bites or small injuries before, and it has never been a -- you know, a big deal until -- I didn't realize that it was as big a deal as it was until later KING *All right, Jack Hanna, how dangerous is that? Have you ever seen, Jack, the Siegfried & Roy show?* JACK HANNA, DIR. EMERITUS, COLUMBUS ZOO: Well, I've seen the show several times (COCA, spoken)

This passage is interesting because in the final part it contains two vocatives in two consecutive sentences, both addressing the same person. The first, using the full name of the addressee, *Jack Hanna*, is used to indicate, presumably for the sake of the audience, a shift in addressee. This vocative appears, quite predictably, in preclausal position (following another preclausal element, *all right*). In the next sentence, however, another vocative is used to address the same person, now in the form of the first name only (*Jack*). This vocative does not occur in preclausal position; after all, both the speech participant in question and the other speech participants, including the listeners, already know who is being addressed. Instead, the vocative interrupts the host, occurring between the predicate and the direct object. Its particular position may have been chosen for discourse-pragmatic reasons. Notice that the pronoun *you* carries some degree of contrastive prominence here, as the speaker is moving from one interviewee (clearly involved in the show in question, the Siegfried & Roy show), to another, who may never have seen it. The vocative may thus be intended to more clearly bring out the contrast, while at the same time serving to separate the focal from the background information.

Let us now focus on the second italicized sentence, repeated in (32). Here we clearly have two Discourse Acts, each with their own lllocution (Interrogative and Interpellative). The Interpellative Act can be regarded as subsidiary, as it merely functions as a reminder of who is being addressed.

(32) a. Have you ever seen, Jack, the Siegfried & Roy show?
b. $(A_I: [(F_I: \text{INTER } (F_I): (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: – \text{ have you ... show } – (C_I))] (A_I))$
$(A_J: [(F_I: \text{INTERP } (F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J: \text{Jack } (P_J))_A] (A_J))_{Addr}$

Application of the placement rules of FDG would lead to the morphosyntactic template given in (32). Tense, an episodical operator, is the highest non-core element, and is placed in P^I (given that we have an Interrogative Illocution), where it is joined by the auxiliary *have* (expressing an operator at the layer of the SoA). The frequency adverb *ever*, modifying the SoA, is placed in P^M. Of the core units, the subject *you* is placed first, as it has a pragmatic function (Contrast) (see Keizer, *A Functional* 200); this element goes to P^{M-1}. Finally, the predicate is placed in P^{M+1}, and the Undergoer argument in P^{M+2}.

(33)

P^I	P^{M-1}	P^M	P^{M+1}	|	P^{Int}	|	P^{M+2}
have	you	ever	seen		Jack		the Siegfried & Roy show

As a separate Discourse Act, the vocative is not part of the clausal template; instead it will be assigned an interpolated position, which, like the preclausal and postclausal position, is extra-clausal.[11] In this case, its particular position between P^{M+1} and P^{M+2} is determined by a combination of factors: a lack of urgency in identifying the addressee (ruling out the preclausal position), the desire to bring out the contrast between the addressee and the other interviewee (preferring a position following the contrastive element *you*), and the wish to separate focal from background information.

5.2.3. *Motivational* if-*clauses*

As mentioned before, Subsidiary Discourse Acts with the rhetorical function of Motivation can occur in preclausal and postclausal position. Examples are given in (34), where the position of the Subsidiary Discourse Act determines the form of the conjunction (*because* in (34a), *so* in (34b); examples from Hengeveld & Mackenzie (*Functional* 54)):

(34) a. *Watch out*, *because* there will be trick questions in the exam.
b. There will be trick questions in the example, *so watch out.*

In the choice between the two positions context plays a crucial role. Consider the following two examples with a motivational Subsidiary Discourse Act introduced by the conjunction *if*:

(35) a. Tom opened the front door and said pleasantly, "Hullo! So you both found your way here after all." # "Time has not blunted your acute powers of observation Tommy," said McCrimmon strolling in with the teacher behind him. # "Drop your coats in there," said Tom pointing to a bedroom. "*If you're hungry* there's plenty to eat in the kitchen but I'm afraid the booze is running out." # "I've heard that one before," said McCrimmon grimly. (COCA, fiction)
b. # Marty let out a relieved sigh, and I turned to walk away. # "Wait!" Marty jumped in front of me." You've got a pretty good eye for magic. *If you're interested*, I have an idea." # That's how the Magic Marty and Mysterious Matt Lunch Show began. # (COCA, fiction)
c. " ... Buying a candy bar 50 years ago was a rare treat, now it's something you can buy whenever you want," he says. "*If you're hungry for ice cream*,

[11] Other important issues that have not yet been addressed in FDG is the exact nature of these extra-clausal positions and their status within the larger Linguistic Expression. Answering these questions, however, requires further research into the placement of elements within the Linguistic Expression; this cannot be dealt with within the scope of the present paper.

it's in your freezer or the nearest vending machine or convenience store...". (COCA, magazine)

(36) a "You rest," she said to Peter Elroy. "That sofa reclines, *if you're interested*." She had not mentioned his diagnosis, and he knew that she wouldn't. (COCA, fiction)

b. "Snow's supposed to go all night and all day tomorrow. There's a hotel just down the street, left on Main. Good caf close by, too, Frumpy Joe's, *if you're hungry*. The Roadhouse is a bit of a walk, but it has great chowder." (COCA, fiction)

c. She sorted through the papers and pushed across some stapled xerox sheets. Sugar grains crunched and gritted on the table beneath it. "This is a report on the PhD work he did, *if you're interested*. I had it copied from a microfilm of the Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology for 1975. It's a pretty poor piece of research." (COCA, fiction)

In all these examples the *if*-clauses are clearly interpersonal: they do not express a condition that needs to be fulfilled for the event described in host to take place, but are used by the speaker to explicitly state her reason for uttering the host (i.e. the Nuclear Discourse Act). What determines whether the motivation precedes or follows the host is the information status of (elements of) the host.[12] Thus, in example (35), where the *if*-clauses appear in preclausal position, they tend to mark a shift in topic (examples (35a) and (35b)) or indicate contrast with the topic of preceding discourse (example (35c)). This particular function of the preclausal *if*-clause seems to be further reinforced by the presence of certain degree of prosodic prominence. In the examples in (36), on the other hand, the *if*-clauses are not used to indicate a change in discourse topic (note, for instance the use of *too* in the host in (35b), and the mention of another place to eat after the *if*-clause). As a consequence, the Subsidiary Discourse Act is much more backgrounded, so as not to interrupt the flow of the discourse.

5.2.4. *Non-restrictive relative clauses*

So far, we have been dealing with ECCs that comment on the host as a whole. We will now consider a number of ECCs that clearly target a particular unit within the host, starting with non-restrictive relative clauses. As is well known, non-restrictive relative clauses tend to interrupt their host, in which case they typically follow the target (Huddleston et al.'s (1351) 'anchor'). In these cases, the position of the non-restrictive relative clause, analysed as a Subsidiary Discourse Act with

[12] That is, in those cases where the postclausal *if*-clause is planned. They may, of course, also appear as afterthoughts (see Section 5.3).

the rhetorical function Aside, is clearly motivated, as it immediately follows the element from the host they comment on (see also Huddleston et al. 1351; Potts 104; Blakemore 1685):

(37) CEO Steve Penny, *who was returning home from a pre-Olympic visit to Rio de Janeiro*, spoke with an unidentified athlete's mother days later. (COCA, newspaper)

Occasionally, however, non-restrictive relative clauses functioning as Asides are separated from their target and placed in postclausal position. The placement of these clauses is, once again, not random. One obvious reason for placing the non-restrictive relative clause in final position is complexity (principle of end weight; e.g. Quirk et al. 323, 1282ff; Biber et al. 898; Dik, *The Theory I* 404); this is illustrated in the following examples, where placing the non-restrictive clause in postclausal position facilitates processing by the hearer (as well as, presumably, production by the speaker).

(38) a. But the funniest sentence I know, which a certain actor from the Hungarian Regional Theater taught me, *whose name was Btori and who was from Btorove Kosihy*, is: ... (COCA, fiction)
b. Israel police said they arrested a 17-year old minor on Nov. 8, *who was from the settlement of Itamar and confessed to the attack*. (COCA, newspaper)

Discourse factors, however, may also play an important role. Thus, in some cases the non-restrictive relative clause may actually move the discourse forward, by providing new, salient information; in those cases, the backgrounding function normally associated with non-restrictive clauses is weakened, with the non-restrictive relative clause serving more or less as a main clause (e.g. Hannay & Mackenzie 112-113). An example is given in (39), where the non-restrictive relative clause in final position not only elaborates on the information given in the previous clause, by adding new information about one of the participants (*thousands of ostensibly Palestinian protesters*), but in addition provides the link between the previous clause and the following one, thus lending coherence to the passage:

(39) While struggling to remain in power, the Assad regime in Syria sought to divert public anger against it by busing thousands of ostensibly Palestinian protesters to the Israeli border, *who then proceeded to try to cross into the Jewish state*. Jerusalem will find it necessary to station larger forces along its frontiers to defend against an array of security threats arising from the turmoil in neighboring states (COCA, academic)

Formally, however, we are still dealing with a subordinated clause, which means that in FDG they will be analysed as Subsidiary Discourse Acts. It is the

particular Rhetorical function of this Act (I suggest Elaboration) which triggers placement in postclausal position.

5.2.5. *Non-restrictive appositions*

In many ways, non-restrictive nominal appositions behave in the same way as non-restrictive clauses. They typically follow their target (example (40); see also examples (19)-(21) above)), but may be placed in postclausal position if they are complex (example (41)). Assuming that in both cases the presence of the Subsidiary Discourse Act was planned, they will be analysed as Asides. As in the case of non-restrictive relative clauses, however, they may also have an elaborating, coherence enhancing function, as in example (42).

(40) a. And when David heard it, he loaned it to Alex, *my brother*, saying, you might like this record. (COCA, spoken)
b. Dr. David Lattimore, *a physician*, had administered the first smallpox vaccinations in the Mississippi Territory. (COCA, academic)

(41) a. at about the same time a new figure appeared on the scene, *the 39-year-old Edward Dumouriez, an able army officer who had caught the eye of the king and been appointed Commandant of Cherbourg*. (BYU-BNC, fiction)
b. Charlie appeared almost immediately, *a tall, lanky youth, looking younger on the surface than the autopsy would later place him*. (BYU-BNC, fiction)

(42) a. I never had a chance to talk. Here I was, *this hotshot coach*. The girls made you humble right away. (COCA, magazine)
b. She says you came and picked him up that same day and took him away. Is that true?" # "I thought I knew better how to take care of my own son than she did, *a stranger*." # "I thought you said she was a friend. Why would you leave your injured son with a stranger?" (COCA, fiction)

In addition, however, nominal appositions in postclausal position may have the kind of emphasizing, confirming function identified for vocatives above, though this time the effect is typically a positive one (expressing endearment). Here the apposition, typically definite, does not provide any additional, identifying or descriptive information; the target is, in all cases, fully identifiable.

(43) a. You look exactly like him. He was a very handsome man, *your father*. (COCA, fiction)
b. He's a good hand with cattle, *your boy*. (COCA, fiction)
c. She is a devil, *this one*. (COCA, fiction)

5.5.6. *Reportative adverbials*

Finally, let us have a closer look at those ECCs that have been analysed as interpersonal modifiers in FDG. As we have seen, these may interrupt the host in various places, as shown for the reportative modifier *so they say* in the following examples, where the modifier seems to precede its target:

(44) a. John was, *so they say*, a bright student (= (1c), (16a)).
b. The caravan, *so they say*, is bound for Jerusalem. (COCA, fiction)
c. Someday, *so they say*, for each of us there will be no money, no sensation. (COCA, fiction)
d. It's been happening, *so they say*, for millions of years. (COCA, magazine)

Application of the FDG placement rules, however, may prove to be problematic. Consider the following example:[13]

(45) John had frequently, *so they say*, insulted her.

According to the placement rules, the reportative modifier, as a non-core, interpersonal element, would be the first element to be assigned a position, which would have to be the clause-medial position. The next non-core element would be the tense operator, specifying the Episode at the Representational Level (expressed on the auxiliary *have*, expressing an SoA operator). There is, however, no clausal position available for this element: it can neither go to the absolute position P^{I} (since it does not occur in initial position), nor to the relative position P^{M+1}, as this is taken by the (yet to be placed) aspectual adverb *frequently*. The only possibility is, therefore, to assume that the modifier goes to a non-clausal, interpolated position:

(46)

P^{I}	P^{M}	P^{M+1}	|	P^{Int}	|	P^{M+2}	P^{M+3}
John	had	frequently		so they say		insulted	her

This, however, raises the question of how this interpolated position, and the corresponding prosodic non-integration, is triggered. Clearly it cannot be triggered by the interpersonal status of the modifier, since (i) interpersonal modifiers need not be realized as ECCs;[14] and (ii) representational modifiers can also be realized as ECCs. It is, therefore, more plausible to analyse these modifiers as separate Subsidiary Discourse Acts with the rhetorical function Aside, just like the ECCs discussed above (see also Keizer, "Interpersonal adverbs", "The semantics"). This Subsidiary

[13] Note that we would encounter the same problem in example (44d), assuming that the *for*-PP takes a clausal (rather than a postclausal) position.

[14] In which case they are assigned a (more restricted) clausal position and the placement rules apply.

Discourse Act has its own Illocution (declarative), and its own Communicated Content (*so they say*):

(47) $(A_I$: [$(F_I$: DECL $(F_I))$: $(P_I)_S$ $(P_J)_A$ $(C_I$: –John had frequently insulted her– $(C_I))]$ $(A_I))$ $(A_J$: [$(F_J$: DECL $(F_J))$ $(P_I)_S$ $(P_J)_A$ $(C_J$: so they say $(C_J))]$ $(A_J))_{Aside}$

Naturally, this analysis would then also have to be assumed for other prosodically non-integrated (interpersonal or representational) modifiers, such as the illocutionary adverb *frankly*, which, as shown in example (22) above, is highly mobile. Here, too, it can be assumed that, when interrupting the host, *frankly* targets a particular part of the host; in this case, however, the ECC tends to follow its target. Consider example (48a). Here *frankly* fulfils one of its more specific discourse-pragmatic functions, namely that of admitting something unpleasant, unusual or unexpected (cf. Fraser 168; Halliday & Matthiessen 192-193). In addition it targets the adverb *never*, thereby reinforcing the unexpectedness of the message conveyed in the host. In (48b), *frankly* clearly targets the contrastive (prosodically prominent element) element *you*, while at the same time separating the topical information (the addressee) from the focal information (being a bit of a slut). Note that in any other position, the particular contribution of the adverb *frankly* to the discourse would be different.

(48) a. and I'd never, *frankly*, thought about it before, (COCA, spoken)
b. What she is saying, with her big white collars, is, "I am a clean, controlled and decent Christian woman. I believe in marriage and the family. And smacking. You, *frankly*, are a bit of a slut." (BYU-BNC, pop-lore)

Note that here, too, the clausal placement rules cannot be applied; as in the case of *so you say*, we have to assume an interpolated position which is not part of the clausal template,[15] and which is triggered by the Subsidiary Discourse Status of the adverb, its particular position determined by the specific element it targets in the Nuclear Discourse Act. Thus the Interpersonal Level analysis for example (48a), given in (49), would trigger the morphosyntactic template in (50):

(49) $(A_I$: [$(F_I$: DECL $(F_I))$: $(P_I)_S$ $(P_J)_A$ $(C_I$: – I'd never thought about it before – $(C_I))]$ $(A_I))$ $(A_J$: [$(F_I$: DECL (F_I): frankly $(F_I))$ $(P_I)_S$ $(P_J)]$ $(A_J))_{Aside}$

(50)

P^I	P^{I+1}	P^M	P^{M+1}	P^{Int}	P^{M+2}	P^{M+3}	P^F
and	I	had	never	frankly	thought	about it	before

[15] According to the placement rules, the element *and* would be placed first, in P^I, followed by the interpersonal adverb *frankly*, which can only go to P^M. This would again lead to problems in the placement of the next element, tense, given the fact that its placement depends on the placement of the aspectual adverb *never*, which has not yet been assigned a position.

5.3. The placement of unplanned Subsidiary Discourse Acts

So far, we have been looking at planned ECCs, i.e. Subsidiary Discourse Acts that are conceptualized (in the Conceptual Component) and evoked (in the grammar, at the Interpersonal Level) together with their host. Morphosyntactically, the two Discourse Acts were analysed as part of a single template for the Linguistic Expression, with the ECC appearing in an extra-clausal (preclausal, postclausal or interpolated) position. Such an analysis is clearly not appropriate for unplanned ECCs, which are only evoked in the course of, or after, the production of the host. Their position, interrupting or following the host, is determined, in an online fashion, during the Articulation of the Nuclear Discourse Act.

The clearest cases of unplanned ECCs are corrections (or, more generally, self-repair, cf. Levelt). These occur as a result of the speaker's self-monitoring, either immediately following the relevant (incorrect) part of the host, or at some later stage (but typically within the same turn; e.g. Schegloff *et al*.), and are often explicitly introduced by such markers as *or rather*, *I mean*, *I'm sorry* etc. (see example (51)).

(51) a. Also yesterday, *or rather Thursday*, what we had going on was oil. (COCA, spoken)
b. So I just want to reassure the viewer, *I mean the caller*, that I'm feeling OK right now. (COCA, spoken)
c. the Senate committee is going to release a report that was reported in the New York – *I'm sorry, the "Washington Post"* today about the inspector general at the Department of Homeland Security (COCA, spoken)

In some cases, we are dealing with clarification rather than correction: the description originally provided was correct, but the speaker realizes it may not be specific enough for the addressee to understand her intention; typical markers of clarification are *that is* or *I mean* (preceding or following the clarifying information):

(52) a. "Why didn't he, *I mean the husband*, just kill the snake?" Jenny asked. (COCA, academic)
b. And we will be back shortly with a story about a marathon that takes place on a lake, *frozen lake, that is*. (COCA, spoken)
c. There are a lot of people who are saying this is wrong – *that is, the reaction*. (COCA, spoken)

In other cases, ECCs following the host are best regarded as Afterthoughts, i.e. Discourse Acts providing relevant information that only occurs to the speaker when the host is being or has been produced, and which is added after the Nuclear Discourse Act has been expressed; e.g. the motivational *if*-clause in (53a) or the interpersonal adverbs in (53b) and (53c):

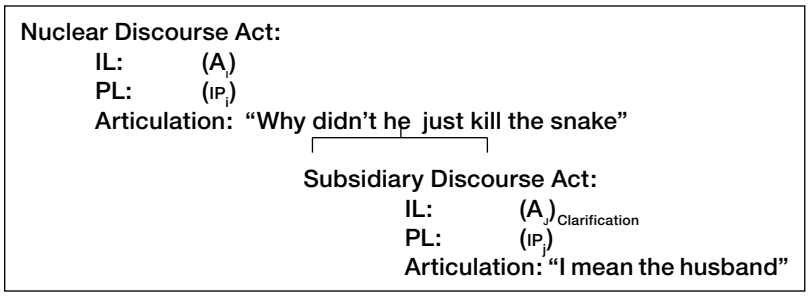

Figure 2: The placement of unplanned ECCs in FDG.

(53) a. "... You've got the makings of a good veterinary nurse – *that's if you're interested*." (BYU-BNC, fiction)
b. A: Do they run away again though? B: Sometimes that is the case. *Unfortunately*. (BNY-BNC, spoken)
c. A: Five more shots were fired. When you got up, you had to realize he was dead? B: I didn't think he was. *Honestly*. I mean I saw him. (COCA, spoken)

As for their analysis in FDG, it will be clear that since the EEC is not conceptualized and evoked together with the Nuclear Discourse Acts, its position within the Linguistic Expression is triggered at a later stage in the production of the Nuclear Discourse Act, in some cases as late as the articulation phase (as in the case of corrections). This is represented in Figure 2 above for example (52a).

6. CONCLUSION

FDG makes use of a very detailed set of rules to account for the linear placement of elements within the clause, phrase and word. Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, little attention has been paid to the placement of ECCs. As is well-known, these elements are highly mobile; this does not mean, however, that their placement is entirely unpredictable. The present paper has argued that, in those cases where the ECC can be assumed to be part of the overall speaker intention (i.e. conceptualized and evoked at the same time as their host), the linear placement of ECCs is determined by a combination of interpersonal, contextual and processing factors, including the rhetorical or discourse-organizational function of the ECC, the discourse-pragmatic status of either the ECC or elements within the host, the ECC's specific target in the Nuclear Discourse Act, and the ECC's complexity. Although it may be objected that these factors, and the interplay between them, will not unequivocally lead to a specific linear position, the discussion of six different types of ECC (orientational noun phrases, vocatives, motivational *if*-clauses, non-

restrictive relative clauses and appositions, and reportative adverbials) has shown that their placement is, in fact, quite systematic, and can be taken care of by the tools offered by FDG.

The second question addressed in the paper was how the placement of ECCs can be integrated in the placement rules of FDG, especially in those cases where the ECC interrupts the host. It has been argued that integration is indeed possible, provided that we accept some minor additions to or modifications of the theory. First, it has been shown that, in addition to the two existing linear extra-clausal positions (preclausal and postclausal), we need a third, interpolated position, to deal with ECCs interrupting the Nuclear Discourse Act. Secondly, it has been argued that all ECCs discussed in this paper need to be analysed as Subsidiary Discourse Acts. This means that also prosodically independent reportative adverbials and illocutionary adverbs, analysed as interpersonal modifiers in the standard approach, will be analysed as separate Discourse Acts. This not only does justice to their non-integrated status (see also Keizer, "Interpersonal adverbs", "The semantics"), but also avoids the problems otherwise encountered in their placement. Finally, a proposal has been made for the placement of unplanned ECCs, which are regarded as being evoked and expressed during the articulation phase of the Nuclear Discourse Act. Given the fact that these changes are entirely in accordance with the basic principles and general architecture of the model, we may conclude that FDG is able to deal not only with the placement of clausal, but also with the placement of extra-clausal elements.

Reviews sent to author: 29 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 12 February 2020

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NOMINALIZING *-ING* AS A CASE OF AFFIX BORROWING: AN FDG ACCOUNT*

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Abstract

In this paper, I explore a particular type of borrowing into the Spanish language, the use of the English suffix *-ing* with Spanish bases, and provide an account of both its emergence in the language and its use in peninsular Spanish which is compatible with the general architecture of Functional Discourse Grammar and the theory of verbal interaction in which the grammar component is integrated. First, I introduce some relevant notions of contact-induced language change, lexical and affix borrowing and their motivating factors. Next, I describe the widespread use of *-ing* Anglicisms in the Spanish language with special attention to hybrid forms containing Spanish bases. I address the question whether the use of English *-ing* suffix with Spanish bases qualifies as a case of direct or indirect affix borrowing and I conclude that the process shows signs of both at the same time. In the second part of the paper, I integrate my findings in the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar. I argue that the Contextual Component is crucial both in accounting for the motivation of this borrowing and the derivational use of the suffix, which is introduced directly from the context and feeds the Morphosyntactic encoder.

Keywords: *-ing* Anglicism, affix borrowing, language contact, Functional Discourse Grammar.

EL SUFIJO NOMINALIZADOR *-ING* COMO UN CASO DE PRÉSTAMO: UNA PROPUESTA DE ANÁLISIS EN FDG

Resumen

En este artículo se analiza un caso particular de préstamo lingüístico: el uso del sufijo inglés *-ing* con bases nativas y se da cuenta de su aparición y uso en el español peninsular de forma que resulta compatible con la arquitectura general de la Gramática Discursivo Funcional. En primer lugar, se introducen nociones relevantes del cambio lingüístico motivado por el contacto entre lenguas. A continuación, se describe el uso de anglicismos con el sufijo *-ing* en el español con especial referencia a formas híbridas que contienen bases nativas. Se trata la cuestión de si este fenómeno ilustra un caso de préstamo directo o indirecto y se concluye que muestra signos de ambos. En la segunda parte del artículo se integran estas observaciones en el marco de la Gramática Discursivo Funcional. Se argumenta que el Componente Contextual resulta crucial tanto para dar cuenta de la motivación del préstamo como del uso derivativo del sufijo, que es inicialmente introducido desde el contexto al codificador morfosintáctico.

Palabras clave: Anglicismos en *-ing*, préstamo de afijos, contacto entre lenguas, Gramática Discursivo Funcional.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.07
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 123-143; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE CONTACT AND ANGLICISMS IN SPANISH

Intensive language contact typically takes place in bilingual or multilingual communities, in which speakers are confronted with different languages and linguistic settings on a regular basis. Studies on language contact pay special attention to the sociolinguistic and structural factors that motivate processes of language change. One of the most obvious processes of contact-induced language change is 'borrowing', which is defined by Matras (146) as "a kind of import of a structure or form from one language system into another". Matras (149) also claims that the most widely cited motivating factors for borrowing are "*gaps* in the structural inventory of the recipient language, and the *prestige* enjoyed by the donor language." Obvious examples of gaps include lexical items that name cultural activities, institutions and technologies available in the community of the donor language, but not in that of the recipient language, whereas the 'prestige' factor suggests that "speakers imitate elements of the speech of a socially more powerful, dominant community in order to gain approval and social status." (150).

Spanish-speaking and English-speaking communities are in close contact in the United States. According to the *Hispanic Map of the United States 2018* issued by the Cervantes Institute, there are 41 million Spanish speakers in the US, according to the latest available data, whereas English is now the sole language of 237 million people. In this situation, speakers are likely to alternate the use of elements from both languages in the same linguistic expression, a process known as code-switching, which necessarily involves bilingual speakers. In monolingual communities, however, it is not two linguistic codes that alternate, but elements of one language are merely borrowed into another.

As noted by Gómez Rendón (13), however, it is not necessary for two linguistic communities to occupy the same geographical space for borrowing to take place. He cites the obvious case of English, which is nowadays massively disseminated through the media, which results in speakers of other languages incorporating English elements in their languages. In Spanish, this is particularly evident in the widespread use of Anglicisms in fields like sport, technology or fashion, whose introduction is probably motivated by the main two factors cited above: the social prestige that the English language enjoys as a language of popular culture, science and technology, and its related use as a global lingua franca, and the technical and cultural innovations which are imported from English speaking communities.

* Thanks are due to Frank Seifart for valuable comments on a previous version of this article and to Taresa Fernández Lorences, Kees Hengeveld and Hella Olbertz for collecting examples of *-ing* Anglicisms for me.

In this article I am particularly interested in a subset of Anglicisms in peninsular Spanish, those ending in the derivational noun-forming suffix *-ing*[1]. The reason why I believe these borrowings are of particular interest is first, because they seem to form a class of their own in the lexicon, and secondly, because their existence seems to underlie the spread of suffix *-ing* to native bases, a process which will take centre stage in this contribution.

As a first approximation, *-ing* borrowings may be classified into four main categories (see Mott and Balteiro 160):

1. *True borrowings*: The English term is adopted with no changes in meaning and / or spelling: *casting, jogging*.
2. *Adaptations*: The English term is adopted, but its meaning or function changes slightly: *parking, catering*.
3. *Pseudo-anglicisms*: These are forms which sound English, but do not really exist in the English language*: footing*.
4. *Hybrid formations*: These are forms which make use of English suffix *-ing*, but on Spanish bases: *puenting, balconing*.

The four categories illustrate a cline of integration in the lexicon of the Spanish language. Items in group one are less integrated in that the English item keeps both its original form and meaning; speakers intend to reproduce the English pronunciation of the term and thus implicitly acknowledge their foreign status. The items in the second group are also English items, but their forms or meanings have been slightly adapted. In Spanish, the English present participle 'parking' refers to what the British would call a 'car park' and Americans a 'parking lot'. 'Catering' would be rendered in English as a 'catering company'. It is for this reason that Mott (191) considers Spanish 'catering' a pseudo-Anglicism obtained through a process of truncation. It is interesting to observe that Spanish seems to borrow *-ing* forms for nominal use and not for adjectival use (see footnote 1), which may motivate this truncation process.

Items in group three are considered pseudo-anglicisms because they sound like English words to Spanish ears, but do not exist in the English language. The prototypical case is that of 'footing', which, according to Mott has in fact been taken from French. In any event, this is probably the less productive group of all. Items in group four illustrate the complete integration of the affix in the grammatical inventory of the language and its use with native bases. Thus, the form 'puenting' is obtained from the combination of the Spanish for 'bridge' (*puente*) plus English *-ing* suffix and refers to the activity of 'bungee jumping'; 'balconing' (from Sp. *balcón*) refers to the act of jumping into a swimming pool from a balcony, an activity usually performed by young British holiday-makers in Spanish resorts, frequently leading

[1] Obviously, *-ing* is also an inflectional affix in English forming present participles, which can in turn function as nominal premodifiers (e.g. *the barking dog*). *-ing* forms which are borrowed into Spanish do not show this adjectival function.

to fatal accidents. The final stage in this process of integration is the orthographic adaptation of the terms (removal of final 'g' as the velar nasal /ŋ/ is not a distinctive phoneme in Spanish), which obscures both its English origin and its morphological structure. A quick search on the online version of *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua* (DRAE)[2] for words ending in the sequence 'in' gave the following Anglicisms adapted to Spanish orthographic and phonological conventions:

(1) esmoquin (*smoking jacket*), filin (*feeling*), mitin (*meeting*), trávelin (*travelling*)

Note that this situation is common in lexical borrowing. As Matras (146) observes:

> Bilingual speakers may well be aware of the origin of a word or morpheme in a particular 'donor' language, but this awareness may be blurred over time, especially if active bilingualism declines, or when use of the item spreads to monolingual sectors of the speech community. Not only is there no intention to return the 'borrowed' item to its rightful 'owner', but for most speakers its original 'ownership' may not always be traceable.

Items in group four are particularly interesting for a number of reasons. The attachment of the noun forming suffix *-ing* illustrates a case of 'affix borrowing'. Although this phenomenon is well-attested in many languages, scholars agree that the borrowing of bound morphemes is a much more restricted process, for there must exist structural compatibility among the two languages. Thus, in the different borrowing hierarchies and constraints proposed in the literature (see Matras 153-165 for discussion), it is agreed that bound morphemes are less likely to be borrowed than full content lexical items or free morphemes.

In spite of this, the examples of words in the fourth group seem to be on the increase in peninsular Spanish, a fact which is probably motivated by the speakers' desire to play with language and sound innovative and fashionable. Indeed, this use of the *-ing* suffix with Spanish bases is particularly noticeable in the field of advertising, where I have attested most of the following nonce formations:[3]

(2) a. *cinking* (*cinco* 'five')
A pun. The word refers to a five-year warranty provided by Hyundai cars. At the same time, it sounds similar to English 'thinking'.

[2] https://dle.rae.es/. But note that 'esmoquin' is originally a truncated participle (Mott) and *filin* is defined as "Estilo musical romántico surgido en la década de 1940" (Romantic musical style which emerged in the forties). This contrasts with the much more spread use of 'feeling' in Spanish in expressions such as 'tener feeling'.

[3] The definitions and explanations given are mine and have been constructed on the basis of the information available in the context of use.

b. *Aurging* (*Aurgi*, a car repair company)
The intended reading probably tries to emphasise the (presumably) good service of the company.

c. *sonrising* (*sonrisa* 'smile' (N))
To enjoy something. This has been taken from an advertising campaign by a travel agency, which also included forms like 'crucering' and 'vacacioning'.

d. *sofing* (*sofá* 'sofa')
Probably to rest and do nothing. Advertising campaign by Conforama, a furniture store.

e. *disfruting* (*disfrutar* 'enjoy')
A brand name for a financial services company.

f. *edredoning (edredón*, 'duvet')
To hide underneath a duvet to have sex avoiding being recorded by cameras (coined in the TV show *Big Brother*).

g. *duerming* (from an irregular form of the verb *dormir* 'sleep')
A brand name for a hotel chain.

h. *viding* (*vida* 'life')
A brand name for a house selling company.

i. *vueling* (*vuelo* 'flight')
A brand name for a Spanish airline company.

Mott (185) also discusses the case of 'metring' (riding on the back of underground trains) and adds forms such as 'bicing' (a brand name for a bike rental shop) and 'sanfermining' (to enjoy the San Fermín festivity).

As is common with many neologisms, these forms typically arise within a restricted group of speakers and, to the extent they successfully spread to the entire linguistic community, become conventional units of the language. Thus, in their initial stages of use, they would need a great deal of contextual information to be properly decoded. Morphologically, the process seems to be very flexible. Although noun forming *-ing* attaches to verbs only in English, it combines with different word classes in the Spanish language: nouns (*sonrisa, sofá*), numerals (*cinco*), proper nouns (*Aurgi*) or verbs (*disfrutar, dormir*). Thus, these items denote an action typically or contextually associated with the referent of the item they attach to (e.g. 'sofing' denotes the action typically associated with a sofa, i.e. lying or resting). The Spanish language lacks a morphological process of word-class conversion or zero-derivation, which, in languages like English, allows lexemes to be used in different functions. *-ing* derivation thus serves to create action nominals from different parts of speech adding a significant degree of flexibility to the language. Indeed, the Spanish language has

a number of suffixes to derive process nominals, but they all operate on verbs and leave many lexical gaps. Note that forms such as *sonrisa* are resultative nominals themselves, but crucially, the derived *-ing* form 'sonrising' denotes a non-resultative or process nominal, thus increasing the expressive potential of the language. There is no process nominal which can be obtained from the verb *sonreir* through the application of conventional derivational suffixes. Romero Lesmes additionally notes that it is very frequent for *-ing* forms to be inserted in the productive 'hacer +nominal' construction, in which the semantic load is carried by the noun that combines with the light verb *hacer*. This construction thus emphasises the non-resultative contribution of the *-ing* nominal.

In the following section, I will explore the main properties of morphological borrowing through language contact with particular reference to the *-ing* suffix in combination with Spanish bases.

2. DIRECT AND INDIRECT AFFIX BORROWING

Affix borrowing is a well-attested process in the literature on language contact. As noted by Matras, there is a crucial difference between the borrowing of lexemes containing morphemes of the donor language and the productive use of those morphemes in the recipient language. It is only in the latter case that an affix can be said to have been borrowed (Matras 209-210):

> In defining morphological borrowing, we must distinguish the mere acceptance of morphology along with borrowed lexical items, from the diffusion of morphology beyond the borrowed lexicon itself; and further, between 'backwards diffusion', that is, replication of borrowed morphs in connection with pre-existing, inherited lexicon, and 'forward diffusion', that is, the productive use of borrowed morphs with newly acquired vocabulary. (...) At the very least, backwards diffusion is a pre-requisite for recognising a 'morphological' loan, as opposed to a mere portion of a lexical loan.

In other words, affix borrowing is defined after the productive use of the borrowed affix with native stems and not merely by the borrowing of items containing a foreign suffix.

As mentioned earlier, affix borrowing is not the most frequent type of borrowing, but it is nevertheless well-attested. The linguist Frank Seifart ("Afbo") has created an online survey of borrowed affixes in the languages of the world. His database "comprises descriptions of 101 cases of affix borrowing, i.e. cases where one language borrowed at least one affix from another language, involving a total of 657 borrowed affixes".

Seifart ("Direct") deals with the question of how affixes are borrowed into languages. He notes (see also Winford and Matras) that the traditional view on affix borrowing is that foreign affixes are incorporated into recipient languages indirectly. First, a number of loanwords containing the affix are borrowed into the recipient language, which allows speakers (probably much later, he argues) to start using the

affix with vernacular bases. Seifart (*Direct* 512), however, proposes an alternative scenario, in which affixes are directly borrowed from a donor language:

> Under direct borrowing, an affix is recognized by speakers of the recipient language in their knowledge of the donor language and used on native stems as soon as it is borrowed, with no intermediate phase of occurring only in complex loanwords. The fundamental difference between these two scenarios for how an affix is borrowed is thus from where speakers take the affix prior to using it on native stems: from complex loanwords in the recipient language (indirect borrowing), or from their knowledge of the donor language (direct borrowing).

A necessary condition for direct affix borrowing is therefore good knowledge of the donor language itself and of the properties of the affix in that language, so that speakers need not rely on the previous borrowing of complex items containing the suffix.

The use of suffix *-ing* with Spanish bases, therefore, poses an interesting theoretical question, namely, whether the suffix is directly borrowed from English or indirectly through its identification in the set of *-ing* Anglicisms which are employed in Spanish. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to see in more detail the properties of each borrowing type in relation to the presence of *-ing* forms in Spanish.

2.1. Indirect borrowing

Winford (387) notes that a good number of derivational affixes have entered the English language indirectly:

> Lexical borrowing from French also had some influence on English morphology, particularly on derivational processes. It introduced several derivational affixes such as the prefixes in *dis-connect, de-flee, en-rich, em-bolden*, etc. Similarly, items like *cert-ify, charit-able, declar-acioun, statu-ette*, etc., yielded various suffixes, some of which became relatively productive as early as the Middle English period itself. For instance, the adjective-forming suffix *-able*, was soon employed with native stems to yield words like *spekable, knowable,* etc. (...).

According to Seifart (*Direct* 514), the following three criteria must be met for indirect affix borrowing to take place:

> Criterion 1. There is a set of complex loanwords containing a borrowed affix which have a common, recognizable meaning component, for example, a set of words that contain the same affix and that all denote properties or possibilities, such as *profitable*, *honorable*, *deceivable*, and so forth.
>
> Criterion 2. There is a set of pairs of loanwords, one with and one without the affix, with constant, recognizable changes in meaning, for example, pairs of simplex loanwords and complex loanwords, where the complex loanwords denote

the property or possibility of what the simplex loanwords express, for example, *profit–profitable*, *honor–honorable*, *deceive–deceivable*, and so forth.

Criterion 3. Within pairs of complex loanwords and corresponding simplex loanwords, complex loanwords have a lower token frequency than the corresponding simplex loanwords; for example, *profitable* is less frequent than *profit*.

The first criterion seems to be the most important one of the three for two reasons: first, indirect affix borrowing is impossible in the absence of complex loanwords containing the affix, and secondly, because the higher the number of loanwords introduced in a given language, the more likely indirect affix borrowing may be. The online version of DRAE lists the following 20 *-ing* Anglicisms in Spanish, which could therefore be considered cases of well-established lexemes in the language:[4]

TABLE 1: *-ing* ANGLICISMS IN DRAE	
antidumping	*living*
camping	*marketing*
casting	*overbooking*
catering	*parking*
dumping	*puenting*
footing	*rafting*
holding	*ranking*
jogging	*sparring*
leasing	*standing*
lifting	*windsurfing*

However, the number of *-ing* Anglicisms in use in everyday language is likely to be much bigger. In order to get a more realistic idea of the impact of *-ing* forms in actual speech I have examined the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI de la Real Academia de la Lengua* (CORPES).[5] It contains 237.678 documents which amount to 225 million words. In order to avoid an intractable number of hits I limited my search to non-fictional Internet-based texts in Peninsular Spanish. The search gave 1938 *-ing* ending forms, but this set includes many items of no relevance for the present study: e.g. proper names such as *King, Smashing Pumpkins, Wyoming*, Chinese words such as *Xiaoping* or English words which populate Spanish texts in song titles, names of web pages, etc. and which do not count as *-ing* borrowings proper. After careful depuration, I obtained the forms listed in (3). It should be noted that these

[4] Note that this list includes the false Anglicism 'footing' and the hybrid formation 'puenting'.

[5] https://www.rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/corpes-xxi.

items are given in a Spanish context with no explanation of their meaning, which indicates that they are expected to be familiar to the intended addressees:

(3) Trekking, happening, brainstorming, coaching, training, piercing, merchandising, zapping, doping, consulting, rebranding, mobbing, networking, hosting, snorkelling, kayaking, shopping, peeling, packaging.

Similarly, different studies on Anglicisms in Spanish provide additional forms collected by their authors. Romero Lesmes gives the forms *chatting, leasing, mailing, outsourcing,* or *petting*. In the field of medicine, Navarro cites the following: *banding, binding, blotting, clamping, clapping, dumping, flapping tremor, imprinting, kindling, lifting, mapping, monitoring, piercing, priming, screening, splicing, stretching* and *training*. In fashion Balteiro provides the following Anglicisms: *body painting*, *bowling*, *branding*, *casting*, *cool hunting*, *fitting*, *flushing*, *grooming*, *jeggings*, *knitting*, *legging(s)*, *lifting*, *lipofilling*, *making of*, *packaging*, *piercing(s)*, *rebranding*, *running*, *shooting*, *shopping*, *skin needling*, *sparkling*, *styling*, *tailoring* and *volumizing*.

Consequently, I think we can safely conclude that there is a good number of *-ing* Anglicisms in use in everyday language, which would allow speakers to recognize the existence of a consistent nominal class and, through analogical reasoning, extend the use of the affix to native bases. However, Matras (211) notes that this criterion is not decisive:

> Although it is a pre-requisite and a trigger for morphological borrowing, lexical borrowing on its own does not seem to constitute a very powerful motivation to replicate derivational procedures. Considering the amount of Romance vocabulary in English and the transparency of the derivational morphology that is contained in it, the diffusion of productive Romance derivational morphology into inherited (Germanic) lexemes in English must be described as rather modest.

In other words, the existence of loanwords with the relevant affix is a necessary condition, but it is not enough to justify its indirect borrowing.

Seifart's second criterion for indirect affix borrowing, however, should not be interpreted as a necessary condition as the previous one. It may be possible to identify an affix on the basis of complex loanwords only, but the presence of the corresponding forms without the affix "makes an affix even more salient, however, as these pairs allow speakers to directly experience the segmentability and the meaning contribution of the affix" (*Direct* 514). As for the present study, the corresponding forms without suffix *-ing* are not used in the Spanish language on a regular basis (*market, jog, park*, etc.), so this factor does not seem to facilitate indirect borrowing. However, as this is not a necessary condition, it might be the case that speakers could identify the affix even in the absence of simple forms just on the basis of the set of *-ing* Anglicisms in the language.

In order to check whether that is the case, I conducted a small survey with fourteen students of English at an absolute beginner's level. The survey, which is provided in the appendix, contains three *-ing* Anglicisms of the DRAE list (*marketing*, *parking*, *overbooking*), the hybrid form 'puenting', and a number of distractors, which

included an Anglicism ending in the sequence *-ing* (*ring*) and the forms *pudin* and *mitin*, adapted to Spanish orthographic norms. Informants were asked to identify morphemes (or word parts, as I put it to avoid technicalities), as in the example provided. Although it was applied to a limited number of speakers, the survey showed some interesting results. For the four relevant words, the number of speakers that could identify the presence of the *-ing* suffix is given in table 2:

TABLE 2: SURVEY RESULTS		
Anglicism	Correct answers	Percentage
Marketing	4	28.5
Puenting	5	35
Parking	5	35
Overbooking	2	14

In the best of cases, only five out of the fourteen speakers interviewed could identify the morpheme, a rather low 35%. It is interesting to observe that a significant number of speakers provided the wrong morpheme segmentation, reanalysing the suffix as part of the syllable initiated by the preceding consonant, e.g *par-king, marke-ting,* and even *puen-ting*. This is thus a clear indication that they do not perceive the existence of the English affix in its original form, although it might also be claimed that they do perceive the existence of a meaningful morpheme in those words.

Finally, Seifart's third criterion builds on previous studies on morphological processing that show how complex words which have a low token frequency relative to their bases (Hay) facilitate analysability, as this increases a rule-driven processing rather than a direct retrieval of the lexeme from the mental lexicon. In that case, the affix is more visible and this helps its dissemination to native bases. However, given that the stems of the *-ing* Anglicisms are not generally used in the Spanish language, *-ing* Anglicisms are necessarily more frequent than their bases for Spanish speakers, which means that this third criterion is not met.

On the basis of these observations, it seems to me that the evidence for indirect affix borrowing for the English affix *-ing* in Spanish is rather limited. In fact, it is only the first criterion of the three which is fully compatible with an indirect borrowing scenario, and although it is a necessary criterion in the process, it is not decisive, as has been argued. Hence, it seems adequate to explore whether the direct borrowing approach better explains the process.

2.2. Direct borrowing

According to Seifart (*Direct* 515), for direct borrowing to take place it is necessary that speakers possess relevant knowledge of the donor language "since in the absence of such knowledge, the only way to get an affix is from complex loanwords". Following Winford, Seifart notes that affix borrowing "typically occurs in bilingual

speech communities where the donor language becomes increasingly dominant for recipient language speakers". He notes, however, that it is not necessary for speakers of the recipient language to have full command of the donor language as they

> may also create hybrid formations while speaking –or code-switching to– the donor language if they had already acquired the donor-language affix, but not yet relevant donor-language stems. The crucial step for direct affix borrowing to occur is that these recipient-language speakers then use these affixes in recipient-language morphosyntactic frames also, creating further hybrid formations. (...) recipient-language speakers furthermore need to be influential among the recipient language community, so that the spread of the hybrid formations throughout that community is enabled.

In other words, the ideal situation for direct borrowing to take place is intensive contact between the two languages and good knowledge of both donor and recipient language by those speakers who use foreign affixes with recipient language stems. Obviously, this is not the case here as the use of the *-ing* suffix in peninsular Spanish is not the result of extensive contact between two linguistic communities in a situation of bilingualism.

However, there is one additional relevant factor, as Seifart (*Direct* 515) notes that recipient language speakers need to be "influential among the recipient language community, so that the spread of the hybrid formations through that community is enabled". Indeed, the role of socio-cultural factors in language contact processes has been repeatedly stressed by different scholars. Gómez Rendón (15) observes the different roles played by the speech community and speakers as agents of contact-induced language change. In his work, he emphasizes the active role of speakers as instigators of changes in linguistic communitarian practices. He argues:

> One condition for the spreading of individual changes in verbal behaviour is the innovative role of the individual speaker in the speech community as determined by his/her political and economic position but also by his/her linguistic proficiency in higher and lower varieties in diglossic situations.

It is interesting to observe that many of the *-ing* hybrid formations are created in the field of advertising, as already indicated, a discipline which, by its very nature intends to be influential and is assumed to determine the trends or products which are fashionable and (arguably) necessary in contemporary society. It is therefore reasonable to claim that publicists are influential individuals in society and their use of the language is deemed appropriate by other members of the linguistic community. At the same time, it is also to be expected that, as qualified professionals, they should show an operative command of the English language at least at an intermediate level, enough to guarantee knowledge of English suffix *-ing* and its several uses. Similar reasons are provided by Balterio in her study of *-ing* forms in the field of fashion, and Mott (193), who argues that "there can be no justification for many of the *ing* forms that are used in Spanish other than the desire to impress and make other people believe that the speaker is up to date in linguistic usage". This is obvious in

cases such as 'viding' or 'duerming', which contribute little meaning and certainly do not fill a lexical gap in the Spanish language.

A cursory look at the situation of English as a second language in Spain may be illustrative. Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union, offers relevant data on the situation of foreign language learning in European countries. Particularly relevant for present purposes are the pages on 'Self-reported language skills' (languages>self-reported language skills). Table 3 gives relevant data on the command of the best known foreign language in Spain by groups of professionals in 2016. It is compared in the table with mean data from the 28 EU countries. Note that, although the exact best-known language in Spain is not indicated, it can be no other than English, as it is the most spoken second language both in the European Union and Spain:[6]

TABLE 3: SELF-REPORTED LANGUAGE SKILLS BY GROUPS OF PROFESSIONALS (EUROSTAT)

	Spain			European Union		
	Basic	*Good*	*Proficient*	*Basic*	*Good*	*Proficient*
Managers, professional, technicians, and associate professionals	27.7	44.5	27.5	34	36.6	29.3
Clerical support workers, service and sales workers	46.6	37.2	16.2	51.3	32.4	15.9
Skilled manual workers	67.8	28	4.1 (lr)	62.9	25.8	11.1
Elementary occupations	68.3	19.7	11.7 (lr)	67.5	20	11.2

(lr: low realiability)

The table shows that there is a significant difference in proficiency between qualified professionals and those having elementary occupations. 68.3 per cent of the latter and 67.8 per cent of skilled manual workers admit having basic knowledge of English, which contrasts with only 27.7 of qualified professionals, who declare good and proficient command of English (44.5 and 27.5 respectively). Under the assumption that these professionals exert social influence, the prestige factor which both Matras and Seifart consider relevant in borrowing seems to be at stake, especially in a field as prominent for the creation of social tendency as advertising. Note that good command of the second language is a prestige factor in itself as

[6] The table (Pupils by education level and modern foreign language studied - absolute numbers and % of pupils by language studied), also by Eurostat, indicates that 99.7% of Spanish students in secondary education (general) take English as their first second language. The levels of English are defined as follows: Basic: "I can understand and use the most common everyday expressions. I use the language in relation to familiar things and situations"; Good: "I can understand the essential of clear language and produce simple text. I can describe experiences and events and communicate fairly fluently"; Proficient: "I can understand a wide range of demanding texts and use the language flexibly. I master the language almost completely".

"[m]onolingual speakers often learn non-native lexicon by imitating bilinguals for reasons of linguistic fashion" (Gómez Rendón 49).

It seems to me then that the existence of a set of established Anglicisms in the Spanish language together with the prestige and influence of those speakers who first coin and use *-ing* forms with Spanish bases is a clear explanatory factor of the way this suffix is being used nowadays and its spread in the language. What we seem to have, then, is a combination of two factors, one typical of indirect affix borrowing and another one of direct affix borrowing as an explanation for the use of the *-ing* suffix with Spanish stems. This is nicely in line with the conclusion defended by Seifart (*Direct* 528-29) himself, who claims that it is often a combination of both processes which accounts for affix borrowings between languages:

> Even if indirect borrowing is likely to have been the primary process, direct borrowing may also contribute to affix identification as long as there is relevant knowledge of the donor language by speakers of the recipient language at the time of the spread of the affix to native stems. It may even be argued that such knowledge would necessarily be used for the creation of hybrid formations (...) The approach taken here is thus to assume that affix borrowing usually involves both direct and indirect processes, and to assess the relative contribution of each of these processes.

There are thus two main factors which together contribute to the use of *-ing* with Spanish stems: (i) the existence of a relevant number of complex loanwords containing the suffix and (ii) the fact that its application to native bases occurs in influential activities such as advertising by equally influential speakers with good knowledge of the donor language. Consequently, it can be claimed that both aspects of indirect and direct borrowing contribute to the use and spread of the affix in the Spanish language.

Finally, it should be noted that there is a tendency for the affix to become phonologically integrated in a complete syllable and to become orthographically obscured along the instructions provided by the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española*. As mentioned earlier, Winford (387) claims that "relatively few of the many French affixes that had been imported became productive, and the vast majority of French loans underwent adaptation to English morphological processes".

There is reason to believe that this might also be the fate of *-ing* suffix in the Spanish language. The forms in example (1) provide a good test bed to check whether language users prefer the original English spelling or rather follow the Hispanicized version. The CORPES corpus gives us just 92 instances of the form 'meeting', but 1259 instances of the orthographically adapted *mitin* (4). In the case of 'feeling' vs. *filin*, the former wins 255 to 40, as shown in (5), but *esmoquin* wins out too by the figures given in (6):

(4) a. meeting 92
b. mitin: 1259

(5) a. feeling: 255
b. filin: 40

(6) a. smoking: 250
b. esmoquin: 397

If this tendency continues, it might well be that the *-ing* suffix is not borrowed after all, as it will become obscured and unrecognizable for most speakers within an ordinary syllable. In spite of this, the current state of the process shows an interesting case of language borrowing and poses a challenge for any grammatical theory interested in the dynamics of language use and language change. In the following section I will thus evaluate how Functional Discourse Grammar takes up that challenge.

3. FDG AND CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE

Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG), as presented in Hengeveld and Mackenzie ("Functional") and Keizer ("Functional English"), is a functional-typological theory of language structure which intends to meet a number of standards of adequacy for grammars. These include those proposed by Dik for Functional Grammar (psychological adequacy, typological adequacy and pragmatic adequacy) and others which have also been proposed by different scholars since then: acquisitional adequacy (Boland) and diachronic adequacy (Bakker, 1; Butler and Gonzálvez-García, 137; see Hengeveld and Pérez Quintero, 104 for the relation among standards and Butler for a careful reappraisal of standards of adequacy).

In spite of this alleged interest in showing the compatibility of the theory with diachronic studies, FDG has paid little attention to language change, and to the extent it has, it has mostly been with reference to grammaticalization processes (Hengeveld "Hierarchical") and the lexical / grammatical dichotomy (Keizer "Lexical-Grammatical" and Pérez Quintero "Grammaticalization"). Thus, Hengeveld shows how the model can make adequate predictions as to which grammaticalization paths are possible in languages on the basis of the layered structure of the different levels of representation which the theory proposes. To my knowledge, however, nothing has been said in FDG about contact-induced language change. Works like Bakker ("Language change"), Bakker and Hekking ("Functional") and Gómez Rendón ("Typological") stand in the FG tradition, and therefore do not make use of the FDG technical apparatus, although their functional orientation makes them obviously relevant for FDG. It is therefore appropriate to evaluate the extent to which current FDG is compatible with the factors behind contact-induced borrowing and whether the general architecture of the model also finds confirmation in language change motivated by language contact.

It should be noted at the outset that grammaticalization is essentially a language internal process in which a fully lexical element gradually becomes a grammatical unit, with concomitant loss of semantic and lexical properties. Obviously, the motivation of grammaticalization processes is to be found in the dynamics of language use, but the analyses proposed to deal with this phenomenon in its different manifestations have been constructed on the basis of language

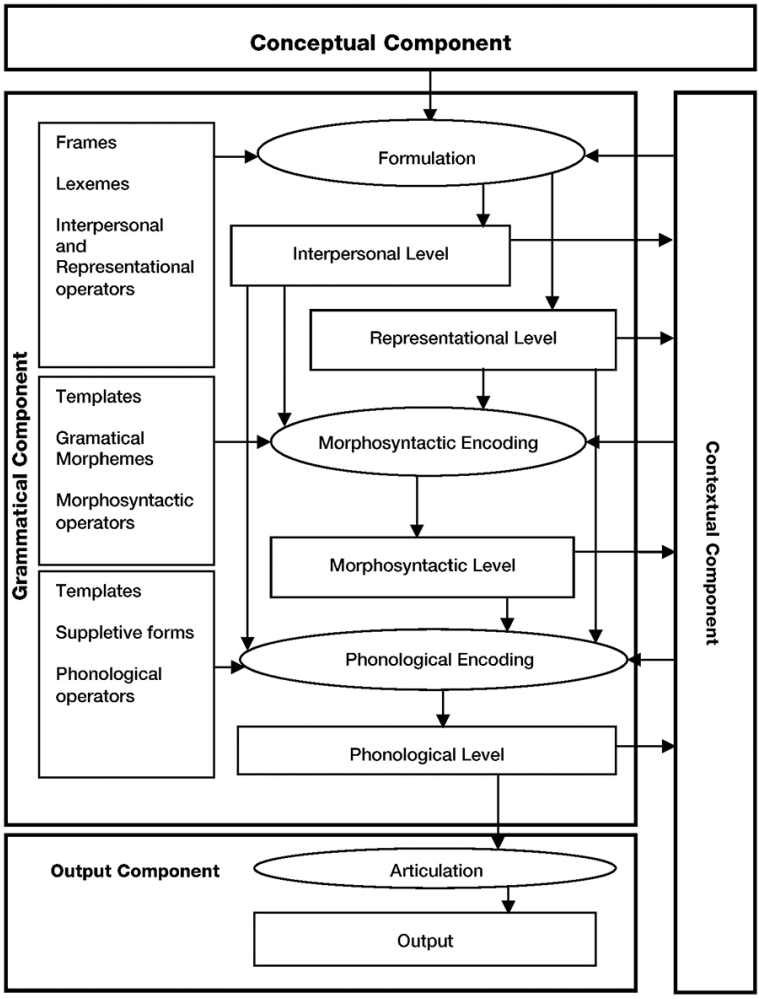

Figure 1. General layout of FDG (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 13).

internal principles. Contact-induced language change, however, is motivated by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors, and as argued in this paper for the case of *-ing* borrowing into peninsular Spanish, social aspects such as good knowledge of English as a second language and the social prestige and status of those speakers who creatively make use of this suffix with native stems, are undoubtedly behind the spread and use of this form.

One relevant property of FDG is that the grammar component is integrated in a wider theory of verbal interaction which includes a number of additional components. The full architecture of FDG is given in figure 1.

I will not provide a detailed explanation of the FDG architecture here. For current purposes, it will suffice to highlight that the grammar component is surrounded by three additional components (the Conceptual, the Contextual and the Output Components) which are necessary to provide a complete account of human verbal behaviour. In particular, the Contextual component contains the "immediate information received from the Grammatical Component concerning a particular utterance which is relevant to the form that subsequent utterances may take" and "long-term information about the ongoing interaction that is relevant to the distinctions that are required in the language being used, and which influence formulation and encoding in that language" (*Functional* 9-10). This is indicated in figure 1 with relevant arrows from context to morphosyntactic encoding and from the Morphosyntactic Level to context.

An obvious example of the relation between context and grammar involves the encoding of active entities (e.g. a highly active referent will most likely be encoded pronominally rather than by means of a full noun phrase). This process is obviously dependent upon a previous utterance as represented in the Morphosyntactic Level (e.g. a full noun phrase), which makes the referent active in current discourse and will call for a pronominal encoding in subsequent utterances.

As for the long-term information which is included in the Contextual Component, FDG makes it clear that it does not intend to provide a complete account of all the general information which can potentially have an influence on linguistic choices (to the extent that task is possible at all), but only those contextual distinctions that have a systematic effect on grammar. While this may be a sensible strategy in the synchronic description of languages, processes of language change are necessarily gradual and produce fluctuations in the use of language by different and sometimes by even the same speaker. An account of language change, then, probably calls for a less strict view of the relation between grammar and context than FDG allows (see Butler "Reappraisal" and Connolly "Contextual" for similar positions on different grounds).

What about the social factors that play a role in contact-induced language change? The motivating factor of 'prestige', which I have argued to be relevant in the spread and use of the *-ing* suffix with Spanish stems, is not a property with systematic effects on the choice of that affix, given the obvious fact that speakers under similar socio-linguistic influence may decide not to use *-ing* Anglicisms at all. Butler (35) discusses the possibility of adding 'sociocultural adequacy' to the set of quality standards for functional grammars and concludes that the standard position in FDG is reluctant to include in the Contextual component sociolinguistic factors that lead to probabilistic choices. He claims that Hengeveld and Mackenzie ("Grammar") indeed note the relevance of those factors in linguistic behaviour but they believe they probably lie at the interface between the theory of verbal interaction and speakers' cognitive-inferential abilities. There is no doubt, however, that if FDG intends to be compatible with processes of language change, it becomes necessary to explore the nature of that interface relation.

Assuming then that the Contextual Component can provide linguistically relevant information (even if that leads to probabilistic choices only), including

knowledge of a second language and of social practices and relations, competent speakers may extract linguistic information from their knowledge of English as a second language, and be also affected by the social prestige of highly valued speakers as a motivating factor in linguistic usage. Note that this situation is fully compatible with the existence of a number of *-ing* Anglicisms in the lexeme inventory of these speakers, another motivating factor for the use of this suffix with native bases.

Finally, for those speakers who, through recurrent usage, may have incorporated the *-ing* suffix as part of the stock of derivational suffixes in Spanish, the morpheme should be simply included in the set of morphemes feeding the morphosyntactic encoder.

Let us now see one detailed example of the process. As mentioned earlier, the form 'puenting' is a well-established case of a hybrid formation in Spanish. One possible analysis would assume that the form is ready-made in the lexicon, which is undoubtedly the case of those speakers who can naturally use the item in spite of having little or no knowledge of English at all, and cannot therefore recognize the existence of complex structure in that form. For those speakers who can recognize the compositional structure of the item and make use of the *-ing* suffix as a derivational noun-forming affix in Spanish, two analyses seem possible: either the suffix is part of the inventory of morphemes of the language, a possibility which seems reasonable for those Spanish speakers who actively create *-ing* forms (e.g. publicists), or the suffix is taken from the Contextual Component directly and feeds the Morphosyntactic encoder in the generation of a particular utterance. Both processes seem to be compatible with a direct borrowing scenario, but only the first with an indirect one.

In both cases, however, the construction of the form 'puenting' would involve retrieving a relevant frame from the lexicon and its combination with the nominal lexeme *puente*. Given that the form *puenting* denotes an action, the noun is inserted in an eventive frame as in (7):

(7) $(e_i: (f_i: \text{puente } (f_i)) (e_i))$

At the Morphosyntactic Level the form is inserted in a Nominal word frame, which triggers the addition of the *-ing* suffix:

(8) $(Nw_i: [(Ns_j: \text{puente } (Ns_j)) (Naff_i: \text{ing } (Naff_i))] (Nw_i))$

The suffix *-ing* would then be formally triggered by the insertion of an event-denoting form in an unexpected frame, the lack of a productive affix in the language to derive process nominals from event-denoting units, and the extra linguistic factors of social prestige and trendiness associated with the English language nowadays. Note that Spanish also has the form *puentear*, which is also obtained from the noun *puente,* but has different meaning (to bypass someone / to fail to notice somebody's opinion or higher position), which would result from the insertion of the same representational unit (7) in a morphosyntactic verbal frame (for the treatment of derivational morphology in FDG see García Velasco and Keizer and the papers in Guerrero Medina and Portero Muñoz).

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I have explored the compatibility of FDG with contact-induced language change as exemplified by the case of *-ing* borrowings into peninsular Spanish with particular attention to the combination of this suffix with native stems. I have argued that the process shows signs of both direct and indirect affix borrowing (*Direct*) and that it is motivated by the existence of an established set of *-ing* Anglicisms in the language and the social prestige and good command of English as a second language by qualified professionals. The examination of this process clearly shows that sociolinguistic features are relevant factors in contact-induced language change. Therefore, linguistic theories which aim at being compatible with what is known about language change and evolution should allow external social factors to potentially have an impact on the linguistic system in their general architecture.

In the second part of this article, I have shown how my findings can be incorporated into FDG. On the one hand, an FDG-based linguistic analysis of the process seems to provide an adequate account of the use of *-ing* with native bases. Moreover, the theory allows the description of the different scenarios of the use of this suffix by Spanish speakers: (i) as a conventional suffix in the stock of morphemes feeding the Morphosyntactic Level, or (ii) as a unit taken from the Contextual Component on every occasion of use. This second possibility, however, although fully compatible with FDG's general architecture, proves the relevance of extra-grammatical sociolinguistic factors as motivating forces of language change, and probably entails a more flexible approach to the relation between context and grammar than FDG has been willing to allow so far.

Reviews sent to author: 28 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 8 February 2020

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APPENDIX

Encuesta sobre morfología del español

Si su lengua materna no es el español, indique cuál:

Instrucciones: en español, una palabra como «extraterreste» se compone de dos partes: «extra» y «terreste», que en conjunto contribuyen a crear su significado «fuera de la tierra». En otros casos, también podemos distinguir dos partes, aunque una de ellas aporte significado en menor medida, como, por ejemplo, «casas», que se compone de «casa» y la «s», que solo indica la noción de plural.

Las siguientes palabras se utilizan habitualmente en el español y todas aparecen recogidas en el Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua. Diga si contienen una, dos o tres partes e indique cuáles, como en el ejemplo que se ofrece:

Palabra	1 parte	2 partes	3 partes	Partes
Extraterrestre		X		Extra-terrestre
Submarino				
Flor				
Marketing				
Apendicitis				
Puenting				
Mitin				
Psicología				
Pudin				
Popurri				
Parking				
Prever				
Overbooking				
Charlatán				
Ring				

TYPOLOGY OF LINGUISTIC BORROWING IN THE WOLOF LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This paper offers the results of a typological analysis of loanwords in the Wolof language following the methodology applied by Haspelmath & Tadmor in their Loanword Typology Project (LWT). On the basis of a representative sample of the world's languages these authors compiled the *World Loanword Database* (WOLD) and carried out a comparative analysis of the loanword profile of 41 languages focusing on 1460 lexical meanings grouped into 24 semantic fields. Since the Wolof language was not included in their typological analysis as a recipient language, the following text is meant as a further contribution to the LWT project. On the whole, the Wolof language conforms to the general principles established by Haspelmath and Tadmor, although some minor departures are also observed.

Keywords: Linguistic borrowing, loanwords typology, Wolof language.

TIPOLOGÍA DE LOS PRÉSTAMOS LINGÜÍSTICOS EN LA LENGUA WOLOF

Resumen

Este artículo ofrece los resultados de un análisis tipológico de los préstamos en la lengua wolof, siguiendo la metodología aplicada por Haspelmath y Tadmor en su proyecto llamado Loanword Typology (LWT). Basándose en un corpus representativo de las lenguas del mundo, estos autores desarrollaron una base de datos denominada *World Loanword Database* (WOLD) y llevaron a cabo un análisis comparativo de una muestra de 41 lenguas, basado en una lista fija de 1460 significados léxicos repartidos en 24 campos semánticos. Al constatar que el wolof no está incluido en su análisis tipológico como lengua receptora, el presente artículo pretende ser una contribución al proyecto LWT. En conjunto global, la lengua wolof confirma los principios generales establecidos por Haspelmath y Tadmor, aunque se observan algunas discrepancias menores.

Palabras clave: Préstamos lingüísticos, tipología lingüística, lengua Wolof.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.08
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 145-159; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. INTRODUCTION

Wolof, the majority ethnic group and language in Senegal, has been lexically enriched, as a result of its many historical contacts with other local and foreign languages. Indeed, as of the 11th century, between 1061 and 1062, the Almoravids started the first jihad (holy war) among the sub-Saharan populations that subjugated Islam. Then came the European Colonizers, especially France, from the 15th century through the triangular trade and evangelization. Due to colonization, this prolonged contact with the local populations that cohabit in a multilingual situation, has had very significant sociolinguistic and cultural repercussions throughout the country. Consider that Senegal has an ethnolinguistic diversity reflected in the presence of almost 40 languages in correspondence to as many ethnic groups. This phenomenon of contact, which has been produced and reflected above all on the linguistic level, has got an impact on local languages, especially Wolof, which has seen its lexical heritage enriched by multiple borrowings.

But why is there a need to import words from other languages if each language has "unlimited" lexical innovation mechanisms and techniques incorporated into its own system, enabling them to name any abstract or physical novelty, foreign or local, that they discover?

To such a question, Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor tried to answer, applying an extensive approach based on "the classical methods of linguistic typology on performance", following these steps:

- Choosing a sample of 41 languages representative of the world's linguistic diversity;
- Collecting the types of borrowings found in these languages, based on a fixed list of 1,460 lexical meanings spread over 24 semantic fields;
- Attempting to draw provisional general conclusions about the languages of the sample.

The results obtained were used to formulate the following three hypotheses which should serve as general principles of "universal" validity for all languages:

1. Names are easier to import than verbs.
2. There is less likelihood of borrowing with terms referring to body parts.
3. Terms designating new artifacts are more prone to borrowing.

This work based on a thorough analysis of a corpus consisting of more than 3,500 borrowings, aims at verifying the relevance for Wolof (a language not included in Haspelmath & Tadmor's sample as a recipient language) of the general principles applicable to the lexical borrowings resulting from the LWT (Loanword Typology) project. The corpus was collected from a variety of sources. These are first of all lexicological ones such as the Wolof-French and French-Wolof dictionary by Jean Léopold Diouf and Mamadou Cissé's French-Wolof dictionary. In addition, we also draw items from the books by Faidherbe and

Dumont. To complete Arabic borrowings, the Koranic text was the main source of more than 170 borrowings. Some borrowings from English were taken from the Wolof-English dictionary of the American Peace Corps of The Gambia and the Gambian Wolof-English dictionary by David Percy Gamble. With regard to local languages, the fieldwork has been completed with other empirical sources, in particular radio and television programs, sitcoms in wolof, daily conversations, etc. All the sources have been reinforced by my status as a native speaker of Wolof in addition to a good knowledge of French, English and Arabic, *i.e.* languages which provide most of the loans in Wolof.

However, before drawing the conclusions we have reached, it is necessary to carry out a contrasting analysis of LWT and Wolof loanwords, with the aim of establishing a comparison between both studies. Indeed, after an extensive analysis of the processes of linguistic change by contact with languages, the authors of the LWT came up with conclusive results that we compared to those obtained with Wolof in order to corroborate or refute the hypotheses made by the project.

2. LWT VS WOLOF LANGUAGE BORROWINGS

Starting from the fact that the "borrowing phenomenon is universal", since all languages of the world borrow words from other languages, Tadmor (55) asked the following question: what makes languages prone to borrowing? His research led him to note the existence of 4 levels of language performance: very high (more than 50% of total loanwords), high (between 25 and 50%), medium (between 10 and 25%) and low (less than 10%).

Table 1 shows the level of performance of each of the 41 LWT languages from highest to lowest.

Tadmor advances two main reasons to explain this difference in levels of performance between the different languages of the project. The first reason is of chronological nature: the more a language has a very long written history, the more contacts it has throughout its history, the more prone it is to borrowings; whereas the new languages, due to a lack of written tradition, need even more time to be able to take a large number of borrowings. That is to say, when a language is little studied little will be known about its history and therefore about its loanwords. As shown in table 1, the language with the highest degree in loans turns out to be Selice Romani. This minority language is actually a dialect spoken by some 1,350 speakers in a village in southern Slovakia, which for over 8 centuries has lived under the linguistic dominance of other more powerful languages such as Slovak or Hungarian that most speakers have a good command of, especially the young population. This sociolinguistic situation is favorable to the incorporation of many borrowings in the case of the Romani that lives a constant linguistic pressure on the part of the dominant languages. On the other hand, languages with a lesser degree of performance, such as Mandarin Chinese, spoken by almost a billion speakers, mostly monolingual, and whose command of other languages has been exerted for thousands of years, have almost no need to import words from other languages.

TABLE 1: LEVEL OF PERFORMANCE OF THE 41 LWT LANGUAGES (TADMOR 56-57)				
Borrowing type	Languages	Nº of words	Nº of loanwords	% of loanwords
Very high borrowers	Selice Romani	1431	898	62.7%
	Tarifiyt Berber	1526	789	51.7%
High borrowers	Gurindji	842	384	45.6%
	Romanian	2137	894	41.8%
	English	1504	617	41.0%
	Saramaccan	1089	417	38.3%
	Ceq Wong	862	319	37.0%
	Japanese	1975	689	34.9%
	Indonesian	1942	660	34.0%
	Bezhta	1344	427	31.8%
	Kildin Saami	1336	408	30.5%
	ImbaburaQuechua	1158	350	30.2%
	Archi	1112	328	29.5%
	Sakha	1411	409	29.0%
	Vietnamese	1477	415	28.1%
	Swahili	1610	447	27.8%
	Yaqui	1379	366	26.5%
	Thai	2063	539	26.1%
	Taquia	1123	291	25.9%
Average borrowers	Lower Sorbian	1671	374	22.4%
	Hausa	1452	323	22.2%
	Mapudungun	1236	274	22.2%
	White Hmong	1290	273	21.2%
	Kanuri	1427	283	19.8%
	Dutch	1513	289	19.1%
	Malagasi	1526	267	17.5%
	Zinacantán Tzotzil	1217	195	16.0%
	Wichí	1187	188	15.8%
	Q'eqchi'	1774	266	15.0%
	Iraqw	1117	162	14.5%
	Kali'na	1110	156	14.0%
	Hawaiian	1245	169	13.6%
	Oroqen	1138	137	12.0%
	Hup	993	114	11.5%
	Gawwada	982	111	11.3%
	Seychelles Creole	1879	201	10.7%
	Otomi	2158	231	10.7%

Low borrowers	Ket	1030	100	9.7%
	Manange	1009	84	8.3%
	Old High German	1203	70	5.8%
	Mandarin Chinese	2042	25	1.2%

Table 2 highlights the main sociolinguistic circumstances that explain the difference in performance between Mandarin Chinese and Selice Romani.

TABLE 2: SOCIOLINGUISTIC CIRCUMSTANCES CONDITIONING BORROWING (TADMOR 58)

Selice Romani	Mandarin Chinese
Universal multilinguism	Almost no bilingualism
Minority language	Majority language
Sociopolitically marginalized	Sociopolitically dominant
Relatively short history	Relatively long history
Prolonged absence of homeland	Prolonged presence in homeland
Tolerance with respect to Purism	Purism
Not standardized	Highly standardized
Well-studied contact language	Little studied contact language
Well-known donor languages	Some little-known donor languages

If we apply to Wolof the sociolinguistic characteristics of the LWT to measure its borrowing rate, we realize from the outset that Wolof is found between Selice Romani and Mandarin Chinese, as it shares 5 out of the 9 characteristics with both, as shown in table 3 below.

TABLE 3: SOCIOLINGUISTIC CIRCUMSTANCES CONDITIONING BORROWING IN WOLOF (NON-RELEVANT FEATURES FOR WOLOF LANGUAGE HAVE BEEN CROSSED OUT)

Selice Romani	Mandarin Chinese
Universal multilingüism	~~Almost no bilingualism~~
~~Minority language~~	Majority language
~~Sociopolitically marginalized~~	Sociopolitically dominant
~~Relatively short history~~	Relatively long history
~~Prolonged absence of homeland~~	Prolonged presence in homeland
Permissivity with respect to the Purism	~~Purism~~
Not standardized	~~Highly standardized~~
Well-studied contact language	~~Little studied contact language~~
Well-known donor languages	Some little-known donor languages

Based on the main characteristics of Wolof, we find out that this language does not meet the criteria of Level 1 (very high, *i.e.* Selice Romani) or Level 4 (low, *i.e.* Mandarin Chinese). As these two levels are excluded, it remains to classify Wolof language between level 2 (high) and level 3 (medium). Level 2 is also ruled out if we consider the percentage of borrowing that characterizes languages belonging to this level (25% and 50%).

As a result, Wolof, which totals 21.1% (see table 11 below) in terms of borrowing ranks at the average level 3. However, it is important to highlight the concepts of *donor language* and *standardized language*.

In fact, as far as Wolof is concerned, donor foreign languages are clearly identified. But when it comes to local languages, the problem lies in the difficulty of knowing which language has lent/borrowed to/from the other, as the languages in question have always shared the same geographical territory, and this context has favoured intense intercultural exchanges for centuries to the extent that is virtually impossible to detect the source of borrowing. This situation is mainly due to the lack of written documents narrating the history of languages in Senegal's sociolinguistic landscape. As far as the standardization of the Wolof language is concerned, several official decrees regulate it from 1971 to 2005. The decrees are related to transcription, spelling and separation of words. They also pursue the objective of codifying not only the Wolof language but also the other local languages claiming the same status as the Wolof. It is worth emphasizing that a great majority of the Senegalese population can neither read nor write in Wolof: more than 87%[1] of Wolof speakers can neither read nor write in this language. As 54%[2] of the population is educated in French, written communications are mostly done in either French or in Arabic. The latter plays a religious role in the country where the population is predominantly Muslim at 95%[3]. From a glottopolitical point of view, national languages still play a very marginal role. Their role is essentially limited to the literacy of rural people so that they can read and write in their mother tongue. French is still the only official language in the country, even though the expansion and visibility of Wolof are undeniable.

[1] On the literacy level of the Senegalese population in local languages, *cf.* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat, de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage ['General Census of Population and Housing'].

[2] Source: Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat, de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage.

[3] *Cf.* Triaud.

3. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF LWT AND WOLOF BORROWING ACCORDING TO SEMANTIC WORD CLASS

3.1. Content words vs function words

Analyzing the cases of borrowings encountered in the project's languages, Tadmor retains 5 different categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and function words that he gathers into 2 main classes, namely, content words and function words. According to the results obtained, only three languages –White Hmong (with 22.4% of function words against 21.1% of lexical words), Hup (16.6% against 11.1%) and Wich (15.5% against 21.5%)– do not confirm the hypothesis that languages adopt more content words than function words.

TABLE 4: BORROWED CONTENT WORDS AND FUNCTION WORDS: TOTAL FIGURES (TADMOR 59)

Category	Nº of words	Loanwords	% of loanwords
Content words	53 446	13 446	25.2%
Function words	4071	492	12.1%
Total	**57 517**	**13 938**	**24.2%**

With regard to Wolof, given the low number of registered function words (32) in relation to the total number of borrowings in our corpus (3629), representing a percentage of only 1.9%, it is clear that Wolof speakers have not taken many function words from languages in contact. This may be due to the marginal bilingualism of Wolof speakers. The observations of language practices in Senegal show us that the majority of speakers having Wolof as their mother tongue do not practice another local language.

TABLE 5: WOLOF BORROWED CONTENT WORDS AND FUNCTION WORDS

Semantic word class	Nº of loanwords	% of loanwords
Content words	3597	99.1%
Function words	32	0.9%
Total	**3629**	**100%**

3.2. Nouns vs verbs

In the following tables 6 and 7, the results obtained by Tadmor concerning the behavior of the borrowings with respect to the semantic word class, will give us the key to test our first hypothesis. According to the author (Table 6), the number of nouns doubles the number of verbs, *i.e.* 31% versus 14% because "things and concepts are easily adopted across culture" (61).

TABLE 6: BORROWING BY SEMANTIC WORD CLASS: TOTAL FIGURES BY TADMOR (61)			
Semantic word class	Nº of words	Loanwords	% of loanwords
Nouns	34 355	10 712	31.2%
Adjectives and adverbs	5284	803	15.2%
Verbs	13 808	1932	14.0%
Total of content words	**53 446**	**13 446**	**25.2%**

Comparing these data with those of Wolof, we can confirm this first hypothesis of the present study, as the percentage of names is almost triple than that of verbs. Consider Table 7 which distributes borrowings according to the different semantic categories.

TABLE 7: WOLOF BORROWINGS BY SEMANTIC WORD CLASS		
Semantic word class	Nº of Loanwords	% of loanwords
Nouns	2492	65.4%
Verbs	819	22.6%
Adjectives	278	7.9%
Adverbs	117	3.2%
Function words	32	0.9%
Total	**3629**	**100%**

Table 8, which we discuss below, presents the percentages of nouns and verbs that each language contributed to the LWT project. With the exception of Gurindji (with 48.8% of nouns versus 49.7% of verbs) and Saramacan (with 44% of verbs versus 37.1% of nouns), in all the other languages of the project nouns outnumber verbs. In the case of Saramacan, the result is due to "the partial relexification of Saramaccan by Portuguese" (Tadmor 63). This general preference can be explained by the fact "the more isolating the recipient language, the less morphosyntactic adaptation is necessary for borrowing verbs as such; conversely, the more synthetic language, the more adaptation is required. It is much easier to borrow than it is to synthesize languages" (Tadmor 63). Yet, according to Tadmor quoting Kossmann, this phenomenon does not always depend on linguistic factors, but rather on social reasons. The example of Mandarin Chinese, which despite being a highly insulating language has no verbal borrowing in the LWT corpus, and the case of Berber which has adopted several verbs as a substantially synthetic language –because of the strong influence of Arab language for centuries, tend to corroborate this linguistic fact.

TABLE 8: LOAN NOUNS AND LOAN VERBS BY PROJECT LANGUAGE (TADMOR 62)			
Languages	% of Loan nouns	% of Loan verbs	Loan noun to loan verb ratio
Zinacantán Tzotzil	24.1%	0.6%	37.5
Takia	37.7%	3.2%	11.8
Iraqw	23.6%	2.1%	11.3
Wichí	23.1%	2.7%	8.4
Otomi	17.0%	2.2%	7.6
Bezhta	44.4%	6.0%	7.5
Oroqen	18.6%	2.8%	6.7
Kali'na	21.1%	3.6%	5.8
Old HIgh German	9.0%	1.7%	5.4
Q'eqchi'	23.0%	4.8%	4.8
Hausa	31.2%	7.0%	4.4
Hawaiian	19.3%	5.1%	3.8
Manange	12.3%	3.3%	3.7
Yaqui	37.3%	10.1%	3.7
Gawwada	16.9%	4.6%	3.6
Archi	40.6%	11.7%	3.5
Dutch	26.3%	7.5%	3.5
Seychelles Creole	14.6%	4.1%	3.5
Ket	13.6%	4.0%	3.4
Lower Sorbian	30.7%	9.0%	3.4
Malagasi	23.9%	7.0 %	3.4
Mapudungun	31.3%	10.1%	3.1
Sakha	40.0%	12.8%	3.1
Kanuri	26.7%	8.7%	3.0
Imbura Quechua	43.1%	15.5%	2.8
Indonesian	43.7%	17.2%	2.5
Japanese	43.2%	19.9%	2.2
Swahili	34.3%	16.0%	2.1
Kildin Saami	38.0%	19.1%	2.0
Thai	32.3%	16.3%	2.0
Hup	13.8%	8.3%	1.7
Selice Romani	75.6%	45.1%	1.7
Romanian	50.2%	32.1%	1.6
English	48.0%	34.1%	1.4
Tarifiyt Berber	56.1%	44.1%	1.3

Ceq Wong	41.6%	32.1%	1.3
Vietnamese	31.3%	25.0%	1.3
White Hmong	21.5%	18.8%	1.1
Gurindji	48.8%	49.7%	1.0
Saramaccan	37.1%	44.0%	0.8
Mandarin Chinese	1.9%	0.0%	-
Total	**31.2%**	**14.0%**	**2.2**

If we take the data of each donor language in the case of Wolof, we also find that none of them gave more verbs or other categories of words than nouns (Table 9), which confirms again our hypothesis 1.

TABLE 9: WOLOF BORROWING CONTENT WORDS VS FUNCTION WORDS BY DONOR LANGUAGES

	French	Arabic	English	Spanish	Portuguese	Netherland	Pular	Mandinka	Serer	C.C	Total loan-words	No loanwords
Nouns	44.9	16.3	1.8	-	0.9	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.1	-	65.4	34.6
Verbs	17.5	5.3	0.4	0.1	-	-	-	0.2	-	-	22.6	77.4
Adjectives	7.5	2.0	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.9	92.1
Adverbs	3.2	3.1	-	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	-	-	3.2	96.8
Function words	1.9	-	-	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	98.1
Total	**15.0**	**5.3**	**0.5**	**0.0**	**0.2**	**0.0**	**0.1**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**21.1**	**78.9**

4. ANALYSIS OF LWT AND WOLOF LOANS ACCORDING TO SEMANTIC FIELDS

The analysis of the distribution of the borrowings based on semantic fields with regard to Tadmor's criteria shows that the most prolific semantic fields in borrowings are 'religion' (41.2%), 'clothing' (38.6%) and 'housing' (37.2%). Intercultural influences are the main reason these authors put forward to explain such a reality. In the case of 'religions and beliefs' as a semantic field, they explain that the two great revealed religions, *i.e.* Christianity and Islam, have been adopted during their worldwide spread by people belonging to thousands of languages, and those populations consequently, have adopted the terminologies accompanying the two belief systems.

As for the semantic field of 'clothing', colonization and the impact of globalization have contributed a great deal to the adoption of a large number of words

related to fashion that only developed countries knew before. It is the same with 'housing'. The explanation can be found in the switch from rural / rustic housing to global modern standards. The latter has had undoubtedly lexical consequences with exponential development of this sector throughout the world.

Addressing the issue of semantic fields which are least subject to borrowing such as 'body', 'kinship', 'spatial relations' and 'sense perceptions', representing only between 10-15%, Tadmor notes that the universality of the concepts implies that languages do not really feel the need to import them. Table 10 summarizes the results obtained.

TABLE 10: BORROWING BY SEMANTIC FIELD (TADMOR 64)

Semantic fields	% of loanwords
Religion and belief	41.2%
Clothing and grooming	38.6%
The house	37.2%
Law	34.3%
Social and political relations	31.0%
Agriculture and vegetation	30.0%
Food and drink	29.3%
Warfare and hunting	27.9%
Possession	27.1%
Animals	25.5%
Cognition	24.2%
Basic actions and technology	23.8%
Time	23.2%
Speech and language	22.3%
Quantity	20.5%
Emotions and values	19.9%
The physical world	19.8%
Motion	17.3%
Kinship	15.0%
The body	14.2%
Spatial relations	14.0%
Sense perception	11.0%
Total	**24.2%**

The comparison of semantic fields with the degree of loan functionality offers disparate results between the LWT project and Wolof. Indeed, with the exception of 'religion' and 'clothing', the semantic field most inclined to borrowing is 'time', by the large number of words that especially French (18.6%) and Arabic (10.6%) gave

to the Wolof language. In the case of French, it is mainly young people and adults educated in this language, who use the terms relating to time such as the days of the week, the calendar months, the years (Arabic version is used by the elderly and the illiterate in French), the four seasons of the year (that the majority of Wolof speakers do not even know in Wolof) and several adverbs of time. Moreover, politics occupies such an important place in Senegalese social life that 'political and social relations' (23.7%) gave more loans to the Wolof language than 'housing' (21.8%) and 'animals' (8.2%), for example.

The semantic field of 'animals' serves as a pretext for analyzing fields less inclined to borrowing. Indeed, according to Tadmor's results, apart from function words and semantic fields such as 'spatial relations' and 'perception of the senses', the semantic field of the 'body' (object of the second hypothesis), remains in general the field most reluctant to loans. However, in the case of Wolof, it is the semantic field of 'animals' with only 8.2% of borrowings which constitutes the field which gives the least borrowings to the Wolof language, compared to the 11.0% belonging to the semantic field of the 'body'. If this is so it is because, apart from animals living outside the Senegalese ecosystem, (almost) all other animals have their names or doublets in Wolof. Therefore, we can say that the second hypothesis is not confirmed, since the semantic field of the 'body' with 11.0% of the borrowings, gave the Wolof language a percentage higher than that of the 'animals' which remains at 8.2%.

As for the third hypothesis stating that the terms referring to novelties (objects and new creations) are more inclined to be borrowed, it also remains confirmed, insofar as the semantic field of the 'modern world' with a percentage of 92.9% represents the field that produces the most borrowings among the 24 analyzed semantic fields. These new objects, in fact, represent totally unknown concepts in traditional Wolof, and their integration, in most cases, was carried out with a more or less important phonological adaptation and without any semantic or morphosyntactic change.

TABLE 11: WOLOF BORROWINGS BY SEMANTIC FIELD AND DONOR

Semantic fields	French	Arabic	English	Spanish	Portuguese	Netherlands	Pular	Mandinka	Serer	**Total**	No loanwords
Modern world	92.6	-	-	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	**2.9**	7.1
Religion and belief	10.9	35.8	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	0.8	**47.6**	52.4
Clothing and grooming	24.0	6.4	1.1	-	-	1.7	1.0		-	**34.2**	65.8
Time	10.6	18.6	1.3	-	-	-	0.5	-	-	**31.0**	69.0
Food and drink	16.7	10.7	1.2	-	-	-	0.7	0.1	-	**29.4**	70.6
Social and political relations	19.7	3.6	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	**23.7**	76.3

Possession	18.8	2.7	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.0	-	**21.9**	78.1
The house	16.7	4.0	0.3	-	0.6	-	-	0.2	-	**21.8**	78.2
Cognition	18.1	2.7	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	**21.3**	78.7
Basic actions and technology	12.5	5.3	1.6	-	0.5	-	-	0.0	-	**19.9**	79.1
Quantity	12.3	2.1	1.1	-	1.2	2.1	0.8	0.0	-	**19.6**	80.4
Motion	14.4	2.7	1.1	-	-	-	-	0.1	-	**18.3**	81.7
Emotions and values	9.8	6.2	0.3	1.0	-	-	-	0.0	-	**17.3**	82.7
Kinship	10.0	5.5	0.3	-	0.2	-	-	0.1	0.2	**16.3**	83.7
The physical world	11.9	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**15.9**	84.1
Law	8.7	6.0	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	**14.9**	85.1
Speech and language	10.3	1.4	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	**12.0**	88.0
The body	6.3	1.3	1.1	-	2.3	-	-		-	**11.0**	89.0
Warfare and hunting	8.7	-	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	**9.0**	91.0
Agriculture and vegetation	6.2	2.0	0.1	-	-	-	0.6	-	-	**8.9**	91.1
Animals	4.2	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**8.2**	91.8
Sense perception	5.6	2.4	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	**8.1**	91.8
Spatial relations	2.3	0.7	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	**4.5**	95.5
Function words	1.8	-	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	**1.9**	98.1
TOTAL	**15.0**	**5.3**	**0.5**	**0.0**	**0.2**	**0.0**	**0.1**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**21.1**	**78.9**

To the central question of why there is the need to import words from other languages if each language has in its own system mechanisms and "unlimited" techniques of lexical combination that allow it to name any novelty, be it abstract or physical, foreign or local, which were the findings? the answer must be understood in a double reading of the data that our analysis has revealed.

1. On the one hand, languages borrow words from other languages to fill a linguistic gap because of the rapid evolution of society, with the creation of new concepts related to new technologies. As far as Wolof is concerned, it is the semantic field of 'modern world' which gives most of the present borrowings with words such as *partaaze*, *bëez*, ójo, *buwaat wokaal*, *konekte, cate*, etc. Indeed, the Wolof speaker has integrated in his lexicon 92.9% of the borrowings of this semantic field.
2. On the other hand, the semantic domains of 'food and drink', 'clothing', 'home' and 'religion and beliefs' have enriched the Wolof lexicon not only linguistically but also culturally. In the area of 'food and drink', for example, borrowing (especially from French) has brought a new way of eating (*furset,*

palaat, soos, buwaasoŋ, etc.); 'clothing,' a new way of dressing (*pàntaloŋ, west, kostim, sipp*, etc.); 'housing', a new way of life (*taabal, fótóoy, làmp, miir, etaas*, etc.); and 'religion and beliefs', a new way of believing (*julli, jullite, nodd, naafila, xëdd,* etc.).

5. CONCLUSION

After having compared the results obtained by the authors of the LWT project with those of the Wolof language, in order to verify the relevance, for Wolof, of the general principles of applicability of the resulting loans, we were able to verify the three research hypotheses, drawing the following conclusions:

– In both studies, names are easier to import than verbs: hypothesis confirmed.
– In both studies, the terms that designate 'novelties' (objects and new creations) are more inclined to borrowings: hypothesis confirmed.
– In the case of the LWT, the semantic field of the 'body' is the one that is the least inclined to borrow, while in the case of Wolof, it is that of 'animals': unconfirmed hypothesis.

Thus, the Wolof language vis-à-vis its borrowings does not differ from the languages studied by Haspelmath & Tadmor, thus reflecting the same universal typological model.

Reviews sent to author: 15 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 28 January 2020

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FOOD FOR THOUGHT: AMA ATA AIDOO'S GASTRO-POLITICS

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Abstract

Some of Ama Ata Aidoo's short stories in her collections The Girl Who Can And Other Stories, and Diplomatic Pounds, deal with arguments over food and cooking. These trivial quarrels become food for thought. The aim of this research is to unveil the post and neo-colonial tensions that are created during the re-encounter of peoples of African origin coming from different places and, consequently, different cultures. This paper adopts the idea of "gastro-politics" developed by Arjun Appadurai, who believes that the elaboration of the cuisine and its socio-economic context builds up the capacity of food to convey social messages. The bone of contention among Aidoo's characters is the food they are about to prepare, eat or sometimes never taste.

Keywords: Gastro-politics, the exotic, African cuisine, nation-building, pan-Africanism, global village.

LA GASTROPOLÍTICA EN CUENTOS DE AMA ATA AIDOO

Resumen

Los cuentos cortos de Ama Ata Aidoo en sus colecciones The Girl Who Can And Other Stories y Diplomatic Pounds, nos permiten conocer personajes que riñen por la comida y por cómo cocinarla. Estas disputas triviales son materia de reflexión. El objetivo de esta investigación es desvelar las tensiones pos- y neocoloniales que se crean durante el reencuentro de gentes de origen africano común, de diferentes países y culturas. Este estudio adopta la idea de la «gastropolítica» elaborada por Arjun Appadurai, que cree que la elaboración de la cocina y su contexto socio-económico dotan a la comida de la capacidad de transmitir mensajes sociales. El elemento de discordia entre los personajes de Aidoo es la comida que están a punto de preparar, comer o a veces nunca probar.

Palabras claves: Gastro-política, lo exótico, la cocina africana, construcción de la nación, pan-Africanismo, aldea global.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.09
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 161-169; ISSN: e-2530-8335

The Ghanaian author Ama Ata Aidoo has turned her writing to her advantage. Not only is she a committed writer in Molara Ogundipe-Leslie's sense, that is, "as a writer, as a woman, and as a Third World Person," (James 14) but also, as she explained in the same interview with Adeola James, she is a nationalist:

> I don't deny that we belong to a larger, non-northern world and the dynamics that operate in a situation like that, but find my commitment as an African nationalist a little more pressing. It seems there are things relating to our world, as African people, which are of a more throbbing nature in an immediate sense. (James 15)

This nationalist writer deals with highly political issues through her easy-to-read-short stories and tales about everyday life. Her hidden intention of questioning important topics about Africa and the Africans and their submission to invisible imperial power is surfaced through her irony. She challenges the concept of global village and puts it side by side with the binary opposition: First World *versus* Third World. She also prefers to use Kwame Nkrumah's term "neo-colonialism" to that of "post-colonialism". "Neo-colonialism", according to Ashcroft's *Key Concepts in Post –Colonial Studies,* refers to forms and ways of control of the ex-colonies after political independence. Both Aidoo and Nkrumah (the first president of the independent Ghana) use the term to make reference to the invisible superpowers that continued to play a decisive role in their cultures and economies through new instruments of indirect control that were still ruling after the independence of Ghana and other African countries (Ashcroft 162-163).

Aidoo's short story "Some Global News," dedicated to a New Yorker of Caribbean parentage, promulgates the importance of everyday issues such as clothes and food. The main topic in this tale is the problems the leading character Yaa-yaa Mensah, an important African woman, encounters regarding her clothes and what to wear when she travels abroad away from Africa. She is "struggling to deal with the idea of the global village" (73). She does not know where the idea came from and she wonders "whose village is it, anyway?" All these reflections are due to the fact that her African clothes always provoke the Europeans' or Americans' comments. The people in the congresses and meetings she goes to abroad always seem to find her clothes either inadequate for their cold weather, or too colourful or even exotic. Yaa-yaa ponders over the contradiction created when the global village cannot yet embrace the singularities of the different identities from other countries. She verifies through this type of experience that the global village still means the First World as the centre that imposes aesthetics, fashion and other important things, whereas the Third World's aesthetics is still pushed to the margins.

Yaa-yaa meets her best friend Kate to tell her about her worries and to share an African meal. It is the wise commentator's reflections on their African dish that triggered the idea of this paper. The meal they are about to eat, sitting on the carpet, is *fufu* with groundnut soup, a typical African dish that Aidoo's wise commentators could not let go unremarked:

> You mean peanut soup? Or rather, peanut broth? The colonizers made sure us people called some ordinary vegetables by different names. One wonders why... Maybe to help us maintain a little more of our primitiveness, however well we spoke their language? Or, and to make certain that we never really became that familiar with it? (80)

This wise commentator is not the common narrator. He is another invisible character that has full knowledge of their history, and his is a critical vision. Aidoo adopts this type of commentator from the Ghanaian theatrical tradition to achieve her criticism. He brings forward the problem of naming that the colonised countries suffered during the rule of the coloniser. Naming, in this case according to the commentator is due to the need to draw a differentiating line between the coloniser and the local Africans. Arjun Appadurai relies on anthropologists' works (as Firth, Geertz, and Young's, among others) to say in his article "Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia" (1981), that "Food, in its varied guises, contexts, and functions, can signal rank and rivalry, solidarity and community, identity or exclusion, and intimacy or distance" (494). Aidoo here highlights the distance created by the coloniser by presenting a new culinary and linguistic binary opposition of peanut broth *versus* groundnut soup. And thus, mimics more binary oppositions between:

– Coloniser / colonised
– Non-African / African
– Educated / primitive
– African Elite / common poor Africans

Aidoo must have experienced what Appadurai theorises on, thanks to her trips abroad. She wrote other short stories that deal with the topic of food. In an interview led by Maureen Eke, Vincent Odamtten, and Stephanie Newell, for the special number of *African Literature Today 31* entitled *Writing Africa in the Short Story,* Odamtten suggested then that Margaret Atwood had said that writers don't deal with simple things we do, like eating, whereas in Aidoo's stories "food comes to play a part in the way the narrative moves" (164). He asked her what she thought of food in her stories and she answered "It's almost like a character" (164).

In "Nutty" the subject matter is also food. Aidoo again writes about gastro-politics defined by Appadurai as "conflict or competition over specific cultural or economic resources as it emerges in social transactions around food" (495). The narrator draws the readers' attention, from the first paragraph, to one of the bones of contention in this and other short stories "And did she say translate into English? American English, that's what's relevant to this story. Because of the confusion over 'groundnuts' and 'peanuts' (46). The problem is presented at the beginning when the question about the naming of this product is raised. The narrator inquires into the lack of an English name for groundnuts. He seems to know that "Quite likely, the early American settler in what came to be known as the South got that nut from their African slaves, and promptly called it peanut" (46). According to *The Cambridge World History of Food,* "Two other American crop introductions need

to be mentioned. One is the groundnut [...] Groundnuts serve both as a food and cash crop for many Africans in the sub-humid and semiarid parts of the continent" (1335). In contrast, the French gave it the name *Arachide.* Another query is who called them groundnuts first? Then comes the nuisance of translating all the names of the African ingredients, such as *Nkatse* (groundnuts), and *Akoko-Nkatenkwan* (chicken groundnut stew or soup) into British English and American English. In addition to that, the uselessness of trying to explain how to prepare these dishes with what they perceive as strange ingredients.

"Nutty" is a story about an African young girl called Aku-Yaa who shared in North America an apartment with three other girls, one of them a Latin American and the other two white Americans. She and Blanche, one of the white Americans, became good friends. They had decided that each would cook a Sunday supper per month for both. Since their budget was low, Aku-Yaa thought that cooking an *akoko-nkatenkwan* would be a good idea because it is not expensive. But once Aku-Yaa served the rice with the groundnut stew prepared with chicken, ginger, onions and tomato sauce, Blanche tasted it as if she were taking poison. However, once she tasted it properly she even asked for more. This hurt Aku-Yaa so much that she never forgot the incident.

Fifteen years later, when Aku-Yaa goes to North America, she gets in touch with Blanche, as she normally does every time she visits. They usually have supper together in restaurants or at Aku-Yaa's hotel. But this time Blanche wanted to impress her African friend and prepared what she called "a new exotic recipe." Aku-Yaa was shocked when, among the four-course meal, she smelt the aroma of the *nkatsekwan-na-akokonam,* which was the same chicken cooked in peanut butter or groundnut paste she had prepared years for her friend.

The twist in this tale underlines Appadurai's idea that "In general, food can be made to encode gastro-political messages by manipulating the food itself (in terms of quantity or quality) or by manipulating the context (either in terms of precedence or of degree of commensal exclusivity)" (501). In this text, Aidoo uses both concepts, the quantity and the quality of the food offered in this supper, to precipitate an emotional conflict between the two characters. Firstly, Blanche uses the adjective "exotic" to describe the dish she had prepared for her African friend. This ruffled Aku-Yaa's feathers: "A stone dropped into the pit of Aku-Yaa's belly. Just like that. Where did the stone come from? Aku-Yaa had no idea. An 'exotic dish'? She'd been travelling widely around the world, and long enough to know by now that these days the exotic means: strange weird, dumb" (50). Secondly, the fact of a four-course meal made her feel uncomfortable: "She was not going to allow herself to feel bad that where she came from, sometimes even a one-course meal was a problem for many to achieve" (51). Finally, Aku-Yaa served herself what smelt like the African *Nkatsekwan-na-akokonam,* that is, chicken done in peanut butter or groundnut paste. But after tasting it and liking it, she noticed that the ingredients and mode of preparation were not African: "This was American supermarket chicken cooked in bottled American peanut paste, smooth and creamy. Wonderful, but somehow different from the end-product at home, made from a combination of similar but slightly more natural ingredients" (52).

Furthermore, when Aku-Yaa tried to remind Blanche that this was the same dish she had prepared for her fifteen years ago, the latter could not remember in spite of her terrible and disgusting reaction then. While they were discussing this matter, Aku-Yaa could hear a song by a popular highlife band that a radio station once classified as world music. Knowing that Highlife is a style of dance music created in West Africa, most probably in Ghana, the parallelism that Aidoo creates between the fate of the *Nkatsekwan-na-akokonam* (an African dish) and Highlife music (an African style of dance music) brings forward again the global village concept of rejecting the origin of these African consumer produce and gobbles them to unify a kind of what can be called universal, or better say in this case, American products: "This global village where African music is only part of 'world music', maybe African food becomes edible only when it is part of an exotic universal cuisine" (53). At this stage, Lévi-Strauss's three categories: the raw, the cooked and the rotten, presented in his work "The Culinary Triangle," are surpassed by the manipulated, long-life, American canned food as a sign of civilization and culture for the sake of universalising and creating a product for the global village. Hence, from the individual and group-specific ways of preparing food explained by Strauss, the processed and canned food is the means to guzzle individual identities and unify under the superpower.

In fact, "Nutty" is not the only short story that deals with the topic of food. Ama Ata Aidoo starts another short story, "About the Wedding Feast," with the following words: "With a little warning for all those who may be allergic to the genre: that this is 'kitchen literature' with a vengeance"[1] (87). She signed this paragraph with triple capital "A" in order to avoid any confusion regarding the source of these lines. Aidoo's "kitchen literature" does not conform to cookery books, but they talk about food. Igor Cusack stands by Catherine Palmer's affirmation that "food, along with landscape and the body, is an aspect of modern material world that is important to both individual and collective identities" (208). He believes food, and the manner in which the ingredients are mixed and prepared, is a significant constituent of a national identity. It is a consumable object of identity. It can expose human characteristics. We have seen in many occasions in history that it is food that forms the main part of aid to other countries or peoples under the effects of natural catastrophe or war. Appadurai also asserts that "The second fundamental fact about food, although this is much less well understood, is its capacity to mobilize strong emotions" (494).

This short story told by an African grandmother is about the preparations of her granddaughter's wedding in a foreign country. The bridegroom was also African though from a different country. The grandmother is complaining to her friends back home about the way things have changed when it comes to the topic of traditional marriage steps. If they had followed her African tradition, the granddaughter

[1] "With a vengeance" is a phrase used to emphasize the degree to which something occurs or is true (energetically, vigorously, etc.).

should have started by hinting to the mothers or women in her family and her community that she was thinking of getting married. Instead, she had announced it directly not having in mind any possibility of discussion with her mother Mary, or her grandmother. The storyteller continues with her complaints but this time it is about the procedures followed before the wedding feast. The grandmother does not understand why her daughter Mary and the boy's mother have to meet to discuss the preparation of the food for the wedding feast. Moreover, since the in-law family did not have any grandmothers coming to the meeting, our storyteller was invited to be present though she had to be silent. While the two mothers talked about the wedding cake and other deserts, everything went fine. They even discussed how to do the groundnuts and other things for the guests to munch on while waiting for the main dishes. But when they started talking about the main dishes, each wanted to impose her typical local dishes from each country. They argued, shouted and even stood up facing each other until the young couple arrived and laughed at them. They ended their meeting and decided not to meet until the wedding day. Each family prepared their own typical dishes and all the guests enjoyed eating all the food without complaining.

According to Appadurai's section "The Marriage Feast," in his article mentioned above, "the marriage feast is a quintessentially gastro-political arena" (502). Appadurai's observation about the South Asian marriage feasts can be applied to this African marriage feast: "Marriage feasts constitute a heavy drain on the resources of the bride's family; yet the lavishness and harmonious conduct of such feasts, and the maximization of the number of satisfied guests, are crucial determinants of the future status and reputation of the bride's family, as well as of the future strength or weakness of the affinal bond" (502). To start with, the storyteller is the grandmother who belongs to the eldest generation in this tale. She behaves like a watchdog for traditions. From the beginning the granddaughter does not announce her wedding in the traditional way, maybe because they are living abroad far from Africa. According to the grandmother, the boyfriend is also African, but not from their country. Another rule they break is that this marriage feast will be prepared by both families and not only the bride's family, in order to share the burden of buying and preparing all the food. Hence, the bride's family will not be the only people to be judged and their reputation will not suffer. Hence, if both families are going to share the economic and preparation responsibilities, where is the problem? According to the main premises of pan-Africanism the African people both in Africa and the diaspora share the same history and fate. Their destiny is intertwined. The ideology rests on the idea of unity through solidarity and cooperation to achieve economic, social and political progress. Bringing together two African families to organise the feast and work together must be very easy. Having in mind that they are probably going to cook African food, they will all make use of a common African cuisine. Both mothers meet and start talking: "They had discussed everything in a friendly way: the wedding cake itself; other cakes; biscuits and buns; how to do the groundnuts and the other things for the guests to munch and crunch..." (89-90). As the story is told to the grandmother's people back home, Aidoo uses the invisible figure

of what I called "the audience-within" in my PhD dissertation.[2] The "audience-within" seems to be surprised and ask the grandmother about the groundnuts. She answers "Groundnuts? Oh, yes, they are everywhere! Except that in most places, they call them peanuts!" (90). This short story does not expound on the issue of groundnuts *versus* peanuts, but it rather seems to focus on the unexpected quarrel raised because of the African recipes when it came to what they called "real cooking" (90). Here we can see how food has the power to arouse strong emotions as Appadurai suggested. On the other hand, Igor Cusack affirms in his article "African Cuisines: Recipes for Nation- Building" that "The main driving force for the creation of national cuisines in Africa appears to come from the West, and in particular from African-American. There is considerable interest in African cuisine often treating the continent as a whole or in regions, a pan-African cuisine" (216). The two mothers do not live up to Cusack's observation, because they dispute on the ingredients for the spinach stew. One would say that it was cooked with only onions and the other insisted that fish and meat had to be added. There was no consensus. When the wedding day arrived, the bride's family prepared the famous *palava* sauce of spinach with *egusi*, meat and fish, whereas the boy's mother prepared spinach stew without meat or fish. Each prepared her own recipes and the guests were as happy as can be. No one protested and all the food was eaten. The storyteller's reflection here is how people talk about change but they are not ready to handle these changes. In my opinion, Aidoo throws light on the difficulty of abiding by the premises of pan-Africanism, since what people might consider trivial things as national dishes cause such confrontations. The storyteller remembers her mother's statement "What is food anyway? Once it goes down the throat..." (92).

But I stand by Appadurai when he says that food "is a highly condensed social fact" (494). In 2012 Ama Ata Aidoo presented two more short stories in her new collection *Diplomatic Pounds and Other Stories* that can be analysed here to exemplify the last binary opposition proposed above: African elite *versus* common poor Africans. The main characters in "Diplomatic Pounds" are an African Ambassador's wife and her daughter Cecille. The life of a diplomatic couple is based on public relations and social activities, like going to many business lunches, dinners and cocktails. That is, food and more food everywhere. Their daughter had weight problems and was getting obsessed. She had scales everywhere in the huge house. Lady Ambassador did not eat and kept her diet. Cecille did not understand "What's the point of being in the diplomatic service if one isn't going to explore the food of other people" (34). They argued all the time on the topic of Cecille's overweight. The Lady's advice irritated the young girl, and she complained about her daughter's questions,

> [W]hat life would be worth if everyone behaved like me [mother] and ate nothing at all? And then being Africans, and with so much hunger on our continent, wasn't

[2] "The audience within" are the invisible listeners to a story telling moment or simply gossipers. For PhD dissertation see works cited.

> it sheer insensitive cheek that we had but would not eat because we didn't want to get fat? (34)

The idea of having to control their weight contrasts with the real news coming from African countries reporting the hunger that the common poor African people suffer from and their starvation. Food excess is the problem in this story. The ambassador and his family belong to the African elite, and this is highlighted, in addition to their diplomatic service, through their attitude towards food. No common poor African would reject food so as not to put on weight.

The story ends with a visit to the psychiatrist, who, according to the Ambassador Lady, was laughing at the girl's crazy stories about the scales not allowing her to go close to the kitchen. The mother was worried about the gossipers and reassures herself thinking "We are high class. In fact, our family is the highest. After all, who else among our people here in London are ambassadorial retirees? Eh?" (37) The mother's last lines are "But Cecille has not gone crazy. She is just having a little nervous breakdown" (37). The elite worries about overweight caused by excess of food, whereas the poor worry about how to get their daily food to survive.

The two-page-short story "Recipe for A Stone Meal" was initially published in *Flash Magazine* in 2008. It is about an African woman who has to go to a refugee camp with her two children. After hours in a queue, a UN officer gives her some beans to cook. She cooks the beans all night but they are still hard as stones. Her child passes out and the doctor says that he is starving. She just cannot understand why she hasn't been able to soften the beans. The doctor explains that these beans were not the adequate ones for the little water and fire they had in the camp. The story ends with the doctor's biting criticism: "Those UN characters should have brought only the powdered lot here. But maybe they could not be bothered. Or they sent the bags of powdered meal to their relatives at home" (62). The mother faints as well. It is a story about starvation even when the common poor Africans are in refugee camps. There is this echo coming from different conflict zones in Africa where the aids that other countries send be it money, material for shelters or food never seem to get to the proposed final destinies. The problem here is political and Aidoo's story hits the UN officers' honesty with deadly arrows so that the rest of the world can read. Again, in this case, and as if standing by the previous short story, food seems to be one of Aidoo's main instruments to write and inform about, as well as criticise that society.

Finally, I believe that Aidoo has written in accordance to her own ideas and words when she explained in the mentioned interview that "It's not just the fact that I like food, or that food is vital element in any people's culture and in any individual's life. Since I started coming here [to the US] many years ago, I have been interested in the clash between African ways of doing things and specifically Western ways of regarding food" (165).

Reviews sent to author: 15 January 2020
Revised paper accepted for publication: 12 February 2020

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INTERVIEW

TWO OPPOSITE POLES ATTRACTED BY COMMON SCIENTIFIC AND HUMANISTIC INTERESTS: INTERVIEW WITH PROF. BASILIO VALLADARES HERNÁNDEZ

Basilio Valladares Hernández is Honorary Professor at the University of La Laguna, founder and alma mater of the *Instituto Universitario de Enfermedades Tropicales y Salud Pública de Canarias*, as well as of the *Fundación Canaria para el Control de Enfermedades Tropicales* (FUNCCET). Awarded in 2017 by the Canary Islands Government with its Golden Medal, his exceptional career devoted to research has made of him an internationally reputed scientist.

Prof. Valladares Hernández is certainly an extraordinary figure who deserves our admiration and respect, but this interview obeys to his close relationship with Prof. Gómez Soliño, two opposite poles attracted by common scientific and humanistic interests.

Eds.: It might seem unusual to find a philologist as a member of a foundation for the control of tropical diseases like the FUNCCET, as unusual as the collaboration maintained for years between a hard scientist, an awarded parasitologist in your case, and a linguist such as Prof. Gómez Soliño. How was this relationship born?

V.B.: The FUNCCET has among its objectives to disseminate knowledge about tropical diseases, but also about science and culture in general with the aim of improving life conditions in underdeveloped countries. Anyone concerned about the life of those in need has room in the foundation.

But, our collaboration started many years ago. In 1998 we took the first steps to create the *Instituto Universitario de Enfermedades Tropicales y Salud Pública de Canarias* (University Institute of Tropical Diseases and Canarian Public Health). In 1999 Prof. Gómez Soliño was elected Rector of the ULL and his contribution to the successful completion of the administrative process to create the Institute –going through different establishments: *Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Consejo de Universidades, Consejo Científico Nacional, Consejo Universitario de la Comunidad Autónoma*, among others– was decisive. It took three years to create the Institute, which was formally established in March 2001. In its 10th anniversary we acknowledged and awarded the persons who had strongly and clearly supported both the

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2020.80.10
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 80; April 2020, pp. 173-176; ISSN: e-2530-8335

creation and improvement of the Institute, and among them was Prof. Gómez Soliño. When in 2013 the FUNCCET was started we asked him to form part of its Patronage and he kindly accepted.

Eds.: Which do you think have been the main contributions of Prof. Gómez Soliño in the Foundation?

V.B.: Well, many and varied. He is a man with a grand imagination and creativity, a constant provider of ideas for the improvement of the Institute's work. He analyzed what we were doing in Peru and some African countries and he paved the way for us to work in Cabo Verde. But his most important contribution has been instituting the international seminars of CampusÁfrica celebrated every two years under the auspice of the University of La Laguna and organized by the FUNCCET.

Eds.: What has CampusÁfrica meant to the Canary Islands and The University of La Laguna?

V.B.: CampusÁfrica brings to the Canary Islands a considerable group of students with the best academic records from different African universities –especially from those closest to us– as well as an important number of international first line professors in the areas of health sciences, culture, economics and politics. The Canary Islands and the ULL are for a few days the center of knowledge for development. As a consequence, some of the grant holders attending CampusÁfrica, will later continue their postgraduate studies in our university; on the other hand, ULL teachers find the opportunity to get in contact with relevant figures in the field of knowledge for development projects that are advantageous for everyone.

Eds.: Which would you consider the main achievements of the work done in Cabo Verde?

V.B.: A laboratory of Immunology and Molecular Biology has been created in Cabo Verde, which, in turn, will soon allow for the creation of a Biomedicine Institute in the Public University of Cabo Verde. Additionally, in this same University, different specialization courses, in diverse fields, have been held, the latest of them, "Macaronesia Campus Global", in October 2019. This is leading the Canary Islands and the ULL to become a referent for the development of the country; meanwhile, the collaboration among scholars through various projects is rendering beneficial results for both archipelagos.

Eds.: You both have been internationally awarded, receiving in 2016 the first class medal of scientific knowledge granted by Cabo Verde's government because of the role you have played in promoting and stimulating higher education in this country. But, quite often it seems the work we do at our university is not so well acknowledged. How would you evaluate the goals achieved in these years? Do you consider they have received deserved recognition?

V.B.: Many important things have certainly been achieved and this makes you feel quite gratified. Prof. Gómez Soliño can be satisfied of the work done. The truth is that, internationally and, generally speaking, out of the university, it seems that the work that is being developed is well received and acknowledged. As a proof Prof. Gómez Soliño was granted last year the *Premio Canarias de Internacionalización*. In our university, we have gone through, let's say, some "uncomfortable moments" in the last few years but with the recent changes we hope everything will come back to normal.
About the last question, I want to state, that all the work we do is done without asking or expecting any returns; it feels good, though, to receive some acknowledgement; if not, simply avoiding intrusion from those unable to do anything but disturb, obstruct or destroy the work of others, would be enough.

Eds.: In a more comprehensive scope, which do you think is Prof. Gómez Soliño's main contribution to the ULL?

V.B.: Many have been his contributions along his extensive academic life. First I would underline he has been a great teacher and his students have constantly acknowledged it. Through his academic life he has been absolutely devoted to broadening and opening the ULL to better serve the Canarian society.
As a Rector he enhanced the infrastructures of the ULL through a negotiation with the, by then, financial institution, CajaCanarias. As a result, two completely equipped study-rooms buildings were constructed, one in Guajara Campus and the other in Anchieta Campus. In the same line, he was always concerned with the improvements of the ULL Library. He also paid attention to other scientific infrastructures giving impulse to the *Centro de Estudios Africanos*, the *Instituto Universitario de Enfermedades Tropicales y Salud Pública de Canarias* or the renewal of the *Instituto Universitario de Bio-Orgánica Antonio González* (IUBO-AG).
He internationalized the ULL, as ideologist of CampusÁfrica, whose name he patented, and with the international seminars that have afterwards taken place. He was also responsible of the substitution of the obsolete power generator in the Pharmacy Faculty, which had caused several cuts and even a fire because of its unattended malfunctioning. These and many more actions gave rise to considerable improvements in the ULL.

Eds.: From a more personal point of view, what do you think you have learnt from each other?

V.B.: I don't know what he might have learnt from me, but I do know I have learnt and keep learning from him every day. I have had the good luck and honor of being his friend and I learn every day from his knowledge, his vast culture, the way he works, his good character and his immense respect for everything and everyone, and especially for the University of La Laguna. Of him can be said the best thing that can be said of anyone: he is "a good person".

Eds.: Just to conclude, how would you briefly summarize Prof. Gómez Soliño's career?

V.B.: He is an exceptional man who has developed a brilliant career at university. He was Director of his Department, Dean of the Faculty of Philology, Vice rector and Rector. He has created and contributed significantly to create centers and research institutes; he has made the University of La Laguna accessible and productive for the Canarian society; he has collaborated and continues collaborating with projects for the development of science and culture in different countries in our vicinity.
People like him do enrich our University.

Eds.: In and out of the academic world, we need more people like you two. Thanks for the time you have kindly given us to answer these questions.

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