Worlds of Words

A tribute to Arne Zettersten

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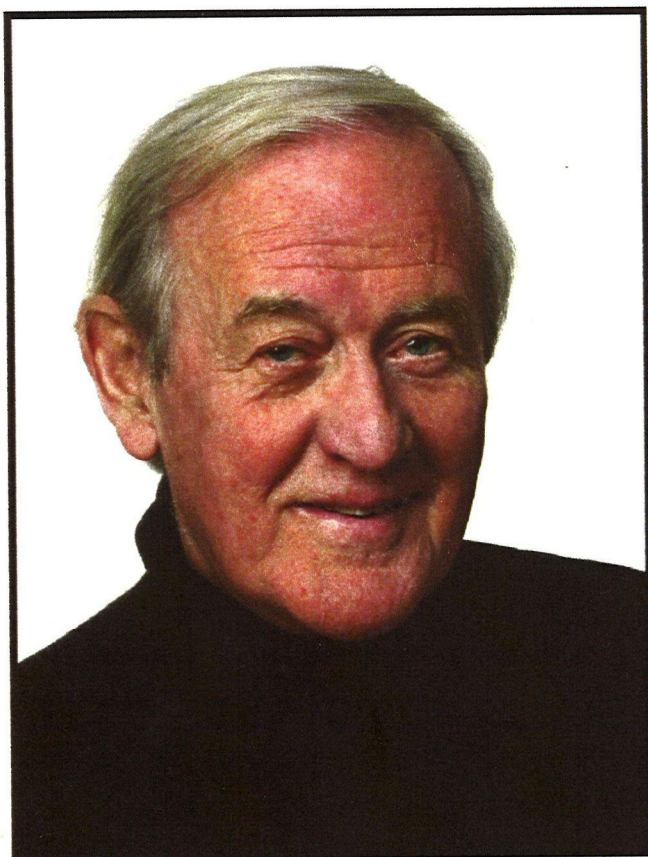
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Foreword

Worlds of Words is a homage to Professor Arne Zettersten's many achievements: as a pioneer in lexicography, as a student of medieval English, as the editor of volumes for the Early English Text Society, as an innovator in terms of exploring language acquisition, and as one of the first to call attention to the fact that there were Englishes beyond Great Britain that merited scholarly interest, and anglophone literatures outside the Western world worthy of study.

The list of works by Arne Zettersten bears witness to the many fields in which he has served with distinction on the international stage. He has been one of the organisers of the celebrated Copenhagen Symposia on Lexicography for more than two decades. In English Studies, he has been the President of the International Association of University Professors of English. For many years, he represented the Nordic scholars in the European Society for the Study of English. He was a co-founder of the Nordic Association for English Studies and of the *Nordic Journal of English Studies,* which now repays its debt to him by hospitably allowing *World of Words* to appear as a special NJES issue. Even closer to home, he has served as the President of the English-Speaking Union of Denmark and as the editor of its newsletter.

Arne Zettersten has been a co-editor of the *Symposium on Lexicography* series, and he has edited numerous other collective volumes. He has co-edited the *Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature,* the *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia,* and the journal *Computers and the Humanities* – from a time when even linguists barely knew the word 'digital'.

His colleagues at the Department of English at the University of Copenhagen will also recall that he served as Head of Department, and later represented their views on the Faculty board.

Born in Lidköping in Sweden, Arne obtained a lectureship at the university of Lund, and in 1975 he became professor at the Department of English at the University of Copenhagen. He has conducted research and studied at universities in Siegen, Vienna, and Berkeley, and participated in projects with universities in the UK, the US, Australia, New Zealand, Germany, Austria, Africa, China, and Japan.

Therefore, it is small wonder that contributions in this volume come from most parts of the world and span from medieval etymology to Anglicisms in the modern world, and from the quest of perfection in dictionary entries to literary translation.

It is a pleasure to be able to present this selection of scholarly contributions from friends who wish him well and want to participate in making his 70th birthday a day to remember.

Ed.

ADJECTIVES, COMPOUNDS, AND WORDS

Laurie Bauer, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

English spelling is, as everyone knows, full of peculiarities. Those peculiarities account for George Bernard Shaw's argument that 'fish' could be spelt *ghoti*, the absurd claim that *York-Los* appears as a 'word' in the larger construction *the New York-Los Angeles flight,* and the amusement provided by sentences like:

The dough-faced ploughman coughed and hiccoughed his rough way through Scarborough.

Linguists take as given the primacy of the spoken word and the derivative nature of written language. We are aware of absurdities like those mentioned above, but see them as artifacts of the spelling system and dismiss them as being of marginal relevance to the structure of English. Yet at other times we appear to have difficulty in discarding the idea that English orthography tells us something important about the language. In this article, I should like to discuss one such instance.[1]

However misleading English spelling may be on occasions, there is one place where it seems to match our intuitions perfectly. The description *a black bird* has *black* and *bird* in two orthographic words, whereas the naming function illustrated by a compound form such as *a blackbird* is a single orthographic word, and no longer a series of two. We can find these intuitions justified in the literature. *Black* in *blackbird* is no longer available for syntactic or morphological modification (we cannot have **a rather blackbird*, nor **a blackerbird*). This indicates that it is not a full word in its own right. *Blackbird* carries stress on the left-hand element of the compound. This is sometimes called 'compound stress' in the literature, but for reasons which will become clear, it is, in this article, referred to as 'first-element stress'. This points out the difference between the word and the

phrase (where nuclear stress tends to fall on the rightmost element in what we can, for the purpose of this discussion, term 'second-element stress'). The meaning of *black bird* can be deduced from the meaning of its elements and the meaning of the construction, while the meaning of *blackbird* cannot be entirely predicted from the meaning of the elements (if that were possible, a sentence such as *I saw a brown blackbird this morning* would be nonsensical, which is not the case). This means that *blackbird* must be a dictionary entry, and in that sense is a lexical item (a term used in this article in preference to the alternatives 'listeme' and 'dictionary word'[2]). We thus have a strong set of coincidences, which match our intuitions, as set out in Table 1. Indeed, the whole pattern of Table 1 appears so convincing that it may seem odd to bring up the matter at all in this context.

Table 1

The evidence for blackbird *as a word*

black bird	*blackbird*
Second-element stress	First-element stress
Independent elements, each of which can be inflected	First element dependent, inflection belongs to the unit as a whole
Meaning predictable from the elements	Meaning not entirely predictable from the elements, so must be listed
Each element is a separate lexical item	The unit as a whole is a lexical item
Sequence of two orthographic words	Single orthographic word
Conclusion: a phrase	*Conclusion*: a word

If all examples were like this, there would be no problem; a problem does arise, though, with the notion that this example is in some way typical of English. To show this, we need to see how general or how limited the pattern illustrated in Table 1 is.

We can start with the observation that the number of adjectives that work in the way that *black* does in our *exemple-type* seems to be very restricted. If we require exactly parallel conclusions to those laid out in Table 1, we find the kind of adjectives set out in Table 2. Whatever these adjectives may have in common, they are not a random sample of words labeled 'adjective' in our dictionaries.

Table 2

Adjectives which produce words like blackbird

Some colour adjectives: *black, blue, brown, green, grey, red, white*	*blackboard, blue-tit, brownstone, greenfly, greyhound, redfish, whiteboard*
Grand in words of family relationships	*grandfather*
A miscellaneous set of monosyllabic gradable adjectives of which only a few are illustrated here: *broad, dry, free, hard, hot, mad, small, sweet*	*broadcloth, dry-cell, freepost, hardboard, hotbed, madman, small-arm, sweetcorn*
A small set of non-gradable monosyllabic adjectives: *blind, dumb, first, quick* (= 'alive'), *square, whole*	*blindside, dumbcluck, (†)first-day, quicksand, squaresail, wholestitch*
A very small number of disyllabic adjectives: *bitter, narrow* and possibly *silly*[3]	*bitter-cress, narrow-boat, silly-season*

Before we move on, some comments need to be made about the examples in Table 2. First, consider the colour adjectives listed. While there is no implicit claim that the list given in Table 2 is absolutely exhaustive, some of the omissions here might need as much explanation as the inclusions. Only endocentric compounds have been considered, and not bahuvrihis such as *blackcap* (a type of bird) or *blackjack* (a game which involves black jacks), and only adjectives which appear in compound nouns have been listed. *Yellow* may never occur in first-element stressed compounds

of the right type: *yellow pages* (where both stress patterns are heard) is presumably a bahuvrihi when spoken with first-element stress - in any case, it is always written as two separate words; even *Yellowstone* is a bahuvrihi. The lack of *pink* is interesting in view of discussions about basic colour terms in English, but could be an accidental gap. The second point about the examples in Table 2 is that endocentric compounds with these adjectives are rarer than, for instance, bahuvrihis with the same adjectives, where the first-element stress seems to be better established. This is true not only of lexical items with the colour adjectives, but also of lexical items with the gradable adjectives. Third, it is clear that the set of relevant examples is not fixed. *The Chambers Dictionary* (1994) has *old 'boy* and *old 'girl* (of a school) where I would have *'old-boy,* and *'old-girl. Chambers* has *loose box* (presumably with phrasal stress) where *The Hamlyn Encyclopedic World Dictionary* (1971) has *'loosebox.* Fourth, some of the omissions in the gradable adjectives in Table 2 look as though they may be significant: no examples were discovered in *The Chambers Dictionary* (1994) with *big, deep, loud, mild, tall, thin, warm,* and *young.* There is no apparent influence of the unmarked term in any pair of gradable antonyms, since *coldstore* and *hothouse* are both found, as are *dry-cell* and *wetland, sour-dough* and *sweetcorn.* It seems that the gaps are largely accidental, though it is difficult to be sure of this.

Now we need to consider some of the criteria that led us to believe that *blackbird* was a single word, and show that these criteria do not necessarily coincide.

First we can consider the coincidence of first-element stress and writing as a single word: the orthographic and phonological criteria. This coincidence can be shown not to hold generally. We find lexical items written as a single word which *Chambers* lists as having second-element stress: *first-'aid, ill- 'will. Chambers* does not mark stress on lexical items written as two words, so that we might be led to assume second-element stress on all of

these, were it not that some of them clearly have first-element stress: *funny business* and *little people* ['leprechauns'], for example, are both marked with first-element stress in the *Macmillan English Dictionary* (2002). The same may be true of some of the items with monosyllabic first elements like *long stop, wise guy*. Thus single orthographic words may have second-element stress, and sequences of two orthographic words may have first-element stress, as well as the patterns illustrated in Table 1.

Further, stress and orthography need not be consistent with grammatical isolation. Although we can find only established lexical items by reading dictionaries, we can see that these need not have compound stress and need not be written as a single word. Examples such as *black death, black ice, blue duck, brown rat, brown trout, green tea, red giant, red squirrel, white line, white meat,* and hundreds of others show that listed items need not be single orthographic or phonological words. In each of these examples the colour-adjective is as inaccessible to syntactic or morphological modification as it is in the *blackbird* type of example. The moment we discuss *blacker ice* or *a redder squirrel,* we are no longer using these as the names of the entities given in the dictionary definitions. Rather we are using them as descriptions, in the same way that we might use *black bird*. The same is true if we talk of *a very brown trout* or *rather white meat*. Thus what we define as lexical items on grammatical criteria need not have a single stress or be written as a single orthographic word.

Consider what would happen if we started with an example like *funny business*. We would probably say that this is a lexical item because its meaning is not entirely predictable from the meanings of its parts and because if *funny* is sub-modified in any way, the whole no longer retains its idiomatic meaning, but becomes compositional. However, in all other respects it meets the criteria for a phrasal construction. However, when this is so, we accept that orthography and stress are subsidiary criteria which do not need to be met for something to be a lexical item. Thus, implicitly,

we admit that orthography and stress are, if not irrelevant, then no more than supporting material in the discussion of *blackbird*. And at that point we should acknowledge that *blackbird* (and other words like it) just happen to have various criteria align but that this is not crucial, and that stress and orthography are not ways of defining lexical items.

At this point, though, we need to cast our net wider, because there are also first-element stressed adjective-noun constructions which are not covered in the above discussion, largely because they are never written as a single orthographic word. Some examples are given in Table 3.

Table 3

Examples of compound-stressed adjective-noun constructions with other adjectives

'feudal system, 'nervous system, 'solar system, cardio-'vascular system
inter'mediate school, 'normal school,⁴ 'primary school, 'secondary school
'classical period, ro'mantic period
'choral society, co-'operative society, dra'matic society, ope'ratic society
'cultural centre, 'cultural club, 'social club, 'social worker
'musical box
'floral arrangement

The items in Table 3 differ from the adjective-noun compounds illustrated in Table 2 in that they cannot be glossed as 'an N which is (stereotypically) A'. That is, while a *blackbird* is 'a bird which is stereotypically black', the *romantic period* is not 'a period which is stereotypically romantic'. While that factor does appear to distinguish some of the examples in Table 3 from examples like *classical 'music, primary 'colour, private 'school, public 'school, secret so'ciety*, it fails to explain the stress in examples like *cultural 'desert, primary edu'cation, social 'secretary, social se'curity, solar 'film,*

and *solar 'panel*. It should also be noted that this table clearly does not provide an exhaustive list of relevant examples (more keep turning up!), but without a strategy for finding examples it is difficult to elicit them. Some of the adjectives from Table 2 might conceivably fit in here. A *dumb-show,* for example, is not a show which is dumb, and a *stillbirth* is not a birth which is still. Similarly *easy-chair* and *happy hour* seem, in some ways, to fit better in Table 3 than in Table 2. We might hesitate about how to gloss *silly-season* in Table 2: is it 'a season which is silly' or 'a season in which silly things get reported' or 'a season in which the silly is done/reported'?

So we find first-element stress doing at least two different things. With the adjectives listed in Table 2, it indicates that the adjective is to be interpreted as non-gradable (as a classifier, in one terminology), while with the adjectives in Table 3, first-element stress indicates that the adjective is to be interpreted in its non-predicate meaning. However, and this is crucial, in neither case is the stress pattern a reliable marker of the function shown in the relevant table. In both instances, phrasal stress can have precisely the same reading, sometimes with precisely the same adjectives (as in *black bear* and *primary education*).

What, then, is the function of first-element stress? It seems as though its function is not to delimit a compound in any structural sense, which is why the label 'compound stress' has been avoided here.

To consider the type of construction illustrated in Table 3 in more detail, the patterns in which *school* appears will be considered more closely. What seems likely to be relevant in assigning stress to the first element of the constructions illustrated in Table 3 is a set of factors including the frequency of the particular collocations involved, contrasting patterns of premodification, and the collocations in which the particular adjectives are used. In order to elucidate these factors, the collocates of *school* in the one million words of the Wellington Corpus of Written New Zealand

English (WCWNZE) (Bauer 1993) were listed, and these are set out in Table 4. Where *school* occurred in a complex string of premodifiers, it was placed with its immediate constituent, thus *[Sunday School] floor* and *compulsory [school uniforms]*. The verb *school* and its form *schooling* were not included in the counts. No distinctions are drawn in Table 4 as to whether *school* or *schools* appeared in the text.

Table 4 shows that almost a third of the attestations of *school* are in a context where it is premodified by a word which says what kind of school we are dealing with. While some of the attested premodifiers are purely descriptive (*newer, previous, specific*) many of them, including the most frequent ones, name categories of school. Depending on how we count, perhaps one quarter of all uses of *school* have this kind of premodification. I must confess to always having been rather skeptical of Kingdon's (1958: 151) notion that *teacup* (for instance) is stressed on the first element because of 'an implied sense of contrast' with items such as *breakfast cup* and *coffee cup*. But here we do seem to have some evidence which would point to just such a conclusion: *school* appears so often with a modifier that it is the modifier which is more important than the head noun. This becomes even clearer when we look at some of the modifiers involved.

Table 4 - Collocates of school *in* WCWNZE.

Use of *school*	number	%
area school	2	
board school	1	
boarding school	6	
city school	1	
Correspondence School	12	
country school	2	
<other descriptive adjective> school (e.g. compulsory, existing)	4	
grade 0 school	1	
<gradable adjective> school	5	
grammar school	1	
high school	48	
household school	1	
independent school	3	
integrated school	1	
intermediate school	5	
local school	3	
<location name> school	9	
Maori school	1	
native school	1	
New Zealand school	4	
neighbouring school	1	
night school	2	
preparatory school	1	
primary school	33	
private school	8	
public school	1	
<religious or philosophical interest> school (e.g. Catholic, Rudolph Steiner, etc.)	7	
rural school	7	
secondary school	45	
shack school	1	
state school	1	
<subject> school (e.g. medical, journalism, etc.)	16	
summer school	1	
Sunday school	7	
town school	1	
training school	6	
tribal school	1	
400-pupil school	1	
Total premodified school	251	32%
AFTER school	7	
GO to school	17	
IN / AT (the) school	46	
LEAVE school	13	
OUT OF school	2	
Total special PP / VP	85	11%
Titles of schools not pre-empted by the categories above	35	4%
Figurative uses (school of thought, school of fish)	25	3%
School + N	198	25%
school or *schools* (not in categories above)	200	25%
Total occurrences	793	100%

For example, in WCWNZE *primary* is used ten times in connection with *health care* or *health services*, ten times in connection with *pro-duce/product/production/producer*, 48 times in connection with education, schools, teachers etc. and only 30 times in all other uses. *Intermediate* is used 12 times with reference to education, and only seven times in any other connection (one of which is an examination!). While we do not have to consult a corpus to tell us that *high*, for example, has a much wider range of uses, there is a sense in which the occurrence of *primary* already predisposes us to expect the word *school*, and the word *school* is insufficiently distinct without the modifier, so that stress on *primary* can be excused, if not explained.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that *school* itself is used attributively in 25% of its occurrences (or rather more if instances like *primary school teacher*, listed in Table 4 under *primary*, are taken into account). That is, in a quarter of its uses, *school* is actually not defining a class of school, but is being used to define another class. Examples such as *school teacher, School Certificate* might be deemed irrelevant in making the general point about the way in which *school* is premodified contrastively, in which case we might want to claim that in relevant instances, the preponderance of classifying premodification is even higher than is shown in Table 4.

Another survey with a different pair of words provides broadly similar conclusions. In Table 5 on the opposite page, the uses of *society* in the WCWNZE are broken down into various patterns.

Table 5

Uses of society *in* WCWNZE

	Number	% of total	% of relevant meaning
society (no premodifier) = 'people living together'	114	37%	59%
society (premodified) = 'people living together'	78	25%	41%
society (no premodifier) = 'club'	26	8%	23%
society (pre- and/or post-modified) = 'club'	85	28%	77%
Society = 'islands'	4	1%	100%

If we add to this the word *operatic*, which occurs only six times in the corpus, with just one of these modifying *society*, we end up with a similar, although not identical pattern. We might claim to have two lexemes *society*. The one meaning 'club' occurs most frequently with some kind of modifier (*operatic, Royal, building*, etc.). The other *society* occurs most frequently without a modifier; while the modifiers tend to be different, they can overlap: in principle *royal society* or *New Zealand society* could belong to either meaning of *society* until disambiguated by the context. The modifiers of *society* (in both senses, as it happens) are all relatively rare, and thus become particularly important in context. But when they are describing 'people living together' they are not the main focus of the communication, whereas when they are naming the 'club', they are of crucial importance.

An alternative, and perhaps preferable way of looking at this is provided by Ladd (1984). Ladd suggests that heads get de-stressed (and that we therefore get first-element stress) when the modifier is not merely 'descriptive'. This approach seems promising, though we need a more well-defined idea of what it means not to be 'descriptive'. Providing a naming function seems to be important here.

Now let us return to the monosyllabic adjective + noun constructions discussed at the beginning. If the principle of contrast holds for them as it

might be thought to hold for these constructions with longer adjectives, we would expect that a noun like *bird* is relatively frequently premodified (because we find *blackbird* where the modifier gets stress) whereas one like *bear* is usually not premodified (because we find *black bear* where the head noun carries the stress). More accurately, we would expect this to have been the case when the lexical items *blackbird* and *black bear* received their current stress patterns. Note that it is not clear that WCWNZE is a relevant corpus for such a comparison, first because of the period it covers, and secondly because nearly all the bears mentioned are of the stuffed rather than the live variety. Nevertheless, it is disconcerting to find precisely the wrong distribution of modification in Table 6. *Bird* meaning 'young woman' (3 occurrences), *bird* used as a premodifier (12 occurrences) and one instance of *ladybird* are omitted.

Table 6

Modification patterns of bear *and* bird *in* WCWNZE

Word	number	%
bear (unmodified)	6	37.5%
bear (premodified)	10	62.5%
bird (unmodified)	79	65%
bird (premodified)	43	35%

Let us sum up. We have, apparently, two adjective + noun constructions in English, one of which is a single word, the other of which is a phrase. Yet the stress criterion does not match the semantic criterion by which wordhood might be expected to be determined. It turns out, and this is the main observation of this article, that an apparently parallel use of stress is found with a disjunct set of adjectives, and that constructions involving this second set of adjectives have not been traditionally viewed as words at all. For this new set, it seems that there is some sense in which

the first element stress can be correlated with pragmatic contrast. The same does not appear to be true for the original set of adjective + noun 'compounds' (although the data that has been used here is not necessarily as relevant as we could wish).

If, instead of looking at implicit contrast, we consider the non-descriptive de-stressing account provided by Ladd (1984), we seem to be on firmer ground, in that the two types of adjective + noun constructions can be seen as acting rather more in the same way. But then we have the problem that so many apparently relevant constructions end up not being de-stressed at all. While Ladd has further requirements on heads that become de-stressed (for example, that they should be fairly generic, though that is not his terminology) the difference between *blackbird* and *black bear* might be covered, but not, I suspect, the difference between a *'social worker* and a *manual 'worker*.

Yet another possible solution, which has not so far been discussed here, is that first-element stress is simply a matter of lexicalisation. It is hard to know how to measure this, since lexicalisation does not necessarily correlate with absolute frequency in any given corpus. For example, it is one particular text in the WCWNZE corpus that makes *fossil bird*, with 4 occurrences, more frequent than *blackbird* with 2. In other words, a larger corpus might be more revealing. It is clear from the *fossil bird* example that the frequency of individual items might not be significant, but we might nevertheless expect that in general more lexicalised examples would have a greater frequency than non-lexicalised or less lexicalised examples. To test this a number of first-element stressed (single orthographic word) colour-adjective + noun constructions were compared for frequency in the 100-million-word British National Corpus (Burnard 2000) with a number of phrasal-stressed (two orthographic word) equivalent constructions.[5] The results are shown in Table 7 on the next page.

Table 7

Colour adjective + noun constructions: relative frequencies in the BNC

First-element stress	Actual *number*	Second-element stress	Actual number
blackberry	147	black bean	7
blackbird	299	black beetle	8
blackboard	275	black eye	76
blackcock	8	black frost	1
		black tea[6]	14
blueberry	13	blue cheese	24
bluebird	74	blue shift	10
bluefish	1	blue whale	12
bluegrass	14		14
brownstone	26	brown bear	19
		brown coal	17
		brown rice	67
		brown sugar	52
greenfinch	14	green pepper	28
greenfly	51	green tea	9
greyhound	264	grey matter	27
		grey squirrel	16
redworm	7	red carpet[7]	43
		red squirrel	29
whiteboard	9	white gold	16
whitefly	32	white knight[8]	30
whitewood	2	white meat	16
		white tie	27
		white witch	1
TOTAL	1236		549
AVERAGE	77.25		23.87

Table 7 suggests that there may indeed be a function of frequency or lexicalisation which distinguishes the two orthographic conventions in this set of words (particularly when we recall that frequency in one specific domain, such as hunting, may set a stress-pattern and orthography which then becomes general, and that, since orthography and lexicalisation are conservative, the relevant period of high frequency need not be current English).

However, it is not clear that all examples parallel to those in Table 3 can be seen as lexicalised or highly frequent in the same way. While *primary school* (980 occurrences in the BNC) and *secondary school* (609 occurrences)

seem well established, *dramatic society* (30 occurrences) falls far short not only of the clearly lexicalised *building society* (with 1226 occurrences) but even of the descriptive *American society* (93 occurrences). While *social worker* (770 occurrences) can safely be seen as lexicalised in comparison with, for example, *manual worker* (31 occurrences), *floral arrangement* (7 occurrences) seems scarcely different from *financial arrangement* (6 occurrences). A table corresponding to Table 7 is hard to construct here, given the difficulty in finding and in confirming examples of the appropriate types. For example, a search for *feudal system* finds not only *'feudal system,* but also examples of *feudal 'system,* and we also find a wide range of frequencies from the clearer members of the set such as *nervous system* (567 occurrences) and *cardiovascular system* (12 occurrences). It may be that a similar kind of result would emerge on average, but probably not to the same extent. The introduction of a new set of adjective + noun constructions with first-element stress into the discussion of the status of constructions with first-element stress at first looks as if it might be helpful in resolving a problem of some standing. While this new body of data raises a number of interesting questions and suggests some possible solutions, it still seems that first-element stress is doing more than one thing in English. While this does not in itself disprove the notion that there might be two discrete classes of construction involved, it makes it much more difficult to sort out the facts and to provide the kind of description which will be useful to language teachers and lexicographers, such as our honoree. More disturbingly, it raises questions about how lexicographers are supposed to identify lexical items (dictionary words). While stress and orthography have often been taken as contributory criteria, consistent patterns of mismatch between the two, and regular mismatches between either of these and a naming function suggest that the lexicographer needs new strategies for identifying relevant material.

Notes

1. I should like to thank Heinz Giegerich and Winifred Bauer for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article. Errors are my own.

2. Lexical items may, of course, be made up of more than one lexeme (as, for example, with idioms). But the prototypical lexical item is a lexeme, and confusion arises about the notion of 'word' in this context. Certainly, it could be claimed, as in Table 1, that *blackbird* is a word, while *black bird* is not; we will see that matters are not always this clear.

3. I assume this list is not complete, since I have had no list of disyllabic adjectives to work from. On the other hand, I considered many more disyllabic adjectives but discovered that they had no relevant examples listed in *Chambers*.

4. In New Zealand a normal school is a school attached to a teacher-training establishment and used as a training-ground for teacher-trainees. It is presumably *normal* in the sense that it provides a norm for new teachers.

5. *Green belt* appears as though it should fit in the second column of Table 7, but is given first-element stress by the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (2002). It gets a correspondingly high score with 222 occurrences.

6. Includes both the contrast with *green tea* and the contrast with *tea with milk*.

7. Includes both figurative and literal red carpets.

8. Does not include any mention of chess pieces.

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THE CONCEPT OF 'DICTIONARY USAGE'

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This article appears in a Festschrift dedicated to a renowned scholar who, among many other things, has distinguished himself by editing a number of proceedings from the Copenhagen International Symposia on Lexicography. In order to honour such a person, it is appropriate to take up a discussion on lexicography that was initiated twenty years ago in another Festschrift and immediately contested at a symposium in Essen, Germany.

The topic is a fundamental question for lexicographic theory and practice: the concept of dictionary usage. In a Festschrift for Siegfried Grosse (1984), the German scholar Wolfgang Mentrup contributed an article entitled "Dictionary Usage Situations – Language Use Situations" [Wörterbuchbenutzungssituationen – Sprachbenutzungssituationen], which offered a thought-provoking critique of some reflections on the concept of dictionary usage by his fellow countryman, Herbert Ernst Wiegand. Wiegand was apparently not amused by Mentrup's criticism and his harsh and personal response was published the following year in the proceedings of the 'Essen Symposium on Grammar in Dictionaries'.

The discussion is highly relevant. Since 1977, Wiegand has developed a comprehensive theory of lexicography. One of the cornerstones is the concept of dictionary usage which has recently been criticised and rejected by Bergenholtz and Tarp (2002; 2003). Mentrup was the first to put his finger on the Achilles' heel of Wiegand's theory but, sadly, his comments never had an impact on subsequent lexicographical debates, perhaps because of Wiegand's angry reply or because Mentrup withdrew from the debate. Wang (2001), for example, writes that "in spite of Mentrup's critique", she considers "Wiegand's types of dictionary usage situations to be meaning-

ful because they lay the foundations for such a research" (Wang 2001: 71. Our translation). This is, surely, a weak argument if the criticism is justified.

Mentrup's critique

Mentrup's starting point is found in Wiegand's definition of a "dictionary usage situation". This definition was put forward in a lecture (Wiegand 1982) and can be traced in some of Wiegand's other publications of the period, e.g. Wiegand 1977a; 1977b. It has only been changed slightly in Wiegand's recent works (e.g.1998: 825). In order to show that Mentrup was familiar with Wiegand's thinking and in order to present the chronology, we here present the debate by means of Mentrup's articles. In his article, Mentrup (1984) cited Wiegand as follows:

> "A dictionary usage situation occurs when a person with a specific question resorts to a dictionary in order to get an answer to his question. Dictionary usage situations can be assigned to types. The systematic knowledge of such types is important for the foundation of a pragmatically based theory of lexicography." (Our translation)

> [Eine Wörterbuchbenutzungssituation liegt vor, wenn eine Person mit einer bestimmten Frage zu einem Wörterbuchexemplar greift, um eine Antwort auf seine Frage zu finden. Wörterbuchbenutzungssituationen lassen sich zu Typen ordnen. Die systematische Kenntnis solcher Typen ist wichtig für die Grundlegung einer pragmatisch fundierten Theorie der Lexikographie.] (Quoted from Mentrup 1984: 143)

The quotation illustrates how dictionary usage situations are crucial to Wiegand's lexicographical theory. Mentrup turns his attention to Wiegand's definition of dictionary articles as "contra-conflictive texts" that help the user to avoid "word-related disruptions" in text understanding "prophylactically" or, when they occur, to "overcome" them (Wiegand

1977a). Mentrup goes on to show that Wiegand's typology of dictionary usage situations can be subdivided into situations that occur a) "due to an actual communication conflict" and b) "irrespective of an actual communication conflict" (144). The former, i.e. the "actual communication conflict", can be related to either "text reading" or "text production" (144) and both can be subdivided into various types (146), e.g. communication conflicts related to text production:

- as regards semantics
- as regards grammar
- as regards phonetics/accent
- as regards orthography
- as regards hyphenation
- as regards etymology
- as regards pragmatics

It is interesting that Mentrup does not doubt that these categories constitute real problems in terms of communication conflicts related to text reading or text production. We shall return to this issue below.

Mentrup proceeds to discuss a systematisation of situations in which people use a monolingual dictionary. His discussion is based on fourteen questions formulated by Wiegand (1977a, 1977b) and he calls his systematisation "w-questions" (from German: wer, wann, wo, warum, wie, wozu, etc.):

- who (academics, foreigners, etc.)
- when or in which situation (questions about language and objects, knowledge, etc.)
- where (at school, during studies, at work, in the library, etc.)
- why (because there is a word-related disruption of understanding)
- how (how frequent, how systematic, with assistance)
- which monolingual dictionary

- to do what (to avoid or solve a communication conflict)
- with what effect

  (Mentrup 1984: 149)

It goes without saying that the very nature of these questions – and the corresponding ones posed by Wiegand himself – is crucial to an understanding of what is meant by the term "dictionary usage situation" as defined by Wiegand. Mentrup quotes Wiegand, who emphasises the need to develop a "sociology of the dictionary user" because "we know too little about who … becomes a dictionary user and in what situation." (Wiegand 1977b: 61). However, no such sociology exists – nor did it exist at the time. According to Mentrup, Wiegand (1977b) therefore states that there is a "remarkable research gap" due to the fact:

> "that there is no empirically based sociology of the dictionary user. However, only such a sociology may constitute a reliable basis for the typology of communicative acting situations in which monolingual dictionaries are used." (Our translation)

> [daß es keine empirisch fundierte Soziologie des Wörterbuchbenutzers gibt. Allein eine solche aber bildet eine verläßliche Basis für die Typologie von kommunikativen Handlungssituationen, in denen einsprachige Wörterbücher benutzt werden.] (Quoted from Mentrup 1984: 150)

Mentrup then concludes that the above questions are not based on an empirically based typology of dictionary usage situations, but on:

> "the systematic selection of classes of information that can be found in dictionaries. It is assumed that the 'dictionary usage situations systematically correlate with dictionary entries' (Wiegand 1982: 41)." (Our translation)

[die systematische Sichtung der Klassen von Informationen, die in Wörter-
büchern zu finden sind. Es ist ein Ansatz, der 'WbBS' systematisch mit Wör-
terbucheinträgen korreliert' (Wiegand 1982:41).] (Mentrup 1984:151)

Mentrup's conclusion concerning the nature of dictionary usage situa-
tions described by Wiegand is therefore:

"The classes of information given in existing dictionaries can be arranged
according to the notion of the language system that the practical lexicogra-
pher implements in his dictionary or which the theoretical lexicographer de-
duces from it or supplies himself. This means that the typology of dictionary
usage situations presented by Wiegand is an aposterori systematisation and
a language-system-related construct and therefore falls short of its intention
... falling short because the deduced phenomena are in effect not dictionary
usage situations, but classes of dictionary information; the questions are not
authentic but derived." (Our translation)

[Die in vorhandenen Wörterbüchern angebotenen Informationsklassen las-
sen sich nach der Vorstellung vom Sprachsystem ordnen, die der praktische
Lexikograph in seinem Wörterbuch realisiert oder der theoretische Lexiko-
graph daraus abgeleitet hat oder von sich aus mitbringt. Das heißt, daß die
von Wiegand vorgelegte Typologie der WbBS ein rekonstruierend-
systematisches und Sprachsystem-bezogenes, dabei aber zielverfehlendes
Konstrukt ist ... zielverfehlend deshalb, weil die erschlossenen Phänomene
eben keine Wörterbuchbenutzungssituationen, sondern Wörterbuchinform-
ationsklassen sind; es handelt sich nicht um authentische Fragen, sondern
um abgeleitete.] (Mentrup 1984: 151)

Mentrup quotes Wiegand once more to support this conclusion:

"A typology of usage situations ... can be proposed for most classes of lexi-
cographic information." (Our translation)

[Zu den meisten lexikographischen Informationsklassen ... läßt sich eine
Typologie von Benutzungssituationen entwerfen.] (Wiegand 1981a: 231)

Mentrup notes that the method permits the registration and classification of existing classes of information in already published dictionaries, but that it cannot be used to anticipate classes not yet represented in dictionaries, let alone anticipate what potential users may expect from a dictionary, notably so because many know little about dictionaries. Accordingly, Mentrup concludes that Wiegand's dictionary usage situations are a fiction since they have nothing in common with real-life dictionary usage.

Mentrup explicitly rejects an approach that takes dictionary usage situations as the starting point for lexicographical theory. Instead, he suggests that the theoretical work should start one step prior to this:

> "I believe that you should not start with the intangible dictionary usage situations but – as it were one level below – with language-related disruptions in language use situations." (Our translation)

> [Ich meine, man sollte nicht von den nicht greifbaren Benutzungssituationen ausgehen, sondern – sozusagen eine Stufe tiefer – von sprachbedingten Störungen in Sprachbenutzungssituationen.] (Mentrup 1984: 160)

In some of the "language use situations" mentioned by Mentrup, a "language problem situation" may emerge. Such a "language problem" can be solved in various ways, for instance by consulting a dictionary, an act that generates a "dictionary usage situation". Accordingly, Mentrup suggests that Wiegand's "dictionary usage situation" should be replaced by the "language problem situation" as the point of departure for lexicographical research and theory. In many ways this methodological approach anticipates the modern theory of lexicographical functions (see Bergenholtz and Tarp 2002, 2003).

Wiegand's reply

Totalling sixteen pages, Wiegand's response to Mentrup's article is prompt, rather aggressive, and very detailed (Wiegand 1985). Mentrup's arguments are criticised in an unusually harsh way:

"(1) Quote as much as possible from your opponent's texts because in this way you give the impression, firstly, that you know his text well and, secondly, that it is your opponent himself who is arguing. (2) Select quotations that exclusively serve the purpose of your own argument. (3) Trim the quotation so that it serves the purpose of your own argument. 4) Arrange the selected quotations so that the arrangement exclusively serves the purpose of your argument. (5) Use quotations from other authors that you treat according to (2)-(4) so that they exclusively serve the purpose of your own argument. (6) Be obliging, praise your opponent and criticise yourself in unimportant respects because this is one way of giving the impression that you are a modest critic for whom, in a rational discourse, only the subject matter and the progress of the scientific debate is important. Mentrup's text shows that its author has embraced maxims (1)-(4)." (Our translation)

[(1) Zitiere möglichst viel aus den Texten Deines Argumentationsgegners, denn dadurch erweckst Du erstens den Eindruck, daß Du dessen Text gut kennst und zweitens den, daß Dein Argumentationsgegner selbst argumentiert. (2) Wähle die Zitate so aus, daß die Auswahl ausschließlich Deinen Argumentationszielen dient. (3) Lege die inneren und äußeren Zitatschnitte so, daß dies ausschließlich Deinen Argumentationszielen dient. (4) Ordne die ausgewählten Zitate so, daß die Anordnung ausschließlich Deinen Argumentationszielen dient. (5) Bringe Zitate von anderen Autoren, die Du nach (2)–(4) behandelst, so daß sie ausschließlich Deinen Argumentationszielen dienen. (6) Sei im Ton verbindlich, lobe den Argumentationsgegner und tadele Dich selbst in Nebensächlichkeiten, denn u.a. dadurch wirst du den Eindruck erwecken, als seiest Du ein bescheidener Kritiker, dem es in einem rationalen Diskurs um nichts als um die Sache und den Fortschritt der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion geht. Mentrups Text zeigt, daß sein Autor die Maximen (1) bis (4) verinnerlicht hat.] (Wiegand 1985:25)

One gets the impression that Mentrup's critique hit a nerve with Wiegand, which is surprising as one would expect a renouned scholar like Wiegand, to be used to critical comments. And even more so because Wiegand sometimes uses the same argumentation strategy as Mentrup, e.g. in Wiegand (2001).

Wiegand maintains his definition of a dictionary usage situation and claims that Mentrup is incapable of distinguishing between a dictionary usage situation and classes of information in dictionaries He does so in a way that is not at all "obliging":

> "A person who is incapable of distinguishing between an action that belongs to this definition [of a dictionary usage situation] or the description of such a situation and classes of dictionary information – like Mentrup ... – must learn to do so." (Our translation)

> [Wer eine Handlungssituation, die unter diese Definition fällt, oder eine Beschreibung einer solchen von Wörterbuchinformationsklassen nicht unterscheiden kann oder will – wie es Mentrup ... – muß das eben noch lernen.] (Wiegand 1985: 30)

On the following pages, Wiegand breaks a butterfly on a wheel in that he proves that his "usage situations" are not "classes of information" which he alleges Mentrup has said. Wiegand puts forward various arguments to support this claim, first of all that he does not mean "dictionary usage situation" when he writes "dictionary usage situation", but "type of dictionary usage situation". On this basis, a typology of usage situations can be extracted from the type of data:

> "Types of questions ... can, of course, be extracted from types of data, and for this very reason, this is a useful exercise because it shows that there are various types for questions to each type of data. A lexicographer (when he plans a dictionary or compiles a dictionary article) ... should not 'anticipate'

dictionary usage situations but "types of usage situations" ... and, of course, also types of questions, something that Mentrup has failed to see." (Our translation)

[Typen von Fragen ... können natürlich aus den Datentypen gewonnen werden, und allein dies ist u.a. deswegen eine recht nützliche Übung, weil sich hier ziegt, daß es zu jedem Datentyp mehrere Fragetypen gibt. Nicht Wörterbuchbenutzungssituationen ... sollte der Lexikograph 'antizipieren' (wenn er ein Wörterbuch plant oder wenn er einen Wörterbuchartikel verfaßt) sondern "Typen von Benutzungssituationen" ... und damit natürlich auch Fragetypen, was Mentrup übersehen hat.] (Wiegand 1985: 31)

This argument is valid and convincing, but it is difficult to see what it has to do with Mentrup's criticism. Nevertheless, Wiegand uses this argument, again, not to praise, but to criticise Mentrup in a way that, fortunately, is unusual in academic discussion:

"This should now be evident: Mentrup's view that my dictionary usage situations are classes of information ... is unfounded; it is due to a superficial (or 'literal') reading and the confusion is rather embarrassing for the very reason that Mentrup does not distinguish between isolated phenomena and named classes of such types." (Our translation)

[Damit dürfte klar sein: Mentrups Ansicht, meine Wörterbuchbenutzungssituationen seien Informationsklassen ... ist unbegründet; sie beruht auf oberflächlicher (oder 'übergenuauer') Lektüre, und die Verwechslung ist schon aus dem Grunde einigermaßen peinlich, weil Mentrup nicht zwischen einmaligen Gegebenheiten und benannten Klassen von solchen Typen unterscheidet.] (Wiegand 1985: 31)

Wiegand's criticism is superficial, not to say embarrassing. It is normal and necessary in scholarly presentations that the context is taken for granted and that terms are not spelled out every time they are used. Wiegand does so and even defends the practice when he continues:

"I have frequently spoken about dictionary usage situations when I had types in mind (the term dictionary usage situation types is terribly convoluted), about the user when I had the potential user in mind, etc. I thought that this was rather obvious from the context." (Our translation)

[daß ich öfters von Wörterbuchbenutzungssituationen gesprochen habe, wenn ich die Typen gemeint habe (Wörterbuchbenutzungssituationstypen ist eben ein furchterregender Bandwurm), vom Benutzer, wenn ich den potentiellen Benutzer gemeint habe, etc. Ich dachte, das sei nach dem Kotext einigermaßen klar.] (Wiegand 1985: 34)

Wiegand feels free to use abbreviated forms but criticises others who do the same. Moreover, Wiegand admits that his **types** of dictionary usage situation are only partially based on empirical research (p. 30) and mainly "deduced" [erschlossen] from data **types** in existing dictionaries:

"And a typology of usage situations can, of course, be proposed for most lexicographic classes of information (these days I prefer to speak of data types)." (Our translation)

[Und natürlich läßt sich zu den meisten lexikographischen Informationsklassen (ich spreche inzwischen lieber von Datentypen) eine Typologie von Benutzungssituationen entwerfen.] (Wiegand 1985: 30)

Wiegand then convincingly shows that such a methodology is a precondition for creating a theoretical framework for future empirical research on dictionary usage situations, i.e. to make a pre-draft [Vor-Entwurf] and preliminary hypotheses for the empirical work. He also states that he considers his typology of usage situations to be exactly such a pre-draft (1985: 33).

When one reads Wiegand's response to Mentrup, one gets the impression that it is a quibble about words. Mentrup did not write that Wiegand's dictionary usage situations were classes of information. Mentrup

merely said that the former are deduced from the latter. If Mentrup had been more precise and referred to types of usage situations and classes of information, or if Wiegand had deduced this from the context, then it would be difficult to tell the difference between the views of the two scholars on the issue. It would be appropriate for Wiegand not to dismiss Mentrup's criticism and instead address the central issue of his critique.

Comments

Mentrup proposed that lexicographical research should not start with dictionary usage situations, but "as it were, one level below – with language-related disruptions in language use situations" (Mentrup 1984: 160). In his response (and elsewhere), Wiegand repeatedly acknowledges that his dictionary usage situations refer to language users with specific types of problems in specific types of situation, but he never draws the proper conclusions of this recognition of the problems "one level below". No matter what kind of argument he uses, his types of dictionary usage situations are mainly reconstructions of types of lexicographical data in existing dictionaries. If this were not so, it would be very difficult to understand how he can assign problems regarding etymology to communication conflicts in terms of text production. No one who wants to produce a German text and does not know how to say "horse" [Pferd] in German will be interested in knowing the word's etymology, at least not for text production purposes, although it might be to acquire knowledge which belongs to a totally different type of "user situation" according to our typology (Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003). Such a conclusion could be reached by deduction, i.e. without any empirical survey of social situations in which there are problems that can be solved only by means of dictionaries.

As mentioned, Wiegand is not unaware of this. His distinction between dictionary usage situations triggered by an "actual communication con-

flict" and those arising "irrespective of such a conflict" could – especially if he had paid proper attention to Mentrup's criticism – have led to concepts such as "communication-orientated" and "knowledge-orientated" user situations which are two fundamental elements in the modern theory of lexicographical functions. Wiegand preferred to create an arbitrary linguistic-philosophical division of the world into language and extra-linguistic matter, a division that is still an obstruction to an understanding of the real problems in processes that lead to dictionary usage situations (see Bergenholtz and Tarp 2003).

Wiegand sticks to his "dictionary usage situations" as the basis for empirical research on lexicography. In so doing, he is caught in a vicious circle: Some persons may never or only rarely use dictionaries, others may only look for the answers they expect to find in it, some questions may never be posed, and others again may be asked in the wrong way, etc. The real needs of users or potential users can never be established by this procedure. In some senses, you would once more and through a number of mediations have to do with a reconstruction of the lexicographic data incorporated in already existing dictionaries. If there is such a thing as bad dictionary culture - and indeed there is - this bad culture will inevitably be reflected in the results. If one only poses questions about dictionary usage, one will only get answers like those in the closed questions in the questionnaires of the commercial publishing houses. They produce dictionaries for commercial purposes and, therefore, they often conceive them so that users with a poor dictionary culture feel that the dictionaries meet their needs. This makes for inbreeding and inhibits innovation. This is the inevitable outcome of a practice that pays excessive attention to the study of existing dictionaries and does not attempt to introduce new concepts and new dictionary cultures. It is, in other words, poor lexicography.

Conclusions

Mentrup's criticism of Wiegand was thought-provoking. But the provocation had no effect. By means of his harsh and personal response, Wiegand cut short a discussion that could have saved his own theory and given lexicography a boost. Mentrup never resumed this particular lexicographical enquiry. Wiegand, on the other hand, went on developing his lexicographic theory on a basis which was never reconsidered. Today this lexicographical theory has therefore become a colossus on theoretical feet of clay.

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FROM LIDKÖPING TO KÖPENHAMN:
GONE SHOPPING?

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The trajectory of Arne Zettersten's life, from his birthplace, Lidköping, to his Chair of English Language at Köpenhamns Universitet, holds as an echo an etymological conjecture that seems to have escaped elucidation. The element Køben-/ -købing/ -köping is found in nine Danish and ten Swedish place-names; while in Denmark, the element is widely distributed, in Sweden it occurs only within a remarkably concentrated corridor between Gothenburg and Stockholm: in Enköping, Falköping, Jonköping, Lidköping, Linköping, Malmköping, Norrköping, Nyköping, Söderköping, and even a single plain Köping. There may be an explanation for this remarkable degree of concentration and restriction in Sweden, though it is unknown to me. What is well-known and undisputed is the sense, that such is a place where things are bought and sold, a meeting-point for trade and exchange, what in English would be called a market-town. To any Scandinavian using the verb køb- or köp- the sense of -köping remains transparent to this day.

As a casual observer of toponymics I have been struck by the obviousness of the element's meaning, and by its rarity outside Denmark and the district between Gothenburg and Stockholm in Sweden. The largest city that bears a variant of the element købe is of course Köpenhamn or København: these variants in spelling preserve, in each part of the compound, the forms of both the verb for *buy* and the noun for *port* in Swedish and Danish, respectively. By contrast, the English name Copenhagen is merely a patchwork of phonetic and orthographic

assimilation that quite conceals, from the speaker of any language, the meaning of its first element.

In my ignorance, I have a set of questions. Why is this element *-köping* not, except in Denmark and a swathe of Sweden, more common or more widely distributed? Why, for example, are there no German market-towns with a name based on *-kaufen*? And why are there no English towns obviously meant for shopping, having *–shopping* in their place-name?

Both philologists and toponymists have had great difficulties with the word *shop*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* informs us that the Middle English *schoppe* (c. 1300) derives from Old English *sceoppa*, found only once, and that in an improbable context, in the Old English translation of Luke 21.1, rendered thus in the Authorised Version: "And he looked up, and saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury." The contrast, syllabically and semantically, between *sceoppa* and the Vulgate's *gazophylacium*, bears an almost Shakespearian load of lexical wit, and surely deserves further appreciation. The *OED* is not, however, to be distracted, and pursues the word back to OE *scypen* (whence ModE *shippon*, a cow-shed) and Old High German *schopfe*, from which modern German derives *Schopf*, "porch, lean-to building, cart-shed, barn, etc". The *OED* further adduces that "the Teutonic word" *schopfe* was adopted into Old French as *eschoppe*, whence modern French *échoppe*, a lean-to booth, cobbler's stall. The eminent etymologist H.C. Wyld (1932) confirms the OED's account of the derivation of *shop*, adding only that the German *schopfe* is itself of uncertain etymology, though "probably from same base as *shape*". The *probably* seems unduly cautious.

Others may have challenged the received etymology of *shop*, but wherever I have looked for confirmation of my own radical discontent I have found only a passive acceptance. For example, the English Place-Name Society tells us:

sc(e)oppa OE, a shop, a booth, a shed, found in OE only in allusion to the treasury of the Temple (Luke xxi.1). In ME its chief use is of "a building for the manufacture or sale of goods". Its relation with scypen ... would suggest that its primary meaning was shed. (Smith 1956. Vol. XXVI, Part II: 107)

What overwhelms one here is the unremittingly low valuation of *shop*, as lean-to shed, bare shelter, the most humble sort of protection, better suited for animals than humans. A shop is, so we might confirm H.C. Wyld, the most minimal and primitive kind of *shape*. What these barns, sheds and stalls have to do with the *gazophylacium* in the Temple is not explained. Humility is hardly a common marketing tactic for merchants, and the lexicographers are equally at a loss to explain how *shop* acquired its modern prestige.

Yet the English Place-Name Society gives us rather an important clue; it refers us to a village that sounds almost desperately contemporary: *Shopland*, in Essex. With characteristic thoroughness the EP-NS volume, *The Place-Names of Essex* (Vol. XII: 200) lists about twenty recorded instances of the name *Shopland*, all the way back to the 10th century. The editor comments:

> It is clear that this name must be taken in close association with ME *s(c)hoppe* ... This word must be the common English word *shop*, used in some hitherto unrecorded sense. In Old and Middle English the word has hitherto only been noted in the specialised senses of (a) treasury (of the temple), (b) place for sale of goods, and (c) (somewhat later) place for carrying on work. The probability would seem to be that in place-names it is used in the much wider sense of "lean-to building, shed, barn".

How this latter sense is "much wider" than, say, "place for sale of goods" remains puzzling to me, as does the claim - immediately to be contradicted - that *shop* was a "common English word". Our editor has then the task of confronting the very earliest form of the name *Shopland*,

attested from c. 1000: *scopingland*. What must be lucid as a revelation to anyone living in Lidköping or København is, alas, merely an inconvenience to the Essex editor:

> In OE *scopingland* we seem to have a compound of this word [shop] and land, linked together by the loosely connective **ing**, and the name is probably to be interpreted as "land marked by the presence of such shops or sheds."

It would no doubt serve the rhetoric of my argument if I could claim at this point to have read Zachrisson (1924), Ståhle (1946), and the relevant pages of rejoinder in Hald (1950). My suspicion, however, is that *-ing* is not the issue, even though we are told by various sources that the particle *-ing* presents many difficult problems in toponymics, as witnessed by the labour represented in the above-mentioned works. To the contrary, *ing* may not be a problem at all, because it is not, here, a particle.

Casting (previous) scholarship aside, therefore, I shall propose that the word *shop* is derived not from a lean-to shed, nor from any indication of shape, but from the activity that characterizes shops whatever their shape or size. In the first recorded version of the name *Shopland* in Essex, *scopingland*, one can hear an echo not only of *köping* but of the Old English *ceapian* or *ceapung*, of which verb and noun, in their diverse OE contexts, modern scholars provide the following glosses: cattle (i.e. chattels), purchase, sale, traffic, bargain, gain, payment, value, price, goods, possession, property, market, high price, to buy cheap, transact business, business, negotiation, barter.

If we turn to the *OED* for help with *cheap*, the word in modern English most obviously derived from OE *ceap-*, we find that the word is, as we would expect, cognate with modern German *kaufen*, Swedish *köpe* and Danish *købe*. Indeed, virtually all the words used by modern scholars to gloss the Old English *ceap-* have been used by the *OED* to explain various

uses of *cheap* over the past thousand years. Our question as to why there are no place-names in English with the element *-shopping* can thus be answered with reference to Cheapside and Eastcheap; further, *cieping* occurs in West Saxon for market, as is evident today in Chipping Campden, Chipping Norton, Chipping Sodbury and Chipping Ongar. These are all granted by EP-NS to derive from *cheaping* as market, though Chippenham is denied this etymology. (See Harmer 1950.)

On the distant relationship between *cheap* and *-köping*, then, there seems to be general agreement. It is the particle *-ing* that still stands in our way. We should search then for head-words that include *ing*. Under the head-word *cheaping* the *OED* gives various Middle English instances of the word's usage, all now obsolete, as bargaining, or market-place, or goods. Our hope that we are onto the Swedish trail that will lead to -*köping* is, however, frustrated when we are told that *cheaping* is formed by "cheap v. + -ing". That -ing particle again!

It is not disputed that *cheaping* is kin to *köping*. The consequences of this kinship are, however, avoided and suppressed in astonishing ways. To trace the *OED* etymologies of head-words *shop* and *cheap* is to wonder at how closely they approach, and yet how effectively they shun each other. For reasons perhaps unknown to itself, the *OED* is determined that *cheap* and *shop* should be entirely unrelated. The etymology of each word is distorted, indeed rendered worthless, by the fixation on the particle *-ing*. To have made the link visible, the lexicographical head-words ought to have been not *cheap* and *shop*, but *cheaping* and *shopping*.

We can now propose the conjecture that *shop*, as both noun and verb, is a back-formation from *shopping* and *cheaping*. Indeed, the continuing idiomatic ease of shopping - gone shopping, let's do the shopping - suggests that people have been doing it for a great deal longer than the *OED* is prepared to admit: it records no instance under head-word *shopping* earlier than the late 18th century, in the diary of Frances Burney.

If, however, the word *shopping* were linked to *cheaping*, it would be possible to construct a continuous history which would trace *shop* back to *shopping / cheaping* as a place, and an activity. It is the particle *-ing* in English (which is not treated as a particle in Swedish) that has been misleading, and has provoked the popular assumption that the noun *shop(p)ing* is actually a gerund or a present participle: and so the illusion has arisen, even among philologists, that there has always been "the common English word" in the shape of *shop*. The acceptance of this conjecture would have the merit of rendering the stubborn particle *ing* a little less problematic, and would generally alert us to the process of back-formation motivated by a syllable of an element in one language being mistaken for a particle in another.

The most obvious weakness in this conjecture is the sheer weight of scholarly authority that it has to overturn. This is itself occasion for some perplexity. The great philologists and lexicographers who established the *OED* and other monuments of the English language were determined above all to trace its Germanic and Nordic roots, to insist, by etymological demonstration, that English is a Germanic language, not, as had been hopefully supposed in the 18th century, a Romance language. The British scholars were familiar with the Scandinavian languages and many of the greatest figures in English philological scholarship were themselves German, Swedish or Danish. How is it possible that none of them could hear an echo of *köping* in *shopping*? My only suggestion is that these scholars had such an ideological investment in the Anglo-Saxon monosyllable - tough, lean, sturdy, so different from (and superior to) the effeminate decadence of polysyllabic latinity - that there was a proliferation of particles in etymological analysis. Few bisyllabic words "of Teutonic origin" could resist reduction to a monosyllabic root in the *OED*, especially if one of the syllables resembled a common particle in Modern English.

As for what the *OED* judges to be the single occurrence of *shop* in Old English, one can only assert that Old English *sceoppa* has nothing to do with the shape of a shed, but everything to do with a *gazophylacium*, a place of treasures and negotiations, of money-lenders and word-loaners: a *köping*, a place such as Copenhagen.

It is not only the salient toponyms of our honorand's biography that make a fit occasion for the present conjecture. I was first troubled by this matter while living in Sweden, and teaching at Högskolan i Karlstad, from 1980 to 1982. After an interval of some fourteen years I returned to Scandinavia as Professor of English Literature at the University of Shoppinghaven. The committee responsible for that professorial appointment was chaired by the Professor of English Language, to whom I remain not less than gazophylacially indebted.

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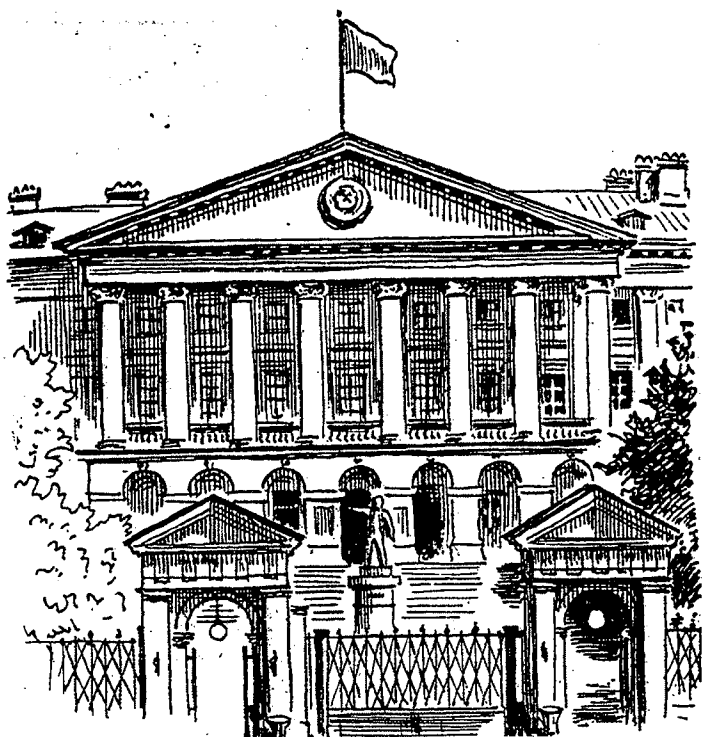
THE ETYMOLOGY OF 'BRAIN' AND COGNATES

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The English word *brain,* whose etymology is the subject matter of the present article, has cognates in Frisian, Dutch, Low German, and Rhenish Franconian (see *brain, Brägen ~ Bregen,* and *brein* in etymological dictionaries of English, German, and Dutch and also Ten Doornkaat Koolman 1879-84, s. *Brägen;* Stapelkamp 1950, and Lerchner 1965:48). The hypotheses on the origin of *brain* are not many. Minsheu[1] compared *brain* with Gk[2] φρήν, a noun used predominantly in the plural and having several meanings: 'diaphragm; chest; heart' and 'mind; thought'. *Brain* and φρήν sound alike, and the gloss 'mind' in Greek dictionaries suggested to Minsheu a link between them. His suggestion irritated the otherwise courteous Junius, who called its author *vir minime indoctus.* Yet as late as 1839, Kaltschmidt, a man of great learning, mentioned φρήν in the entry *Brägen.*

Helvigius was evidently the first to relate G *Brägen,* which he knew in the form *breeam* (= [brɛːəm]?) to Gk ρέγμα 'top of the head; fontanel'. He wrote: "breeam / cerebrum, ab humiditate sortitum nomen. ρέγω enim est humenectare, irrigare. Hinc βρέγμα synciput vocatur." His idea goes back to antiquity. The Greeks thought that βρέγμα and its doublet βρεγμα were akin to βρέγμα 'to wet, moisten' because in infants the fontanel is wet or moist (the association is due to folk etymology: see Frisk and Chantraine, s. v.). Skinner, possibly independent of Helvigius, also traced *brain to* ββέγμα. Many influential philologists, Junius, Wachter (s. *Bregen*), Diefenbach (1851: 325), Webster, Kaltschmidt (s. *Brägen*), and Richardson among them, supported Skinner, whose dictionary enjoyed greater popularity than Helvigius's.

However, a few other suggestions have been offered from time to time. Schwenck (s. *Bregen*) pondered the derivation of G *Bregen* from G *Brei*

'mush, paste; porridge' – not a bad idea, considering what the brain looks like. He did not insist on his derivation; in fact, he stressed its tentative character. Kaltschmidt rejected the *Bregen ~ Brei* connection with indignation, but Mueller, an exceptionally cautious researcher, found it worthy of note. Richardson, inspired by the Greek etymology of βϐέγμα, put forward the hypothesis that *brain* is a development of **be-rægn,* with *ber-* being pronounced *br-* and *-rægn* standing for OE *regn* 'rain'. MacKay, who believed that most English words are traceable to Gaelic, offered Gael. *breith* 'judgment, wit, imagination, decision' as the etymon of *brain* (only Stormonth copied his etymology). May (s. *Brägen*) cited OI *brýnn,* which he mistranslated as 'forehead' (*brýnn* is an adjective; the Icelandic for 'forehead' is *brún*) and OI *brǫgðóttr* 'cunning' (it would have been easier to refer to *bragð* 'deceit') and wondered whether G *(sich) einprägen* 'to impress' could be a variant of **(sich) einbrägen* from *Brägen.* The last conjecture is ingenious but indefensible despite the obscurity that envelops the origin of *prägen.* Mueller, who gave *Brei* and βρέγμα as uncertain cognates of *brain,* added G *Broden* 'foul smelling vapor' to his short list of possibly related words (*Broden* is akin to E *breath*). Those suggestions are now forgotten. It would be more appropriate to say that, except for Schwenck's, none of them has ever been remembered.

More recently, Makovskii (1986:47-48 and 2000, s. v.) has offered a string of fantasies typical of all his etymologies. He begins by saying that in the anthropomorphic picture of the universe the brain is a symbol of the World Reason, which is related to the concept of a rising flame. He cites the roots **bhreg-* 'to burn, shine' and **bhā-* 'to burn' and obtains OE *brægen* 'brain' from the sum **bha-* (< **bhū-* 'to be') + **arg-, *areg-* 'to burn, shine' (so in the 2000 work). In 1986, he gave **bhreu-* 'to boil; to ferment; violent, passionate' as the etymon of *brain.* Both entries contain E *brag, brochan* 'gruel, thin porridge', *bragget* 'honey and ale fermented together', and many other words from Sanskrit, Greek, and Lithuanian, among oth-

ers, as related to *brain*. According to Makovskii (1986), E *marrow* (< OE *mearg*) has the same root as *brain* (his sole supporter in this respect appears to be Jay Jasanoff; Katz 1998: 211, note 77). In contemporary linguistic literature, Partridge liked such bold hypotheses. See the end of his entry *brain*: "IE r[oot] ? **breg(h)-;* r[oot] * *bherg(h)* would also account for G *(Ge)hirn,* OE *hiarni* [Patridge means OI *hjarni*], brain, for *hirn,* etc., may well be metathetic for **hrin-*."

The next chapter in the investigation of *brain* ~ *Brägen* ~ *brein* began with Graßmann (1863a: 93, 118; 1863b:121; the main statement is on p. 93). Graßmann, one of the best informed philologists of his time, could not have been ignorant of the dictionaries everyone consulted in the middle of the nineteenth century, so that his comparison of OE *brægen* with Gk ββεγμός was not his discovery, but he added a semantic justification for bringing the two words together. In his opinion, the meaning of their root was 'to enclose, cover', as in Go. *bairga-* (the first component of **bairgahei* 'mountainous region'). The alleged parallel Go. **hvairnei* 'skull' ~ OI *hjarni* 'brain' allowed him to conclude that the word *brægen* got its meaning from the name of the head or skull.

After the publication of Graßmann's article, references to Skinner (let alone Helvigius) disappeared, which is unfair, as is made especially clear by the history of Webster's and Skeat's dictionaries. Noah Webster (1828) cited βρέγμα among the cognates of *brain* (see above). Later editors left the etymological part of his entry intact; only in 1890 *perhaps* was added to it and in 1961 deleted. Continuity was restored, but the seemingly uninterrupted tradition consists of two periods: from Helvigius and Skinner to Graßmann and from Graßmann to the present. Although the Germanic-Greek connection has survived, the substance of the old etymology has changed, and, as we will see, more than once. Skeat also mentioned βρέγμα and ββεγμός in 1882 and without changes in 1910 and created the

impression that no progress had been made in the study of the word *brain* between those two dates.

In the year in which *perhaps* enriched the entry in Webster's dictionary, Johansson (1890: 448) reexamined the pair OE *brægen* ~ Gk βρεγμός and decided that the original sense of the root underlying them was not 'to enclose, cover' but 'to jut out, project'. He interpreted βρεγμός as something protruding, sticking out and gave Gk κόρση 'cheek, temple', Skt *śirṣan* 'head', and (in a different grade of ablaut) Gk ἀργω 'to begin; go forward' as cognates. According to Johansson, another line leads from *brægen* to OE *brego* 'to rule'. He also mentioned OI *bragr* 'poetry' but left open the question of its origin. Several of Johansson's predecessors believed that Greek and even Germanic *br-* could go back to **mr*. Johansson was of the same opinion and reconstructed **mr̥ghō-* as the etymon of βρεγμός and *brægen* (but he did not combine *brægen* and *mearg* 'marrow'). Osthoff (1890: 92) endorsed Johansson's reconstruction and devoted a long article to the putative reflexes of PIE **mr-*. Johansson-Osthoff's etymology of *brain* is a familiar part of many post-1890 dictionaries, including Fick[4] (p. 279), WP (II: 314), and IEW (p. 750; severely abridged in comparison with WP). See also Zupitza (1896: 136 and 1900: 242), Kluge (EWDS[5], s. *Brägen,* and 1913:80, sec 68, where *brægen* is given as the only example of the change *br < ?mbr*), and Wood (1912-14: 316/9). The only small addition is Benveniste 1931. He cited Avestan *mrzu-* 'occipital bone, nape of the neck', a form presumably related to *brain*.

Judging by the surveys in GI (1984: I, 813, note 1 = 1995: I, 712, note 24, continued on p. 713) and in a 1981 dissertation on the Germanic names of body parts (Egger 1981: 35-36), no one has offered new ideas on the etymology of *brain* since 1890. Wyld gives a lucid summary of the problem, and I will quote it below in full (UED, *brain*).

OE *brægen, bregen,* M. E. *brain,* O. Fris. & Du. *brein* ; cp. also O. E. *brego,* 'prince, king'; prob. cogn. w. Gk. *brekhmós, brégma,* 'top of the head', if this, as is suggested, stands for earlier **mreghmó,* Pr. Gmc. **mregn-,* of wh. the full form wd. be **mereghn-.* It is further suggested that from a form of the same base w. different gradation in both syllables **mr̥gh-,* the Gk. *arkhós,* 'leader, chief', *árkhō,* 'I begin', *arkhē,* 'beginning, cause' &c. are derived.

Watkins (AHD, p. 1530, *mregh-mo-*) reproduces Pokorny's etymology. A few good dictionaries, including CD and Weekley, list the Germanic cognates of *brain* and venture to go no further. The Oxford dictionaries, which follow the O.E.D., and Webster are satisfied with Skinner and ignore the *br-* ~ *mr-* relationship. Persson (1912:35) did not object to Osthoff's treatment of *brain,* traced OE *brego* and OI *bragr* 'first, foremost' to the root (or basis, as he called roots) **bheregh-* 'to jut out, project' but admitted that they could "have been influenced" by that root, which is tantamount to saying that the association between *bragr, brego,* and *brægen* with **bheregh-* might be due to secondary processes. I am aware of a single critique of Johansson-Osthoff's etymology. Polomé (1986:185/21) pointed out that no examples testify to the change **mr-* or **mbr-* to **br-* in Early Germanic.

A side product of the *brægen –* βρέγμα etymology is the suggestion that OE *brægen* also meant 'hill', even though that meaning is now preserved only in place names. Ekwall (s. *Brāfield on the Green*) says that the first element of *Brāfield* is probably *brain* 'the crown of the head' and "in transferred use" 'hill'. Smith (1956, I: 46) did without *probably.* Wakelin (1971 and especially 1979) pointed out that OE *brægen* had a rare doublet *bragen.* He also believed that *Bragenfeld, Braufeld, Brahefeld, Bramfeld,* and so on contained the element **bragen* 'hill'. His conclusion is unobjectionable, but it does not follow that **bragen-* 'hill' has anything to do with *bragen* 'brain'. Several Old and Middle English *br-g* words may have been the etymon of *Bragen-.* For example, Ekwall gives *Bray* < OE *brēg* 'brow'; see also Sw.

Bråviken and *Bråvalla,* discussed by Adolf Noreen and cited in AEW, at *brá*
1. Holthausen (1942:36/32) imprudently adduced OSw. *Bragnhem* (> *Brag-
nam,* a modern Swedish place name) as proof that E *brain* does have a
Scandinavian cognate. The only justification for ascribing the meaning
'hill, elevated place' to OE *brægen ~ bragen* is the time-honored etymology
of *brain,* but that etymology is hardly correct. *Bragna-,* a word that must
have existed before the Anglo-Saxon colonization of Britain, had no cur-
rency outside the northern German-Frisian area (whence its reflexes in
Low German, Dutch, Frisian, and English), and its kinship with Gk
βρέγμα ~ ββεγμός is unlikely.

In 1961, Yu. V. Otkupshchikov brought out an article on the Irish word
bran 'chaff, bran'. I believe that his conclusions can also be used for the
clarification of the origin of *brain.* E *bran* is a borrowing, but its source has
not been determined. Old French had *bran* 'bran', whereas Modern French
has *bran* 'excrement, muck, filth'. The earliest meaning of OF *bran* seems
to have been approximately '*refuse, rejected matter' because in Modern
French bran is usually called *bran de son* rather than simply *bran* (*son* also
means 'bran', a synonym of *bran* from a different part of the French speak-
ing area, so that *bran de son* is a tautological phrase, 'bran of bran'). *Bran
de scie* means 'saw dust' (*scie* 'saw'). Otkupshchikov contends that *bran*
'bran' and *bran* 'excrement' are different words the form of which coin-
cided in later French, but here he may be mistaken.

A synonym of OF *bran* was *bren,* whence Mod. F. *breneux* 'soiled with
feces'. Old Spanish and Provençal also had *bren.* Mod. Sp. *braña* 'summer
pasture' developed its meaning from 'leaves or pieces of bark on the
ground'. The Breton cognate of Irish, Welsh, and Gaelic *bran* is *brenn.* In
Anglo-Latin, *brenn(i)um* and *brannum,* with the same alternation /e/ ~ /a/,
have been recorded, and, as Wakelin showed, a rare Old English doublet
of *brægen* was *bragen.* The Romance words and E *bran* may have been bor-

rowed from Celtic, and this is what most dictionaries say, though von Wartburg (FEW) points out that the Celtic etymology of *bran* does not answer all questions. On the other hand, the source of E *bran* may have been Old French, and the Celtic words may have been borrowed from French or English. Otkupshchikov reasons that, in Romance, neither *bran* nor *bren* has even a tentative etymology, whereas the Celtic forms can be explained without any difficulty. He reconstructs PIE **bhrag-no-* '(something) broken', with the specialized meaning **'flour together with bran; grain ground by a millstone', later 'bran'. He concludes that *bran* is a native Celtic word and points out that the phonetic development of **bhragno-* to *bran* is parallel to that of **ueghno-* to Ir. *fen* 'cart' and of at least two more words.

Otkupshchikov did not know that the Germanic etymon of *brain* had been reconstructed as **bragna-*, a form identical with his PIE **bhragno-*. Apparently, *pace* von Wartburg, Celtic **bragna-* existed. It was a "low" word for 'refuse', perhaps 'rubbish'. Its expressive character made it popular among the Celts' Germanic and Romance neighbors. Those who borrowed **bragna-* had often seen heads split with a sword and the brain, the refuse of the skull, as it were, oozing out. They had also seen the inside of animals' heads and got the same impression: an unpleasant looking gray mass, whose function in the organism did not bother them.

Glossing the etymon of *brain* as 'refuse' will seem to most people bizarre, but a look at a few other words for 'brain' may dispel doubts on that score. One of such words is G *Hirn* (< OHG *hirni ~ hirn*). On the strength of MDu *hersene,* Seebold (EWDS[21-24]) gives the protoform of *Hirn* as **hersnja-* or **herznja-*. OHG *hirni* and OI *hjarni* (with *ja* < **e*) supposedly lost *z* between *r* and *n* (see also NEW: *hersenen*), but it is equally probable that *-z-*, or rather *-s-*, was a suffix *hirni* and *hjarni* never had. Mitzka (EWDS[20]) cites G *Hornisse* 'hornet', besides Du *horzel,* both allegedly going back to **hurzu-*, as another example of a spirant in *rzn ~ rsn* from **r(r)n.*

Seebold expunged reference to *Hornisse* in the entry *Hirn.* He is also less certain than were his predecessors that OI *hjarsi ~ hjassi* 'crown of the head' are related to *Hirn* and *hjarni.*

Only one point has not been contested: *Hirn,* all books tell us, acquired its meaning from a word meaning 'skull', as shown by its apparently unshakable cognates L *cerebrum* 'brain' and Gk κρανίον 'skull, cranium'. Despite the consensus, that etymology may be less secure than it seems. G *Harn* (< MHG < OHG *harn*) means 'urine', but its original meaning was at one time *'bodily waste', as suggested by MHG *hurmen* 'fertilize, spread manure over a field'. Its likely cognates (with *s-mobile*) are OI *skarn,* OE *scearn* 'dung, muck', and L *ex-cer-mere* 'to separate' (akin to *ex-crē-mentum* 'excrement'). *Hirn* (with *i* < *e*) – *Harn* – *hurmen* form a perfect triad.

OI *hjarni* had a synonym *heili.* Its origin is unknown. The cognates proposed by older etymologists are unconvincing (AEW, s. v.). Magnússon (s. v.) suggests its kinship with OI *hárr* 'gray' (< *haira-;* he traces *heili* to *hailar-* or *hailia-*) and glosses the protoform as 'gray matter'. The Germanic words for 'marrow' (OE *mearg,* OI *mergr,* and so on) have been shown to derive from the root *mozgo-,* whose Proto-Slavic reflex was *mozgu-* 'brain'. If Petersson's comparison of *mozgo-* with the cognates of E *mast* 'fruit of forest trees as food for pigs' is right (1915:125-6), the original meaning of *mozgo-* was *'fat'. Marrow looked like fat (gray substance) to those people. (However, Sverdrup (1916:41) perhaps went too far in believing that the existence of so many words related to *mearg ~ mergr* testifies to the early Indo-Europeans' proficiency in cooking meat.) Slavic is rich in similar sounding but apparently unrelated words containing the consonantal complex *m-zg.* (ESSI XVIII:223-25, *mězga;* XX:94-96, 202-03, *mozgu, muzga / *m''zgu,* and XXI:19-20, *m''zga / *m''zgu*). The incompatibility of their Germanic cognates is equally obvious. For example, we have *mazga-* 'marrow' and *maisk-,* as in E *mash ~* G *Maisch,* but *a* and *ai* belong to different ablaut series, which makes the reconstruction of the

protomeaning of *mazga-* as *'pulp' impossible. Still it is curious to observe Russ. *mozg* 'brain' coexisting with Russ. dial. *mozg* 'humid air' and the adjective *(pro)mozglyi* 'dank', as though the brain *(mozg)* were a wet mass. Some etymologists gloss even Gmc *mergh-* as 'mass, lump, bunch' (Arnoldson 1915:6/2.03, with references).

Baskett (1920:50, no. 39 A1) cites E dial. *pash* 'brain', a word defined as 'rotten or pulpy mass; mud and slush'. The idea of the brain as a mass is sometimes emphasized by the use of the corresponding words in the plural. In Russian, only the plural *(mozgi,* stress on the second syllable) denotes the dish brains, which is also the case in English. In German, the situation is different: the dish is *Hirn,* while the organ is more often *Gehirn,* a collective noun. Ten Doornkaat Koolman was wrong in connecting *Brägen* directly with *brechen,* but his idea that the brain was at one time understood as something broken into small pieces or something squeezed together testifies to his sound linguistic instinct. He also quoted the saying *Er hat keine Grütze im Kopfe* (literally 'He has no porridge in his head'), said about a stupid, brainless person. *Grütze* in this context is not unlike E dial. *pash* and G *Brei,* which Schwenck offered as a cognate of *Brägen.*

Buck (1949:213/4.203) states: "Most of the words for 'brain' are cognate with words for 'head' or 'marrow'." Germanic words do not confirm the first part of his rule. No common Indo-European name of the head and no common Germanic name of the brain existed. In the Scandinavian area, *hjarni* competed with *heili ~ heilir.* The usage in the mythological poems of the *Elder Edda* suggests that *heili* was the most ancient or most dignified word for the gray mass in the head. The primordial giant Ymir had a *heili* (the sky was made from it), not a *hjarni.* Perhaps the home of the etymon of *hjarni* should be sought to the south of the Scandinavian peninsula. Gmc *mazga-* probably also first meant 'brain'.

Learned coinages and local words must have existed at all times. One of them was OE *ex(e)* 'brain', the origin of which is unknown (from *axe,* a

variant of *asce* 'ashes' – 'ash-colored substance'?). When synonyms meet, they clash and narrow down their meaning, unless one of them disappears. A typical example from the field of organs and body parts is the Old English names of blood. *Blōd* was a generic term, *drēor* occurred only in poetry, and, as its etymology shows, first meant *'stream of blood gushing from a wound' (OE *drēosan* 'to fall'), and *heolfor,* another poetical word, meant 'coagulated blood'. The metaphorical nature of *swāt* 'sweat; blood' is obvious, but *swǣtan* 'to bleed' was not restricted to poetry. Of those words only *blood* continues into the present; *drēor* and *heolfor* have left no traces, while *sweat* is now only 'sweat'. Likewise, *heili* is lost in the continental Scandinavian languages (Norw. and Dan. *hjerne,* and Sw. *hjärna* are reflexes of *hjarni*) but survives in Modern Icelandic, in which *hjarna-* occurs in a few compounds; there is also *hjarni* 'skull'. In addition to *mergr*, Old Icelandic had *mœna* (> Mod. Icel. *mæna*), related to *mœnir* 'ridge of the roof' and E *mane,* the original sense being evidently *'spine'. It is now a term used in describing vertebrates.

Fris. *harsens* and Du *hersens* suggest that the prospective invaders of Britain also had a similar word. A late (1137) Old English hapax *hærn* 'brain' is hardly native, and E dial. *harns,* as well as ME *hærnes, harnes,* and *hernes,* is from Scandinavian. Early in their history, speakers of northern German and Frisian seem to have borrowed a "low" Celtic word that with time lost its slangy character. In Frisian and Dutch, it edged out the inherited name of the brain, whereas in Standard English it ousted the cognates of *harsens ~ hersens*. The doublets OE *brægen ~ bragen* may owe their origin not to some vagaries of the dialectal phonetics of Old English but to the existence of a similar pair in the lending language. To sum up, if my reconstruction has any merit, *brægen* and *bragen* were taken over from the Celts with the humorous meaning '*refuse, rubbish, waste matter', acquired the meaning 'brain', competed with **harn-*, and eventually won out, but they never meant 'elevated place, hill'.

I realize how feeble my brain child is, but perhaps my esteemed colleague Arne Zettersten will treat it with condescension. At birthday parties, one often hears people saying, after they have unwrapped their presents: "It's the thought that counts." If we had no brain, however junky, there would have been no thoughts (and no *festskrifter*).

Notes

1. In dictionaries of English, the relevant information will be found s. *brain*. Dictionaries are cited in this article without dates; see the bibliography.

2. The following abbreviations are used below: Dan. - Danish, dial. - dialectal, Du - Dutch, E - English, F - French, Fris. - Frisian, G - German, Gael. - Gaelic, Gk - Ancient Greek, Go - Gothic, Icel. - Icelandic, Ir. - Irish, L - Latin, MDu - Middle Dutch, MHG - Middle High German, mod. - modern, Norw. - Norwegian, OE - Old English, OF - Old French, OHG - Old High German, OI - Old Icelandic, OSw. - Old Swedish, PIE - Proto-Indo-European, Russ. - Russian, Sp. - Spanish, Sw. - Swedish.

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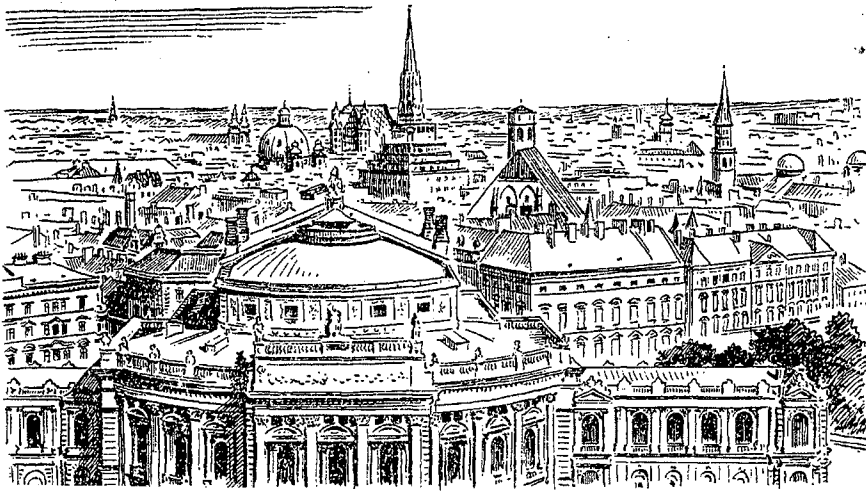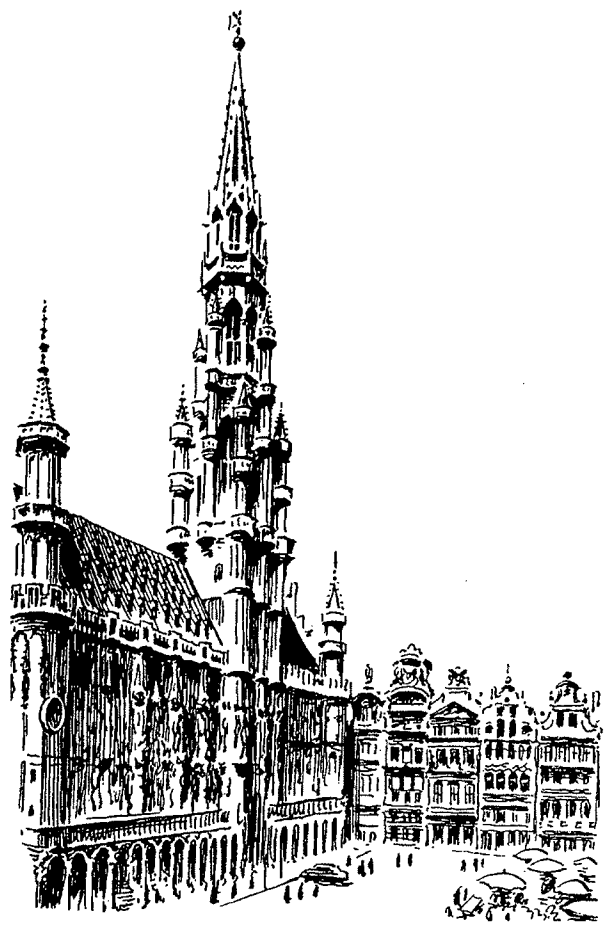
THE ETYMOLOGY OF 'RÍME' IN

THE 'ORMULUM'

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Introduction

Standard reference works have regarded the word *ríme* in the Middle English *Ormulum* as a French loanword meaning 'metre'. In this article, it will be argued that this interpretation of *ríme*, as well as the accompanying etymology, are erroneous; it is based on a misunderstanding of Orm's methods as a homilist. The article will present an alternative interpretation and an alternative etymology, based on a careful reading of the author's own account of his methods. According to this interpretation, the word is not borrowed from Old French but derived from Old English; its sense in the *Ormulum* is 'story' or 'text'.

The etymology of Orm's *ríme*

The *Ormulum* is a Middle English homily collection written in the second half of the twelfth century in southern Lincolnshire by the Augustinian canon Orm and surviving in a single manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1), the author's holograph.[1] The work is written in a metrically bound form known as the *septenarius*: a long verse is made up of seven feet (fifteen syllables), with a caesura after the eighth syllable splitting the long verse into two short verses. The extant text comprises over 20,000 short verses (roughly 125,000 words) and is invaluable for the light it sheds on the properties of the English language in the late twelfth century, partly because the text remains as its author wrote (and subsequently corrected) it, partly because of Orm's consistent use of the orthographic system he had developed. In this article the text of the *Ormulum*

will be considered exclusively for the contextual evidence it provides for the interpretation and etymology of the word *rime*.

The word *rime* occurs three times in the *Ormulum* manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1). It is used one time in the sense of OE *gerīm*, 'number'. On two occasions, however, it is used in what must be a different sense, as shown in quotations 1 and 2 below where it is written as *ríme* (with an acute accent).[2]

(1) Ⅴ Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc.   I have written here in this book
         Amanɡ goddspelless wordess.   among the words of the Gospel
     All þurrh me sellfenn maniȝ word.   all by myself many a word
         Þe ríme swa to fillenn.   in order thus to fill the *ríme*.
     Acc þu shallt findenn þatt min word.   But you will find that my word
         Eȝȝwhær þær itt iss ekedd.   wherever it is added
     Maȝȝ hellpenn þa *þatt* redenn itt.   may help those who read it
         To sen. ⁊ tunnderrstanndenn.   to see and understand
     All þess te bettre hu þeȝȝm birrþ.   all the better how they should
         Þe goddspell unnderrstanndenn.   understand the Gospel.

                                        (*Dedication* 41–50)[3]

(2) Ⅴ ⁊ wha se wilenn shall þiss boc.   And whoever shall wish
         Efft oþerr siþe writenn.   to copy this book,
     Himm bidde icc þatt hét wríte rihht.   I entreat him that he write it correctly
         Swa summ þiss boc himm tæcheþþ.   just as this book teaches him,
     All þwerrt űt affterr þatt itt iss.   just as it is done
         Upp o þiss firrste bisne.   in this first instance,
     Wiþþ all swillc ríme alls her iss sett.   with all such *ríme* as is written here,
         Wiþþ all se fele wordess.   with just as many words.

                                        (*Dedication* 95–102)

The *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (ODEE) lists the word, as used in these quotations, as the earliest instance of a borrowing of OF *rime* ("— medL. *rithmus, rythmus* (used spec. of accentual verse which was usu. rhymed), for L. *rhythmus* rhythm." ODEE s.v. **rime**[3]). As such, it antedates the next occurrence by about a century. However, it is clearly used in a different sense: since Orm does not use rhyme as a structuring device in his verse, his *rime* has been interpreted as 'metre' rather than 'rhyming verse'.[4]

Immediately after the passage quoted in (1), Orm admits that he has been unable to fill his *ferrs* with the words of the Gospel, and therefore has been obliged to add words of his own as well:

(3) ᵹ icc ne mihhte nohht min ferrs.   And I could not my verse

   Aᵹᵹ wiþþ goddspelless wordess.   always with the words of the Gospel

Wel fillenn all. ᵹ all forr þi.   well fill all, and therefore

   Shollde icc well offte nede.   I very often had to

Amang goddspelless wordess don.   among the words of the Gospel place

   Min word. min ferrs to fillenn.   my word(s), in order to fill my verse.

(*Dedication* 59–64)

It seems to be generally held that (1) and (3) constitute Orm's apology for his use of words like *acc, all, annd, þatt,* and *wel* in order to achieve the right number of syllables per verse (e.g. Bennett and Smithers 1966: 174, "Its literary merits are few: tedious repetitions (cf. ll. 50–60), cumbersome conjunctions and otiose adverbs characterize Orm's style, and the monotony of the language is equalled by the regularity of the verse line, which, as Orm says in the dedication to his brother Walter, an Augustinian canon, is often padded"). It must be on the basis of such a reading that the interpretation of *rime* that is to be found in ODEE was arrived at.

This interpretation presupposes that Orm would say the same thing twice in (1) and (3). For all the accusations of "tedious repetition", Orm

hardly ever repeats a sequence without introducing some kind of variation. It would be very unlike him to say twice, with slightly different wording, 'I have inserted my own words into the Gospel text, because that was the only way I could get the right number of syllables per verse'. On the other hand, it would be typical of his use of repetition with variation to say 'I have inserted my own words into the Gospel text, because that was the only way I could get the right number of syllables per verse, and I have inserted my own words into the Gospel text for some other purpose'. The question is thus: what other purpose?

When Orm points out that he has added words of his own to the Gospel text in order to fill the *rime*, he justifies the additions by claiming that they will enable readers to understand the Gospel text better (quotation 1). No similar claim is made for the words added in order to fill the *ferrs* (quotation 3). It should be clear, therefore, that the two types of addition differ in nature: the addition to the *ferrs* serves a purely technical purpose, namely that of padding the line, whereas the addition to the *rime* serves an exegetical or explanatory purpose.

We may consider Orm's Gospel text vii, taken from the first mass on Christmas Day and comprising Luke 2:1–15a, as an example of such an explanatory addition to a Gospel text.[5] In Orm's rendering, the Gospel text is made up of 10 paragraphs (ll. 3270–3387).[6] The correspondence between Gospel verses and paragraphs is shown in Table 1 on the opposite page.

In Luke 2, verses 1–7 form one narrative unit (the arrival of Mary and Joseph in Bethlehem and the birth of the child), verses 8–15a another (the appearance of the angels to the shepherds).

Table 1

The correspondences between Luke 2:1–15a and Orm's Gospel text vii

Verses in Luke ii	Paragraphs in the *Ormulum,* Gospel text vii
1	1
2	—
3	2
4–5	3
6–7	4
—	5–6
8–11	7
12	8
13–14	9
15a	10

In paragraphs 5 and 6, Orm explains the relationship between the two events: though God was thus born in secrecy, he would not remain hidden (paragraph 5); for as soon as he was born, a great sign was seen in the vicinity (paragraph 6). In this way the abrupt narrative transition in Luke is made smoother, requiring less processing work on the part of the listeners or readers. This pattern is repeated over and over again throughout the *Ormulum,* and a picture of Orm's stylistic preferences emerges clearly: he aims at a narrative style that is considerably more explicit and requires considerably less inference on the part of the listeners and readers. It seems reasonable to assume that this greater explicitness was part of the effort to make the Gospel text easy to understand, which he mentions in the *Dedication,* ll. 45–50 (quotation 1).

Another, and somewhat different, example is found in Orm's rendering of Luke 1:16–17 in Gospel text i. Here Orm interlards the Gospel text with his own additions (placed within square brackets in quotation 4 below), as well as interpolating reminiscences of Luke 1:76 and Malachi 4:5 (placed in braces):

(4)   1:16 et multos filiorum Israhel convertet   ꝛ he shall turrnenn mikell flocc꞉
        ad Dominum Deum ipsorum   Off þiss iudisskenn þe‹o›de.
                                                            Till godess sune iesu *crist꞉*
                                                            [ꝛ till þe rihhte læfe.]

        1:76 et tu puer propheta Altissimi vocaberis   {ꝛ he shall newenn cumenn forþ꞉
        praeibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias   Till mann kinn her o life.
        eius   Biforenn *crist* allmahhtiȝ godd꞉
                                                            To ȝarrkenn hise weȝȝess.}

        1:17 et ipse praecedet ante illum in spiritu   ꝛ he shall newenn cumenn forþ꞉
        et virtute Heliae   Biforenn cristess cóme.
                                                            Rihht i þatt illke gode gast꞉
                                                             ꝛ i þatt illke mahhte.

        Malachi 4:5 ecce ego mittam vobis Heliam   Þatt helyas {shall cumenn efft꞉
        prophetam antequam veniat dies Domini   Biforenn *cristess* come.}
        magnus et horribilis
        ut convertat corda patrum in filios   ꝛ he shall newenn cumenn forþ꞉
                                                            To turrnenn. ꝛ to wendenn.
                                                            Þe sunes [þurrh hiss hallȝe spell;]
                                                             Till þeȝȝre faderr herrte.

        et incredibiles ad prudentiam iustorum   [ꝛ he shall turrnenn þurrh hiss spell꞉]
                                                            Þe trowwþelæse le‹o›de.
                                                            Till all þe rihhte witt off þa꞉
                                                             Þatt all rihhtwise wærenn.
                                                            [ꝛ he shall newenn cumenn forþ꞉
                                                            Biforenn cristess come.]

        parare Domino plebem perfectam   To ȝarrkenn her onnȝæness *crist꞉*
                                                            All þwerrt ūt haliȝ le‹o›de.
                                                            [Þurrh fulluhht. ꝛ þurrh haliȝ spell;
                                                             ꝛ ec þurrh haliȝ bisne;·]
                                                            (*Gospel text i*, ll. 169–196)

A third type of addition involves fleshing out dialogue so that it becomes easier for the audience of the *Ormulum* to follow the argument. A case in point is the dialogue between John the Baptist and various groups of people from Jerusalem coming out to him in the desert, as described in Luke 3:10–14 (added by Orm to continue the story line from Gospel text xvii, Matthew 3:1–14). The publicans ask John, *magister quid faciemus*. In Orm's rendering, this brief question is expanded to four verses (5). The term of address is given a polite modifier and becomes *lef maʒʒstre*. The simple question 'what shall we do?' is turned into an indirect question embedded under an explicit request for advice and guidance, *seʒʒ uss nu þi raþ·* / *7 seʒʒ uss nu þi lare*. A temporal adverbial, *forrþwarrd* 'henceforth', as well as an adverbial of purpose, *To betenn ure sinness*, have been added to the question. All these changes make it clearer what the publicans want to know (as interpreted by Orm).

(5) Lef maʒʒstre seʒʒ uss nu þi raþ·   Dear master, say us now thy advice
         7 seʒʒ uss nu þi lare.   and say us now thy teaching,
      Whatt we nu forrþwarrd shulenn don.   what we now henceforth shall do
         To betenn ure sinness.   to atone for our sins.

                                              (*Gospel text xvii*, ll. 9299–9302)

On the basis of these and a host of similar examples, it becomes clear that Orm's explanatory Gospel additions, which serve to fill the *ríme*, are longer than the individual verses and would consequently not serve for padding the verse and manipulate the number of syllables to make them come out at fifteen. It follows that *ríme* quite simply cannot mean 'metre', as claimed in *ODEE*.

What, then, should we make of *ríme*? A much more reasonable interpretation is that *ríme* is not a borrowing from Old French but a native English word, derived from the OE noun *(ge)rīm*, 'number', and the related verb *(ge)rīman*, 'to count', 'to reckon', 'to number'. The noun *rime* ac-

tually occurs once in the *Ormulum* in the original sense, together with its synonym *tale*:

(6)	Her i þiss middell ærdess lif.	Here in this worldly life
	Þatt full wel iss bitacnedd.	that is well signified
	Þurrh tale 7 rime off fowwerrtiȝ.	by the number of forty,
	Off fowwerr siþe tene.	by four times ten.

<div align="right">(Homily xix, ll. 11246–9)</div>

Furthermore, Orm uses *rimenn* as a synonym of *reccnenn*, e.g. *An mann 7 twiȝess rimedd* (l. 11213) 'one man but counted twice', *To reccnenn 7 to rimenn* (l. 11217) 'to count'.

OE *geriman* would occasionally be used in the sense of 'to enumerate', and could in the right context be interpreted as a verb of saying 'to mention':

| (7) | Is swa ðeah swiðe fremfullic. þæt gehwa hine gelome. and geornlice to gode gebidde. gif his mod bið to ðan swiðe onbryrd; Elles man sceal hine sceortlice. mid onbryrdnysse. and behreowsunge gebiddan; Ne sceole we tellan gif we hwæt lytles to góde gedoð. ac we sceolon **geríman** ('enumerate') ure misdæda mid wope and geomerunge. and þæra miltsunge gebiddan; Þeah ðe hwá micel to góde gedó. and siððan mid gylpe ætforan gode his weldæda **geríme**. þonne beoð hí gode swa gecweme. swa him wæron þæs gylpendan sunderhalgan; (Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies*: Twelfth Sunday after Pentecost, Godden 1979: 250–251) | It is still very beneficial that everybody often and eagerly should pray to God, if his mind is very contrite. Otherwise one should pray briefly with contrition and penitence. We should not tell it if we do some little good, but we should enumerate our misdeeds with weeping and moaning and ask for mercy for them. If anyone has done great good and then enumerates his good deeds with boasting before God, then they will be as pleasing to God as those of the boasting Pharisee. |

More germane to the present discussion, however, is the use of the related verb *arīman* in senses spanning from 'enumerate' and 'repeat' to 'mention', 'tell', and 'narrate' as illustrated in quotations 8–11:

(8) ⁊ þurh drihtnes þone halgan lichoman ⁊ þurh drihtnes þa halgan rode ⁊ þurh sancta marian mægþhad ⁊ þurh cristes acennednesse ⁊ þurh his þæt halige fulwiht ⁊ þurh his halige festen ⁊ þurh his þrowunga ⁊ þurh his æriste ⁊ þurh his upastigenesse on heofonas ⁊ þurh þone halgan gast ⁊ þone heandom þe nu toweard is eallan mancynne ⁊ þurh his þæt halige godspell ⁊ eal þa wundor þe þæron syn þurh þa ic me bebiode minum drihtne ðam ælmihtigum gode. And eac ic hine bidde þurh ealle þas ðe ic nu **arimde** ('enumerated'; 'mentioned') þæt he me forgife ealle mine synna. (*Prayers at Tierce*, Banks 1965: 209)

And through the Lord's holy body & the Lord's holy cross & St. Mary's virginity & the birth of Christ & His holy baptism & His holy fast & His passion & His resurrection & His ascension to Heaven & the Holy Ghost & the judgement that awaits all mankind & His holy gospel & all the miracles related there, through those I pray to my Lord Almighty God. And also I pray Him through all these that I just mentioned that He forgive me all my sins.

(9) me þincð nu þæt ic wite hwa Romeburh timbrode, and æac feala oðra þincga þe ær urum dagum geweordon wæs, þa ic ne mæg æalla **ariman** ('enumerate'; 'narrate'). (*St. Augustine, Soliloquies, Book 3*, Carnicelli 1969:97)

It seems to me that I now know who founded Rome, and also many other things which happened before our days, of which I cannot narrate all.

(10) Ac ðis ðæt we nu feam wordum **arimdon** ('enumerated'; 'narrated') we willað hwene rumedlicor heræfter areccean ('narrate'). (*Cura Pastoralis*, Sweet 1871: 75)

But this that we just told in few words we will tell later in somewhat greater detail.

(11) Þa us sedon ma þyllycra weorda þonne we **ariman** ('tell'; 'repeat') magen, and myd manegum bysnum and tacnum hyt us sæðdon. (*St. Augustine, Soliloquies, Book 2*, Carnicelli 1969: 89)

They said to us more such words than we can tell and told us them with many parables and miracles.

We may compare this with OE *tellan*, which has a similar range of senses: 'count', 'account', 'relate', and with OE *talu* 'calculation', 'statement', 'story'. This material permits us to postulate two related senses for the word *ríme* as used in the *Ormulum*: one sense, 'narration', 'story', for the context shown in quotation 1, and another, 'text', for the context shown in quotation 2.[7]

A comparison between the forms in the *Ormulum* and attested OE forms of these nouns and verbs shows that not all senses attested in OE are found in the *Ormulum* and, conversely, that one sense found in the *Ormulum* is not attested in OE.

Table 2
Forms and senses of the stems TELL- *and* RIM- *in OE and in the Ormulum*

Form and sense	OE	Orm	As used in the *Ormulum*
tellan/tellenn			
'count'	+	+	Forr all þatt follc … iss … sett. / O boc. ꝥ tald. ꝥ rimedd. (17683–86)
'account'	+	+	Whatt gate arrt tu forr maʒʒstre tald. … ? (16680)
'relate', 'tell'	+	+	He talde þeʒʒm hu mann maʒʒ godd. Cnawenn ꝥ sen onn erþe. (19409–10)
getæl/tăle			
'number'	+	+	ꝥ tacneþþ tăle off tene (4313)
talu/*tale			
'calculation'	+	–	
'story'	+	–	
-rīman/rimenn			
'count'	+	+	To reccnenn. ꝥ to rimenn (11217)
'enumerate'	+	–	
'mention'	+	–	
(ge)rīm/ríme			
'number'	+	+	Þurrh tale ꝥ rime off fowwerrtiʒ. (11248)
'story', 'text'	–	+	Þe ríme swa to fillenn. (*Dedication* 44)

To conclude, Orm's *ríme* must be formally derived from OE (*ge*)*rīm* 'number'.[8] The sense of *ríme* was 'narration', 'story' (as used in quotation 1), or 'text' (quotation 2); the difference in sense between OE (*ge*)*rīm* and *ríme* can be accounted for by the range of senses of the related OE *arīman* 'to reckon', 'to enumerate', and 'to narrate'. Whether the 'narration', 'story' sense existed in Old English and is simply unattested, or whether it is a twelfth century innovation, cannot be determined on the basis of the available evidence.

Notes

1. Orm names himself and his book in the Dedication to his brother Walter, who is said to have commissioned the work. Both brothers are described as Augustinian canons. Orm does not state, however, when and where he wrote his text. All modern discussions of the date of the *Ormulum* must take as their point of departure the conclusions drawn in Malcolm Parkes' influential 1983 article. Parkes concluded on palaeographical grounds that the Latin cues added by 'hand C' (a collaborator of Orm's) at the beginning of each Gospel text in the manuscript (such must have been the intention; in actual practice, scribe C overlooked a few places) cannot have been written later than c. 1180. But those cues were added after Orm had composed, drafted, and copied out the text in five volumes (MS Junius 1 is a surviving fragment of the first volume), and furthermore gone through the text many times making numerous changes and corrections. All this process may well have gone on for 20, possibly even 25 years, which means that Orm may well have started working on his homilies some time around 1155–1160. For the localisation of the text to southern Lincolnshire the reader is referred to the discussion in Parkes 1983.

2. The word under discussion is written with an acute accent, *ríme*, to distinguish it from Orm's *rime* 'number'. Orm's own use of acute accents was never sufficiently consistent to justify any assumption that he himself tried to mark such a distinction in his spelling.

3. The textual passages from the *Ormulum* quoted in this article have been newly edited by the author from MS Junius 1. In this context I would like to thank Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, Senior Assistant Librarian, Bodleian Library, for generously granting me access to MS Junius 1 in 1997 and 2002. The text quoted is

Orm's original text (before his later corrections). Contractions in the manuscript have been expanded and italicised. Erased characters in the text are shown in single angle brackets (e.g. ‹o›). Verse numbers, however, refer to the numbering in Holt 1878, since this is still the most recent complete edition that is generally available.

4. The *Oxford English Dictionary* similarly gives 'metre' as the sense of *ríme* in the *Ormulum* (s.v. **rime**).

5. 5. A homily in the *Ormulum* is typically based on the Gospel text for a particular mass (as specified in the Missal); in some cases, however, Orm uses two Gospel texts for one homily. It is the Gospel texts, as listed in his table of contents, that are numbered in the manuscript, not his homilies. This numbering will be retained in the present article.

6. A paragraph in the *Ormulum* is a text section whose beginning is marked in the manuscript by a *paragraphus* (in its basic form ⁊, with variants incorporating more diagonal lines). Holt's 1878 edition does not print the *paragraphus* signs. It also ignores the division of the text into paragraphs. In Table 1, the paragraphs are numbered consecutively within Orm's Gospel text vii.

7. I know only one example of the use of the word *rime* in its 'story' sense outside the *Ormulum*. It occurs in *Cursor Mundi* (Morris 1876, ll. 14922f.) at the point where the narrative reaches the Passion of Christ, and the poet declares that the story (*vr rime*) must now be told more broadly (*rume*), and to that intent he will use a longer line (*langer bastune*):

> Es resun þat wee vr rime rume,
> And set fra nu langer bastune.   MS Cotton Vesp. A iii

> And resun es we vr rime rume,
> And set fra nu lang*er* bastune.   MS Göttingen Theol. 107

> for-þi in rime wille we rou*n*
> ⁊ sette fra nu lang*er* bastou*n*.   Fairfax MS 14, Bodl. Lib.

The scribe of Fairfax 14 apparently misunderstood the word and interpreted it as 'rhyme' (presumably) or (possibly) 'metre'. While he improved the rhyme, the passage as a whole became pointless, since the whole poem is written in rhyming couplets. There is no change in that respect at this point in the poem.

8. In view of Orm's Danelaw dialect, an Old Norse (Old Danish) etymology would, in principle, be possible for the word, but it is not plausible. The words *rím* 'rhyme', 'rhymed song' and *ríma* 'rhyme', 'lay', and 'ballad' are attested in Icelandic only from the fourteenth century, and are best regarded as borrowings from French (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957: 500). For a discussion of the French or Germanic origin of *rim* in the Scandinavian languages, see Hellquist (1948: 836).

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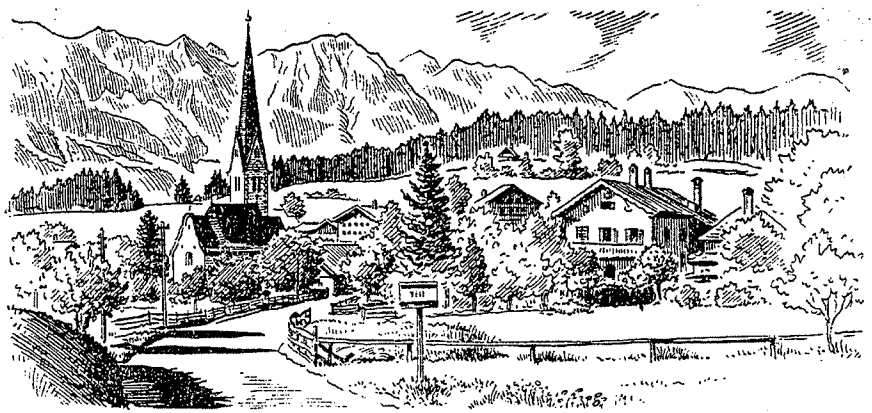
FRAMES FOR THE SEMANTICS OF *BACHELOR*

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In historical lexicology, the sense development of many words is intriguing in that the same word may have widely different meanings in different contexts. Describing a variety spanning from a person's marital status to an academic position, *bachelor* belongs to this category. In this article I shall examine the reasons for this multiplicity of senses from an historical perspective.

The examination is based on Rosch's prototype theory (1975), Janicki's axiological sense analysis (1990), and my own version of frame semantics developed from Fillmore (1985) and Barsalou (1992). They are used for uncovering causes for the emergence of various senses of *bachelor*.

These theories all recognise that the 'connotations' widely decried as useless and idiosyncratic associations by traditional semanticists may be some of the most important causes of meaning changes in words.[1] One need only look at the sense development of many everyday words to realise that often a so-called 'connotation' has served as the basis of another major sense.[2] This would not be the case if the original connotation had only been marginal. One of the best examples is probably the sense development of *bachelor*.

According to the *OED*, the origin of *bachelor* is uncertain,[3] but this is of no concern in this context which focuses on the sense development of the word. The different stages in the sense development will here be regarded as socially and pragmatically conditioned changes of prototypes. In the illustrations of the semantic frames discussed below, ovals represent concepts and their attributes, circles prototypical values of the attributes, and rectangles non-prototypical values. Exclusive prototypes (i.e. those without alternative values) are represented by broken circles. All definitions

and quotations are from the *OED*. This method of analysis has proved useful for examining and describing meaning changes over time and for conducting comparative studies of sense profiles of equivalent terms in different languages (see Persson 1998; 2002). It has the advantage that it attempts to supply explanations of the sense developments.

The first sense of *bachelor* in the *OED* shows that it originally denoted junior military leaders:

1. a. A young knight, not old enough, or having too few vassals, to display his own banner, and who therefore followed the banner of another; a novice in arms. [On this sense was founded the conjectural etymology of *bas chevalier*.]

-1297 R. Glouc. 453 Syre äong bacheler..̗ow art strong & corageus.

−1300 *Cursor M.* 8541 He was a borli bachelere, In al ̗at werld had he na pere

This sense can be illustrated as follows:

Stage 1a. Junior knight
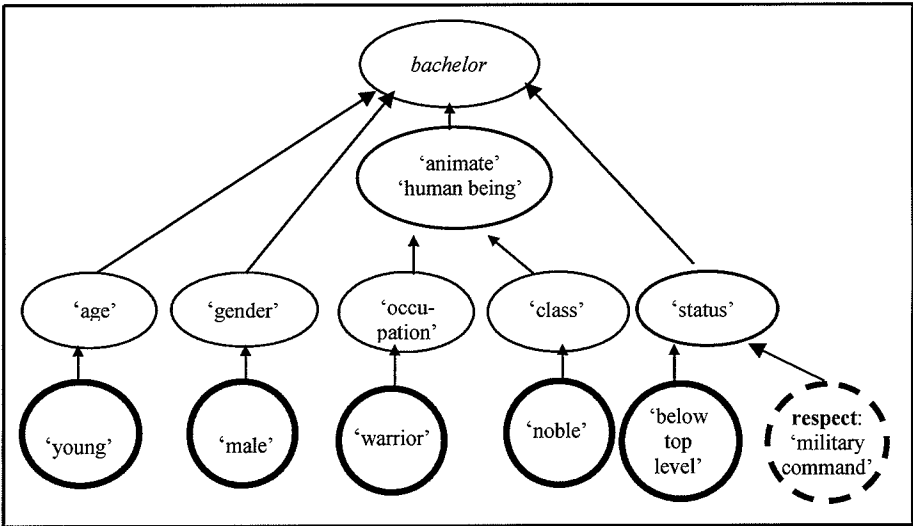
OED examples:

–1300 *Cursor M.* 8541 He was a borli bachelere, In al ˌat werld had he na pere.

—1386 <u>Chaucer</u> *Sqrs. T.* 16 Yong, fressh, strong, and in Armes desirous, As any Bacheler [*v.r.* bachiler(e, -elere, -illier] of al his hous.

1415 *Pol. Poems* (1859) II. 125 Passe we all now in fere, duke, erle, and bachelere.

—1500 *Partenay* 1925 This knight is A worthi baculere.

1523 <u>Ld. Berners</u> *Froiss.* i. cclxiv. 390 Let sir Johan Chandos do his by himselfe, sythe he is but a bacheler.

818 <u>Hallam</u> *Mid. Ages* (1872) I. 195 Vavassors who obtained knighthood were

commonly styled bachelors.

Bachelor, in this sense, thus signified a person who had not yet reached the top rank in his military career. It is this attribute of 'status' that was the origin of most other senses the word has developed.

The following sense (1b) is fairly close to it:

1b. Hence, **Knight Bachelor**, a knight of the lowest but most ancient order; the full title of a gentleman who has been knighted (without belonging to any one of the specially named 'orders')

> 1609 tr. *Sir T. Smithis Commw. Eng.* 25 He [a banneret] being before
> a batcheler knight, is now of a higher degree.

Stage 1b. Junior member of an order
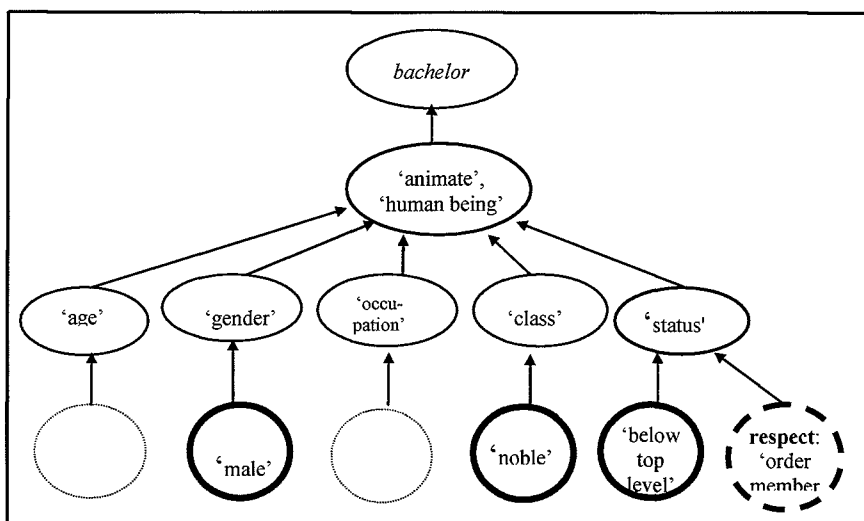
In this frame there are no values for 'age' and 'occupation' since they are irrelevant to this semantic profile. Again the value 'below top rank' for 'status' is dominant, although it is not applied in the same way to the status position as in the previous frame.

It is from the two military applications that the term branched out to other senses, in which *bachelor* means 'a person in a fairly low position in a guild'. This is illustrated in the next stage (2a):

2a. A junior or inferior member, or 'yeoman', of a trade-guild, or City Company. *Obs.*

(In London, their position and functions seem to have varied at different times, and in different Companies; in later times Bachelors were appointed only for ceremonial occasions, chiefly when one of the Company was chosen Lord Mayor, their duty being 'to serve in foynes and budge'[4] on Lord Mayor's Day. So in Bye Laws of Grocers' Company of 1711.)

[1390 *Archives of Grocersí Comp.* 76 Eslieuxz Mesteres dez Grocers Roberd Peper et Herri Hatton Bacheleres.] - 1427 in Heath *Grocersí Comp.* (1869) 5 Diuerse persones ikallyd Bacheleris.

Stage 2a. Junior member of a guild
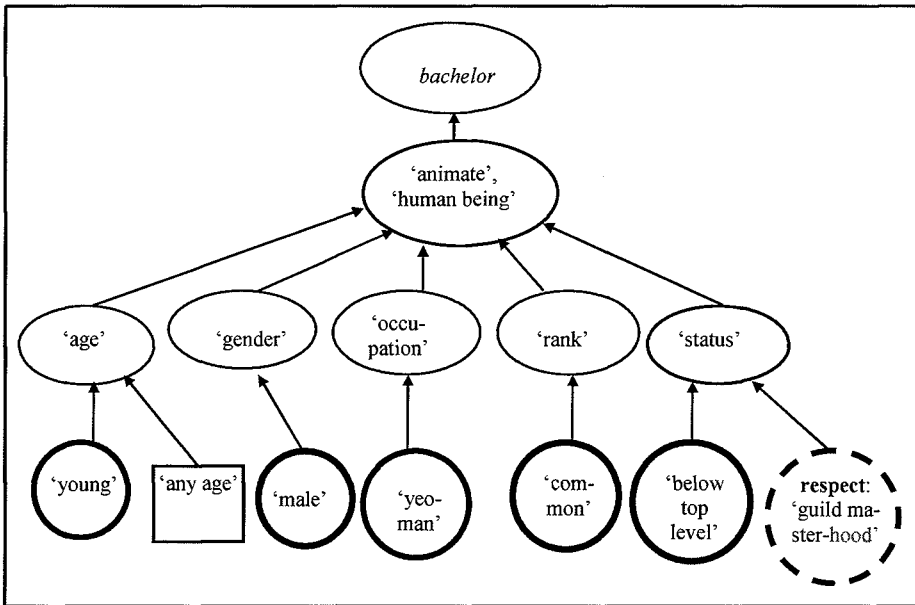
OED examples:

[1390 *Archives of Grocers' Comp.* 76 Eslieuxz Mesteres dez Grocers Roberd Peper et Herri Hatton Bacheleres.]

1427 in Heath *Grocers' Comp.* (1869) 5 Diuerse persones ikallyd Bacheleris.

1533 <u>Wriothesley</u> *Chron.* (1875) I. 18 A barge also of Batchlers of the Majors crafte.

1691 <u>Blount</u> *Law Dict.* s.v., Every Company of the Twelve, consists of a Master, two Wardens, the Livery, (which are Assistants in Matters of Council, or at the least, such as the Assistants are chos
en out of) and the Bachelors, who are yet but in expectance of Dignity among them, and have their Function only in attendance upon the Master and Wardens.

1809 TOMLINS *Law Dict.* s.v., The *bachelors*, in other companies called the *yeomanry*.

It is fair to assume that here, too, this sense development is triggered by the position 'below top level (rank)'.

At the next stage, the term appeared at universities as a designation of academic status:

3a. One who has taken the first or lowest degree at a university, who is not yet a *master* of the Arts. (In this use, a woman may now be Bachelor of Arts, etc.) [In this sense, latinized as *baccalarius*, subsequently altered by a pun or word-play to *baccalaureus* as if connected with *bacca lauri* laurel berry, which has sometimes been gravely given as the 'etymology.']
- 1362 LANGL. *P. Pl.* A. Prol. 90, I sauh ᵣer Bisschops Bolde and Bachilers of diuyn.
- 1386 CHAUCER *Frankl. T.* 398 His felawe..was that tyme a Bacheler of lawe.
- 1577 HARRISON *England* i. ii. iii. 79 They ascend higher unto the estate of batchelers of art after foure yeares.

Stage 3a. Male academic *bachelor*
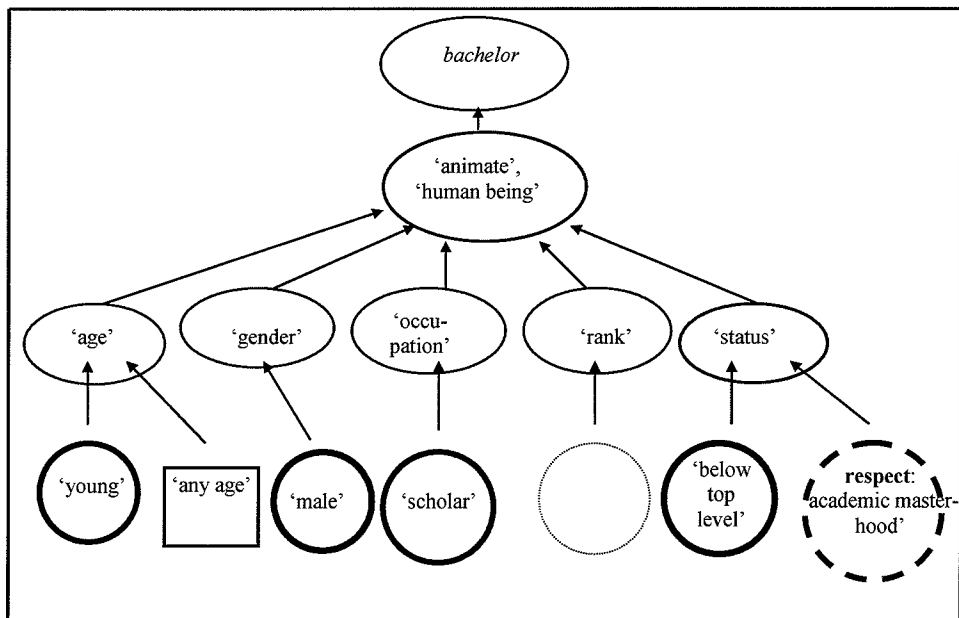
In this sense of bachelor, 'rank' is unimportant and consequently empty. The value of 'below top level' connected with 'status' triggers this development of the sense of the word: An academic bachelor still has to attain the degree of master.

The present-day gender-neutral sense of academic *bachelor* is illustrated in the following frame (3b):

Stage 3b. Epicene (gender-neutral) academic *bachelor*
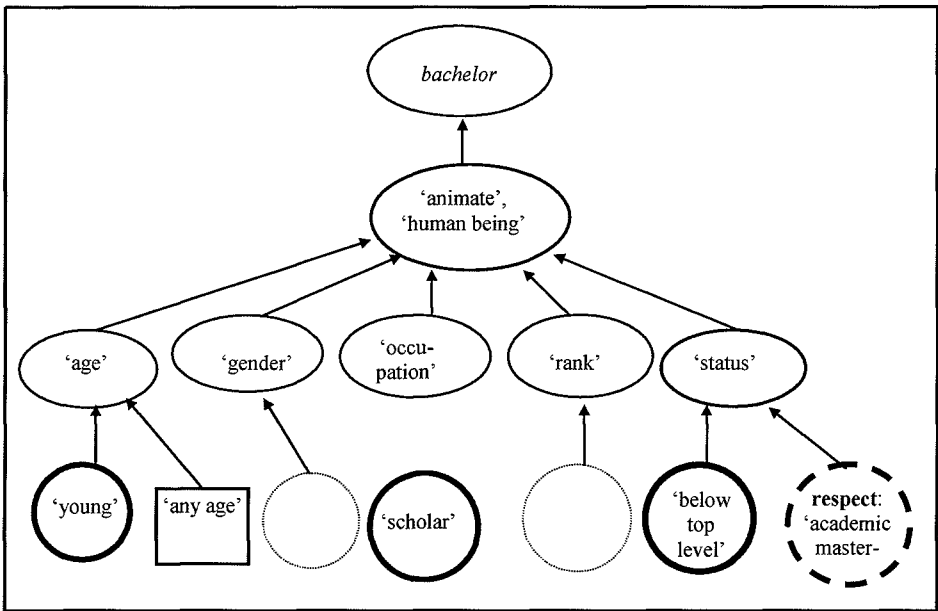
The obsolete sense of *bachelor* as an inexperienced person may have derived from the above academic sense:

3c

b. *transf.* An inexperienced person, a novice. *Obs.*

1604 T. WRIGHT *Passions Mind* iv. i. 114 Some men will dispute..about matters exceeding their capacitie..I haue heard these batchellors hold talke..wilfully and obstinatly in matters of Philosophie and Diuinitie.

Stage 3c. An ignorant person
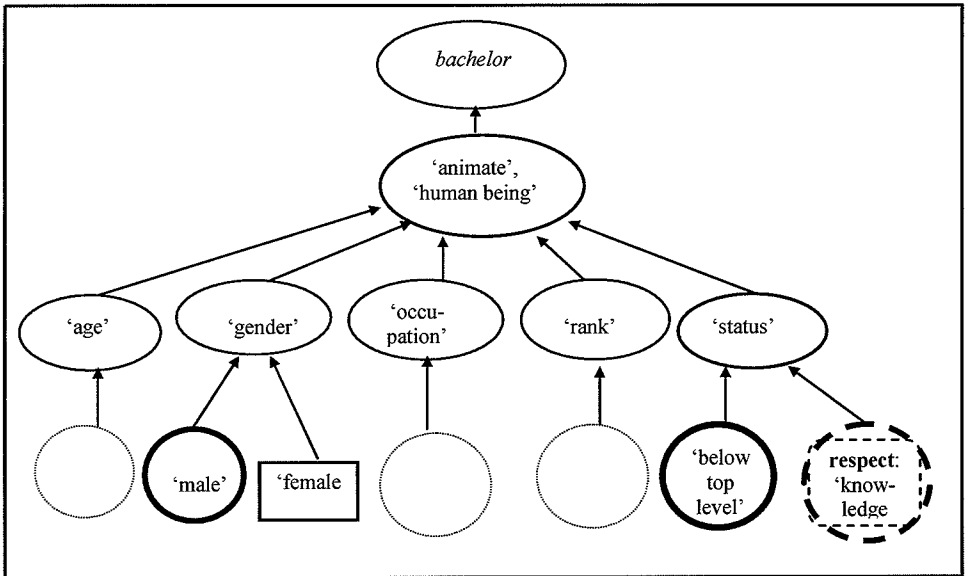
The word then moves into the domain of marital status where it designates 'an unmarried man of marriageable age.' It has an overtone of 'below the top level', since it reflects that not too many decades ago, both men and women were expected to marry and those who did not were 'failures', termed *spinsters* and *bachelors* respectively.[5]

- 1386 CHAUCER *Merch. T.* 34 Bacheleris [*v.r.* bachilers, -elerys, -elers, -illiers] haue often peyne and wo.
- 1450 *Songs & Carols* (1847) 35 If thou be a bachelar, And bryngest hom a wyfe.
1547 J. HARRISON *Exhort. Scottes* 223 She was to olde a mayde for so yonge a bachelar.
1553 T. WILSON *Rhet.* 24 The syngle lyfe of Bacchelaures.

Stage 4a. An unmarried man (of marriageable age).
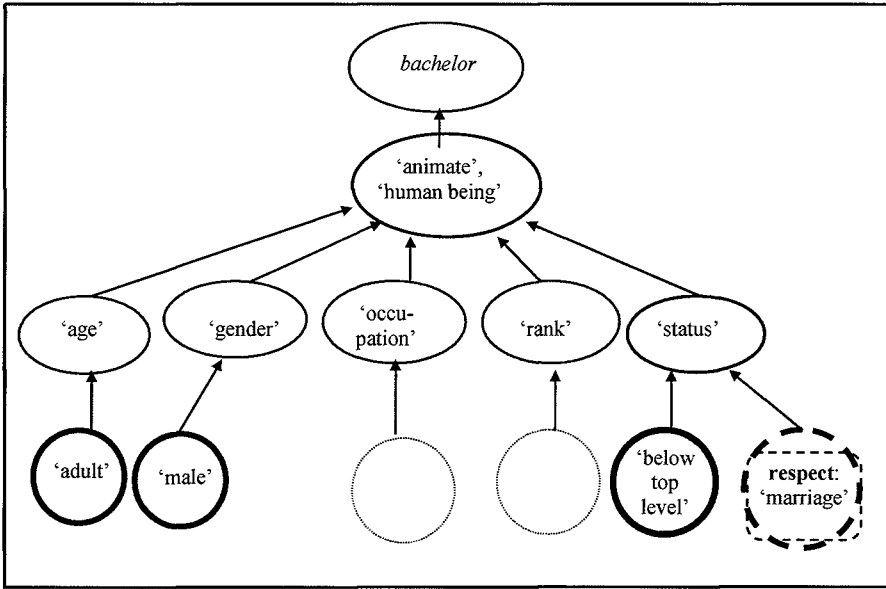
The view of marriage as a highly esteemed institution meant that it applied to all ranks and walks of life. Therefore, the attributes of these values are empty.

Bachelor was also applied to women (a sense which is now obsolete):

5. A maid, a single woman. *Obs. rare.*

1632 B. JONSON *Magnet. Lady* ii. i, He would keep you A batchelor still. And keep you not alone without a husband, But in a sickness.

As men were the prototypical referents of *bachelor*, 'female' is symbolised here as a non-prototypical value of 'gender'.

Stage 4b. An unmarried woman (of marriageable age)
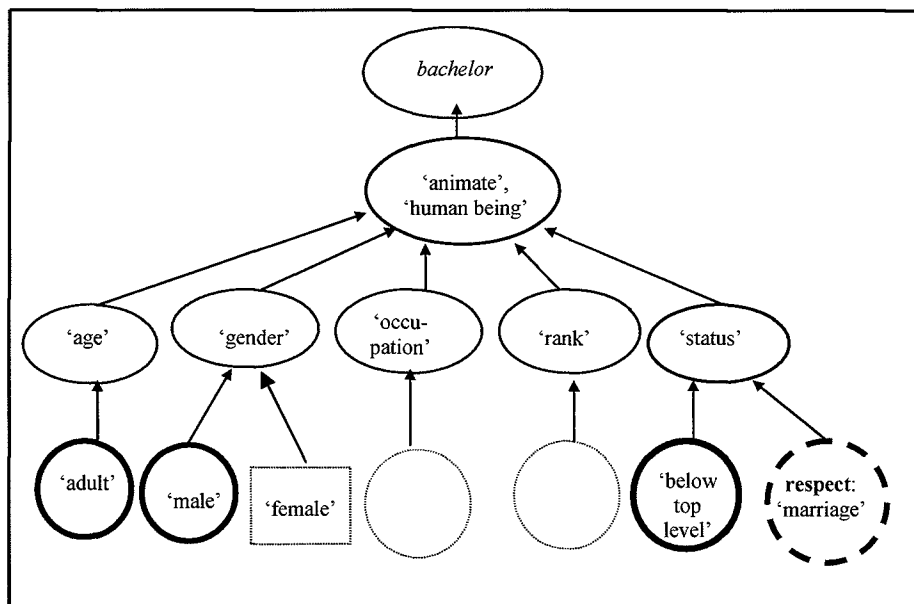
The use of *bachelor* to designate inferior status in terms of finding a mate has then been transferred to another species (4c):

4c. *transf.* One of the young male fur-seals which are kept away from the breeding-grounds by the adult bulls. (These are the seals which may legally be killed for their fur.)

1874 *Harper's Monthly Mag.* May 801/2 To the right and left of the breeding grounds stretch sand-beaches..upon which the 'hollus-chickie', or the bachelor seals, lie by tens of thousands.

Stage 4c. A male seal below mating age
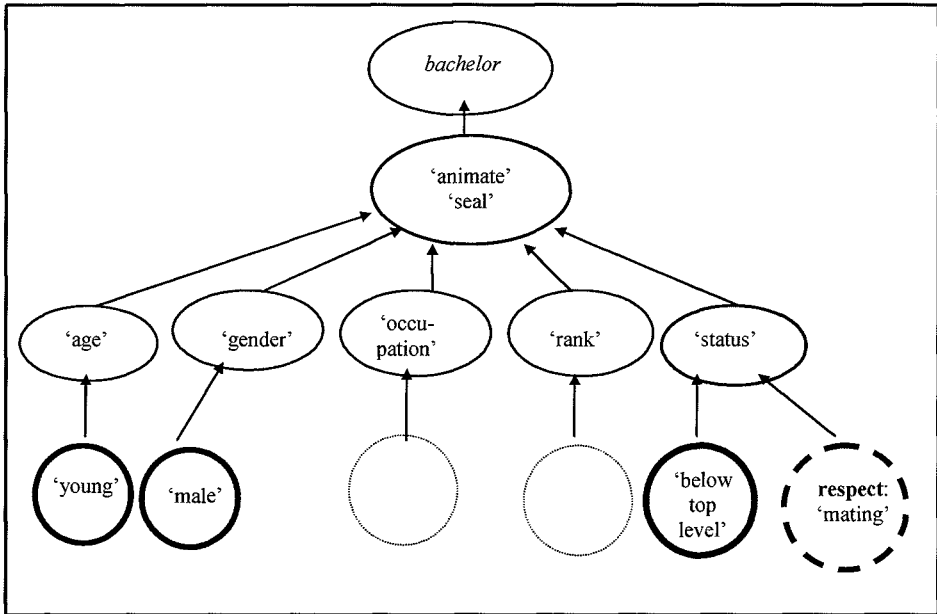
From this sense, *bachelor* has moved outside the animal domain so that, in the below sense (5), an inanimate object is termed a *bachelor* because of its (relatively) small size.

5. A size of roofing slate (see quot. 1929).
1914 M. S. GRETTON *Corner of Cotswolds* ix. 175 The tiles for our roofs are called, according to their sizes, long wivets, long bachelors, short bachelors, longbecks..muffities, long days, and short days.
1929 N. LLOYD *Building Craftsmanship* x. 93/1 Sizes of slates, measuring from centre of peg hole to tail, in inches, are Long bachelors 11 Short bachelors 10½.

Stage 5. A small roofing slate
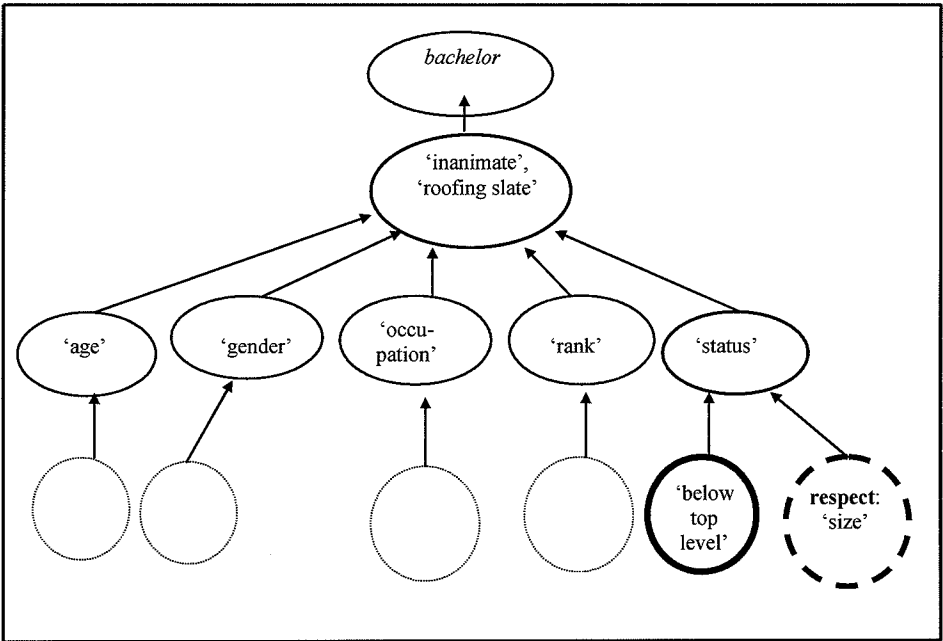
As pointed out elsewhere (Persson 2002), *spinster* has long been on the way out of the lexicon because of its negative axiological sense.[6] However, there seems to be a need for having a term for single women, and *bachelor-girl* (or *woman*) has come to serve as one substitute:

5. bachelor girl, woman, an unmarried woman who has her own income and lives independently; also (*rare*) *bachelor-lady, -maid;*
1894 C. C. HARRISON (*title*) A Bachelor Maid.
1895 *Dialect Notes* I. 396 *Bachelor-girl*, a maiden lady.
1955 *Amer. Speech* XXX 298. A way of living no doubt explains *bachelor girl* and not any consideration of gender.

The semantic profile of this usage looks as follows:

Stage 6. *Bachelor girl/woman*
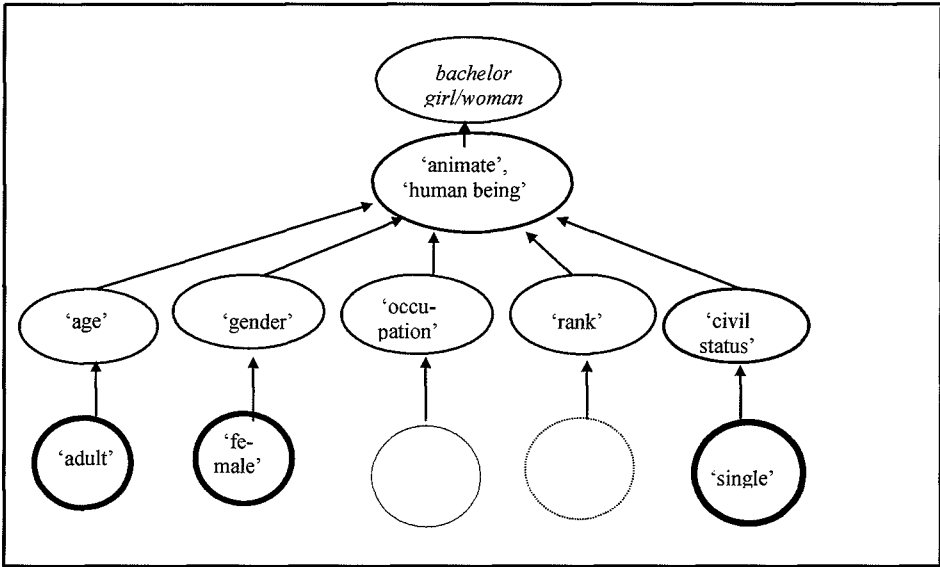
'Single' is chosen as the value of 'civil status' rather than 'unmarried' whose axiological sense is negative, implying the absence of the desired state, marriage. On the other hand, *bachelor-girl/woman* does not seem to be popular because of its analogy with single men.[7]

Discussion

I submit that the above analysis indicates that a multiplicity of senses of *bachelor* stem from a single value, namely 'below top level' of the attribute 'status'. This value has been central to the proliferation of senses. This is not indicated by dictionaries.[8] But it goes to show that sense developments may derive from one single element in the total meaning of a word.

While all senses of *bachelor* discussed above are based on the central idea of 'not quite good (mature, or large) enough for a particular purpose', there is nowadays a different concept of a bachelor as a single man, free to engage in love affairs unfettered by marriage. G. Lakoff (1987: 85) puts it as follows: "The stereotypical bachelor is macho, dates a lot of dif-

ferent women, is interested in sexual conquest, hangs out in singles bars, etc." This has also led to a widening semantic gap between *spinster* and *bachelor* as gender-based equivalents (see Romaine 1999: 91-93).

In the semantic frame illustrating this, there is therefore no value indicating inferior status for bachelor:

Stage 6. The modern bachelor stereotype
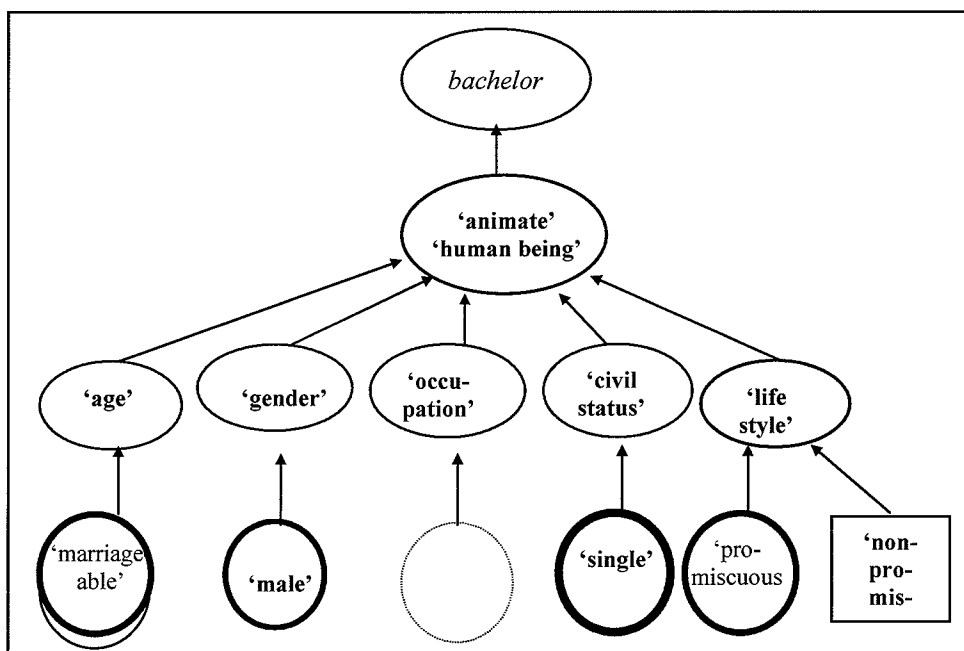
In order to check whether this sense of bachelor is popular, I searched *Collins Wordbanks Online English Corpus* (56 million words) for prenominal adjectival attributes of *bachelor*, since I assumed that frequent adjectival collocations may reveal widespread attitudes to the referents of the headword (see further Persson 1990). The collocates have been divided into four types: positive, neutral, patronising, and negative. Since the neutral use, despite its high frequency, is irrelevant to this discussion, the 44 terms are not listed individually:

Table 1

Prenominal attributes collocating with bachelor

in Collins Wordbanks Online

Positive	Neutral	Patronising	Negative
affluent	e. g. bearded	needy	bluff
beautiful		poor	eccentric
carefree			ever-suspicious
charming			lonely
contented			mad (2)
eligible (6)			militant
favourite			old-fashioned
feisty			rampant
friendly			raving
handsome (3)			reclusive
loveable			savage
mysterious			screaming
self-reliant			
wealthy (2)			
terms: 14	terms: 44	terms: 2	terms: 12
tokens: 22	tokens: 50	tokens: 2	tokens: 13

These results indicate that traditional and modern views of bachelor-hood co-exist. The new stereotype is mirrored by the positive terms whereas the patronising and negative terms reflect the traditional view. Neutral terms - and their high frequency - are not of interest in this context.

In the long perspective, it will be interesting to see whether the new sense of *bachelor* and the emerging positive sense of *spinster* in the USA

(see Persson 2002) will eventually make the two terms match again and eliminate the present-day semantic discrepancy between them.

Notes

1. Leech (1981:13) takes a disparaging view of connotative meaning, which, as opposed to conceptual meaning, he claims "is relatively unstable" and "indeterminate and open-ended". It is therefore interesting to note that John Stuart Mill (1879: 33-6, quoted in Ullmann 1962: 74) claimed that "whenever the names given to objects convey any information, that is, whenever they have properly any meaning, the meaning resides not in what they *denote*, but in what they *connote*. The only names of objects which connote nothing are *proper* names; and these have, strictly speaking, no signification." Mill's view is not unlike that held by cognitive linguists.

2. A case in point is *gay*, whose "connotation" 'addicted to social pleasures and dissipations' (*OED*) eventually gave rise to the now established meaning 'homosexual'. Of a place: frequented by homosexuals' (*OED*).

3. According to the *OED* *bachelor* stems from Old French *bacheler* whose ultimate source is Latin *baccalaris*, of doubtful origin. The original meaning being uncertain, the sense development is also doubtful.

4. *Foyne (foin)* = 'fur of polecat'; *budge* = 'a kind of fur, consisting of lamb's skin with the wool dressed outwards' (*OED*).

5. The traditional view of marriage was of course deeply rooted in the Christian religion. In the Bible we find several passages strongly urging people to marry, e.g. "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh" (Genesis 2: 24). and "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge" (Hebrews 13: 4).

6. However, a revival of *spinster* as a positive in-group term seems to be going on in the U.S. among single career women (see Persson 2002).

7. *Bachelorette* is considered even worse because of its diminutive suffix, which somehow implicates that a single woman is a smaller version of a single man. A British woman told me, "I would much rather be called *spinster* than *bachelorette*."

8. I did not see these connections myself until I had started this analysis.

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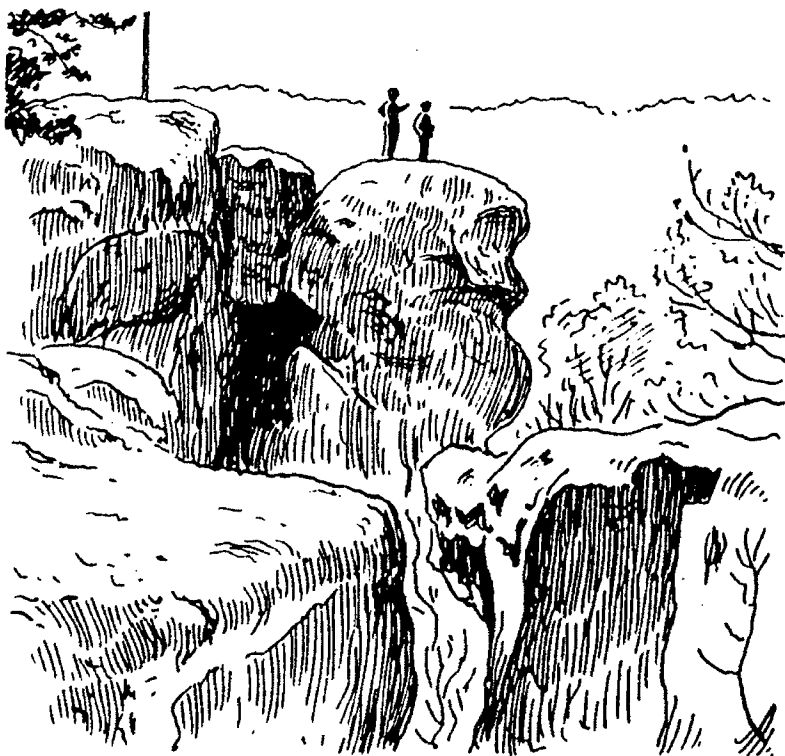
SPELLING'S SIGNIFICANCE FOR TEXTUAL STUDIES

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and

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Abstract

Manuscript spellings are rarely taken into account when editors trace the stemma of their text for, if considered at all, they are used to localise the various manuscripts. From an evaluation of two *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 152 and British Library MS Harley 7334, we seek to establish that this is an important omission in textual studies, for changes in the spelling system of a manuscript can signal whether these represent a change of exemplar and thus can control other methods of determining how many exemplars were used in its production. This conclusion is supported by evidence that changes in the spelling system coincide with changes in these manuscripts' codicology.

Introduction

Typically editors of medieval English texts discuss the genealogy of their text and the possible exemplars that an individual scribe used to prepare his manuscript. For each text, variants among the manuscripts largely determine the number of exemplars, and sometimes that number is extensive. This applies especially to the *Canterbury Tales*, for in their seminal edition (1940) John Manly and Edith Rickert interpreted small textual variations in the manuscripts as indicative of the scribes' use of many exemplars. However, neither in this edition nor in other analyses of the textual history of the poem was the evidence which spelling offers ex-

ploited as a means to detect or reject changes of exemplar. In this paper we consider the spelling system in two manuscripts of the poem, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 152 [Ch] and British Library MS Harley 7334 [Ha⁴], to test whether this omission is justified. We hope that this discussion will not only add an extra dimension to textual studies, but also that it will be a fitting tribute to Arne Zettersten who has spent much of his career studying the intricacies of lexis and textual transmission, especially in his work on *Ancrene Wisse.*

Spelling has been the subject of scholarly attention since the Second World War, especially through the work of Angus McIntosh which culminated in the publication of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (1986). The principal focus of this atlas is to provide evidence through spelling for the localisation of manuscripts, though McIntosh also suggested that a text's genealogy might be detected through the different levels of spelling in its extant manuscript(s). A scribe's spelling is affected by two factors: his own spelling system and the spelling system(s) of the exemplar(s) he is copying. A scribe's spelling system is, however, neither uniform nor a constant, for it is affected by such factors as emigration to another part of the country or even to a different country, the training he received, the development of local standards, and his exposure to the spelling systems of those texts he had previously copied. Consequently, a scribe's spelling is likely to develop in at least some respects as he copies text after text, depending upon how much he is affected by the exemplars he copied, their length, and how recently he had copied them. Furthermore, all scribes are influenced by the spelling systems of the exemplars they are currently copying, but that influence varied from scribe to scribe and even within an individual scribe's own output, since the influence of an exemplar is determined by the distance of the exemplar spelling from his own preferred system at the time he is copying it.

To enable us to evaluate the value of spelling for textual studies an electronic indexed database of spellings in early manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* was compiled. This followed the general procedure used in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English,* which isolated nearly 300 key words exhibiting significant spelling variation. The spellings of each word are grouped under a lemma indicated by its modern English form in capitals. Thus THEY covers all spellings of this word, such as *ȝey, ȝei, ȝay, ȝai, þey, þei, þay, þai,* etc. An analysis of the various spellings in separate tales and the Wife of Bath's Prologue, but not of other links because of their brevity, was undertaken and led us to select from Ch and Ha⁴ certain spellings we accepted as significant. The methodology we have employed for the analysis of the spelling systems in both manuscripts focuses on the proportional usage of spellings for common words that occur frequently rather than on unusual or unique spellings. Dialectal spellings such as those words in Ha⁴ with the *-ud, -us,* and *-ur* endings, which are thought to be Western (Jeremy Smith 1985: 238 and 1988: 62), have been considered only for their distribution across the whole text in relation to, for example, *-ed, -es,* and *-er.* In some cases we have observed the distribution of spellings for one lemma in the ordered profile and achieved greater confidence in the patterning by isolating the variable feature and tracing it across lemmata at a graphemic level. No scribe is totally consistent in his spelling system and his spellings of a single word vary throughout a manuscript, for it is unusual to find absolute breaks where one spelling, for example, is used exclusively in the beginning and another in the rest of a manuscript. Changes in spelling are gradual and so the frequency of each spelling of a lemma has to be traced and evaluated across the whole manuscript. In what follows we discuss Ch and Ha⁴ in turn, considering first each manuscript's codicology and then the evidence provided by its spellings before evaluating the information they provide in our conclusion. To illustrate our argument we have chosen those spellings which re-

flect scribal trends most clearly. Sometimes individual spellings exhibit no clear trend because too many attestations of a given lemma may lead the scribe to be inconsistent in his spelling, especially if his exemplar shows no clear preference. This may explain the conflicting tendencies found in the spellings of WILL and SUCH in Ch, where the scribe seems to prefer old-fashioned spellings but the evidence is not clear-cut.

The evidence of Christ Church, Oxford, MS 152

The codicology of Ch, a paper manuscript from the third quarter of the fifteenth century normally written in quires of twenty folios, suggests that the scribe intended to include a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* which was to contain only those tales which are today regarded as canonical. But his exemplar(s) presented some problems: the Cook's Tale and Squire's Tale were incomplete. The progress of his copying can be detected by the watermarks in Ch. The Cook's Tale finishes within quire 3 and the rest of that quire was left blank at first. Quire 4 is irregular with only ten folios and with a watermark which is different from the one in quires 3 and 5, but which is identical or nearly identical with the one found in Ch's final quires. In addition, Gamelyn finishes on the last page of quire 4 leaving the bottom third blank. This indicates that, although written in the main hand of Ch, the Tale of Gamelyn, which is not usually considered Chaucerian, was inserted on the remaining blank folios of quire 3 and the added quire 4 after the rest of Ch had been copied. Its later insertion is confirmed by the use of blue ink for initial capitals only in this tale and the Parson's Tale. Hence in Table 1 Gamelyn appears as the last tale. Whether the scribe left the blank in quire 3 because he was uncertain whether to include Gamelyn or because he hoped he might find a copy of it is uncertain. Quire 12 is also irregular in that the scribe left the rest of the quire blank after the incomplete Squire's Tale. This blank was partly filled by the inclusion of Hoccleve's poem *De Beata Virgine* which is intro-

duced as the Ploughman's Tale. This tale is omitted in our discussion as it was inserted later in a different hand. Some folios in this quire also have a different watermark, but they contain what in the Hengwrt manuscript [Hg], regarded as the earliest extant manuscript, was the Merchant-Franklin link, but was adapted in other manuscripts as in Ch to be the Merchant-Squire link. The anomalous watermarks may reflect some adjustment to the link now present in Ch. We can find nothing further in the codicology to suggest any uncertainty about the tale order during the production of the manuscript, although Ch's order of the tales is unique.

One further point in the codicology may be recorded: the text ink changes from a lighter to a darker shade at fol.101^v in quire 6. This ink change is the only such change in the canonical tales in Ch we have detected, and it falls at the junction of the tales of the Summoner and the Clerk. Our research shows that the greatest shift in the proportion of one spelling to another between any two consecutive canonical tales consistently occurs at this point. This finding may be illustrated by the variation in the occurrence of crossed h as an alternative to uncrossed h in the table below.

Table 1 - Occurrence by tale of crossed h per thousand characters in Ch.
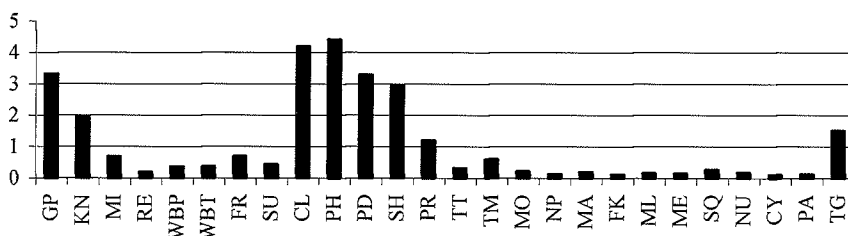
Note The Cook's Tale and all links except for the Wife of Bath's Prologue are omitted as is the Ploughman's Tale; the Tale of Gamelyn is placed last to reflect its late insertion.

In this example it is probable that the scribe at first took over crossed *h* from his exemplar but soon abandoned this form. However, after what may have been a gap in the copying of this manuscript after the Summoner's Tale, he began again at the Clerk's Tale by following his exemplar more closely with greater use of crossed *h*, but then abandoned crossed *h* once more so that it rarely occurs in the latter part of the manuscript.

We can distinguish two sets of spellings in Ch. One set contains examples like that of crossed *h* and includes: tailed vs plain *d*, tittle vs Ø on any graph, crossed double *l* vs uncrossed single *l* in ALL, SHALL, and WILL, Tironian nota vs *and, a* vs *o* before *n*+consonant, and *her* vs *here* irrespective of meaning. All show a reduction of the former for the latter spelling in the two stints starting with the General Prologue and Clerk's Tale respectively. These spelling shifts reflect the process of "working in" which often takes place at the beginning of a stint of copying, and both ultimately result in the final part of each stint showing a more or less identical spelling system in these features. This congruence of spelling with codicology argues against a scribal change of exemplar at any point during Ch. Rather, it points to an interruption of some duration in the progress of copying before the Clerk's Tale was begun that led the scribe to repeat the process of progressive translation found in the early part of the manuscript. A second set of spellings indicates a shift in the proportion of spellings for a common lemma throughout the roughly 20,000 lines in Ch and includes *not* vs *nat* for NOT, the synthetic superlative final -Ø vs final -*e*, and *sayd/said* vs *seyd/seid.* The shift from the former to the latter spellings is gradual, but continuous across the text ink change, though irregular between successive tales. Their slow and irregular movement argues for these spellings becoming accepted gradually by the scribe, for a spelling such as *nat,* which is characteristic of Hg, is unlikely to have been part of his own system given the accepted dating of Ch.

The evidence of British Library MS Harley 7334

Ha[4], a vellum manuscript, is written in one ink throughout by a single scribe, who also wrote Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 198 [Cp] of the *Canterbury Tales*. Both may be pre-1400, though which came first remains disputed. Its sole contents are the *Canterbury Tales* including the Tale of Gamelyn. It originally consisted of 38 quires, though quire 21 is now lost. The standard quire consists of eight folios, though there are three exceptions. The first is quire 9, a quire of six containing the conclusion of the Tale of Gamelyn. This tale begins at the top of fol.59[r], the third folio of quire 8, after the Cook's Tale finished prematurely at the bottom of fol.58[v] with the couplet A4413-14 on a single line, thus omitting eight lines of this tale. There is no rubric between the Cook's Tale and that of Gamelyn, but a scribble probably in another hand in the lower right-hand corner of fol.58[v] reads *Icy come[n]cera le fable de Gamelyn*. Gamelyn finishes 27 lines down the verso of the last folio of quire 9, leaving the last lines blank, and the Man of Law's Prologue commences on the first folio of quire 10. So it is probable that Gamelyn was inserted in the manuscript later, though the occurrence of six blank folios in quire 8 suggests the scribe expected to get something to fill them. Quire 19 is the second anomalous quire. This quire was reduced from a quire of eight to one of six by the removal of two folios between fols.146[v]-147[r]. The two folios were probably removed to prevent the occurrence of empty folios in the manuscript because there was not enough text to fill them, for the Squire's Tale which was now to follow in quire 20 was already written (Manly and Rickert 1940, 1: 224 and Blake 1985: 68). Fol.148[v], the final folio of quire 19, is ruled to receive the 38 lines of text characteristic of Ha[4], but a line is left blank on either side of both the one-line explicit to the Merchant's Tale and the two-line rubric after the Merchant-Squire link [E2419-40 and F1-8]. In addition, the explicit to the Merchant's Tale is the only explicit after fol.86[v] that is not immediately followed by an incipit. It is significant that the Host names the next narra-

tor as *Sir Squire* at F1, although *Sir* is otherwise found only in those manu-
scripts such as Hg that have *Franklin* rather than *Squire*. The blanks are a
device to fill up the frame, for no spacing surrounds other rubrics in Ha[4]
and the text has been spread out generously to make this page seem com-
plete. The third anomalous quire is the final one of two folios which con-
tains the end of the Parson's Tale and Chaucer's Retraction, which com-
plete the poem.

   Manly and Rickert (1940, 1: 223) distinguish two styles of *ordinatio* in
Ha[4], which they attribute to two rubricators, the first being responsible for
quires 1-11 and 20 as well as a few folios of quire 27. This allocation re-
flects the following features which we have developed from Manly and
Rickert's discussion (1). Before fol.86[v], the final folio of quire 11, the folios
either have a head in black ink in large textura or have no head at all,
though some contain a scribbled head in dark ink inserted at a later date.
Heads rubricated with either blue or gold paraphs first appear at fol.86[v]
and continue with certain interruptions to the end of the manuscript.
Quire 20 has a rubricated head only on its final verso, and quire 30 a ru-
bricated head on three of its pages. Heads are scribbled on the remaining
pages of quire 20 and on three pages of quire 30 whose remaining pages
have no head; quires 27 and 28 vary between no head at all and a scrib-
bled one (2). "Narrats", marking the beginning or the narrative part of a
tale, in the same style as the rubricated heads occur ten times in total from
quire 12; but "narrat" is scribbled in the margin of fol.227 in quire 30
marking the Monk's Tale. There is no "narrat" to the Squire's Tale in quire
20 (3). Ha[4] is ruled throughout to receive rubrics within the text-space. At
first the scribe includes an explicit only in the text ink in a one-line space,
but by the Reeve's Tale he modifies this strategy by including the explicit
in the margin. An explicit and incipit in rubric in a two-line space be-
comes the norm with the junction of the Man of Law's Endlink and the
Wife of Bath's Prologue on fol.86[v], except there are unfilled spaces for ru-

brics in quires 27-28 and 30 where directions to a rubricator are scribbled in the margin. There is no rubric in quire 20; the rubric after the Merchant-Squire link occurs at the end of the preceding quire as described, and the Squire's Tale fails to finish within quire 20. In other words, quires 1-11 and 20 share one style of *ordinatio* against the other quires with quires 27-8 and 30 fitting the second style although their rubrication is incomplete. In addition, the signatures of an original series which have survived cropping mark the first eleven quires, including the irregular quire 9 with the end of Gamelyn.

In other early manuscripts of the poem like Hg and Cp the Squire's Tale comes immediately after the Man of Law's Tale and this is where one might have expected it to appear in Ha[4]. But in a change of order it was decided to insert it after the Merchant's Tale. In Hg there is no link between the Man of Law's Tale and the Squire's Tale, though a blank between them was left suggesting uncertainty as to how they would be joined together. Cp, however, contains the Man of Law's Endlink [B[1]1163-90] which acts as the link to the Squire's Tale with the Squire named as the next narrator at B[1]1179. A version of this endlink appears in Ha[4], omitting B[1]1175 and B[1]1186-90, and the next narrator is named as the Summoner at B[1]1179, although his tale follows in no extant manuscript. No rubric or space for a rubric marks the beginning of the endlink, but it is made to fit into the prologue-tale-prologue pattern by its explicit, in the second *ordinatio* style, which announces the end of the Man of Law's Tale. This sequence and organisation suggest that the Squire's Tale was originally designed to follow the Man of Law's Tale in Ha[4]. If so, then the evidence we have considered of the junctions of quires 11-12 and 19-20 suggests that the tales of the Man of Law with its endlink and of the Squire were copied in immediate succession, although it was recognised that this might not be their final order in the manuscript. Smith (1985: 241, 1988: 62) has noted that a change in spelling possibly coincides with the change in *ordi-*

natio at fol.86ᵛ. Our research into the variations in spelling within Ha⁴ confirms, independently of the codicological analysis, that this is the case: the pattern that we see in the spelling data indicates that a change of exemplar has taken place after quire 20 and that quires 12-19 were copied later than quires 1-11 and 20, for when taking the whole text into consideration and allowing for a process of "working in" at the beginning of both stints, we can distinguish two spelling systems from the proportional usage of spellings for common lemmata.

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of selected spellings extracted from our ordered scribal profile. Among the spellings that differ significantly in their proportions between the two stints are 'cowde', *-ake(þ, ʒ)*, *nat*, *sey/seyd*, *ʒey*, *two*, *þeer(e)*, and *þou* characteristic of quires 1-11 and 20, against 'couʒe', *-aki(þ, ʒ)*, *not*, *say/sayd*, *ʒay*, *tuo*, *þer(e)*, and *þow* characteristic of quires 12-19 and 22-38. None of these spellings is especially significant dialectally. We have also included in Table 2 the spellings of FIRE, LIFE, and OWN (adjective), though these lemmata do not occur in quire 20, for the forms *fuyr(e)*, *lif*, and *oughne* are practically exclusive to the second stint. Other spellings which are not included in Table 2 but which distinguish the two stints are *ey-* in AIR, *-ey þ-* in HIGH, and the endings *-ud*, *-us*, and *-ur* characteristic of the first stint, compared with *ai(e)r* for AIR, *a-* and *to-* forms of BEFORE, *eo-* in EARTH, *y-* in EVIL, and *-ie-* in HEAR characteristic of the second. Finally, some graphemic evidence confirms the division, since tailed *d*, for example, is more common in every tale in the first stint than in any tale in the second and is especially characteristic of the Miller's, Reeve's, and Squire's Tales. Whereas the Ch scribe in his first set translated some spellings in his exemplar, Ha⁴'s scribe was influenced by the spelling systems of both his exemplars.

Table 2 - *Distribution of selected spellings in Ha⁴.*

Lemma	Quires 1-11	Quires 12-19	Quire 20	Quires 21-38
COULD	'cowde' (29)	--	'cowde' (2)	'cowde' (1)
	'couȝe' (23)	'couȝe' (37)	'couȝe' (12)	'couȝe' (32)
FIRE	*fyr(e), fir(e)* (28)	*fyre* (1)	--	*fyre* (1)
	fuyr(e) (2)	*fuyr(e)* (52)	--	*fuyr(e)* (14)
LIFE	*lif* (1)	*lif* (40)	--	*lif* (66)
	lyf(e) (30)	*lyf* (24)	--	*lyf(es)* (28)
MAKES, TAKES	*-ake(þ, ȝ)* (14)	*-ake(þ, ȝ)* (2)	*-ake(þ, ȝ)* (1)	*-ake(þ, ȝ)* (25)
	--	*-aki(þ, ȝ)* (19)	--	*-aki(þ, ȝ)* (30)
NOT	'nat' (78)	'nat' (4)	'nat' (7)	'nat' (13)
	'not' (69)	'not' (167)	'not' (8)	'not' (321)
OWN	--	*oughne* (54)	--	*oughne* (39)
(adjective)	*owen* (13)	--	--	*owen* (1)
	owne (14)	*owne* (12)	--	*owne* (25)
SAY, SAID	'say(-)' (65)	'say(-)' (249)	'say(-)' (25)	'say(-)' (264)
	'sey(-)' (142)	'sey(-)' (24)	'sey(-)' (9)	'sey(-)' (37)
THEY	'ȝay' (6)	'ȝay' (150)	--	'ȝay' (340)
	'ȝey' (164)	'ȝey' (3)	'ȝey' (25)	'ȝey' (47)
TWO	*tuo* (15)	*tuo* (41)	*tuo* (2)	*tuo* (82)
	two(o) (28)	--	*two* (4)	*two* (8)
YEAR	*þeer(e)* (22)	*þeer(e)* (1)	*þeer(e)* (3)	*þeer(e)* (5)
	þer(e) (5)	*þer(e)* (16)	*þer(e)* (1)	*þer(e)* (19)
YOU	*þou* (56)	*þou* (1)	*þou* (25)	*þou* (66)
	þow (26)	*þow* (168)	--	*þow* (256)

Note The number of attestations is given in parentheses. The figures exclude the Cook's Tale and all links except the Wife of Bath's Prologue. Single citation marks surround a type of spelling.

Conclusion

Spelling may not be useful for textual purposes unless it shares certain boundaries with features of a manuscript's codicology, for the interpretation of a spelling profile without outside support is complex and liable to error. This is because a scribe's spelling is never totally uniform, and it is that variation that allows us to deduce how many exemplars the scribe had. It is necessary to consider the entire text, preferably a text of some length, and to start from a high number of lemmata since our findings are bolstered when patterns are found to recur. It is helpful, as with the *Canterbury Tales,* to have a text which is extant in many manuscripts as that allows comparison of spelling profiles across other manuscripts since that may give us some help in determining what base a particular scribe started from.

Our analysis of Ch indicated that there were two sets of spellings in the canonical tales and that Gamelyn had a quite separate set of spellings. The occurrence of crossed *h* in Gamelyn shows that the scribe could reflect the spelling of his exemplar extensively even when his procedure in the rest of the manuscript was to change them gradually to uncrossed *h*. This suggests that Gamelyn was copied from a separate exemplar with relatively many examples of crossed *h* or, at best, that the Ch scribe's exemplar contained Gamelyn in a spelling which did not match the rest of that exemplar, thus causing the scribe to adopt a different strategy for that tale. Of the two major sets of spelling, one revealed a fairly rapid process of translation, by which the scribe abandoned the spelling of the exemplar to his preferred forms. But this process occurred twice in an almost identical way suggesting there was a break in the copying of Ch. The second set of spellings shows the scribe gradually adopting some spellings characteristic of Hg in preference to his own. That means he sometimes translated what was in his exemplar and at other times adopted spellings found there. Paradoxically, the existence of these two contrary processes

strongly suggests the scribe used a single exemplar, for they show a consistency of approach which argue against his use of more than one exemplar.

This conclusion is directly opposed to that proposed by Manly and Rickert (1940, 1: 85-91, 2: 487) and accepted by Owen (1991, 77-9), for they saw Ch as a manuscript copied from numerous exemplars and arranged in a unique tale order, although Manly and Rickert did suggest that its text was the end result of several layers of copying (1940, 1: 90). Nevertheless, they also recognised that Ch preserves early material high in authority, and they describe its exemplars as "independent" in some tales, and in others as variously affiliated with such "good" early manuscripts as Hg, British Library MS Additional 35286, Ellesmere, and Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27. The excellence of Ch's text is confirmed by Peter Robinson who assigns it to his O group — that group of manuscripts which individually stand in an independent, close relationship with the archetype of the tradition (Robinson 1997). It is extremely unlikely that the Ch scribe would have access to the complete text of the poem in the shape of numerous early exemplars in the latter part of the fifteenth century, a point which argues in favour of the scenario we propose in this paper. A scribe at this late date, especially if he worked outside the London-Westminster area, as has been suggested (Manly and Rickert 1940, 1: 90-1), is unlikely to have had access to many exemplars.

The position of Ha[4] is different. Once again the spelling system fits well with the codicology of the manuscript, but its interpretation is different. In Ha[4], which Manly and Rickert similarly saw as a manuscript copied from numerous exemplars and arranged in a unique tale order, we detect the existence of two spelling systems, which we feel represent two stints of copying from different exemplars. The first stint consists of quires 1-11 and 20, and the second of quires 12-19 and 22-38, for quire 21 is no longer extant. Both stints represent continuous copying because quire 20 was

copied before quires 12-19. But whereas Ch is a manuscript from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, Ha[4] is an early manuscript and probably written before Chaucer's death in 1400 (Blake 1997). So what is meant by exemplar for a *Canterbury Tales* manuscript at this period is very different from what it means for later manuscripts. There is growing evidence to suggest that some pre-1400 manuscripts were being copied at the same time in the London-Westminster area and it is possible that booklets or at least tranches of text were passed among scribes, possibly after passing through Chaucer's own hands during which process he made alterations to the text and the order of the tales (Blake forthcoming). The allocation of the Squire's Tale to a position later in the poem is one such change made *en courant*. The tranches of text themselves may have been prepared for Chaucer by different scribes as the poem was being composed and taking shape.

The codicology and spelling systems in Ch and in Ha[4], therefore, coincide to suggest a considerably simpler and rather different textual history than that advanced by Manly and Rickert on the basis of their study of numerous textual variations among the manuscripts. The very earliest manuscripts may have been in production at the same time and the scribes exchanged parts of the text with one another, though this process was clearly supervised by someone, almost certainly Chaucer himself. Scribes later in the fifteenth century may have had more than one complete manuscript to act as exemplar, but the presumption is that they usually worked from a single exemplar except possibly for some special material like the Tale of Gamelyn, though that may have existed in a separate booklet.

It might also be noted that the preference shown by Ch's scribe for some older spellings such as *nat* indicate that the development of a standard English spelling system was not as straightforward as some scholars

have suggested (John Fisher 1996) and this may reflect the influence which Chaucer's reputation exercised over later scribes (Horobin 2003).

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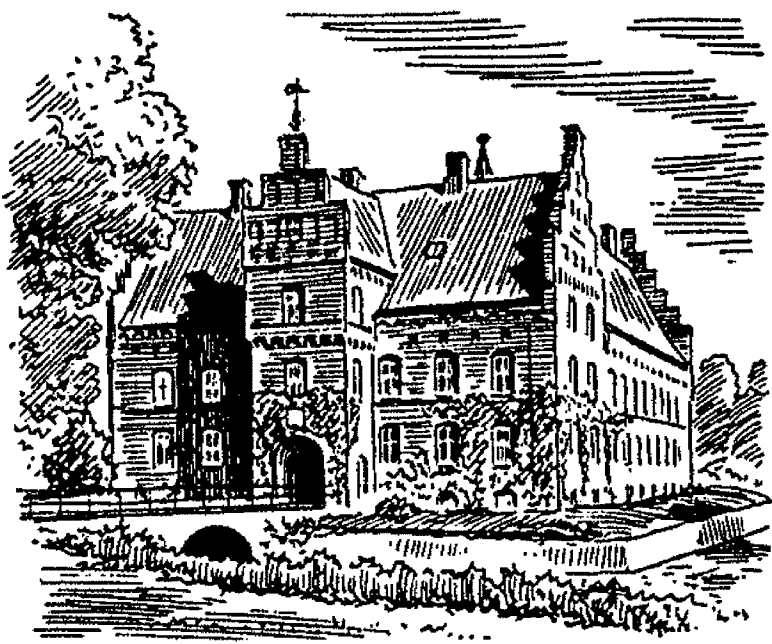
THE *CATHOLICON ANGLICUM* (1483):
A RECONSIDERATION

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Introductory comments

Within the history of English lexicography, bilingual word lists with the language order Latin-English precede those with the order English-Latin. Stein (1985) compared the two earliest English-Latin dictionaries, the *Promptorium parvulorum* (1440) and the *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483) and suggested that the overall organization of the *Catholicon Anglicum* seems to be more geared towards the encoding language needs of the 15th-century English person learning Latin than was the case with the *Promptorium parvulorum*. In the present article, this suggestion is taken up and developed further by looking at the *Catholicon Anglicum* from learners' point of view. It is shown that the compiler's strategies to meet the learners' needs interestingly anticipate the pedagogical and lexicographical methods that became commonplace in learners' dictionaries only several centuries later.

In *The English Dictionary before Cawdrey* (1985), I compared the first Latin-English dictionaries, the *Medulla grammatice* and the *Ortus vocabulorum*, and the first English-Latin dictionaries, the *Promptorium parvulorum* and the *Catholicon Anglicum*. Within the history of English lexicography, bilingual word lists with the language order Latin-English precede those with the order English-Latin. The sources of these types of dictionaries are the great Latin dictionaries of the Middle Ages as well as the works of classical Latin authors. Compilers of early Latin-English dictionaries could therefore put their headword list together by selecting Latin entry

words from the various sources consulted and then supply English trans-
lation equivalents for them. This is what they did, and when an English
equivalent was not known or at hand, the space was simply left empty.

For compilers of early English-Latin dictionaries, the lexicographical
task was more difficult. They had to compile an English headword list
and had to decide which English spelling to choose for the lemma (obvi-
ously, more of a problem than where the English form merely glossed a
Latin word). They might, of course, have turned around Latin-English
word lists, making the English equivalent the headword and the Latin
lemma the corresponding translation equivalent. That this was one of the
lexicographical working practices becomes manifest from a close study of
early bilingual dictionaries matching Latin and English.

Comparing the two earliest English-Latin dictionaries and trying to es-
tablish the lexicographical methods used by their compilers, I suggested
in 1985 that the overall organization of the *Catholicon Anglicum* seems to
be more geared towards the encoding language needs of the 15th-century
English person learning Latin than was the case with the *Promptorium par-
vulorum*. The earliest dated manuscript of the latter goes back to 1440 and
that of the *Catholicon Anglicum* to 1483, which puts nearly two generations
between the two works.

In the present article, I would like to come back to this suggestion and
develop it further by looking at the *Catholicon Anglicum* from a learner's
point of view.[1]

My textual basis is the only edition that exists of the work, provided by
Sidney J.H. Herrtage and published in 1881. Herrtage had intended his
edition as a companion to Albert Way's three-volume edition of the
Promptorium parvulorum, published 1843-1865, and therefore introduced a
number of symbols (a dagger, an asterisk) to indicate whether the entry
word had already been discussed by Way in the *Promptorium parvulorum*
edition or whether it was unique to the *Catholicon Anglicum*. These edito-

rial additions will be ignored here. The same holds for Herrtage's inser-
tions of readings from BM Add. MS. 15,562. His expansions of contrac-
tions in the Monson manuscript will be silently adopted, without ty-
pographical indication.

Assuming that medieval Latin dictionaries and inverted Latin-English
word lists constituted the working bases for 15th-century compilers of
English-Latin dictionaries, their first task will have been to select from this
rich word stock those lexical items that were to be included in their re-
spective dictionaries. The respective compilers of the *Promptorium parvulo-
rum* and the *Catholicon Anglicum* acquitted themselves well and in similar
ways. They opted to exclude material that was regarded as too encyclo-
pedic in nature, and thus only a few proper names appear in their dic-
tionaries (cf. Stein 1985: 96-7; 110). They also excluded specialized vocabu-
lary. Lexical coverage in the first English-Latin dictionaries was thus
much smaller than in the Latin-English dictionaries: Huntsman's edition
of the *Medulla grammatice* has nearly 17,000 entries (Huntsman 1973:
xxviii), whereas the *Promptorium parvulorum* has about 12,000 and the *Ca-
tholicon Anglicum* one third less, about 8,000 (Stein 1985: 110).

The next major task was to determine the order in which the head-
words were to be arranged. It is here that the compiler of the *Promptorium*
and the *Catholicon* took quite different decisions. The compiler of the
Promptorium parvulorum, a Dominican friar from Lynn Episcopi in Nor-
folk, stayed within the tradition which had by then developed for bilin-
gual word lists: the overriding lexicographical principle was the gram-
matical one, the alphabetical one was subordinate. The word list was di-
vided into a "nominale", containing all lexical items which were not
verbs, and a "verbale", listing all the verbs. Grammatical homonyms are
thus separated. The unknown compiler of the *Catholicon Anglicum*, how-
ever, made alphabetical order the overriding principle, thus producing a
single word list for his users instead of two, which must have made con-

sultation more difficult and time-consuming. Yet alphabetical order is interrupted and interspersed with word-family organization. This morphological principle may have been suggested to the compiler by the Latin source material. Take the entries based on the adjective lemma *soft*:

Softe; molis, molliculus, mulcibris.
to make **Softe**; mollificare, mollire,
   de-, e-, mollitare.
to be **Softe**; mollere, e-, mollescere,
   e-.
a **Softnes**; mollicia, mollicies.

In a Latin-English word list, alphabetical order would have linked the items *molis* (mollis), *mollere, mollescere, mollicia, mollicies, molliculus, mollire, mollitare*, etc. By changing the language order, the English translation equivalents *soft, to make soft, to be soft, softness* would have come to be headwords. The compiler then decided to leave the word family together, not entering *to make soft* under *m*, and *to be soft* under *b* as the Lynn friar might have done. Yet the compiler of the *Catholicon Anglicum* also assembled word family entries independently from a pre-given Latin alphabetical list, as can be shown with the lexical entries based on the verb *to eat*:

to **Ete**; epulari, con-, comedere, co-
   messare, vessi, con-, edere, con-
   ex-, fagin grece, mandare, man-
   ducare, papare, prendere, pran-
   sare, pransitare.

Eteabylle; comessibilis, edilis,
an **Eter**; comestor.
an **Etynge**; comestio, commessacio.
Etynge; edax, edaculus, edens.
an **Etynge place**; pransorium.

Etyn; commestus, estus, esus, mansus,
   pransus.

Clear proof that the compiler was concerned with observing word families in the headword structure of the *Catholicon Anglicum* as a lexicographical principle comes from his policy of providing antonyms for verbs and adjectives, e.g.:

to **Close**; vallare, sepire, circum-, ob-.
to vn**Close**; dissepire, discludere.

Frendly; Amicalis, Amicabilis, hu-
   manus, Amicus, & comparatur
   Amicior, Amicissimus.

vn **Frendly**; inhumanus, inimicus;
   inhumane, inhumaniter.

As we can see from the examples *to vn Close* and *vn Frendly* capitalization has been given the role of highlighting the lexical basis of the word family. Ordinarily, the use of capitals in early word lists was mainly to signal the beginning of a new line. In the *Catholicon Anglicum* it identifies the headword lexeme and thus even penetrates the word level when the word is a complex one, such as a prefixal derivative.

The examples quoted show another distinctive feature of the *Catholicon Anglicum*: English nouns are preceded by a determiner and verbs are listed with the particle *to*. In this case, too, it may have been the inversion of Latin-English word lists to English-Latin ones that prompted the compiler to give such "prelemmatic" items (cf. Stein 1997: 197). It was quite common practice in Latin-English word lists to render Latin nouns, whether or not preceded by a gender-indicating demonstrative (*hic, hec, hoc*), by an English translation equivalent, specifying at the same time the

grammatical class (*a* for countable nouns, a zero article for uncountable nouns, and *the* for nouns of unique reference). And verbs were preceded by the particle *to* to signal infinitive status. The compiler of the *Catholicon Anglicum* obviously decided to carry these grammatical features over into his English headword list. One may wonder why English native learners of Latin should be told that verbs in their mother tongue were preceded by *to*, or that nouns had to be used with a specific kind of determiner. There is no way of knowing whether the compiler may have meant to further his users' grammatical education in the mother tongue. Yet what is manifest from the compiler's decision is that in retaining the prelemmatic features he achieves a clear grammatical differentiation of homonyms. The searching eyes of the dictionary users would have been able to identify the lexical item they were looking for at a single quick glance.

It thus looks as if the compiler of the *Catholicon Anglicum* by means of prelemmatic grammatical elements and by capitalization of the headwords proper increased their accessibility for the dictionary users. And in linking this with a word-family organization he supplied his learners with the necessary linguistic items allowing rephrasing in a different form, thus helping the learners to express themselves in Latin. A further indication of the compiler's concern to enable his dictionary users to find what they are looking for is the cross-reference system in the *Catholicon Anglicum*, co-referring spelling variants and synonyms.

I turn now to the foreign language component of the dictionary to look into what the compiler singled out from the rich description of Latin found in his source material.

Variations in form are given, e.g.:

a **Bacheler**; bacalarius vel bacularius.
a **Brassure**; braciale vel brachiale.
a **Crab**; Arbitum vel Arbota.

In cases where a Latin vowel is contracted or should not be contracted, attention is drawn to the correct pronunciation:

> vn **Lyke**; dissimilis, insimilis, dispar
>   correpto -a- , separ omnis generis,
>   correpto A in obliquis.
> a **Manslaer**; assisini, grassator.
>   homicida, letifur, correpto [i],
>   plagiarius, sicarius, spiculator.
> an **Oxe stalle**; bostar, -ris, produc-
>   to A, bucetum.

For nouns grammatical gender as well as the genitive form is given, for adjectives the masculine, feminine and neuter form is provided, e.g.:

> An **Abbacy**; hec Abbacia e.
> **Abbott**; hic Abbas tis.
> **Abylle**; hic hec Abilis & hoc le,
>   Aptus a um, conueniens, congruus
>   a um, consonus a um, Idoneus
>   a um, hic hec vtensilis & hoc le.

The compiler is quite aware that with nouns referring to a person gender in English is covert and he therefore supplies the forms for the male and female in Latin, e.g.:

> a **Diffamer**; diffamator, -trix.
> a **Grawnter**; largitor vel -trix.
> a **Leper**; saltator, -trix.

Occasionally, grammatical complementation is explicitly stated, e.g.

to **Cownselle**; consiliare, consulere,
    suadere, iudicare, & tunc con-
    struitur cum datiuo caso.

a **Thowsande**; Millenarius, Millenus,
    Millecies, mille indeclinabile & hec
    milia -lium differentia (inter mille
    et millia secundum Ugonem) mille
    notat vnum millenarium, & milia
    notat plures millenarios jndeter-
    minate, vnde recepit adiectiua, vt
    duo milia, & potest esse oratio &
    cetera; construitur cum genitivo
    plurali.

The entry may be accompanied by an example showing the constructional pattern in actual use:

Borñ; natus, ortus, oriundus &
    construitur cum genitiuo, vt
    'sum oriundus parcium tuarum'.

to **Seme**, or **it Semes**; decet, -bat
    personale vel impersonale; vt toga
    decet me, impersonale vt decet me
    loqui.

to **Sit on A horse**; jnsedere & con-
    struitur cum datiuo, vt: jnsedeo
    equo vel eque.

But such illustrative examples also occur without a specific construction pattern having been outlined. They illustrate the use of adjectives, nouns, grammatical words such as *how* and *or*, and, above all, verbs. Here are some examples:

Berynge; ferax, vt, 'istud solum
est ferax frugum; jsta aqua est
ferax nauium;' …

Stille; placidus, pacificus, quietus,
tacitus, taciturnus, tranquillus,
suspensus, vt: ille sedet suspen-
sus.

a **Fronte**; frontispicium, vt fron-
tispicium ecclesiarum.

an **Image**; jmago, caracter, effigies,
figura, sculptile, signum; vt:
vidi signum sancti johannis;
…

Howe; qualiter, quomodo, quam;
ut, nescis quam male loquitur iste
de te; vel sic, quam bene diligis
me, cum similibus.

Or; Aut, vel sev, que: vt iohannes
Robertusque legit; sive.

to **Parysche**; perire, valere, vt
valeant i. pereant inimici regis.

to **Plese**; libere, -bescere, placere,
 per-, vacare vt vacat michi scrib-
 ere. i. placet.

to **Set jn stede**; substituere, sufficere,
 ut: sufficio te in loco meo.

to **Smyte out**; labifacere, vt: ego
 labifaciam dentes tuos.

As we can see, the phrase and sentence examples are always intro-
duced by the particle *ut* and they represent ordinary language use. They
are not translated into English, the learners' mother tongue. Illustrative
examples in the learners' mother tongue translated into the foreign lan-
guage were to be one of the outstanding characteristics of the first English
dictionary matching two vernaculars, John Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de
la langue francoyse* of 1530 (cf. Stein 1997).

Scholars have drawn attention to the wealth of Latin synonyms in-
cluded in the *Catholicon Anglicum* and the many superb synonym dis-
criminations helping learners to pick the right Latin word when writing
or composing a text (cf. Starnes 1954: 22; Stein 1985: 113-5). Here are some
examples:

Dumme; mutus, elinguatus, sine
 lingua est, elinguis habet linguam
 set eius caret vsu.

an **Ere**; Auris hominum est, Auri-
 cula brutorum, Ansa est olle,
 Ansula diminutinum; Auricu-
 laris, Auricus.

an **Example**; exemplum, exemplar,
 exemplum est dictum vel factum

alicuius autentice persone mutaci-
one dignum, sed exemplar est ad
cuius similitudinem ad fit simile,
jdea, parabola, paradiogma.

Such meaning differentiations may be accompanied by collocation pat-
terns, e.g.:

a **Drope**; gutta est grauioris hu-
    moris ut mellis; guttula est
    diminutiuum, guttosus partici-
    pium; stilla est leuioris ut
    aque: vel dicitur gutta dum
    pendet vel stat, stilla cum
    illa cadit; stillicidium, mitos,
    grece.

to **Sownde**; strepere, As-, per-, pop-
    uli est, crepare, con-, crepitare,
    ignis crepitat, aqua murmurat,
    ferrum stridet, sonare, per-, re-,
    jn-, reboare, tinnire, tinnitare.

The semantic discrimination of Latin synonyms may also include
mnemonic verses. These may be more personal in style, including pro-
nouns of the first or second person, thus addressing or involving the dic-
tionary learner, e.g.:

to **Drynke**; bibere, con-, potare, con-
    e-, haurire; versus:
      ¶ Poto, do potum; poto, sumo
      michi potum.
      Calicare; bibit qui aliquid re-
      linquit, ebibit qui totum bibit.
      bibimus ex necessitate, Pota-

mus ex voluntate. Sebibere

est scorsum bibere.

to **Forgete**; descire, dediscere, ob-

liuisci, obliuioni tradere, igno-

r[ar]e; vnde versus:

¶ Hoc ignoramus quod notum

non memoramus,

Illud nescimus quod nunquam

mente subimus,

Obliuiscemur prius hoc quod in

Arte docemur.

The word-family principle which we have noted in the arrangement of the English headwords is also manifest in the Latin section of the dictionary. After the immediate translation equivalents further Latin derivatives of the latter are provided, thus offering more choice to the learner. Such vocabulary additions (by way of derivational formations) typically comprise:

(1)   Derived adjectives ('participium' is the term used for 'adjective' in the *Catholicon Anglicum*) for nouns, e.g.:

Crystalle; cristallus; cristallinus participium.

a **Daynte**; dilicee, lauticia, lauticie,

epule; delicatus, deliciosus, lautus

participia.

(2)   Diminutive derivatives for nouns, e.g.:

a **Fische**; piscis, pisciculus diminu-

tiuum.

a **Hanselle**; Arabo, strena, strenula
   diminutiuum; strenicus & stren-
   osus, participia.

(3)   Locative derivatives for nouns, specifying where the referent of the
      noun is found:

a **Crekethole**; grillarium, grilletum
   est locus vbi habundant.

an **Ellyrtre**; Alnus; alnicetum est
   locus vbi crescunt.

(4)   Words relating to ill-health may be followed by a derivative refer-
      ring to someone who is a sufferer e.g.:

þe **Dropsye**; idropis; jdropicus qui
   patitur infirmitatem.

þe **Emeraudes**; emoroide, emorois;
   emoroissus qui patitur talem
   infirmitatem.

(5)   Abstract and agential nouns derived from verbs may be listed, e.g.:

to **Discharge**; exonerare, -tor, -trix,
   & -cio.

to **Ondyr putte**; supponere, -tor, -trix
   & -cio; -ens participium.

Occasionally, the morphological analysis becomes an explanation of the
word origin, as in:

> A **Nampkyn**; Manifra, manupi-
>   um A manu & pio i. purgare,
>   manifra dicitur de manu & foros
>   i. ferre.
> a **Schryne**; colossium, quia ibi co-
>   luntur ossa, capsa, capsula, cap-
>   sella.

In content, such explanations resemble the type of special or usage notes found in modern dictionaries, added in an extra paragraph at the end of a dictionary entry. That the concept of such additional notes was not unfamiliar to the compiler of the *Catholicon Anglicum* emerges from entries like the following:

> **Odde**; disper, inequalis, impar .i.
>   sine pare. Et nota quod omnia
>   composita de hoc par sunt omni-
>   um generum.

> **Vn Abylle**; inabilis.
>
> Regula { ¶ Nota quod omnia hu-
>   iusmodi idiomatajn-
>   cipiencia ab vn sunt
>   requirenda ad sua
>   simplicia; verbi gra-
>   tia **vnabylle** vbi
>   **abylle**.

And just as modern learners' dictionaries draw attention to divided usage in such notes, the compiler of the *Catholicon* occasionally comments on differences in usage or even disputed usage. The comment may be general as in:

Hardes; stuppa; quidam dicunt
   stupa.

Or it may relate to old use, as in:

a **Cankyr**; cancer, -is secundum
   antiquos, sed modo est secunde
   declinationis, cancer, -cri.

But in most cases, the differences in use are quoted with their authorities, e.g.:

a **Lawe**, fas est lex humana, jus est
   lex diuina: versus contrarius
   quem ponit hugo; versus:
   ¶ Ius est humana lex, sed fas
      esto diuina.

Saw[n]dyrs; sandix, vel sandex se-
   cundum iannensem, est enim genus
   rubei coloris.

I have tried to show that the *Catholicon Anglicum* is concerned with the specific encoding needs of native-speaking learners. Indeed, its compiler addresses these needs, armed with strategies that interestingly anticipate the pedagogical and lexicographical methods that became commonplace in learners' dictionaries only several centuries later.

Note
1. I am grateful for the help and advice of Randolph Quirk, like me a long-standing friend of the dedicatee, Arne Zettersten.

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LAY LITERACY AND THE MEDIEVAL BIBLE

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Among Arne Zettersten's impressive research publications are those on Middle English texts. His brilliant editions of *The Ancrene Riwle*, published over the years in the Early English Text Society, have done so much to further our knowledge of this important religious work. Tracing the sources of the *The Ancrene Riwle* author's quotations is indeed a complex task. Geoffrey Shepherd states that "the Bible provides most of the material of the Rule - the medieval Bible, a vast indivisible unity, but perceived only by glimpses. Often it is a gloss which leads him [the author] to the scriptural text, not to an initial memory of Scripture" (1959: xxv-xxvi).[1] Shepherd goes on to show the complexities involved in finding the source of biblical paraphrases in *The Ancrene Riwle*:

> It is often difficult to tell whether the author of the Rule is making a direct use of originals entire, or whether he is not using some collections of authorities (*Sententiae*), or current anthologies (*Florilegia*), which would be available in any library by the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, considering the Rule as a whole, we must recognise that the range of scriptural reference or contact with a variety of extra-scriptural writings is wide (1959: xxvii)

This "medieval Bible" is very different from ours and even the Vulgate, Jerome's Latin translation from c. 404 which would, at the time, have been available only to the Latin literate; it is more a pan-European compendium of biblical, patristic and legendary material expressed in as different forms as Danish wall paintings and popular English vernacular poetry or drama. In this article I wish to examine the nature of what appears to be biblical reference in vernacular literature, particularly in the works of

Chaucer, to see what might be learned about lay literacy and the nature of this "medieval Bible".

There are over seven hundred biblical allusions and quotations in Geoffrey Chaucer's masterpiece, *The Canterbury Tales* (pre1400). These allusions include misquotations, partial quotations, and paraphrases (Reiss 1984: 48). Some of Chaucer's characters acknowledge their biblical source and some do not, while others give incorrect references. The Parson, for example, conveys a sound knowledge of the Bible, although admitting "I am nat textuel", but many others, like the Miller, have a pretty shaky grasp of Scripture. The Wife of Bath, the Man of Law, the Merchant and the Pardoner cleverly manipulate Scripture and other authorities for their own purposes. However, Chaucer's main aim is not to teach the Bible; he is a professional writer to whom all books including the Bible were a means to a literary end.

> Chaucer's mishandlings [of Scripture] are all most likely purposeful and may well be the principal way he uses the Bible for literary, rather than authoritative purposes ... It is as a craftsman of language and as a creator of fictions that Chaucer mainly uses the Bible. (Reiss 1984: 48)

Chaucer is as interested in the *way* his characters use or manipulate their sources as in *what* they say. He is concerned more with the marriage of wisdom to rhetoric, of meaning to style than with an accurate use of sources. Misquotations can be used to reflect on narrators. Chaucer never openly criticises a character for gross textual harassment of Scripture, rather he allows his readers to draw their own conclusions about the characters from the way they apply biblical knowledge.

Given that the Vulgate was not accessible in the 14th century to many of the same social and educational groups as those to which his characters belong, how successful is Chaucer in reflecting the type of biblical sophistication (or lack of it) that the various characters might be expected to pos-

sess? Turning the question round: is there anything to be gleaned in Chaucer's works about levels of literacy in the late 14th century, given that Chaucer intends to make his characters realistic? We have scant evidence of literacy at this time and have to rely on wills, bankruptcy lists, etc. for information on book ownership. However, I cannot see why we should not look at literary characters for clues about how the Bible is conveyed to lay people, the "lewd", and in what ways "auctoritee" trickles down to those with little learning in the fourteenth century.[1]

Most university teachers these days complain about the atrociously low level of biblical knowledge of modern students. Even those who profess to know their Bible and claim to have learned it at Sunday School are still shaky on details. How many today are convinced that the Fall of the Angels and Christ's Descent into Hell are narrated in the Bible? However, detailed knowledge of the Bible by the laity is a post-Reformation phenomenon and we today are perhaps nearer the medieval mentality, receiving our biblical knowledge from films and TV as well as in fiction, just as medieval *illiterati* learned the Bible aurally and visually. We must not, however, underestimate the biblical knowledge of the *illiterati,* but at the same time we should be aware of the filters through which this knowledge passed and how it was integrated in a vast encyclopaedic understanding of the history of man and his universe.

Margery Kempe (c. 1373 - after 1433), for example, thanks the priest in Lynn who "read to her many a good book of high contemplation and other books such as the Bible, with doctors thereon, St Bride's book, Hilton's book, Bonaventure, etc. Thus through hearing of holy books and holy sermons she ever increased in contemplation and holy meditation." (Aston 1984: 120) She also mentions the paintings and sculpture and an Easter sepulchre, which sent her into raptures. Visually and orally she would be totally immersed in the Bible and aware of the typological links between Old and New Testament, as the biblical scenes were invariably

juxtaposed in art and literature. Whether she could distinguish between canonical and apocryphal episodes is unimportant, as all was wrapped up in what might be called the medieval biblical experience or what Margaret Aston calls "that vanished English library of 'laymen's books'" (Aston 1984: 121). All such information had a clear didactic aim, namely to help the laity lead good lives.

In the Middle Ages, as today, there was a wide range of literate and illiterate population. Illiteracy today and then was often hidden and notions of literacy vague. Michael Clanchy demonstrates how *clericus* and *litteratus, laicus* and *illitteratus* are interchangeable terms in the early Middle Ages (1979:175-201). Non-lettered and lay were synonymous, and by lettered they referred to Latin literacy and not vernacular. At the time of the Black Death (1348-1351), we hear of widowers joining monastic orders who were called 'illiterate' although they could only read English. But by end of the 14th century *litteratus* was used to describe not only persons of erudition, but those with a minimal knowledge of Latin. Clanchy states that some tradesmen in London were called *litterati* and certain Lollards at the end of the century were called *laicus litteratus* (1979, 185). This might appear to be a contradiction in terms but it reflects changing attitudes to literacy and the laity.

There were, of course, many English translations of parts of the Bible by mid-14th century; there were Gospel harmonies and commentaries, versions of the Pauline and Catholic epistles and many other vernacular works which retold parts of the Bible. More important were the literary works, especially in verse, which paraphrased the Bible, and verse was important to attract the listener and to help the memory. A literal translation of the Bible was unnecessary, many thought, when more attractive renditions were easily at hand. The *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, for example, written in mid-14th century and based on *The Golden Legend* (mid-13th century) and the *Polychronicon,*(early-14th century) is specifically designed to

relate the Gospels to the unlettered. In the introduction the author states: "A worthy person asked me to show certain things that he saw written in Latin, that he might know in English tongue of Jesus Christ's nativity and his deeds in order, in which he might by good authority fully trust and know." (As quoted by Fowler 1977: 147). Other literary works, such as the *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300), set out the biblical narrative interwoven with legendary material (Fowler 1977: 165, 193). Here are all the stories which John, the Carpenter in *The Miller's Tale*, would know - of Adam and Eve, Noah and Abraham - in addition to many of the apocryphal stories of the Fall of the Angels, the life and death of Pilate (also in *The Golden Legend*), the legend of Seth and the postlapsarian tree, the stories of Joseph of Arimathia, the Harrowing of Hell, the handkerchief of St Veronica, and the life and death of Mary. All these stories we find in church wall paintings, carvings, stained glass, and, of course, the English Mystery Plays. The medieval bible of the illiterate was not in a book, let alone a specific book, but an encyclopaedic synthesis of all the stories connected to the lives of the Old Testament patriarchs and of the holy family and gleaned from a wide range of sources. It was also a pan-European "virtual book" with the same themes and stories appearing throughout the continent in vernacular writing, church paintings, carvings, and decorations. All had the common purpose of not simply narrating biblical scenes, but also of influencing the lives of the audience, as the cycle plays did, and of creating an element of social control.

Much of Chaucer's own learning would have come second hand by this trickle-down effect or, in Chaucer's case, 'cascade' effect - not directly from the patristic or classical source but from collections, florilegia, anthologies, and miscellanies. We have the friars to thank for many of these compendia from which Chaucer and many other vernacular writers gleaned Latin quotations, *exempla* and miscellaneous general knowledge. A good example of a very popular collection is John of Wales's *Commu-*

niloquium of the late 13th century, used by priest and laity alike, and in which there were many biblical and classical quotations, all carefully listed with lemmata for quick reference. Chaucer never mentions this work although it seems to have been used in his *Wife of Bath's Prologue, Summoner's Tale, Nun's Priest's Tale,* and elsewhere. Many of the *exempla* which the Pardoner uses in his model sermon are taken from this work, as Robert A. Pratt has shown (1966: 619-42). Derek Pearsall writes of "the magpie-like nature of [Chaucer's] raids on scholarly texts" which were probably "the product, more than we know, not of his indefatigable reading but of his conversations with more learned friends."

> Itemizing the sources of each tale does in fact give a misleading impression, since it misses that great body of writing in Latin anthologies, miscellanies, compendia and encyclopaedias, which is what gives the 'many storied' quality to Chaucer's writing in *The Canterbury Tales* ... Echoes of sermons and sermon literature are everywhere, and of course the Bible and liturgy are plundered for some of Chaucer's most dazzling literary effects. (1992: 242-243)

One wonders how frequently the clergy went to the Vulgate even for biblical texts and *exempla*. "Creative preachers must have been at a premium", states Janet Coleman; "these handbooks may, in part, be the origin of frequent satirical complaints against a clergy illiterate in the Bible" (1984: 170). As might be expected, these handbooks were severely criticised by the Wyclifites who considered them stultifying for the spiritual growth of the laity. The Dominicans were the first to collect *exempla* in handbooks for preachers. They were the work of important scholars such as the highly influential John Bromyard's *Summa Praedicantium* (c. 1356) and Robert Holcot's *Liber de moralitatibus* with moralized *exempla*, a major source of Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*.

This is not to downplay Chaucer's learning. Chaucer of course translated from Latin, as can be seen in his *Boece,* and in the revised Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* he claims to have translated Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi.* It appears that in his translations, Chaucer did not always go back to the original text but relied heavily on Jean de Meun's translations for his prose sections, although it appears that he also sometimes went to the original Latin to check the French translation. Furthermore, he relied on Nicholas Trivet's Latin commentary on Boethius to explain allusions. Indeed the four works by Boethius, Jean de Meun, Nicholas Trivet, and Chaucer appear in different combinations in a few fifteenth-century manuscripts with one vernacular version as marginal or interlinear gloss on the other.[2]

So, fourteenth-century lay authors, like Chaucer, can be shown to have strong biblical and patristic knowledge, albeit much at second hand, but how did they 'cascade' this to the next level, their lay audience who may or may not have been literate in the vernacular?

In *The Canterbury Tales,* Chaucer creates characters who in real life would possess different degrees of biblical knowledge and understanding. The Parson is obviously well-versed in Scripture, beginning his tale with the biblical reference for his text, Jeremiah 6, followed by the Latin Vulgate source, a close translation, and then an explanation. Following exegetical practice he then gives patristic interpretations by Ambrose, Isidore, and Gregory. This is all textbook stuff in his tale "of moralitee and virtuous mateere".

In *Piers Plowman* (c. 1360-1400), the Vulgate plays a pivotal role. Latin Scripture naturally adds weight to the argument, but, as Janet Coleman suggests, "the biblical, Latin quotations in *Piers Plowman* comprise a central principle of construction, from which the Middle English 'divisions' fan out … [Langland] frequently began with a Latin quote and, using the

aids of the medieval preacher, derived much of the substance of his poem." (1981: 194)

> And Salamon seide, the same, that Sapience made:
> Qui parcit virge, odit filium.
> The Englich of this Latyn is, whoso wil it knowe:
> Whoso spareth the sprynge, spilleth his children (*Piers Plowman*, Passus 5, ll. 39-41).

The biblical source is invariably then amplified with allegories and examples and much of this material has a source in Bromyard's encyclopaedic *Summa*.

The Norfolk Franciscan, John of Grimestone (1372), uses the same technique:

> Man ne hath nouth grace for God ȝef hit nouth
> But for it is nouth rediliche of man isouth
> Homo non habet graciam non quia hanc non dat Deus.[3]

Grimestone's work was intended to be notes for preachers, but in these he collected a vast range of patristic, biblical, classical, and even contemporary authorities such as Robert Holcot (died 1349).

A direct quotation from the Vulgate gives the English text authority, and Chaucer demonstrates how this method can easily be abused, for example by the hypocritical friar in *The Summoner's Tale* who misapplies biblical quotations while claiming that "My spirit hath his fostryng in the Bible", and by the Pardoner who sprinkles or seasons his sermon with Latin, purely for effect:

> And in Latyn I speke a wordes fewe,
> To saffron with my predicacioun,

> And for to stire hem to devocioun (*The Pardoner's Prologue*,
> lines 344-346).

Similarly the Somonour delights in quoting phrases in Latin and indeed when drunk "wold he speke no word but Latyn." Such misapplication of the Bible is openly criticised elsewhere in the fourteenth century. For example, Lady Mede in Passus 3 in *Piers Plowman* is angered by Conscience's argument against the abuse of riches and defends gift-giving with a biblical quotation:

> Also wroth as the wynde wex Mede in a while,
> "I can no Latyn",quod she, "clerkis wote the sothe.
> Se what Salamon seith in Sapience bokes,
> That hij that ȝiveth ȝiftes the victorie wynneth
> & moche worschip had ther-with as holiwryt telleth,
> *Honorem adquiret qui dat munera, etc."* (Passus 3, lines 328-333)

Conscience then points out that the quotation is unfinished. Mede, he says, is like the lady who quoted *"omnia probate"* "test all things", but forgot the continuation, *"quod bonum est tenete"* "hold that which is good" which she would have found if she had turned the leaf:

> Ac ȝow failled a cunnyng clerke that couthe the lef haue
> torned.
> And if ȝe seche sapience eft fynde shal ȝe that folweth,
> A ful teneful tixte to hem that taketh Mede,
> And that is, *animam autem aufert accipientium, etc.*
> And that is the taille of the tixte of that that ȝe schewed,
> that, theiȝe we wynne worschip and with mede haue victorie,
> the soule that the sonde taketh bi so moche is bounde (lines
> 343-349).

Lady Mede claims to be angry at Conscience's use of biblical texts, but continues with the partial quotation to show that gift-giving brings honour (Proverbs 22: 9). Conscience suggests that "a cunnyng clerk", an intelligent cleric, should have pointed out her partial, and hence misleading, quotation by turning the page and seeing the rest of the text. Conscience completes the Latin text and continues by paraphrasing it in English: "the soule that the sonde taketh bi so moche is bounde".

Janet Coleman quotes from a late fourteenth-century sermon in which the preacher answers a parishioner's query about lay reading of the Bible. The preacher says that the laity are not forbidden from reading Scripture, "but itt is forbede anny lewde man to mysuse holywritte". Coleman interprets the sermon thus:

> This preacher seems to be saying that it is inappropriate for an unlearned man to misuse the Bible, but he who is able to read and go further in his education should do so, for it pleases Christ ... It is not enough to read Scripture; one must understand its meaning ... [i.e.] the traditional interpretations of the text (1984: 204-205).

The clerical fear of vernacular translations of Scripture was centred on the laity's lack of formal training in *ennaratio*, the authorised interpretation of the Word.

Surely the position of the most accomplished 'partial quoter' in the Middle Ages must go to Chaucer's narrator of 'The Wife of Bath', Dame Alisoun. Alisoun has indeed a cleric to hand, namely her fifth husband Jankyn, an ex-cleric, which fact implies that he would have a sound scholastic training, although he himself indulges in misapplication of Scripture for misogynistic reasons. His wife, Alisoun, is simply copying his methods to prove her case for multiple marriages. The difference between Lady Mede of *Piers Plowman* and Chaucer's Dame Alisoun is that the latter's misquotations and partial quotations are not picked up by a narrator

or Conscience figure. It is the audience's onus to make of her biblical quotations what they will. Could this show that Chaucer has a more mature and trusting attitude to his readers, or does it reflect his greater interest in the *way* the Wife argues than the orthodoxy of her comments?

> I nyl envye no virginitee.
> Lat hem be breed of pured whete-seed,
> And lat us wyves hoten barly-breed;
> And yet with barly-breed, mark telle kan,
> Oure Lord Jhesu refresshed many a man.
> In swich estaat as God hath cleped us
> I wol persevere; I am nat precius. (*Wife of Bath's Prologue*, lines 142-148)

The Wife of Bath confuses the evangelists Mark and John in the passage about wheat and barley bread and totally distorts the traditional interpretation of this passage about the hierarchy of spiritual states, namely that wheat represents chastity and barley incontinence. She confuses the literal and the anagogical meanings; barley represents an inferior spiritual state in which we should not be content, but, with mock modesty, Dame Alisoun claims that she is happy as she is. She uses the same argument when partially quoting from 2 Timothy 2: 20-21:

> For wel ye knowe, a lord in his houshold,
> He hath nat every vessel al of golde;
> Somme been of tree, and doon hir lord servyse (*Wife of Bath's Prologue*, lines 99-101).

Dame Alisoun claims, again with apparent modesty, that she will be happy to remain a "wooden vessel" in her Lord's house and not aspire to be golden, whereas the biblical text goes on to compare the gold and the wooden to honourable and dishonourable states and encourages mankind

to "purge himself from these, [and] he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the master's use." (Timothy 2: 21)

From the beginning of the Prologue Dame Alisoun has indulged in selective quotations, invariably choosing passages about marriage which refer to the husband's responsibilities, while remaining silent on the mutual and reciprocal duties of the Wife:

> But wel I moot expres, with-oute lye,
> God bad us for to wexe and multiplye;
> That gentil text can I wel understonde.
> Eek wel I woot he seyde, myn housbonde
> sholde lete fader and moder, and take me. (27-31)
> …
> 'I have the power durynge al my lyf
> Upon his propre body, and nought he
> Right thus the Apostel tolde it unto me,
> And bad oure housbondes for to love us weel.
> Al this sentence me liketh every deel'.
> Up stirte the Pardoner, and that anon;
> 'Now dame', quod he, 'by God and by Seint John!
> Ye been a noble prechour in this cas' (*Wife of Bath's Prologue*,
> lines 160-165)

Unlike in *Piers Plowman*, there is no Conscience figure here who pops up in alarm. She receives only praise for her rhetorical technique from the Pardoner who is also an expert in twisting his sources to prove his point. There is furthermore a hint of ridicule when, for example, he touches on the Wife's incorrect reference to St Mark by his oath "by Seint John!"

She seems a perfect example of the dangers of applying the Bible without expert theological help. But why does Chaucer allow her to go unchecked and does he not fear what has been called "the new reading public" of the fourteenth century, namely those who cannot read the Vulgate

and have not been guided in their interpretations? Chaucer's motives are ambiguous. He obviously does not want the Wife to appear as the vindictive La Vieille in Jean de Meun's 13th- century *Le Roman de la Rose*, but as an attractive and well-armed adversary of the male, clerical interpretation of the Bible and church fathers. I believe that the answer lies in the fact that he is more interested in her rhetorical techniques, namely her deliberate textual harassment, than in her unorthodoxy.

There is, however, one controlling voice on the manuscript page. The majority of the earliest manuscripts of the Tales have glosses and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* is the most heavily glossed part. The glosses appear in the earliest of the manuscripts, Hengwrt and Ellesmere, and are written in the same hand and as large and prominent a hand as the text itself.[4] They are in Latin and visually appear to balance the vernacular text both physically and morally. They may be there to give weight and authority to the text, as most major Latin works of this time were glossed. Indeed an unglossed work was akin to a book today that goes unreviewed and is therefore considered insignificant (see Smalley 1952: 366-367). There may be another reason for the glosses, namely that the glossator was afraid that the reader might not catch the pilgrim's distortion of the biblical text. There is a chance, as I have argued elsewhere, that the author of many of these glosses was Chaucer himself, but if it were not he, then it was a contemporary 'editor' of the text who was keen to point out the original source (see Caie 1975: 76-77).

A further, significant conclusion one can draw from the glosses concerns how Chaucer and thereby his characters have come by the text. Was it from the Vulgate or some intermediate source? Most of the biblical quotations do not cite the Vulgate directly, but are paraphrases from Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*. This is the text from which Jean de Meun found material for his character La Vieille and therefore a principle source of Chaucer's Wife. So what the Wife is citing is Jerome's version of the text in *Ad-*

versus Jovinianum in which Jerome builds a case against Jovinian's liberal views on the equal status of virginity and marriage. Jerome sees virginity, the state in which Christ remained, as symbolising a spiritual perfection to which all mankind, married or not, should aspire. The Wife's examples and quotations, therefore, follow Jerome's and for this reason she includes texts which do not help her argument, for example that of the woman of Samaria (lines 14-22).[5] When she cannot twist the text to her own purposes she rejects it, claiming she cannot understand it:

> What that he mente therby, I kan nat seyn;
> But that I axe, why that the fifthe man
> Was noon housbonde to the Samaritan?
> How manye myghte she have in mariage? (lines 20-23)

The glossator is quick to reply to her question and does so by quoting Jerome: "Non est vxorum numerum diffinitum. quia secundum Paulum / Qui habent vxores sic sint tanquam non habentes" ['According to Paul, there is no number of wives defined, since those who have wives are as if they had none'] (Jerome I, 21 15; Jerome I, 17 13, citing 1 Corinthians 7:29).

Another example found in Jerome which the Wife of Bath cannot apply is that of Lamech (line 54). She shrugs off this example:

> What rekketh me, thogh folk seye vileiny
> Of shrewed Lameth and his bigamye.

But the gloss states: "Lameth qui primus intrauit bigamiam sanguinarius et homicida est et cetera" quoting Jerome I, 20 14. "Lamech a man of blood and a murderer was the first who divided one flesh between two wives." The story of Lamech, the blind archer who kills both Cain and his own son, has the briefest of mentions in Genesis, but is expanded in *the Historia Scholastica* and *the Glossa ordinaria* and depicted in the Holkham

Bible Picture Book. Lamech was used by Jerome to show the evils of big-
amy, but the Wife cannot turn them to her advantage, as she does the ex-
amples of Abraham and Solomon and other Old Testament men who had
married more than once. When Dame Alisoun is able to twist a biblical
text, she shows her delight: "Al this sentence me liketh every deel" (line
162) and "That gentil text kan I wel understonde" (line 29).

Here then is a woman, albeit a literary creation, who, like Margery
Kempe, hears authoritative texts translated into the vernacular and uses
them to make her case. The difference is that Margery has a "cunning
clerk" who guides her reading, while the wife of Bath has a wily, ex-
clerical, young husband who bends her ear day and night with anti-
matrimonial and anti-feminist quotations. The method she applies is ex-
actly that which her beloved Jankin "this joly clerk Jankin, that was so
hende" must have used:

> And thanne wolde he vpon his Bible seke
> That ilke prouerbe of Ecclesiaste,
> Where he comandeth and forbedeth faste
> Man shal nat suffre his wyf go roule aboute (lines 650-653)

As a scholar, Jankyn could have taken his texts directly from the Vul-
gate, as he appears to have done in the above example from Ecclesiasticus.
But the Wife gives a highly informative description of Jankin's most im-
portant source:

> He had a book that gladly, nyght and day,
> For his desport he wolde rede alway
> He cleped it Valerie and Theophraste,
> At whiche book he lough alwey ful faste.
> And eek ther was somtyme a clerk at Rome,
> A cardinal, that highte Seint Jerome,
> That made a book agayn Jovinian;

> In which book eek ther was Tertulan,
> Crisippus, Trotula and Helowys,
> That was abbesse nat fer fro Parys;
> And eek the Parables of Salomon,
> Ovides Art, and bookes many on,
> And alle thise wer bounden in o volume.
> And every nyght and day was his custume,
> Whan he hadde leyser and vacacioun
> From oother worldly occupacioun,
> To reden in this book of wikked wyues,
> He knew of hem mo legendes and lyues
> Than been of goode wyues in the Bible (lines 669-687).

This book would have been in Latin and would have been one of the many 'Books of Wikked Wyves' which circulated especially round student communities.[6] The aim of such books was basically to keep the male undergraduates at college and not lose them, as they would have to leave if married. A few manuscripts of such compilations exist today and six have almost the same texts in them as in Jankyn's book, so we can only suppose that there were hundreds circulating, thereby adding fire to the antimatrimonial sentiment rife at this time (Pratt 1966: 619-642). Such books were deliberately in Latin and intended for a small, select male student audience and never to reach the laity, far less wives, and it certainly had no place in the married household of Jankyn and Alisoun. We can only assume that Jankyn in his daily readings ("gladly, nyght and day") made quick translations into English for his wife's benefit, a state of affairs which she found intolerable:

> And whan I saw he wolde never fyne
> To reden of this cursed book al nyght,
> Al sodeynly thre leves have I plyght
> Out of his book, right as he radde ... (lines 788-791)

We all know the result of this domestic disturbance.

The Wife gives a detailed account in over a hundred lines (669-786) of the contents of this book and, as she heard it recited daily, it is not surprising that she knew all the texts by heart, notably Jerome's *Contra Jovinianum.*

We must remember that we are dealing with a fictional character and that Chaucer could have endowed her with any amount of learning, but it would appear a subtle authorial decision to make her learning come from her husband's book. She, therefore, uses the same rhetorical device as that employed by the compiler of the *Book of Wikked Wyves,* namely taking texts out of context and twisting them for her own didactic purpose. On this occasion the same texts are used to argue for exactly the opposite case. This would explain why she bothers to mention the examples which do not suit her argument, such as that of the woman of Samaria.

Ironically, the character of Jankyn also finds his source in Jerome. He is described as a handsome young man with "his crispe heer shynynge as gold so fyn" (304). Such a description might be passed over had it not been for the marginal gloss which states "et procurator calamistratus et cetera" ['the curled darling who manages her affairs'] in the Ellesemere and Rawlinson MS glosses. The quotation is from Jerome I, 47, where Theophrastus paints a picture of a married whore who nags her husband, insists on flattery, and demands respect to be paid to her *procurator calamistratus,* otherwise known as a gigolo or toyboy. Theophrastus portrays the worst kind of married woman, who makes her husband's life hell, sells sex to him, and has a boyfriend on the side. This is the character who develops into La Vieille in Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* and on whom the Wife of Bath is based. There is layer upon layer of source material here, and it is to Chaucer's credit that out of a stereotype he creates such a lively, three-dimensional character. Irrespective of her moral status, he makes Dame Alisoun one of the most successful rhetoricians, turning the

antifeminist and antimatrimonial sentiments and *exempla* from his sources to her advantage. At the same time Chaucer is able to convey how such a lay person would acquire detailed knowledge of Latin sources, thereby demonstrating the 'trickle-down' effect which must have been prevalent amongst the laity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. If one were to speculate, one might imagine that the Wife's maid would pick up some of these quotations and use them herself at yet another remove from the original text.

Apparently being less interested in teaching the Bible than the authors of *Cursor Mundi* and *Piers Plowman*, Chaucer thus uses a broad spectrum of applications of the Bible in investigating how specific characters and social classes might interpret the Bible and use it in their attempt to tell the best Tale. Some are like an ass listening to a harp, hearing and not understanding, and some are totally deaf to the Word. At one extreme is the Parson quoting the Bible carefully and explaining it well, and at the other one a character like the Miller who is verging on the pagan:

> I crouche thee from elves and fro wightes!
> Ther-with the night spel seyde he anon-rightes
> On foure halves of the hous aboute,
> And on the thresshfold of the dore withoute:
> 'Jhesu Crist and seynt Benedight,
> Blesse this hous from every wikked wight,
> For nightes verye, the white paternoster!
> Where wentestow Seynt Petres soster?' (*The Miller's Tale*,
> lines 3478-3486)

At best he knows the popular renditions of the biblical narratives:

> 'Hastou nat herd', quod Nicholas, 'also
> The sorwe of Noë with his fellowshipe,
> Er that he mighte gete his wyf to shipe?

> Him hadde be levere, I dar wel undertake,
>
> At thilke tyme, than alle his wetheres blake,
>
> That she hadde had a ship hirself allone.' (*The Miller's Tale*,
>
> lines 3538-3543)

This knowledge of biblical and legendary is that which is found in the cycle plays, popular art, and literature, such as the *Cursor Mundi*. It is the encyclopaedic world history in which biblical, patristic, and legendary are all interwoven.

And between the two extremes are all those characters in the *Canterbury Tales*, keen to win Harry Bailey's prize, who deliberately twist their biblical knowledge for their own ends. We have a Man of Law who seems to think that David was not alone in the lions' den and that the others were eaten by the lions. Perhaps we are meant to view the rest of this character's statements as suspect if he is capable of such an error. Chaucer thus skilfully conveys just the right amount of biblical knowledge and understanding to reflect a fictional character's educational and moral status. From such textual and intertextual material, we can glean much knowledge of the 'trickle-down effect' and the grasp of theological texts amongst late fourteenth-century laity.

Notes

1. For comments on lay literacy and the Bible in the Middle Ages, see Janet Coleman (1981: 204-209).

2. See Pearsall (1992: 163-165) and Minnis (1987). Examples are to be found in MS Cambridge University Library 1i.3.21 fols 13[r]-14[v] and MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G. 41, fol. 1.

3. This example is taken from Coleman (1984: 181). See also Pearsall (1992: 21).

4. See my detailed comments on the manuscript glosses in Caie 1984: 75-88 and 1975: 350-360. I suggest that Chaucer was the author of a number of these glosses. See also Daniel S. Silvia, Jr 1965: 28-39.

5. The glosses at lines 11, 13, 23, 28, 46, 50, 52. 54, 55, 57, 73 etc. are all attributed to Jerome's work.

6. Jankyn called the book 'Valerie and Theophraste', referring to Walter Map's *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum de non ducenda uxore* (The letter of Valerius to Rufinus advising him not to marry), a work contained in the late 12th century *De nugis curialum*; 'Theophraste' refers to the *Liber aureolus de nuptiis* (The Golden Book on Marriage) by Theophrastus, a work preserved only in St Jerome"s *Contra Jovinianum* (Book 1, 47).

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DETRITUS AND LITERATURE

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Introduction

'Detritus' is a term which refers not only to rubbish or waste: it has a further and chequered history. 'Detritus' also suggests something manufactured which is thrown away. Like 'waste', 'detritus' may refer to anything marginal, dysfunctional or silly ('silly' both in the older meaning of 'useless' and the present sense of 'foolish'). 'Detritus' is of course a rather posh word, the more usual terms, used as expletives, are 'rubbish' and 'junk'. Other terms are rather less polite, and may be used when one wants to signal strong disagreement. 'Rubbish!' is also a one-word sentence: it says that an opinion is inappropriate or downright wrong. If an object is badly made or of poor quality, we might call it 'trashy' or 'rubbishy'. Both 'trash' and 'rubbish' in the sense of 'worthless stuff' appeared in the English language early in the 17th century, whereas 'detritus' is a late 18th century coinage based on Latin or perhaps French; it refers to something rubbed off or left over and fit to be thrown away. The use of 'rubbish' as an introjection is even later, namely Victorian. In contemporary British English it is also used as a verb and means 'to criticize severely:' a critic may 'rubbish' an argument. 'Rubbish', then, is a term that serves as a noun, a verb, an adjective and an expletive. Although it seems to be a colloquial rather than a literary word like 'detritus', it deserves attention because it also has poetic and social functions.

'Rubbish' can refer to something simply out of place, like the noun 'dirt'. Thus in the rose garden your rich black earth mixed with leaves and twigs is a precious commodity, but just a few feet away on the drawing room rug it is unwanted dirt. In other words, we class something as 'dirt' or 'rubbish' or 'detritus' because we find it undesirable where it happens to be at the

moment. Mary Douglas has put the matter more forcefully: "there is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder." (1970: 3) Rubbish, for instance, can bring a gleam to the eye of the archaeologist, who would be lost without rubbish. For much of what we know about earlier civilisations is gleaned from a careful examination of the detritus they had left.

Rubbish, then, has come to receive an ever-wider application: Pyjamas are not thought to look decorative on the harpsichord (your wife might ask, "what's this rubbish doing here?"), and your flute is out of place if you leave it in the shower stall. One does not do one's drawing in the drawing room - it might make a mess. A sonnet cannot finish with a line in limerick metre, a tragedy is not permitted to end by having the heroine thumb her nose at the audience. The choice and placement of objects, gestures, actions and words, in other words, are subject to what the Romans called the principle of 'aptum' (we have our word 'apt' from 'aptum' - a word or an action is apt if it suitable, if it fits). 'Inept' belongs to the same family, meaning 'unsuitable' or 'not fitting, rather like the German terms 'ungeschickt' or 'unangemessen'. To say 'rubbish!' may be taken as a judgment of ineptitude, as a mild insult, or even as a criminal offence.

Detritus and literature

Gestures and statements, then, like objects, derive their value from concepts of value as opposed to rubbish - in other words, from assumptions about rubbish. The very idea of literary form is based on the assumption that language can be relatively formless, inept and uncouth as well as felicitous and elegant, clumsy as well as polished, barbaric as well as civilised. Without quotidian and unimaginative uses of language, poetry could not be.

This principle of contrast applies to our political world as well: form and discipline become more acceptable under the threat of disorder. The very

idea of literariness, too, depends on our awareness of the less orderly kinds of writing which we choose not to regard as literature. Thus the modern craze for bringing everything into the category of the literary, from a child's earliest scrawling to the morning newspaper, has its downside: as the concept of literature is diluted it comes to be seen as a container for rubbish as well as art: the essence of the literary, namely its literariness, is deposed from the throne that it had long enjoyed. To call the script of a soap opera 'literature' clouds our perception of literary values: polished prose, inspired imagery, perhaps the expectation of transcendence. Such values as these are made recognizable by the ubiquity of rubbishy prose, awkward expressions and outright solecisms. Unfortunately, then, we need and batten on written rubbish; it is essential to the educational enterprise, just as we need evil so as to identify good. Abolish all contrast, 'untune that string' (Ulysses' words in *Troilus and Cressida*), and you cancel the concept of 'literature' in its more usual - perhaps exalted - forms.

Detritus has the function, then, of what has been called 'parergonality' in deconstructivist theory: without the marginal, there is no centre. Without 'ergon' (the Greek word for work) we could not identify - indeed, would be incapable of identifying - the parergonal concept of 'leisure', just as without war 'peace' would be a word without meaning. Right requires left, up makes no sense without down. Our literary terms also tend to come in complementary pairs: they lean on one another, like verse and prose, short story and novel, comedy and tragedy, pot-boiler and masterpiece. Thus written rubbish has an essential poetic function: without it, 'literature' is no longer a standard by which to measure the swelling flood of written production.

But these are not universal truths. In German, for instance, 'Literatur' often as not includes anything written, as the derivation from the Latin, 'litteratura', might suggest (although that term has also carried the connotation of learnedness, literature not as something merely written, but writ-

ten to the highest stylistic/artistic standards). It is significant that in English we have no true equivalents of such German terms as 'Dichtung' or 'Hochliteratur'. These terms seem to be needed because the German term 'Literatur' includes the written rubbish which the English term 'literature' tends to exclude. It is true that according to *Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (SOED), 'literature' could also be used, although only colloquially, for 'any printed matter.' A scholar may also speak of 'the literature on Joseph Conrad,' meaning comment and criticism. But these are special uses that carry a degree of contextual markedness; they do not damage the primacy of 'literature' as a verbal art of lasting value.

So poetics needs the concept of rubbish to help us recognize non-rubbish. A culture, says Jonathan Culler, is hardly thinkable without rubbish (Culler 1985). We might say that culture defines its very nature by its peculiar standards of what is *not* wanted, what can be thrown out - whatever cries out to be in a pigeon hole other than the one that it is in. A frying pan is all right in the kitchen - it can positively glow with beauty there. But left on the bed it turns into a sign of slovenliness, a piece of rubbish. There it represents a letting down of our sacred standards of order. It can lead to divorce or even manslaughter.

Detritus: From rubble to gift

Detritus and rubbish can be many things, according to context and the language we are using. The word 'rubbish' comes (according to the SOED) from the Anglo-French term, 'robeux' or 'robeaux'. This is rubble, that is, broken stones no longer fit for building purposes - in other words 'detritus', an amorphous and left-over substance that is useful no longer. Nowadays we have related terms such as 'garbage', 'waste' and 'junk': the first of these tends to refer to kitchen detritus, whereas 'junk' is presumably something manufactured that no longer serves its original purposes, because it no longer looks very good or fails to work and can now be con-

sidered scrap - a sense which the word did not receive until the time of World War I. A similar contradiction of meanings inheres in 'waste': this term is still used in poetic contexts as referring to a desert, a primordial scene, a place not yet organized and enriched into an integral part of civilized space. But it can also mean the very opposite: 'waste' (as in Shakespeare's sonnet 129, "Th' expense of spirit in a waste of shame") is the detritus that is left over in the process of producing or refining something else.

One might well speculate on possible translations of the terms 'clutter', 'debris', 'dregs', 'detritus', 'dust' (British), 'garbage', 'junk', 'litter', 'offal', 'orts' (British), 'rubbish', 'rubble', 'rummage', 'scrap', and 'waste' into other languages. But a number of these terms seem to reflect the particular assumptions of the cultures that spawned them. Thus, to do them any kind of justice represents a challenge that could be met only by a cross-cultural study - perhaps a dissertation - of its own, which would need to look at regional as well as at transatlantic and Australian variations.

In the world of literature, as in the world of behaviour and sartorial style, the concept of *aptum* is ubiquitous, if not always clearly expressed, indeed, a subterranean presence: obviously a sonnet eschews the limerick foot (the amphibrach), the dirge prefers the spondee to the tripping rhythms of a comic ballad, which is not *apt* in a more serious text. Thus circumstances alter values. And that is a basic belief in detritus theory: there are no principles without their counterparts. Our standards of behaviour would cease to exist if there were no 'misbehaviour; beautiful musical chords are identifiable because of music's potential for discords, if not downright cacophony.

It follows, then, that our sense of order is a matter of the appurtenances of the culture in which we live. There are places in the world where a decent dwelling has a floor of pounded earth, and in our own Western world it was not so long ago that a pub was clean and decent only when it

had sawdust under foot. In some parts of the Orient one sees in many a household a display of little gifts that friends and guests have brought a along, in other parts of the world such gifts are jettisoned or immediately handed on to the charwoman. Here it would be thought rather gauche to ask your acquaintance on next meeting, 'are you using that terra cotta vase that I gave you last year?' So gifts are seen in some cultures as what in Britain are called 'collectibles'; these are bits of detritus thought to have some potential value. In other cultures the mutual giving of presents is an essential cement of the social order (an essential tenet of the Marcel Mauss classic *Essai sur le don* of 1925, translated into English as *The Gift*), and in Eastern Europe gifts are relished, remembered and retained more conscientiously than in the West. In others yet the gift (disparagingly called a 'Mitbringsel' in Germany and Austria) is almost by definition detritus 'in spe'. In some cultures it is a matter of proper behaviour to offer gifts which have an inherent self-destructive quality, consumables like a bunch of flowers, a bottle of wine or a box of chocolates, since these do not encumber the donee with an item which is not suitable for eternal presentation in one's drawing room.

Here there are interesting differences between Western and Eastern Europe as well, differences not explained in the guide books. As Marcel Mauss taught us in his 'Essai', the exchange of gifts is a universal cement of intercultural relations, but the nature of an appropriate gift varies from place to place. It might well be that in areas of plenty, the useless and consumable gift is favoured, like a box of biscuits or a bottle of wine, which, if it is not to the taste of the recipient, can be eaten or drunk and thus eradicated from the household, whereas in a poorer country, something solid, like a tool or picture to be hung on the wall is the gift of choice, the donor thus increasing the visible wealth of the donee.

What Mauss would have thought of gifts as detritus we do not know. For factors such as culture and geography, social class and relative afflu-

ence, affect our sense of what constitutes detritus as opposed to a sensible gift, as anyone working in an international society soon discovers. Americans in Europe, what with their supposed concentration on things, have often been apostrophised as materialists. On the other hand, many an American has been put off by the materialism of 'the' European. This is seen to be the sort of person who honours hand-me-down knickknacks and, from the American point of view, is subject to drawn-out agonies when it comes to throwing out old rubbish - who knows, it might come in handy again one day. One housewife's heirloom is another housewife's rubbish. To keep an old wobbly chair just because grandfather sat in it - what attitude could be more materialistic?

The very concept of culture varies from one country to another: over much of Europe, culture has been seen as a collection of the hand-me-downs which we come to museums to inspect, whereas the tourist from the new world may see them as quaint - or as mere rubbish. The American assumption seems to be that culture is defined by the rate at which the old is supplemented by the new, the innovative, the not-yet-known. Understandably enough, the American, what with a higher standard of living, lives in a throw-away society. By its own lights, this society is not materialist at all: the attachment to 'things' is fleeting. Rubbish is seen as an expendable commodity, and houses, like cars, can be abandoned with a lack of regret that astonishes the European observer. So our views of detritus vary with the nature of our materialism: some of us value the hand-me-down simply because it is old, whereas others consider the hand-me-down chair as a piece of junk, hiding it away in the attic so as better to enjoy the look and the feel of a spanking new plastic-covered chair. Which of these can be classed as the materialist?

Living standards and behaviour are not only defined for us simply in contrasts between our culture as opposed to somebody else's in the Near East or in the Allegheny Mountains. There are generational differences as

well, which are just as likely to lead to misunderstanding or conflict, simply in the attitude to things. Consider the standards of our grandparents as opposed to our own, ours as opposed to those of our children. What was once called a decent upbringing can boil down to a simple set of do's and don'ts that reflect a modern concept of material culture and its associated sense of *aptum*: do put your dirty socks in the hamper, don't leave my compact disks on the floor of the veranda. If I give you a brass pot, I will not expect to see it on your mantel when I next visit you, for it is not a collectible but proto-detritus. In other cultures, the giver of the brass pot may well look for it the moment he sets foot in your house again. For the recipient careless of such gifts, this can be embarrassing.

Some of the modern rules of deportment can be justified on the grounds of thrift and efficiency: compact disks can get stepped on more easily out there on the veranda than in the rack on the shelf; throwing out the knick-knack or brass pot streamlines the household, makes it easier to do without a maid and a butler. In other cultures, however, as Marcel Mauss has shown, the gift can be an essential symbol of friendship and guarantee of peace between neighbouring tribes. Indeed, the function of what in our day is accomplished by carefully worded written treaties was once effected by a ceremonial exchange of gifts.

The generational and cultural differences in attitudes to material objects are emphasized in many of the 'post-colonial' novels of our time, where the one generation is not only older but also Indian or Chinese (the former in Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990), the latter in Amy Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife* (1991)), in both of which the alternative views of what is valuable and what is rubbish are topicalized with comical effect.

From rubbish to riches

Another oddity of detritus is that under some circumstances, it can become valuable - indeed, a form of art. Probably you would be ill-advised

to take an old hay-fork out of the barn and hang it on the wall over the fireplace. That would be inept, not apt. On the other hand, in some cultures, for instance in Britain, you could get away with it. For you can buy such a fork at an antique shop that sells 'bye-gones' - a peculiarly British institution for the commodification of detritus. Bye-gones are artefacts that were once of use in a branch of commerce or farming, but are now replaced by a mass-produced implement. In other words, in Britain you can buy an old hay-rake or a butter-churn and make it out to be a work of art. This is done by calling it a 'collectible,' a term that is hard to translate into French or German. As Michael Thompson has argued 'in extenso', much of what now passes as art has gone a 'progress' via the attic or the barn, then on to the rubbish heap and the junk collector, next to a backyard auction or country house, advertising bye-gones. The next step is a proper auction house such as Christie's in Old Bond Street, and in some cases ultimately the final resting place, a proper museum (see Thompson 1970). As a result it is socially acceptable nowadays to place an eighteenth century navigator's sextant on the hall table, or display an old teddy bear behind glass in a lighted showcase and consider your house to be sufficiently beautified with art. Your second-hand car, too, is no longer simply an old car but an 'old-timer', greatly enhanced in value. Of course some items of detritus remain worthless, but others grow in value and may even become works of art. How can we explain these anomalies?

The rules governing the status of artefacts which become collectible seem to involve the following: you cannot take a can opener or an old plastic bacon turner off the kitchen shelf and proclaim it to be a work of art. The unspoken regulation has it that the object has to be thrown out first, jettisoned as ugly and of no earthly use. A generation or so later, however, your grandson can bring it out, clean it up a little and put it on sale at a flea market. In the meantime, of course, vintage bacon turners have become rare: most people are short-sighted in this regard. Ignorant

of detritus theory, they have thrown their old bacon turners and wash-boards out. Worse yet, they have taken the rusty car to the dump, forgetting that a few years later, the worthless old car turns into a valuable old-timer; the difference between the former and the latter is due to nothing more than a modicum of foresight and patience as well as space to store what others have thoughtlessly relegated to the scrap heap. What once was assumed to be detritus grows back into respectability: first a left-over, then a collectible, in some cases even a work of art. That goes for 1930s kitchen crockery as for oil lamps and cracked wine jugs excavated from what were the kitchens and outhouses of imperial Roman country houses. Indeed, the archaeologist is often as not a collector of what was thrown into the well or the dung-pit in ages past. Many an ancient civilisation is represented to modern man by nothing but the detritus that has survived in the form of discarded utensils and bits of broken pottery which were preserved because a hapless kitchen maid allowed them to fall into the well.

We have had a similar experience with 'graffiti': first they represented an outrageous intrusion sprayed onto the façade of the public building or the side of the underground train. Then they were recognized as political statements ('we do not accept your narrow-track concept of what constitutes public order'). Finally they became collectibles (consider the rage to get hold of graffito-covered fragments of the Berlin wall). Thus selected graffiti are first of all detritus, then mere mementos of history, subsequently taken to be works of art and thus 'collectible', finally (in some cases) as a form of art which is to be encouraged and worthy of display in a museum. Public money is used to buy cans of spray paint and offer them to the 'illuminati' of graffiti, be they school children or adults, social misfits or recognized artists. What used to be a form of vandalism which rubbished whole tenements and railway bridges, is now elevated, usually

jumping the phase of the 'collectible' or bye-gone, into the realms of civic art.

The question of detritus boils down to a decision about what is merely of marginal use in our society, and therefore expendable, and what is either useful or so thoroughly useless that it becomes art. The useless object becomes useful to its owner once more because its marginality helps define that owner (to 'define' is literally: to make clear, to set the bounds). The object gives its owner status if it represents a specimen of a series not generally available, be it a weathered cartwheel or a dented brass pot.

This shift of focus is related to the principle of 'parergonality' in deconstructive criticism. The parergon (this is a term from the philosophy of Immanuel Kant - we could call it the 'marginal' - what is often overlooked, whereas it has a function 'in potentia', like rubbish) to help us define order, without which art cannot be, or at least will not be recognized as such. Often it is the marginal qualities of a work of art that are of the essence: what we would miss if it were missing, rather as a religion is sometimes characterized by what it condemns: eating pork for the Jew, showing a married woman's face in some Muslim sects, contraception for the Catholic, graven images for the Puritan. The parergon is sometimes more characteristic than the ergon, the thing itself.

Conclusion: literature again

The same may be said of literary works. For instance, it is not the topic of discourse that defines the poem but rather rhyme and rhythm and image and rhetorical high-jinks. It is the marginal characters in the detective story that help define its continuing appeal. It is not the detective himself that gives the work its special quality so much as all those other conventions of the various subgenres of crime-writing: the detective's long-suffering wife, the indispensable 'Watson' or bumbling side-kick, and the impatient district attorney dissatisfied with the speed with which

the police pursue their investigation. Then there is the gun moll, a blowzy blonde, and the obvious corruption of the bourgeoisie, the dumb policeman as opposed to the brilliant amateur, the junior assistant who gets it all wrong, and the hard-boiled detective who rejects all reward because of his heart of gold, etc.

In other words, what might at first seem the incidental detritus in the yard of the detective story, is a set of what in linguistics have come to be called 'recurring partials', like -ing forms and split infinitives; these are seen as repeated elements which may be disregarded or rewarded with intensive study. Recurring partials in detective fiction, for instance, are the evergreen elements, the parergonality of which helps create the aura we enjoy in this particular genre. It is quite possible that we enjoy human beings on something like the same principle. Maybe we can love someone who is downright bad, even despicable, looked at head-on and by the light of day. Nevertheless, we find fetching all those marginal quirks and mannerisms and gestures that a Polaroid snapshot will simply miss. Often as not, it is the parergonality that gets to us, we know not how.

The principle of the parergon has it, then, that the marginal attributes of a thing may be more essential and interesting than its supposed essences - the parergon defines the ergon. In linguistics it is often enough the detritus of language that interests us, like the old plural forms left over in words such as *oxen* and *kine*, or the ghost of "God be with you!" in its present form, "good by!" And in Gothic literature it is the mysterious monk, the ugly Alps the heroine has to get over, the execrable weather, the inexplicable noise outside the window - these together help to create the ambience of the genre, not the silly actions, the black villain and the spotless heroine.

Something of the sort holds for tragedy as well. Often it is said that the essence of tragedy is simply the sad ending. But that is only part of the whole, 'the last straw' which is essential to the genre but also, seen in a

different light, the result of a happenstance, the momentary flash of anger that overcomes King Lear or the touch of poison on the tip of Laertes' rapier, to whose nature such treachery hardly belongs. One parergon of tragedy is the societal ambience (the court and the battle field); another is the frequent failure of communication and knowledge (Hamlet is uncertain whether the ghost is 'real,' Claudius does not know what Hamlet knows, Polonius does not know that Hamlet is failing to pull up his socks because he is pining for his murdered father - not because of his penchant for the fair Ophelia) - as well as elements of pure chance. Also marginal but essential to tragedy is the insensitivity of the hangers-on. The tragedy needs these marginal elements. They create the backdrop and context against which the hero's oh-so-delicate antennae come to be visible, visible to a whole set of parergata of the events on stage, and of the stage appurtenances, including costumes, jewellery and make-up. One such parergon is the spectator who has no part in the action, others include the usher and the girl who sells cardboard tubs of chocolate ice cream in the intermission. We may think of the actors speaking their lines on the stage as the essence of the thing, but the experience of theatre depends on the marginal elements too. These include, of course, ourselves, dressed in dark blue jackets and foulard ties or sitting in silk gowns on upholstered and velvet-covered seats.

If literature itself is an ergon elevated by means of a parergon related to it, then the critic might stumble upon a shocking discovery: secondary literature, otherwise know as explication, critical essay and scholarship, is also a form of detritus. Our commentaries represent the leeches sucking on the juices of poetry, the necessary parasites which feed on primary literature, the parergata which are unthinkable without the ergon itself, the work of literary art. The world of teachers and scholars, then, is responsible for producing the rubbish without which the great plays, poems and novels of the world would not be taught to the next generation. Thus both

the animal and the parasites which feed on it seem to be necessary complements to one another: neither would thrive as they do without their counterparts.

Such considerations as these help to highlight the elements and attractions of detritus theory. Central, perhaps, is the factor of surprise: the theory invites us to take seriously what is normally thought of as foreign to serious discussion, foreign to the study and the lecture hall. Then too, we come to see what is part of the post-structuralist enterprise: again and again we look at something which seemed to be a value 'sui generis' which turns out on a second look to be no such thing: there is no centre without periphery, no defining and central element without the complement of the marginal. The work of art is rather an entity which we would fail to recognise without the penumbra of parergonality, without the margin created by the detritus of the rest of the universe.

We might wish to tidy up the world, to imprison the world of literature between the covers of a single encompassing anthology and 'rubbish' the rest. But the loss of detritus would threaten us with the loss of art itself. Detritus is essential to the circumscription of a civilised and literate society.

Note
1. See also the special issue (1994) of the *American Journal of Semiotics* XI # 1/2, devoted to the semiotics of trash.

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ANNE BUSHBY, TRANSLATOR OF HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

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In his 1954 book on Hans Christian Andersen, Elias Bredsdorff devotes a chapter to the translator Mrs Bushby, but criticizes her work severely.[1] His point of departure is the traditional academic one that a translation's 'faithfulness' to the original is the only yardstick for an assessment of its worth. In this article, however, I shall argue that Mrs Bushby is in many ways an interesting translator, who did not see Andersen as simply a children's writer, and that some of her divergences from Andersen's text are not mistakes but deliberate adaptations for the benefit of her audience in Victorian Britain. Bushby's translation strategy will be briefly compared with those employed by her predecessors, Caroline Peachey and Clara de Chatelain, and by a later translator, Dr Dulcken.

The study is, in a general way, indebted to Toury (1995): I see it as a specimen of descriptive translation studies, with the reservation that description for me must form the basis for criticism, and that I think the degree of 'equivalence' with the original does count, although only as one among other parameters relevant for the assessment of the quality of a literary translation.[2]

Mrs Anne S. Bushby (died 1875) knew Andersen personally, had indeed courted his acquaintance since his first visit to London in 1847, when her husband called upon him to invite him to dinner (Bredsdorff 1954: 314). At that time Andersen's English translator was Charles Beckwith Lohmeyer;[3] but his English publisher, Richard Bentley, apparently encountered difficulties with him, and in a letter to Andersen

dated 18 January 1853 suggested Mrs Anne Bushby instead, referring to her as "a friend of yours, I believe" (189).

How Mrs Bushby came to know Danish we do not know. However, it is remarkable that unlike most of Andersen's other translators from the same period, she seems to have translated mainly poetry, and of prose only Danish. Apart from a number of Andersen's tales, she translated M.A. Goldschmidt's *En Jøde (The Jew of Denmark* (1853)).

It appears from a letter Bushby wrote to Andersen that she also translated some of Heiberg's plays and offered them to London theatres. Their reaction was that they were only interested in translations from the French, and the plays were apparently never published.[4] However, in 1864 appeared *The Danes Sketched by Themselves* (3 vols.; published by Bentley), containing a selection of short stories and poems by the Danish writers Storm, Blicher, Carl Bernhard, Oehlenschläger, and others. There are two early comic verse tales by Andersen, obviously inspired by Baggesen: 'Morten Lange. A Christmas Story' and 'The Man from Paradise.' They are from *Digte* (1830), and *Fantasier og Skizzer* (1831), respectively (Danish: 'Morten Lange' and 'Manden fra Paradis - En komisk fortælling,' both printed in *Samlede Digte* (2000), ed. Johan de Mylius).

Mrs Bushby published a fair amount of original poetry and verse translations in magazines; most of this was collected and posthumously published in the volume *Poems by the Late Anne S. Bushby* (1876), and here a whole section - about 75 of its 399 pages - is devoted to translations of Andersen's poems, doubtless the ones she had prepared for a projected volume of later tales and poems mentioned in a letter to Andersen dating from 1868. This volume never appeared, however, presumably because by then Andersen had agreed to give the American writer Horace Scudder a monopoly as translator, cf. Bredsdorff (1954: 336f.). At least some of these poems had been translated as early as 1847, when Andersen rather

unkindly noted in his diary that "Fruen har oversat flere af mine Digte, netop dem, jeg har forkastet" ['the lady of the house has translated several of my poems - the very ones I have rejected'] (13 July 1847, *Dagbøger III*: 226; see also Bredsdorff 1954: 314).

It seems fair to conclude from the above that, unlike Mary Howitt and Clara de Chatelain, Mrs Bushby was not a professional translator, but that her work was indeed a labour of love.[5] It is equally clear from examining the stories she chose that she was not aiming at the children's market, where stories like 'The Old Bachelor's Nightcap' have never belonged. Nor are her two volumes of tales (*A Poet's Day Dreams* (1853)[6] and *The Sand-hills of Jutland* (1860)[7]) illustrated or in other ways made appealing to the young. Indeed it would seem that she saw it as her job to supplement the earlier translations, translating new work by Andersen rather than bringing out established successes in yet another version. This was undoubtedly also the attitude of her publisher, Bentley, who at one point complained to Andersen that competition was becoming so fierce and pirating so rife that only new work which could be published and sold before competitors could pirate it was reasonably sure of earning a profit (letter dated 1 August 1850, in Bredsdorff (1954: 172)). In the end, Bentley gave up publishing Andersen altogether. Before that, however, he brought out one further short collection of tales in Bushby's translation, *The Ice Maiden* (1863).[8] In addition, Andersen's novel *At Være eller ikke Være* (1857; *To Be, or Not to Be?* (1857)), and his travel book *I Spanien* (1863; *In Spain* (1864)) were also translated by Bushby and published by Bentley.

The poetry

Bushby's poems are often colourful essays in the Romantic (Byronic) tradition. There are poems about ghosts and pirates' treasure, greetings to polar explorers, an 'Indian Spirits' Song' "written in a forest near the Falls of Niagara, on the borders of which an Indian mound had recently been

discovered," a poem which shows great sympathy for the vanquished Indians. There are also tributes to nature, as in 'The Rocks of Caithness,' which, however, are also seen as the haunts of "Norse Sea-Kings" "in days of yore," etc. Even a seemingly innocent title like 'Stanzas to the Moon' proves to be more about man than nature, giving a half-humorous account of how the moon could help the newly formed police force to prevent deeds of darkness. Some stanzas are worthy of Gilbert:

> What splashing, clashing, crashing, smashing
> Of carts, cabs, omnibuses, flys!
> What thumps! what bumps! what slashing, gashing!
> Sprain'd arms, bruised shins, and blacken'd eyes!
> (1876: 101)

The poetry is hardly distinguished, but Bushby is a competent minor poet with a gift for the comical perhaps rather than the lyrical.

The verse translations bear witness to the range of Bushby's interests: there are translations from the French, Danish, Spanish and German. The Danish section includes translations from Ingemann, Baggesen, Oehlenschläger, and others. But the largest section of translations is devoted to Andersen. There are poems in it, admittedly, which Andersen would hardly have considered to be among his best. However, there are also central texts like 'The Dying Child' and 'Melodies of the Heart.' Obviously sharing Andersen's love of Spain, Bushby also translated half a dozen of his poems on things Spanish, from 'Andalusian Eyes' to 'On Granada.'

Mrs Bushby sided emphatically with the Danes in 1864, writing poems praising 'The Brave Sons of Denmark,' and a satirical 'Song for the English in 1864,' deriding her countrymen for remaining neutral, and concluding:

Our money we don't wish to spend;

Us English, then, may Heaven defend

From Yankees, Germans, French, Chinese,

And leave us just to live at ease!

(1876: 183)

The translations of Andersen's stories

Bredsdorff (1954: 506) is severe on Mrs Bushby, saying that there is not much good to be said about her as a translator. He notes that she translated directly from the Danish,[9] but concludes that her Danish was not good enough for this to be a viable procedure, and instances a number of misunderstandings of nuances and some examples of plain mistranslation, as from 'It is Very True': "i den Kant af Byen, hvor Historien ikke var passeret" > "in a remote corner of the town, where no historian had ever been seen." Dulcken, more correctly has "in a quarter of the town, where the occurrence had not happened."

It is unfortunately all too easy to find more examples of this kind, as in the first paragraph of 'Charming,' where Andersen's "han [i.e. the sculptor Alfred] fik Guldmedaillen" [he was awarded the gold medal (of the Academy)] becomes "He used to engrave gold medallions"; and later in the same story "Salvelse" [unctuousness] becomes "deep attention," "enfoldig" [simple-minded] becomes "ridiculous," and "dvask" [indolent] "silly."

One of the stories most disfigured by mistranslations is 'Everything in its Right Place.' Most of this story is indeed translated reasonably well, but towards the end a series of horrible misunderstandings manage to destroy important parts of the author's meaning, as in the following examples:

En gammel Greve af Landets ældste Slægt **blev urokket paa sin Hæders-Plads**; for Fløiten var retfærdig, og det skal man være. (A. II: 253)[10]

An old count of one of the most ancient families in the country **remained untouched in his place of honour**; for the flute was just, as men ought to be. (Dulcken: 456)

An old count, of one of the first families in the kingdom, **was hurled from his seat of honour to a more lowly one, bearing the same name in common parlance**, for the flute adhered to justice; (Bushby 1853: 127)

to rige Bønder, **der i vor Tid vare voxne over deres egen Kornmark**, blæste ned i Muddergrøften; (A. II: 253)

Two rich peasants **who in our times had grown too high for their corn-fields**, were tumbled into the ditch. (Dulcken: 456)

two rich peasants, **who had got possession of cornfields of their own**, were blown down into a muddy ditch.[11] (Bushby 1853: 128)

However, even here it is only the bilingual reader who can see what is wrong. The surface meaning of the English version is by and large acceptable, although the mistranslated sequences may seem a little uninspired here and there, as in the first of the above examples.

So, while these mistranslations certainly exist, and while there are rather too many of them, here as well as in her other translations, the overall impression conveyed by Bushby's English text is good, rather better than that of a number of her contemporaries. It should also be noted that Andersen kept Bushby as translator, in spite of her shortcomings, of which he was well aware (cf. Bredsdorff 1954: 316).

The poetical passages in particular are rendered by Bushby better than by most others, though they still fall short of the original (cf. for instance the opening paragraphs of 'The Nis at the Cheesemonger's'); and it seems to me that Bredsdorff's claim (1954: 506) that she cannot cope with stories like 'Good Humour' and 'Grief of Heart' is an exaggeration. For this

reason I would like to consider more closely her translation of these stories.

'Good Humour' starts with a description of the narrator's father, a hearse-driver, and goes on to reflect on the inmates of a number of graves in the cemetery, prescribing as a cure for ill humour a walk among graves in search of a suitable plot in which to bury a person one detests. (I have tried this cure, and found it useful).

The text is perhaps an essay rather than a story, and there are relatively few linguistic or pragmatic difficulties in it. As appears from the opening section (Appendix 2), Bushby generally manages very well; but then she does skip some of the difficulties (and also some sentences that are not difficult, but probably seemed to her tedious or irrelevant, for instance part of the description of a man who died of vexation through witnessing bad performances at the theatre), and she does make mistakes, even ludicrous ones, as when "Bøger" [books] is rendered by "district-chapels," no doubt to contrast with "churches."[12]

Another mistake reflects a pragmatic difficulty: the text refers repeatedly to 'Adresseavisen,' in Andersen's time a Copenhagen daily newspaper featuring advertisements and official notices. Bushby translates this as "the Directory," and thus suggests a book rather than a periodical or paper ["I am in possession of the Directory"].[13] In any case the reference had a topical meaning for Andersen's original audience that no translation could hope to copy.

An examination of the paragraph from which this example is taken reveals a couple of other difficulties. Bushby has found it impossible to imitate the sound effect of "hvem der *sælger ud* og hvem der selv gaaer ud";[14] and she has, I think, deliberately refrained from translating the suggestion in the conclusion that the paper may be used to line one's coffin. Probably she considered this idea indelicate. The same reservation perhaps also applies to the following simile from 'Charming':

I stort Selskab er det høist ubehageligt at mærke, at man har mistet begge sine Seleknapper og vide, at man ikke kan stole paa sit Spænde, for man har intet Spænde, men endnu værre er det i stort Selskab at fornemme, at Kone og Svigermama tale dumt ... (A. II: 116)

In a large party it is very disagreeable to observe that one's buttons are giving way, and that there are no buckles to fall back upon; but it is worse still in a great company to become aware that wife and mother-in-law are talking nonsense ... (Dulcken: 516)

It was very mortifying to Alfred that in society neither his wife nor his mother-in-law was capable of entering into general conversation ... (Bushby 1860: 249)

'Grief of Heart' is a sketch of two related incidents: a visit from a tanner's widow with a disagreeable lapdog, and the burial of the same dog, arranged by some children, who charge a button as entrance fee for visitors to the grave; all the neighbouring children go, except a poor little girl who has no button, and therefore sits down and cries bitterly.

The simple narrative is distinguished by its mixture of humour and sadness, for instance in its description of the comical, but desperate - and, one fears, futile - attempt of the widow to sell shares in her business to the distinguished people she has called on. But again there are few difficulties from a translation point of view.

There are indeed a number of misunderstandings in Bushby's translation, such as "oil-flask" for "Ølflaske" [beerbottle], "sturdy" for "praktisk" [practical], and "han [the lapdog] var jo ogsaa taget med for sin Fornøielse og Sundheds Skyld > "he had been brought along for the sake of his health, and for her pleasure," which introduces a neat contrast that unfortunately is not in the original. Besides, Bushby's style, not surprisingly, is inferior to Andersen's, but on the whole the story is well

told, and the point that children's sorrows are as acute to them as adults' are comes across quite clearly:

> It was to her a real *grief of heart*, acute, as children's sorrows often are. (Bushby 1853: 108)

> This is the story; and those who do not understand it can take shares in the widow's tannery. (Bushby 1853: 109)

Some infelicities noted by Bredsdorff seem to me inevitable. It is said of the dog that "Braknæse og Fleskeryg var hans Udvortes" [literally: snub-nose and porkback were his exterior]; Andersen here deftly exploits the facility of Danish to form nonce-compounds, and, unlike Bredsdorff, I find that Bushby's "A snub-nosed, fat animal he was" is a very reasonable translation.

The two stories in Bushby's translation, then, are certainly a little reduced in comparison with Andersen's text, but they read well and all things considered they make the points that the author wanted to make.

As her mistakes suggest, Bushby must have translated mainly from the Danish, even though German influence is also perceived, in all probability mainly via Peachey, see Appendix 1. Of her translations Bushby herself suggested in letters to Andersen that, in comparison with those by Dulcken and other Germans, they were at least in good English (cf. for example Bredsdorff 1954: 336). I tend to agree with her, and though her misunderstandings and omissions are too numerous to place her among the best Andersen translators, her efforts on his behalf, and generally to promote Danish literature in Britain, did not go entirely unrewarded.

Notes

1. A different version of this article will appear as a chapter in Pedersen (forthcoming).

2. For a discussion of equivalence and quality as understood by Nida (1964) and House (1977), among others, and the usefulness of these concepts for a study of literary translation, see Pedersen (forthcoming).

3. Charles Beckwith Lohmeyer (1810?-74) translated Andersen's *A Poet's Bazaar* (1846), *The Two Baronesses* (1848), *Rambles in the Romantic Regions of the Hartz Mountains, Saxon Switzerland, etc.* (1848) and *Pictures of Sweden* (1851) for Bentley. An examination of excerpts from the first two of these texts does not suggest any incompetence. On the contrary, the novel seems adequately, and the travel book extraordinarily well translated. Thus the description in *A Poet's Bazaar* of a concert given by the composer Liszt, a tour de force on Andersen's part, is brilliantly rendered in the English translation. *Pictures of Sweden* is perhaps a little less impressive, but is still a professional job.

4. Letter dated 31 July 1864 in Bredsdorff (1954: 330).

5. This applies to the situation in the early 1850s. However, when her husband died (1866) she must have begun to rely more on her ability to earn money, cf. Bredsdorff (1954: 333).

   Here, however, she emphasizes the fact that translating is not very lucrative: "... I make nothing worth mentioning by translations. I make a good deal more by original tales which I write for a popular Magazine ..." (334).

6. The volume contains 20 stories, ranging from 'There is a Difference' (51) to 'The Last Pearl' (67), and containing masterpieces like 'It is Very True' (58), 'A Good-for-Nothing' (65), 'Grief of Heart' (60), 'Everything in its Right Place' (61), and 'The Nis at the Cheesemonger's' (62). (Numbers in parenthesis refer to the Danish canon of 156 tales and stories). As appears, the stories are not chronologically arranged.

7. Containing 18 stories from Andersen's *Nye Eventyr og Historier,* among them 'The Sand-Hills of Jutland' (95), 'The Mud-King's Daughter' (83), 'The Bell's Hollow' (76), 'Something' (80), 'The Wind Relates the Story of Valdemar Daae and his Daughters' (86), 'A Row of Pearls' (75), and 'Charming' (94).

8. Containing, apart from the title story (106), only three additional tales: 'The Butterfly' (98), 'Psyche' (107), 'The Snail and the Rosebush' (108). Translated from the Danish by Mrs Bushby. With drawings by Zwecker, engraved by Pearson.

London 1863. The source is Andersen's *Nye Eventyr og Historier, Anden Række, II, 2* (1862).

9. While this is undoubtedly correct, there are nevertheless occasional examples of influence from Peachey, cf. appendix 2.

10. Here and in the following A. means Andersen (1963-90).

11. This could form the basis of a whole essay on social differences between Denmark and Britain. However, in addition to everything else, Bushby's text, though idiomatic, does not really allude to Grimm's 'The Fisherman and his Wife,' the Danish title of which is 'Konen i Muddergrøften' [the woman in the muddy ditch].

12. The fault is so glaring that one wonders whether the change here, too, is deliberate; perhaps the idea of preaching in books seemed too profane.

13. Both Dulcken and Hersholt have better solutions: "the Intelligencer" (D.); "the Advertiser" (H.).

14. Meaning "who sells out, and who goes out" (i.e. dies). Dulcken omits this phrase; Hersholt keeps the word-play, but then has to change the meaning: "who is selling out and who is buying up."

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Appendix 1: Andersen, Peachey and Bushby

Though Bushby translates from the Danish, she is often influenced by Peachey, sometimes to the extent that she repeats Peachey's mistakes. Below are two examples from 'The Goblin and the Huckster.'

jeg er kun en ringe Bøtte imod Spekhøkeren! (A. II: 256)

I am only a Tub at the Grocer's (Peachey)

I am only a poor tub at the cheesemonger's! (Bushby 1853: 134)

[should be: compared to the cheesemonger]

Og *Nissen* satte Mundlæderet paa Caffemøllen, nei, hvor den gik! og han satte det paa Smørfjerdingen og Pengeskuffen; - **Alle vare de af Mening, som Bøtten**, og hvad de fleste ere enige om, det maa man respectere. (A. II: 256)

And the Nisse put the tongue on the coffee mill, - oh, how bravely it worked then! - and he put it on the money box and on sundry other articles, and he asked them all the same question, and all gave much the same answer; **all were of the same opinion**, and the opinion of the multitude must be respected. (Peachey)

Then the Nis placed the *talkativeness* on the coffee-mill, and how it did go - so fearfully fast! Then he placed it on the money-till **and other articles in the shop**, one after the other: **they all said the same thing as the tub had done;** therefore what everybody says must be respected. (Bushby 1853: 134)

It will be seen that Bushby does not copy Peachey. She correctly renders the fact that the objects in the shop agree with the tub, not with each other, as Peachey writes. However, she follows Peachey in paraphrasing "Smørfjerdingen og Pengeskuffen" as "other articles."

Appendix 2: 'Good Humour'

Et godt Humeur

Efter min Fader har jeg faaet den bedste Arvepart, jeg har faaet et godt Humeur. Og hvem var min Fader? ja, det kommer nu ikke Humeuret ved! han var livlig og trivelig, feed og rund, hans Ydre og Indre ganske i Strid med hans Embede. Og hvad var hans Embede, hans Stilling i Samfundet? Ja, skulde det skrives ned og trykkes lige i Begyndelsen af en Bog, saa er det rimeligt at flere, naar de læste det, lagde Bogen tilside og sagde, det seer mig saa uhyggeligt ud, jeg skal ikke have af den Slags. Og dog var min Fader hverken Rakker eller Skarpretter, tvertimod, hans Embede bragte ham tidt i Spidsen for Stadens allerhæderligste Mænd, og han var der ganske i sin Ret, ganske paa sin Plads; han maatte været forrest, foran Bispen, foran Prindser af Blodet - og han var forrest - han var Ligvogns-Kudsk! (A. II: 238).

From my father I have received the best of inheritances, for I have received - good humour. And who was my father? But that has nothing to do with his humour. He was plump and round, sociable and jovial; his outer and his inner man were neither of them in keeping with his employment. And what was his employment, what his station in society? Well, if these were to be disclosed at the beginning of the story, it is very probable that many, when they read it, would lay the book aside, exclaiming, "No, I won't go on: it is so very uncomfortable to be reminded of such matters."

Yet my father was neither a hangman nor an executioner of any sort; on the contrary, his occupation often brought him in contact with the greatest men of the

town; and he was always in his own place, which, by right, was to be first, - ay, *first*; his place was before that of the Bishop, before even princes of the blood: - he was - a hearse-driver! (Bushby 1853: 59-60)

Jeg er ikke ganske ung, - jeg har hverken Kone, Børn eller Bibliothek, men som sagt, jeg holder Adresseavisen, den er mig nok, den er mig det bedste Blad, og det var den ogsaa for min Fader; den gjør sit gode Gavn og har Alt hvad et Menneske behøver at vide: hvem der prædiker i Kirkerne og hvem der prædiker **i de nye Bøger**! hvor man faaer Huus, Tjenestefolk, Klæder og Føde, hvem der *"sælger ud"* og hvem der selv gaaer ud, og saa seer man saa megen Velgjørenhed og saa mange uskyldige Vers, der ikke giør noget! Ægtestand, der søges og Stævnemøder, som man indlader og ikke indlader sig paa! altsammen simpelt og naturligt! **Man kan saamæn meget godt leve lykkeligt og lade sig begrave, ved at holde Adresseavisen - og saa har man ved sit Livs Ende, saa deiligt meget Papir, at man kan ligge blødt paa det, dersom man ikke holder af at ligge paa Høvlspaaner.** (A. II: 238-39)

I cannot call myself any longer young; I have neither wife, child, nor library; but, as I have said, I am in possession of the Directory, and this is quite sufficient reading for me, as it was for my father before me. It was very serviceable to him, and it contains all that is really necessary to be known: - who performs the services in each of the churches, and who **in the new district-chapels**; where one can find lodgings, servants, clothes, and food; who has changed his place of residence, and who has departed this life altogether; with much information concerning law and matrimony. **Truly the directory is very useful in affairs both of life and death.** (Bushby 1860: 60)

PRAGMATIC MARKERS IN SPOKEN INTERLANGUAGE

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Aspects of language which always seemed to linguists to be far from the bread-and-butter side of language are now being seen as the backbone of the enterprise. (Stubbs 1986: 23)

Introduction

Computer-based corpora have facilitated the study of native speakers' use of English in speech and writing. Recently we have witnessed the emergence of several new areas for corpora, for example language acquisition and foreign-language teaching. Traditionally, second-language research has been less concerned with authentic learner data. As Granger points out (2002: 7), the reason is the difficulty of controlling all the factors affecting learner output. The situation is now changing and there is an increasing interest in the description of how learners write and speak English (Hunston 2002). In particular, there are corpora composed of the speech and writing of learners of English which can be used to study how learners actually use language. The most influential work has been done by Sylviane Granger from the Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve in Belgium. Granger has initiated collaboration between researchers in different countries who are collecting data of advanced students' English (The International Corpus of Learner English; see Granger (ed.) 1998).

The present article takes a first step towards using a corpus of advanced Swedish learners' spoken English. Although advanced Swedish learners of English have a good command of English grammar and lexis, we may assume that their style of speaking differs from that of native

speakers. Learners may overuse or underuse certain devices in comparison with native speakers and therefore sound non-native.

To begin with, it is important that conversation is distinguished from writing and from more formal speech (Chafe and Danielewicz 1987). Conversation is generally unplanned. It is produced under cognitive and processing constraints which are reflected in filled and unfilled pauses, repetition, incomplete grammatical structures - features accounting for what Chafe (1982) describes as the fragmented nature of speech as compared with integration in writing. Certain linguistic items are more characteristic of speech than of writing or occur only in speech. Lexical items 'peculiar to spoken language' are, for example, *well, you know, you see, actually, sort of,* etc. (Stenström 1990). They will here be referred to as pragmatic markers (on the choice of terminology see Aijmer et al. Forthcoming).

Pragmatic markers are also relevant to the learners' communicative needs. Communicative stress can be high for learners, especially in conversations with native speakers which is reflected in the use of markers. The question which will be asked here is whether a particular use of markers is characteristic of learners. In order to find out whether this is the case, we need to compare learners and native speakers in order to identify similarities and differences between the two groups. Do learners overuse or underuse pragmatic markers compared to native speakers? Do they use markers for the same purposes as native speakers? I was also curious to find out more about pragmatic markers by studying their use in learner corpora. Do we get a one-sided picture of their functions by looking only at native speakers?

Material

It is time-consuming to compile a corpus of spoken language. Moreover, it provides the challenge of having to choose a system of

transcription (given in note 2). The corpus is made up of interviews with advanced Swedish learners who were in their third year of studying English at Göteborg University. The learners were interviewed by a native speaker on a topic such as a recent trip or a movie they had seen and were subsequently asked to describe a series of pictures from a comic strip. Each interview lasted for about 15 minutes. The complete material transcribed consists of 50 interviews (c 100,000 words). The corpus will be put into electronic form together with other spoken learner corpora to form a sister corpus of the International Corpus of Learner English (see De Cock et al 1998).

The data in this exploratory study is fairly small - only about 10,000 words. Moreover, I have not been able to make a comparison with a similar group of native-speaker students. Instead, the data has been compared with a similar amount of conversational material from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (Greenbaum and Svartvik 1990).[1] Learners' English is in focus since I believe that we need to find out more about the strategies learners use when speaking in a foreign language and the cognitive stress is particularly taxing.

Swedish learners' interlanguage – an illustration

Non-native spoken discourse is illustrated below (with the system of transcription given in note 2).

<A> is the (male) interviewer. He is a native speaker of English.

<B> is the Swedish learner, a 21-year-old woman. B describes a trip she made to the Dominican Republic with her family:

(1)

Turn 1

    <B> in Sweden *you know* everyone paint the= their houses they're painted *you know* in <breath> in a <breath> special <breath> *kind of* red colour *and all that* <breath> and this= *this was like* neon yellow and pink and . eh *and all sorts of* orange and so it was really bright and may be just too em *I don't know* an attempt to: make their miserable lives <begin laughter> a bit <end laughter> brighter *I don't know* <\B

    <A> did you get off the bus or= or you [know <XX> <\A>

Turn 2

    [yeah we got off the bus and <swallows> and

    we walked around a bit and it's a city called Prerto<?> Plata <\B>

    <A>   mhm <\A>

Turn 3

    <B> it's in eh *I think* that's the *sort of sort of* a capital <breath> erm and *it's really* but *it is a bit* eh *I think* because my . my mother's boyfriend's son <breath> he's also been to Cuba <breath> <\B>

    <A> aha <\A>

Turn 4

    <B> and he said that that it is very similar <breath> with eh *sort of* American influences *and all that* [it's <\B\> (SW027)

Markers (*italics*) such as *you know* or *I think* are pervasive in informal conversation. Formally they are phrases (*you know, and all that*) or single words (*like, well*); they are flexible and can occupy different positions in the utterance. Their contribution to the interpretation of the utterance cannot be described in truth-conditional semantics and they are not part of the proposition. Thus, the propositional content does not change with *you know* (or other markers), but the marker has the function of signalling

that the information is shared in order to involve the addressee in the interpretation of the utterance. Markers are characteristically multifunctional with a variety of pragmatic or discourse functions which depend on the context. Therefore the search for a core meaning of pragmatic markers constraining their multifunctionality is an important issue in research on the semantics/pragmatics interface (see e.g. Aijmer 2002 (and the references there)).

Much of the literature in discourse analysis has described how participants in natural conversation use such expressions to reach an understanding or an interpretation of what the speaker means (e.g. Schiffrin 1987; Stenström 1994; Jucker and Ziv (eds.) 1998). Therefore, we have a good picture of the pragmatic and discourse functions of markers. Pragmatic markers such as *you know, I think, sort of, actually, and that sort of thing* have the function of checking that the participants are on the same wavelength, or of creating a space for planning what to say, making revisions, etc. Informal conversation is largely phatic and the markers in informal conversation mainly perform a phatic function (Bazzanella 1990: 630). However, the question of whether native speakers and learners use markers for the same purposes is open for investigation. This is therefore a question to which I will return in the discussion below.

Results

The markers used by learners are listed in Table 1 with combinations of markers listed separately:

Table 1

Pragmatic markers in the spoken learner corpus

Type of marker	Number of markers
I think	40
sort of	38
well	38
I don't know	28
actually	26
you know	23
like	14
I mean	13
yeah (not as an answer to a question)	13
or something	11
kind of	8
I guess	5
and all that	5
and everything	4
and stuff like that	4
or anything	3
really (final position only)	3
and stuff	2
or something like that	2
ø something	1
and things like that	1
and all sort of	1
something like that	1
or whatever you want to call it	1
and everywhere	1
or so	1
ø stuff like that	1
or anything like that	1
and that kind of stuff	1
Total	290

Patterning of pragmatic markers

well right

well yeah

well I guess

well actually

actually well

eh yeah

but yeah

yeah so

God yeah

you know like … and stuff

sort of more or less

really sort of

just sort of

sort of just

sort of … or whatever

sort of I don't know

sort of more or less

sort of like

sort of something

really sort of I don't know … really

pretty sort of

very sort of

sort of thing

very sort of thing

kind of … or something
kind of … and all that

like … or something
like maybe … something like that

I don't know actually
I don't know I don't know … or something
I don't know I think

like you know … or anything
a bit you know
you know it was sort of like

I mean … or anything
sort of … or something

The corresponding data for native speakers are shown in Table 2 (see the opposite page).

Patterning of pragmatic markers

sort of …or anything
just sort of
sort of … and things
sort of particularly
too sort of
sort of rather

Table 2

Pragmatic markers in the LLC (S1.8, S1.12)

Type of marker	Number of markers
I think	77
you know	68
sort of	41
well	35
really	19
I mean	19
you see	13
and so on	5
or something	4
I suppose	3
actually	2
or anything	2
like	2
and that sort of thing	1
or anything of that sort	1
and suchlike	1
and things	1
Total	294

well actually

well I think

oh you know

you know… and things

I think you know

I think actually

I think really

I think you see

Second-language research has been more interested in less advanced learners' use of pragmatic markers and the results have therefore been different. Hasselgren (2002) investigated 14-15-year-old pupils with a comparable group of native-speaker pupils carrying out similar tasks. The considerable underuse in the non-native group of 'smallwords' (especially among the less mature learners) was correlated with their lack of fluency (cf. also De Cock et al 1998). In my material both native speakers and learners used pragmatic markers. The major difference between learners and native speakers has to do with the frequency of individual markers. *I think, you know, sort of, I mean, well, actually, really* were frequent in both groups. However, only the learners used *I don't know* and *yeah* and only native speakers *you see.*

Hedges like *I think* or *I guess* signal that the speaker is uncertain (termed 'shields' in Prince et al 1992). Other hedges such as *sort of* introduce fuzziness within the proposition (termed 'approximators' in Prince et al 1992). *And everything, and stuff (like that/ or something/ or anything* differ from *sort of* and *kind of* since they are normally placed at the end of the utterance.

One reason for being uncertain or vague is politeness. But there may be several reasons why a hedge is used depending on who the speaker is. In native speaker conversation markers have interpersonal function and are associated with face-saving, politeness and indirectness rather than with imprecision, approximation or uncertainty (Brown and Levinson 1987). Therefore, it is possible that other uses of pragmatic markers than those relating to face and politeness have been neglected. In academic discourse

for instance, markers are used epistemically where less accuracy is appropriate (Mauranen. Forthcoming). In the learner data, markers often co-occur with pauses and are best explained in terms of cognitive and verbal planning problems or as uncertainty devices.

Well was for instance often used inside the turn in the learner corpus as a pause-filler or before a reformulation:

(2)   which was: . quite a good experience I would say *well* I changed family . first the first family I got to was really . they were really horrible . so I left after five   days <breath> and . *well* then I got to: . eh just a completely different family not from the upper class or anything so . I don't know if that matter but they were really nice to me and there was a single mother <breath>   <\B> (SW023)

Moreover, *yeah* was used as a pause-filler where *well* would have been expected:

(3)   I don't know it sort of . *yeah* as I said it just became: like ordinary life <\B> (SW 023)

Sort of and *kind of* were mostly before the word or phrase they modified in both groups. In the learner data it was also frequent   (9 examples) without a head, for instance, before a restart:

(4)   <B> mm but then we had . we *sort of* you got the tips after that which was more than the wages . [so <\B> (SW023)

Like was poorly represented in the London-Lund Corpus which may be due to the fact that the corpus was compiled almost thirty years ago (cf.

Andersen 2001 on the frequency of *like* in present-day adolescent speech).
The following example is from an interview with a learner:

(5) yeah. it did. cos it was just. we used to go to this pub *like* every night
(SW023)

I think and *you know* both have high frequencies, which is to be
expected when the conversation is informal:

(6) <B> [<XXX> he's a *I think* he is from <breaths> eh Austria *I [think* <\B>
(SW024)

You know is difficult to distinguish functionally from *I think* and *sort of*.
However, *sort of* was more frequent among learners. Both learners and
native speakers prefer *I think* to *you know*. The markers can occur in
different turn positions and this is one way in which learners and native
speakers can differ. For example, *I think* was more frequent in mid or end
(parenthetical) position than initially. In the LLC material, only six out of
77 examples were not placed first in the utterance (or after *and, but,
because)*. When *I think* is not placed first it always expresses uncertainty
(Aijmer 2001). Assuming that learners generally express more uncertainty
in conversation, this result is not surprising.

Among formally and functionally similar words or phrases such as *and
all that, and everything* we find a great deal of variation.

There were also non-native-like tags such as *or whatever you want to call
it* in the Swedish data. French learners of English seem to underuse
utterance-final tags. In the corpus compiled by De Cock et al (1998) native
speakers used almost four times as many vagueness tags as learners,
although the French learners also overused some tags (*and so on*).[4] My

sample was probably too small to establish whether there is a similar difference between Swedish learners and native speakers.

I guess and *kind of* in the learner corpus were probably due to American influence. In addition, learners use more clustering and collocations. This is not surprising since learners are likely to feel more communicative stress.

Repetition, stranding, clustering and collocation of pragmatic markers

Markers can be repeated or stranded; they cluster together or collocate with each other. Repetition indicates non-fluency and leaves the hearer time to plan what to say next or to choose a new orientation of the discourse (*sort of sort of*).

Stranding is illustrated in turn 3 (example 1 above) where *it's really* and *it's a bit* are used without a following head phrase. Clustering of markers is illustrated in (7):

(7)   <A> do you think portraits very rarely look *like you know* the people they are supposed to [represent <\A> (SW023)

When markers cluster this is a sign that they have a similar function. Unlike collocations, there is no internal ordering between the words in clusters. In collocations, i.e. co-occurrence of words forming a single marker, we also find combinations of elements with contradictory meanings such as *really sort of*:

(8)   <B> for . I was there from ninety-five till ninety-eight .. *sort of more or less* the whole time but I <breath> always we= went home to went back to Sweden in the summer and ..during the holidays at . Christmas. er .. but yeah . it was *really sort of* .. I don't know if it impressed me really [<laughs> <\B> (SW 023)

Larger patterns with pragmatic markers are illustrated in (9)-(11):

(9) <B> yeah . I like more eh if you say *like* pop arts *and stuff* <\B> (SW025)

(10) <B> er yeah I guess . but not not like the ordinary stuff *like you know*
     Rembrandt *or any-* [thing <\B> (SW025)

(11) when you= going to a room and there's a short video sequence <\B>
     <A> [aha <\A>
     <B> [of *like* one person *or something* and that's I I like that kind of art [you
     know <\B> (SW025)

The possibility for markers to cluster suggests that they have little function in themselves. Both learners and native speakers use clusters of markers to get more time for planning what to say next, to make a new start, or to reformulate what they have just said. This may in fact be the dominant or only function of markers in learner speech while native speakers also use clustering to reinforce the phatic function of the markers.

I don't know

I don't know suggests that speakers are not taking full responsibility for what they are saying (see Tsui 1991). Learners make frequent use of *I don't know*, which makes them sound more uncertain than native speakers. The uncertainty may be underlined by repetition and by other markers (*sort of, as I said*):

(12) <A> would you go back to live there <\A>
     <B> no . not to live there no <\B>
     <A> why not <\A>

<B> <breath> *I don't know it sort of* . *yeah as I said* it just became: like ordinary life <\B>

<A> hm <\A>

<B> it wasn't that exciting any more to: live there <\B>

In (13), *I don't know* is followed by an expression in which the speaker expresses his uncertainty:

(13) but-t-t . em . I stayed with a family who had Maori relatives *I don't know* <XX> *I think* the husband and family was half Maori *or something* <swallows> and he spoke very warmly about the culture and <breaths> and I think . think they are they are they . I think they want to they want to preserve it <\B> (SW 024)

I don't know in particular is a device helping the speaker to achieve fluency in the conversation. In (14), *I don't know* is placed between words in a phrase filling a pause while the speaker tries to think of the right word:

(14) and I got *a bit I don't know homesick* . I wouldn't say homesick . but I went back because my sister had a baby <\B> (SW023)

I don't know is used as the equivalent of a pause before a new start:

(15) and *you could I don't know you could* <breath> have a nice garden with lots of fruit (SW024)

In the data from native speaker conversation looked at by Tsui, *I don't know* introduced a turn component and was frequently used to signal disagreement and to avoid commitment in addition to being a marker of

uncertainty. When used by learners, however, *I don't know* functioned only as an uncertainty device or 'filler'.

Conclusion

Irrespective of the small size of the corpus, there are still some conclusions we can draw from this study. By comparing learners' conversation with native speakers we get a picture of the problems students have in communicating in a foreign language. The fact that the student is unaccustomed to the interviewing situation may also contribute to this uncertainty.

The type of spoken language studied in this project is informal spontaneous speech. As Östman points out (1982: 161), the same social and psychological causes may produce both informal conversation and pragmatic markers. Since learners and native speakers are not in the same psychological situation as conversational partners, we may expect them to use markers for different reasons. Learners use vague and uncertain markers to express uncertainty or hesitation and not for face-saving or to signal politeness. Markers are also used as strategies when the learners have communication problems. For example, markers were typically stranded in the conversation, leaving it to the hearer to complete the message. Clustering of markers was another characteristic feature of learner language with the function of filling a space in conversation. The non-native speaker generally used the same markers as native speakers. An exception is *I don't know*. In my material, learners made frequent use of *I don't know*, which makes them sound more uncertain than native speakers. Thus the phrase occurred before, between, and after constituents as well as in combination with other markers.

Notes

1. Conversations S.1.8 and S.1.12. Since the conversations in the learner corpus were shorter, six learner conversations have been used (SWO 22, 23, 24, 25, 27,29).

2. *Transcription conventions*

The end of each turn is indicated by either <\A> or <\B>

Empty pauses are marked by dots corresponding to the length of the pause.

Filled pauses are marked e.g. as *eh, er, erm,* etc.

<X> represents one unclear word (or a syllable)

<XX> represents two unclear words

<XXX> represents three or more unclear words

3. Tag questions and interjections have not been included either in the native speaker or the non-native speaker corpus.

4. De Cock's corpus of French learner language was compiled according to the same principles as the Swedish corpus. The native speaker corpus is more directly comparable to the learner material than the London-Lund Corpus.

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'KIDS' AND GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

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Attitudes towards Anglicisms

Even though German has been in contact with English for centuries, the impact of English on German and other European languages became stronger in the second half of the 20th century. With the advent of new media such as the Internet and with the dominance of English in domains such as advertising and computing this influence has become especially pervasive since the 1990s. Nowadays some social groups, such as youngsters and advertising agencies, quite purposefully draw on Anglicisms or on code-mixing and -switching to distance themselves from others or to capture the attention of potential customers.[1]

In consequence many language users feel rather disconcerted about the use of Anglicisms in the media, because they have difficulty in understanding them, feel excluded from discourse in certain domains, or may have objections on principle to cultural and linguistic "Americanisation".

The increasing use of Anglicisms is often negatively labelled as *Denglisch, Germang, Engleutsch, Neudeutsch, McGermish,* or *BSE.* According to my observations, *Denglisch* seems to be the term used most often. The term is modelled on the precedent of *Franglais* used by René Étiemble as early as 1964. The blending of etymologically heterogeneous word material is to suggest the pending danger of a 'pidginisation' of German. The term *McGermish* implies a linguistic 'McDonaldisation' of German, and *BSE* is a transferred use of the acronym *bovine spongiform encephalopathy,* commonly known as *mad-cow disease,* in the sense of *Bad Simple English* as in the following example:

Save the Denglish-Engleutsch! Kennen Sie BSE? Nämlich **Bad Simple** Eng-
lish? Ein Rindvieh freilich, wer's im Deutschen spricht – und dabei so man-
chen Anglizismus wiederkäut: Wir *talken, shoppen,* nehmen's *easy* ... (Jokers
Restseller [sic] catalogue 35/2003: 88).

By contrast, in his study, Bär is of the opinion that words such as *Kids*
can be used deliberately to express a particular attitude towards life as in
the following concocted example:

'Ich muss nur eben noch schnell die Kids ins Bett bringen und mein Handy
catchen, dann sind wir weg, okay?' Wer so redet, möchte jugendlich, dyna-
misch, zeitgemäß (*trendy*) und weltläufig wirken (Bär 2001: 128).

Negative attitudes towards the use or abuse of individual words are of-
ten voiced in letters to the editor (see Stickel 1984; Hoberg 2002) or in spe-
cial columns of newspapers and journals.

In order to scrutinise the prevailing attitudes of Germans towards their
mother tongue, the *Institut für deutsche Sprache* in Mannheim carried out a
representative opinion poll (see Stickel and Volz 1999). One question
asked was whether present-day German had undergone a great number
of lexical changes over the last five to ten years or not. Almost 60 % of the
participants were of the opinion that (very) many changes had taken place
(see Table 1).

Table 1

The extent of lexical change

Very many changes	12.7 %
Many changes	44.8 %
Some changes	37.7 %
Few changes	4.8 %

(adapted from Stickel and Volz 1999: 19)

Among the many changes, words borrowed from English feature prominently. All in all, Anglicisms were mentioned 182 times (75 times in West Germany and 107 times in East Germany). Out of the 29 items criticised individually, there are no less than 20 Anglicisms. In order of declining frequency these were: *cool, Kids* (instead of *Kinder*), *okay/o.k., Team, in, out, Internet, Shopping/shoppen, mega-(gut, in/out…), Handy, hallo* (as a greeting), *relaxen/relaxed, Elchtest, managen/Manager/Management, Mobbing, Peanuts, Shop* (instead of *Geschäft, Laden*), *City, Job* (instead of *Arbeit*) and *Power*. In addition, several other words of English origin were mentioned, but occurred only once.

Given this background of diverging and even disquieting attitudes towards the impact of English on present-day German word stock it seems all the more interesting to investigate how lexicographers deal with this problem at the level of the individual word. Since the word *Kids* was high on the agenda of reprehensible Anglicisms, its treatment in selected German dictionaries will be highlighted by taking a look at how dictionaries of Anglicisms, foreign word dictionaries, learners' dictionaries and general dictionaries handle the case.

The historical development of *kid(s)* in English

Before we can outline the development of the borrowed term in German and its treatment in selected German dictionaries, it seems advisable to sketch the semantic and pragmatic history of the English word first. For this reason an outline based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* [OED] (1992) will be provided next. The OED-entry shows that the English term is etymologically related to German *Kitz* and that it came into the English language in the Middle Ages (c. 1200) in the sense of 1.a. The sense divisions are given below; the time range of the illustrative citations is added in brackets:

1. a. The young of a goat [*c* 1200-1887]

† b. A young roe-deer during its first year. *Obs[olete]* [1486-1891].

c. A young antelope [1884].

2. The flesh of a young goat [*c* 1430-1888].

3. a. The skin of a kid.

b. Leather made from kid-skins, or from lamb-skins, or other substi-
tutes; chiefly used in the manufacture of gloves and shoes; *pl.* gloves
(or boots) made of this leather [1677-1891].

4. *sing. or pl.* (Rendering L. *hædus* or *hædi.*) A pair of small stars in the
constellation *Auriga*, represented as kids held in the hand of the chario-
teer. Cf. *kid-star* below [1609, 1615].

5. *slang.*

a. A child, esp. a young child. (Originally low slang, but by the 19th c.
frequent in familiar speech.) [1599-1894].

b. In low sporting or criminal circles: A term of admiration for an ex-
pert young thief, pugilist, etc. [1812-1834].

† c. In American Colonies (see quots.) *Obs.* (Cf. <u>kidnap</u>.) [1724-1895].

d. A young man or woman. *colloq.* (orig. *U.S.*) [1884-1974].

6. *attrib.* and *Comb.*, as (sense 1) *kid-fell, -flesh, -leather* (also *attrib.*), *-milk;*
kid-like adj.;

(Oxford English Dictionary on Compact Disc 1992).

The senses 5.a. and d. are of particular relevance for the origin of the
modern borrowing into German. They show that the English word had
undergone amelioration from a low slang term to one used in familiar
speech by the 19th century and that the meaning of 'youth, adolescent' was
first recorded in the United States in the late 19th century. As regards its
style level, this usage is considered as colloquial.

The treatment of *Kids* in selected German dictionaries

The *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch* [AWb] (1993-1996) is a dictionary espe-
cially devoted to the description of Anglicisms in present-day German. It
is based on a corpus consisting mostly of newspapers and periodicals. The
entry for *Kids* (1994: 767-768) reads as follows. The meaning is glossed by
the two "synonyms" 'Kinder, Jugendliche'. This is the only sense given
and it is documented with twelve citations ranging from 1973 until 1990.
As the dictionary focuses on the lexical impact of English after the Second
World War, the older senses 'goat skin' and 'gloves made of goat skin',
both borrowed at the beginning of the 20th century, are not attested. Ac-
cording to the AWb, these older borrowings were first recorded in Tesch
(1915).

The AWb does not make extensive use of usage labels for the reason
that stylistic and other evaluations cannot immediately be drawn from the
written corpus material but have to be attributed to the linguistic compe-
tence of the compilers (see Vol. 1, 1993: 91*). Nonetheless, a commentary
regarding the usage of *Kids* is given, which says that the term is currently
replacing older Anglicisms such as *Teen(ager)*, *Teener*, *Teeny* and *Teenybop-
per*.

Interestingly enough, the documentation of the headword by citations
reveals that the term has been in use in German from the early 1970s on-
wards. However, its first attestation in a German dictionary took almost
twenty years.[2]

The first two citations come from journals about pop music. This shows
that the term was associated with pop culture:

Wir wollen die Kids nicht betrügen (Pop 17/1973: 20).
Wenn die Kids lachen, flippen und herumspringen ... (Musik Express
5/1974: 48).

Most of the other quotations, however, stem from the periodical *Der Spiegel,* which must be considered as a special case regarding its stylistic conventions in general and the use of Anglicisms in particular.

Similar to the documentation of the English word in the OED (sense 6), the AWb also proves that the word quite often occurs in compounds. The most frequent combination listed is *Computer-Kids.* The compound section of the dictionary entry raises the issue of where linguistic borrowing ends and native word-formation with borrowed words begins. That is to say, compounds such as *City-Kids, Disco-Kids, Kidnapper-Kids, Muskel-Kids, Slum-Kids, Stadt-Kids* and *Straßen-Kids* (again, mostly from *Der Spiegel*) are, in all likelihood, German nonce-formations coined by journalists to serve a specific stylistic function in a given context. *Whizz-Kids,* on the other hand, is more likely to have been borrowed wholesale. The OED documents *whiz(z)-kid* in the sense of 'an exceptionally successful or brilliant young person, esp. in politics or business' from 1960 onwards.

The Dictionary of European Anglicisms [DEA] is comparative in scope, giving evidence on the usage of Anglicisms in sixteen European languages (including German). It covers the time-span from 1945 into the mid-1990s with a cut-off date for the data in 1995, thus laying special emphasis on the more recent loans. Whereas the AWb categorises its entries according to formal criteria, the DEA classifies them according to the categories of acceptability and currency paired with elements of morphological and phonological integration. The Anglicisms are arranged on a cline of increasing integration ranging from 0 to 5 (see DEA 2001: xxiv):

0 or Ø: indicate that the respective word is only known to bilinguals, such as *weekend* in German, or counts as a foreignism, referring exclusively to Anglo-American contexts, such as *earl* or *county.*

1 : The word is restricted in use: the nature of the restriction (age, style, technical, regional distribution, etc.) is indicated by diachronic, diastratic, diatechnical, diatopic or other markers, e.g.: *Ballyhoo* (journalese), *Event* (youth language, journalese), *Kids* (slang, modern), *Scoop* (journalese, rare).

2 : The word is fully accepted and found in many styles and registers, but still marked as English in its spelling, pronunciation or morphology, e.g.: *Jeans* or *Thriller*.

3 : The word is not (no longer) recognized as English; the fact can only be established etymologically, e.g.: *Frack, Humor, Keks, Pudding, Rum, Sport*.

4 : The word is identical with an indigenous item in the receptor language, so that the contact resulted only in a semantic loan, e.g.: *Maus* for computers.

5 : The word, as far as an individual language is concerned, comes from another source than English. This category covers items of neo-classical provenance (in particular Latin or Greek) whose English origin is impossible to determine from a morphological or phonological point of view.

For the entry *kid* two senses are given and the following information regarding its usage is provided:

> **kid** *n.* 2 'leather from a young goat', 3 'a child or young person'.
> The colloquial word *kids* (mainly in the pl.) is replacing the older loan ↑*teenager* in German. The currency of *kid(s)* in Europe makes it impossible to say whether this is a general trend (supported by the short and less complicated form).
> **Ge** … beg 20 C, 2(1 tech[nology/technical]); *kids* pl. 1970s, 3 (2 sla[ng], mod[ish]).
> **(Dictionary of European Anglicisms 2001).**

The numbers for the sense divisions (beginning with 2) correspond to those given in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1995) in order to make a comparison easier and to find out which senses were borrowed and which ones developed independently in any of the recipient languages (see Busse and Görlach 2002: 26-28). The older technical sense is rated as 1 = restricted in use, and the more recent borrowing in the sense of 'children' as 2 = fully accepted and found in many styles and registers but still recognised as English.

Apart from German the word is only attested for three other European languages, namely for Dutch and French in the newer sense of 'a child or young person'. The usage label characterises the item as *colloquial* (Dutch) or *youth language* (French). The older sense, which apart from German is to be found in Dutch, Norwegian, and French is unanimously labelled as *technology/technical*. In all cases the usage rating is (level) 1.

The *Wörterbuch überflüssiger Anglizismen* [Dictionary of superfluous Anglicisms] (2000) was compiled on behalf of the *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (www.vds.de). The objectives of this society are clearly purist, and their activities are manifold, ranging from the publication of this dictionary (for a review article see Busse 2002), to public media events in which the worst linguistic performance of the year (*Sprachpanscher*) is awarded a prize.

Spitzmüller analyses their activities in the framework of the public debate on the state of the German language. He concludes that the controversial discussion about Anglicisms in Germany is part of a larger discourse on the topics of nation, identity and alterity, which expresses the uncertainty brought about by a change in values, attitudes, and mentalities (2002: 247). In his opinion, the problems that many speakers seem to have with Anglicisms are not primarily of a linguistic nature; a point which I also emphasised (Busse 1999).

In the dictionary the term *Kids* is treated as follows:

> **Kids**: Kinder, Jugendliche, *nicht im Singular benutzt, zweite Bedeutung Denglisch*
> (**Wörterbuch überflüssiger Anglizismen 2000, 2ⁿᵈ edition**).

It is interesting to note that only the second sense 'Jugendliche' is regarded as "Denglisch". According to its own definition given in the introduction (p. 13), however, the label does not really fit, since "Denglisch" is meant to describe German pseudo-loans such as *Handy* and *Wellness* or hybrids such as *abtörnen* and *bankable*.

When we turn our attention to foreign-word dictionaries, the picture looks like this:

The *Duden-Fremdwörterbuch* provides three senses, but without any stylistic or field labels, thus treating the entry as stylistically unmarked.[3]

> **Kid** [*engl.*] *das*; -s, -s: 1. feines Kalb-, Ziegen-, Schafleder. 2. (Plural) Handschuhe aus Kid (1). 3. (meist Plural) Kind, Jugendlicher
> (**Duden Fremdwörterbuch 1990; 1997; 2001 [= 5ᵗʰ, 6ᵗʰ and 7ᵗʰ edition]**).

The *Fremdwörterbuch* published by the Bibliographisches Institut in Leipzig (1990) gives basically the same information, but regards the sense of 'child, teenager' as colloquial:

> **Kid** ... 3. *umg* Kind, junger Teenager <*engl*, 'Kitz'>
> (**Fremdwörterbuch 1990**).

The *Wahrig Fremdwörterlexikon* (2001) of the Bertelsmann publishing house characterises this sense as belonging to youth language and treats it as a synonym of *Computerkid*:

Kid <n.; -s, -s> 1 das Fell einer jungen Ziege 2 <Jugendspr.> Kind, *neue Mode*
für –s; → a. *Computerkid* [engl., »Zicklein«, auch umg. für »Kind, Bengel«]
(Wahrig Fremdwörterlexikon 2001, 4th edition).

In comparison to the previous dictionaries, the *Duden. Das große Fremd-*
wörterbuch goes about the lemmatisation somewhat differently in that here
the senses are separated into two different entries and that, in addition,
singular and plural are also treated separately:

[1]**Kid** *das;* -s, -s <aus gleichbed. *engl.* kid, eigtl. "Kitz, Zicklein">: feines Kalb-,
Ziegen-, Schafleder; vgl. [2]Kids.
[2]**Kid** *das;* -s, -s (meist Plur.) <aus *engl.-amerik.* kid "Jugendlicher">: (Jargon)
Kind, Jugendlicher (im Alter von 10 bis 13 Jahren)
[1]**Kids** Plur. von [1,2]Kid.
[2]**Kids** *die* (Plur): Handschuhe aus [1]Kid.
(Duden. Das große Fremdwörterbuch 1994; 2000; 2003 [= 1st, 2nd and 3rd edi-
tion]).

The separation into two different entries obscures the fact that both
senses go back to the same etymon (see OED 2002). However, viewed
from a synchronic perspective, the senses seem to be so far apart that the
link is no longer apparent. Regarding the etymology, [2]*Kid* is further speci-
fied as going back to American English rather than British English. This
information is confirmed by the OED (sense 5.d.). The label *Jargon* catego-
rises the entry as lying below the average style level. In contrast to the la-
bel *colloquial, Jargon* is used for words with a marked deviation from
common core vocabulary. In the introduction to the dictionary *abgefuckt* is
given as an example for this category. The meaning gloss specifies that the
term relates only to older children aged ten to thirteen.

As an additional feature this dictionary contains a "reverse dictionary",
that is to say a wordlist with indigenous German words for which suit-
able foreign words (from the main part of the dictionary) are suggested as

synonyms for the purpose of stylistic variation. So if users look up *Kind*, 'child' 1. *Baby*, 2. *Greenager*, 2*Kid*, and *Subteen* are given. The numbers refer to the corresponding sense numbers of the respective entry in the main part. For *Jugendlicher* 'adolescent' *Adoleszent*, 2*Kid*, *Teenager*, *Teenie*, *Young-ster* are provided. However, it is strongly recommended that the meaning glosses of the entries be checked first in order to find out whether the word is a suitable synonym in a given context.

As far as German learners' dictionaries are concerned, it is conspicuous that most of them do not include the word *Kids*. Out of the seven diction-aries consulted[4] only the *Langenscheidt. Großwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremd-sprache* (2003) and the *PONS. Großes Schulwörterbuch Deutsch* (2002) pro-vide entries. In terms of register the *Langenscheidt Großwörterbuch* regards *Kids* as belonging to spoken language 'gespr[ochen]' and the PONS treats it as colloquial. The absence of the word from the other dictionaries seems to suggest that the editors were of the opinion that the word is not an es-sential item for foreign learners of German.

As representatives of general purpose dictionaries the *Duden Recht-schreibung*,[5] the *Duden Universalwörterbuch*, the *Duden. Das Große Wörter-buch der deutschen Sprache* and corresponding works from other publishing houses were chosen.

The *Duden Rechtschreibung* first records the sense of 'children' in its twentieth edition in 1991. (All the previous editions from the ninth edition (1915) onward only cover the older senses of 'goat skin' and 'gloves made of goat skin'). In terms of style level the sense 'children' is labelled as *col-loquial* in the three latest editions:

Kid ... *meist Plur.: ugs. für* Jugendliche, Kinder
(Duden Rechtschreibung 1991; 1996; 2000 [= 20th, 21st and 22nd edition])

The same holds true for the treatment in the *Wahrig. Die deutsche Recht-schreibung* (2002). By contrast, the *Wahrig. Universalwörterbuch Rechtschrei-bung* (2003) adds the label *salopp* 'slangy'.

The *Duden. Deutsches Universalwörterbuch* from its second edition (1989) to its fifth and most recent edition (2003) labels the sense of 'child, teen-ager' as *Jargon*. In the front matter it is explained that *Jargon* characterises a headword as belonging to the parlance of a specific branch or field in contrast to the technical terms used there.

The comprehensive ten-volume dictionary *Duden. Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (2000) also labels the term as *Jargon* and provides three quotations from German periodicals; thematically these deal espe-cially with pop music and sport:

> Die reichen –s mit Papas Kohle (Spiegel 27/1980: 93).
> ..., die ihre Platte wohl vor allem deshalb veröffentlicht, damit die –s beim Konzert die Songs parat haben (Szene 6/1983: 56).
> Unter den Topten der Sportidole findet sich bei den –s kein einziger Fußbal-ler mehr (Woche 7.11.1997: 27).

Summary and conclusion

The treatment of the term *Kid(s)* in selected German dictionaries has re-vealed a number of interesting facts. Since the dictionaries differ in scope and size the amount of information provided is of course different. Aver-age dictionary users would probably not consult a whole range of dic-tionaries in order to find out about the usage of this term in present-day German and would thus not be aware of how differently the description and especially the stylistic assessment are handled.

  1) In the most simple case, the different meanings are given without any usage labels as e.g. in the *Duden Fremdwörterbuch*. This treat-ment rather disguises that the word was borrowed twice during the 20th century; first at the beginning as a technical term referring

to gloves, and again in the 1970s as a term used especially in the media with regard to children and adolescents. Even though the older term is of a restricted technical nature, this sense is still included in most German dictionaries. Usually this sense is given without a diatechnical label.

2) The more recent meaning of 'children', first recorded in the late 1980s (in *Wahrig* 1986), seems to have developed during the 1970s (according to the citations provided in the AWb). In most cases 'Kinder' and 'Jugendliche' are given as "synonyms" without any further specifications in terms of age. As regards its stylistic value, the treatment differs from unmarked standard usage (no label) to *colloquial, casual, slang(y), modish, youth language* and *jargon*.

3) A great drawback of nearly all dictionaries under investigation is the fact that the apparatus of usage labels is not normally given in the front matter, instead the abbreviations used are listed in alphabetical order. Therefore, the number of labels and their interrelationship does not become transparent for the users. From a meta-lexicographical point of view it is also difficult to compare them across dictionaries, because their value and their internal consistency depend on the overall number of labels used. Furthermore, a label might indeed reveal more about the *Sprachgefühl* of the editor than about the existence of real differences.

4) If the stylistic assessment of *Kids* does not change in consecutive editions, as for example in the *Duden Rechtschreibung* and in the *Duden Fremdwörterbuch*, this can either indicate that no changes in usage were observed by the lexicographers, or, perhaps more likely, that even in a revision previous decisions die hard and persist for quite some time.

5) My *Sprachgefühl* tells me that in present-day German the term in the sense of 'children, teenagers' does not occur in casual spoken language. Neither adults nor youngsters seem to use the term *Kids*. For this reason I would not label it as *colloquial*. It appears that journalists writing about young persons are using and perhaps over-using the term. In addition, it occurs frequently in advertisements for clothing and fashionable equipment for youngsters. Given the truth of these observations, labels such as *journalese* or *advertising jargon* in conjunction with at least one illustrative quotation would perhaps be helpful for users - native and non-native - wanting to learn about the usage of *Kids* in present-day German and its semantic and stylistic position in comparison to similar words.

6) The exclusion from most German learners' dictionaries seems to imply that *Kids* is a vogue word belonging to the periphery of German lexis.

Notes

1. In this article, the term *Anglicism* functions as an umbrella term for words or phrases borrowed or adapted from a variety of the English language regardless of their origin in Great Britain, the United States, or elsewhere.

2. According to my research for this article the *Wahrig. Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1986) seems to have been the first German dictionary to record this new sense, thus antedating the information given in the AWb (*Duden Fremdwörterbuch* 1990) by four years.

3. The previous four editions, which appeared between 1960 and 1982, only listed the first two senses by providing two entries; i.e. one for the leather, and another one for the gloves made thereof.

4. The following learners' dictionaries do not include the word *Kids*:

Duden. Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Standardwörterbuch. 2002.

Langenscheidt. Taschenwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. 2003.

PONS. Basiswörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. 2002.

Hueber. Wörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. 2003.

Wörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. 2000.

5. As indicated by the title, the *Duden Rechtschreibung* is, first and foremost, concerned with orthography. However, for many language users, this is the only dictionary they use. For that reason, it often fulfils the role of a general purpose dictionary.

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RECENT ANGLICISMS IN ROMANIAN

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In the years after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, when Romania opened to the West, the influence of English on the Romanian language rose to an unprecedented level. Nowadays, English words can be found in all Romanian newspapers and journals, can be heard on any Romanian TV channel, and are frequently used as shop or business names (Pârlog 2002); English has even become the language of Romanian graffiti. The phenomenon has been most recently charted in the three volumes on European Anglicisms edited by Manfred Görlach (2001; 2002a; 2002b).

A previous article on English loanwords in Romanian, published twenty years ago (Pârlog 1983), was based on a corpus in which only eighteen nouns referred to human beings. The current corpus, collected since 1990 from several newspapers and magazines of different orientation, contains more than six times as many (see Annex).[1] With some exceptions, they denote human agents or members of a profession and many do not represent random usage but seem to occur regularly. Their gradual adaptation to Romanian is governed by formal and semantic criteria. From a formal point of view, borrowed names of human agents ending in a consonant or a semivowel may become either masculine or neuter in Romanian and the difference becomes obvious only in the plural forms; from a semantic point of view, however, such nouns usually become masculine while the neuter is reserved for nouns with non-animate referents.

Many of the borrowed English words are used unmodified, without any change in their formal structure e.g.:

*o poziție de **outsider*** ["a position of outsider"];[2]
*angajează **brand manager, creative director, account manager, art director,***
account executive, copywriter, designer ["wanted ..."];
*locuri de muncă pentru **baby-sitter*** ["jobs as baby-sitter"]; and
*A.N., **hostess** de night-club* ["A.N., night-club hostess"].

Sometimes the words are placed between inverted comas, which suggests that they are regarded as foreignisms or quotations, and there is, sometimes, a kind of translation which is not necessarily correct e.g.: *existența oamenilor străzii (a acelor "**homeless**")* ["the existence of street people (of those 'homeless [people]')]; *englezescul "**headhunters**", expresia "vână-tori de capete", este folosită* ["the English word 'headhunters', a phrase meaning 'headhunters', is used"]; *denumirea de politolog. Termenul în engleză e "**political scientist**"* ["the word 'politolog'. The English term is 'political scientist'"]; *gazetar de talent, să-i zicem "**free-lancer**"* ["a talented journalist, let's call him a 'free-lancer'"].

Sometimes there are no translations or inverted commas, as in *al său "**daddy**" iubit* ["his beloved 'daddy'"], *acest "**newcomer**" feminin* ["this feminine 'newcomer'"]; ***dog-walker**, cei care plimbă câinii* ["dog-walker, those who walk dogs"]; *având drept idoli **hackers** (spărgători de programe)* ["having hackers (hackers) as idols"].

The gender of Romanian nouns is marked and can be established by means of determiners in the singular and in the plural.

The determiners for masculine nouns are *un* ["one"] - *doi* ["two"] (e.g., *un doctor* ["one doctor"] - *doi doctori* ["two doctors"]);

for feminine nouns they are *o* ["one"] - *două* ["two"] (e.g., *o femeie* ["one woman"] - *două femei* ["two women"]); whereas

neuter nouns have *un* ["one"] – *două* ["two"] (e.g., *un studiu* ["one study"] - *două studii* ["two studies"]). The determiners may also be demonstrative adjectives indicating nearness: *acest* (masculine, singular) -

acești (masculine, plural), *această* (feminine, singular) - *aceste* (feminine, plural), *acest* (neuter, singular) - and *aceste* (neuter, plural).

English nouns are adapted to Romanian genders by means of such determiners whose form is suggestive of the gender of the English noun. Here are some examples: <u>*acest*</u> **"newcomer"** (demonstrative adjective, singular, masculine); <u>*această*</u> <u>*redutabilă*</u> **business woman** ["this formidable business woman"] (demonstrative adjective, singular, feminine + variable adjective, singular, feminine); <u>*acești*</u> **new-comers** ["these new-comers"] (demonstrative adjective, plural, masculine); *asemenea altor* <u>*două*</u> **first ladies** ["like two other first ladies"] (numeral, feminine); <u>*doi*</u> *bătrâni* **dons** *ai Oxfordului* ["two old dons at Oxford"] (numeral, masculine).

The gender of the borrowed word may be suggested by both modifying adjectives and by nouns (be they modifiers or heads).

Just like Romanian nouns, Romanian variable adjectives also indicate gender. The English adjective "good" may, for instance, correspond to: *bun* (masculine and neuter, singular); *bună* (feminine, singular, nominative and accusative); *buni* (masculine, plural); *bune* (neuter, plural, and feminine, singular, genitive and dative).

In *al său* **"daddy"** *iubit* ["his beloved daddy"], the adjective, *iubit*, is in the singular, masculine form; therefore, *daddy* is regarded as masculine. In *perfecționarea metodelor diverșilor* **killers** ["the improvement of the methods of various killers"], the modifier, *diverșilor,* is an adjective used with the definite article, plural, masculine, genitive, which automatically makes *killer* a masculine noun. The adjective, *viitoarea,* in *viitoarea* **first lady** *a Germaniei* ["Germany's future first lady"] is used with the definite article, singular, feminine, which makes the *first lady* a feminine noun. The same features with the same outcome are found in the adjective *clasica, in clasica* **self-made woman** ["the classic self-made-woman"].

Sometimes the modifier is a noun marked for gender: e.g., *au preferat în locul* <u>*englezoaicelor*</u> **baby-sitters** ... ["they preferred to English baby-sitters

[sic]..."](noun used with the definite article, plural, feminine, genitive); *"call-boys" licenţiaţi* ["call-boys with a diploma"] (noun, plural, masculine); *cîntăreaţa rapper de mare success* ["the successful rap singer/rapper"] (noun used with the definite article, singular, feminine gender).

Many borrowed nouns for humans are used with a plural non-articulated masculine ending, a non-syllabic [i], which palatalizes the final consonant: *Înscrierea la cursul de brokeri* ["The enrolment for the courses training brokers"]; *scrie despre grupările de rockeri* ["s/he writes about the groups of rockers"]; *bikeri din toată lumea* ["bikers from all over the world"]. If the noun ends in a consonant other than [r], which is sounded in final position in Romanian, [i] may be separated from it by a hyphen; however, it may also be attached directly: e.g., *plutoane de veşnic zîmbitori yes-man-i* ["hordes of always smiling yes-men"]; *remarcabili întâi de toate ca yesmani* ["remarkable first of all as yesmen"]; *La Davos au fost prezenţi ...1000 de 'mari boss-i'* ["1000 big bosses were present at Davos"].

There are nouns whose singular-plural opposition is marked not only by the palatalization of the final consonant, but also by final consonant alternations. The most frequent alternations are [t]-[ts] as in Romanian *pirat-piraţi* ["pirate"-"pirates"], [d]-[z] as in *bard-barzi* ["bard"-"bards"], [s]-[ʃ] as in *as-aşi* ["ace"-"aces"]. Such alternations are also found in Romanian Anglicisms: *internaut - internauţi, bodyguard - bodyguarzi, homles - homleşi,* exemplified in e.g. *internauţi au putut savura detalii* ["internauts were able to enjoy the details"]; *o armată de bodiguarzi* ["an army of bodyguards"]; *sînt homleşi boschetari* ["they are homeless people living in bushes"].

Interestingly, there are no plural, non-articulated, feminine nouns in my corpus. Zafiu (2003: 19) reports the pair *hosteri – hostessuri; hoster* has been created for the masculine gender in analogy with other professions denoted by nouns ending in *-er* and assimilated to the masculine, while *hostessuri,* the plural of *hostess,* denoting a feminine profession, is formed

with the inflection *-uri*, typical of the plural, non-articulated neuter gender.

The English borrowings are often preceded by Romanian indefinite articles. They are *un* (Nominative, Accusative), *unui* (Genitive, Dative) for the masculine animate singular nouns, *o* (Nominative, Accusative), *unei* (Genitive, Dative) for the feminine singular nouns. They are illustrated in these examples: *trimite după gratii un hacker* ["puts a hacker behind bars"]; *el este un performer* ["he is a performer"]; *C. a bătut un bodyguard* ["C. has beaten a bodyguard"]; *un "drag queen" este un bărbat* travestit ["a drag queen is a transvestite"]; *în fața unui native speaker* ["in front of a native speaker"]; *confesiunea unui gay* ["a gay's confession"]; *imaginea unui outsider* ["the image of an outsider"]; *sunt dansatoare, o gipsy, spune Shirley* ["I am a dancer, a gipsy"]; *o neo-yuppie* ["a neo-yuppie"]; *avansuri făcute de o hostess* ["advances made by a hostess"]; *o jazz-dancer americană* ["an American jazz-dancer']. Other nouns in my corpus which are accompanied by one of the Romanian indefinite articles indicative of gender are: *un baby-sitter, un boss, un fan, un gamer, un manager, un new-historicist, un outsider, un play-boy, un scholar, un self-made-man, un superstar; o spice girl, o party girl.*

The Romanian definite article is enclitic, i.e. forming a unit with the noun. It is often attached to words borrowed from English. The distribution of its forms depends on the ending of the noun, on gender, number, and case (cf. Avram 1986: 66).

In the *singular*, the definite article has five distinct forms: *-l, -le, -a, -lui, -(e)i*. They are used as follows:

- in the nominative and the accusative, *-l, -le, -a* are used for the masculine gender, (e.g., *scriitorul* "the writer", *fratele* "the brother", and *popa*, "the priest"); *-a* for the feminine gender (e.g., *mama* "the mother", *vulpea* "the fox"); *-l, -le* for the neuter (e.g., *teatrul* "the theatre", *dealul* "the hill", and *numele*, "the name");

- in the genitive and the dative, *-lui* [luj] and *–i* (a syllabic [i]) for the masculine (e.g., *scriitorului* "the writer's" or "to the writer", *fratelui* "the brother's" or "to the brother", and *popii* "the priest's" or "to the priest"); *-(e)i* for the feminine (e.g., *mamei* 'the mother's" or "to the mother", *vulpii* "the fox's" or "to the fox"); *-lui* for the neuter (e.g., *teatrului* "of the theatre" or "to the theatre", *numelui* "of the name" or "to the name").

The *plural* forms are *-i, -le, -lor*:

- in the nominative and the accusative, *-i* (a syllabic [i]) for the masculine gender (e.g., *scriitorii,* "the writers", *frații,* "the brothers"); *–le* for the feminine gender (e.g., *mamele,* "the mothers", *vulpile,* "the foxes"); **and** *–le* for the neuter (e.g., *teatrele,* "the theatres", *numele,* "the names", *dealurile* "the hills");

- in the genitive and the dative it is *-lor* for all genders (e.g., masculine: *scriitorilor,* "the writers'" or "to the writers", *fraților,* "the brothers'" or "to the brothers", feminine: *mamelor,* "the mothers'" or "to the mothers", *vulpilor,* "of the foxes" or "to the foxes"; neuter: *teatrelor,* "of the theatres" or "to the theatres", *numelor,* "of the names" or "to the names").

The definite articles most frequently attached to the Anglicisms in my corpus mark them as masculine, e.g.:

- singular, nominative: **killerul** *industriei naționale de apărare* ["the killer of the national defence industry"]; *la Paris* **rapperul** *nu s-ar fi bucurat de succes* ["the rapper would not have enjoyed success in Paris"];

- singular, accusative: *să ne referim la* **pleiboiul** *cu pulover* ["let us refer to the playboy in the pullover"];

- singular number, genitive: *piciorul* **goal-keeperului** ["the goalkeeper's foot"]; *mitul* **easy-riderului** *american* ["the myth of the American easy-rider"];

- singular, dative: *investiția aparține* **dealerului** *autorizat* ["the investment belongs to the licensed dealer"]; **rockstarului** *îi este teamă* ["the rockstar is

afraid"]; *piesa îi aparţine* **rockerului** ["the musical piece belongs to the rocker"];

- plural, nominative: **trainerii** *vor fi două personalităţi* ["the trainers will be two personalities"]; **thrasherii** *autohtoni continuă* … ["the local thrashers continue to …"]; *sunt* **bikerii** *anului 2000* ["they are the bikers of the year 2000"];

- plural, genitive: *campionatul mondial al* **bodyguarzilor** ["the world championship of bodyguards"]; *registrul naţional al* **auditorilor** ["the national register of auditors"]; *lumea* **rock starurilor** ["the world of rock stars']";

- plural, dative case: *'welfariştilor' li se vor lua amprentele* ["persons living on welfare will have their fingerprints taken"].

Sometimes the definite article is separated from English nouns by a hyphen which indicates that users still regard it as a non-native word: e.g., *n-a întors maşina cum ar fi vrut '***boss'-ul***"* ["he didn't turn the car around as the boss would have liked"]; *o simplă marionetă a* **king-maker-ului** ["a simple puppet of the king-maker's"]; **home worker-ii** *întâmpină probleme* ["the home workers face problems"]; *mişcarea de emancipare a* **gay-lor** ["the gays' movement of emancipation"]; *totalitate a* **VIP-urilor** ["the total of VIP's"].

Only two nouns are used with the definite article of the feminine gender: *bosă*, derived from *boss*, and *outsideră*, from *outsider* (cf. Romanian *elev* ["schoolboy"] - *elevă* ["schoolgirl"]). The former occurs in a so-called Hebraism (Brunot 1922: 621), with the feminine article –*a*, nominative case: *se străduieşte să înţeleagă* … *care e* **bosa boşilor** ["s/he does her/his best to understand who is the boss of bosses"]; the latter is used in the dative, singular: *Nobelul a fost atribuit* …**outsiderei** *W.Sz.* ["The Nobel Prize was awarded to the outsider W.Sz."].

Several nouns call for attention.

The words *baby-sitter, top-model* (both usually denoting women), *(super/rock/mega) star*, and *VIP* are exceptions from the normal tendency for [+ animate] loanwords to become masculine in Romanian.

The gender of *baby-sitter* is not quite clear yet: it may belong to any of the three genders. In my corpus the word occurs in an unmodified, non-articulated, singular form (e.g., *Locuri de muncă pentru* **baby-sitter** ["Jobs for baby-sitter"] as well as in contexts that suggest that it can be interpreted as either feminine or masculine. This goes for *Apelați la 'Agenția Gabriela' pentru a fi angajată* **baby-sitter** ["turn to 'Gabriela Agency' in order to be hired as a baby-sitter"], where the participle *angajată* has a feminine ending, or *Rockerul a angajat un karatist pe post de* **baby-sitter** ["the rocker hired a karate fighter as a baby-sitter"], where *un karatist* is masculine. Sometimes, *baby-sitter* is preceded by the indefinite article, typical of masculine and neuter nouns (e.g., *a angajat* **un baby-sitter** ["he hired a baby-sitter"], but it may also take a plural masculine, non-articulated form: *Facilităm angajarea de ...* **baby-sitteri** ["we facilitate the hiring of baby-sitters"]. My corpus does not comprise examples that would clearly support the appurtenance of the word to the feminine or the neuter gender, but if I came across a feminine: *o baby-sitter(ă) - două baby-sittere* or a neuter: *un baby-sitter - două baby-sittere*, I would find them perfectly acceptable.

Top-model usually denotes a profession for women, for instance, in *Femeie de afaceri și* **top-model** ["business woman and top-model"]; and in *ieri* **top-model***, azi cow-girl* ["yesterday a top-model, today a cow-girl"]. However, the word would take the indefinite article *un* (*un top-model*) and the singular definite article *–l*, attached either to the noun itself (e.g., **top-modelul** *ceh* ["the Czech top-model"] or to its modifier (e.g., *celebrul* **top-model** ["the famous top-model"]. Articulated or not, the plural forms definitely mark it as neuter: *tinere* **top-modele** *cu șanse reale* ["young top-

models with a real chance"]; *concurs de selecţie a top-modelelor* ["competition for the selection of top-models"].

Star is usually neuter and the plural has the *–uri* ending (*staruri*) typical of the neuter. *Star* and *superstar* are registered in Görlach (2001); however, the latter can also be used as a feminine noun: e.g., *Este o foarte apreciată superstar* ['She is a highly appreciated superstar'] (cf. Avram 1986: 34).

In Görlach 2001, the noun *VIP* could belong to any of the three genders in Romanian. However, my examples attest only the neuter: *Au participat peste 300 de VIP-uri* ["there were over 300 VIPs present"]; *Tehnici de comportare cu VIP-urile* ["techniques of behaviour with the VIPs"]; and *limuzine de lux ale …VIP-urilor* ["luxury limousines belonging to the VIPs"].

Some Anglicisms are derived with the suffixes *–ist* and *–iţă*.

The *–ist* noun-forming suffix is borrowed from French (< Latin, < Greek) and is found in English and Romanian - as well as in other languages. That is why 'importing' words with this ending is easy (e.g., Romanian *cartist* < English *chartist*; Romanian *diarist* < Italian *diarista* ?, French *diariste* ?, English *diarist* ?). *Lobbyist*, which was registered in Romanian as early as 1978 (Marcu and Maneca), is nowadays often spelled without the suffix vowel, which reflects its pronunciation with one [i] rather than two: *lobbyst* [lob'ist]. Assimilated to the masculine gender, the noun has a plural form with a non-syllabic [i] whose addition triggers the consonant alternation [s]-[ʃ], e.g., *neobosiţi lobby-işti* ["tireless lobbyists"]. It may take the plural definite article in the genitive or the dative, e.g., *umbra lobby-ştilor* ["the shadow of the lobbyists"], and it has served as the root for the formation of its feminine counterpart with the suffix -*ă*, e.g., *Se îndrăgosteşte de o lobbystă* ["He falls in love with a lobbyist"].

This suffix is still productive and several masculine nouns have been introduced in Romanian from English words: *offsetist* ("person specialized in offset printing"), *short-storist* ("writer of short stories"), *welfarist* ("per-

son who lives on welfare"), and *xeroxist* ("person who works with a copier"). In my examples, *offsetist* and *welfarist* are used in the plural, with the [s]-[ʃ] consonant alternation, and the feminine counterpart of *xeroxist* is created by adding the suffix *-ă* to the masculine form: *Angajăm tipografi* **offsetişti** ["wanted: typographers specialized in offset printing"]; *Cel mai cunoscut* **short-storist** *al generaţiei 80* ["the best known short-story writer of the 80s"]; **Welfariştilor** *li se vor lua amprentele digitale* ["persons living on welfare will have their fingerprints taken"]; *Angajăm* **xeroxistă** ["we hire a woman who knows how to operate a copier"].

The suffix *–iţă* forms Romanian feminine nouns from masculine ones: e.g., *actor - actriţă* ("actor" - "actress"), *doctor - doctoriţă* ["male doctor" - "female doctor"]. There are three nouns in my corpus with this suffix: *barmaniţă, rockeriţă,* and *făniţă. Barmaniţă* and *rockeriţă* are recorded in Görlach (2001). They occur in e.g.: *Angajează fete ca* **barmaniţe** (plural, feminine) ["hires girls as barmaids"] and *Seamănă cu o* **rockeriţă** ["looks like a female rock singer"]. Derived from *fan,* the third noun, *făniţă,* is first recorded by Zafiu (2000:7) and has a parallel form with *-ă, fană,* the plural of which is *fane,* e.g. *Nu te-ai încurcat cu* **fanele**? ["Haven't you got involved with your female fans?"].

Through back-formation, from *racketeer,* Romanian has created the masculine *raket,* with the plural *rakeţi,* with the same meaning as the English word: e.g., *Trei* **rakeţi** *moldoveni* ["three Moldavian racketeers"]; **Racheţii** *din Braşov* ["the racketeers of Braşov"].

Finally, borrowed words also lend themselves to composition: two nouns in my corpus are created by combining one foreign and one Romanian element, which are hyphenated in writing: *O* **cyber-vrăjitoare** *predă vrăjitoria* ["a cyber-witch teaches witchcraft"]; *Copii pe care îi transformă în* **baby-soldaţi** ["children transformed into baby-soldiers"]. Although *cyber* has a multiple etymology, I believe that it is used because of English influence in the text in which it appears as a compound-forming element:

cyber-religie ["cyber-religion"], *cyber-religios* ["cyber-religious"], *cyber-ritual* ["cyber-ritual"], *cyber-spaţiu* ["cyber-space"], *cyberpunk* ["cyberpunk"].

The assimilation of Anglicisms in modern Romanian which has been discussed in this article is a slow process; it is manifest in the gradual acceptance of Romanian inflections for gender, number, case, of definite and indefinite articles, and in the words' participation in word formation. In spite of these signs of integration, I think that many of them will ultimately disappear. It is, however, a linguist's obligation to register and describe them.

Notes

1. The magazines and newspapers used for the collection of the corpus were: *Agenda, Agenda Magazin, Dilema, Dilema Supliment, Jurnalul Naţional, România liberă, România literară*. Furthermore, I have also used material from television.

2. The exact references of the examples quoted are readily given by the author (e-mail: hparlog@mail.dnttm.ro).

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Annex: Corpus

The words are collected from various newspapers, magazines, and television (see Notes 1). They are grouped according to the treatment given in Görlach (2001).

Words not recorded in Görlach (2001):
Account manager, anchorman, average man, baby-soldați, bomber, brand manager, business woman, copywriter, creative director, cyber-vrăjitoare, decision maker, developer, diarist, dog-walker, don, fast-thinker, făniță, flapper, gamer, gipsy, graffiti boy, highlander, hom(e)les(s), home-worker, hoster, houser, internaut, jazz-dancer, macho man, medium, megastar, mouseman, neo-yuppie, new historicist, news-vendor, offsetist, party-girl, performer, policeman, political scientist, popstar, road-protester, rock star, sales person, scholar, self-made woman, serial killer, short-storyist, shrink, show baby, show woman, stakeholder, tax payer, thrasher, wasp, welfarist, writer, xeroxist (58 words).

Words recorded in Görlach (2001), but not for Romanian:
Account executive, big brother, biker, call boy, call-girl, drag queen, easy-rider, free-lancer, frontman, gambler, hacker, headhunter, hostess, image-maker, insider, lover, merchandiser, native speaker, newcomer, playmate, sales manager, spice girl, surfer, visiting professor (24 words).

Words recorded in Görlach (2001) considered to be of restricted use in Romanian:
Auditor, baby-sitter, broker, crooner, daddy, dealer, DJ, fan, first lady, gay, globe-trotter, goalkeeper, killer, lobbyist, old-boy, racket, rapper, salesman, self-made-man, top-model, trainer, VIP (22 words).

Words recorded in Görlach (2001) as fully accepted in Romanian:
Art director, barman, (bad, old) boy, bodyguard, boss, businessman, challenger, designer, golgeter, manager, outsider, playboy, rocker, speaker, sprinter, star, stoper ['stopper'], striper, superstar (19 words).

The 27 most frequent words in my corpus were:
Auditor, baby-sitter, bodyguard, boss, broker, dealer, designer, DJ, fan, gay, golgeter ['goalgetter'], hacker, hom(e)les(s), insider, lobbyist, manager, outsider, playboy, pop star, rachet ['racketeer'], rocker, self-made man, speaker, star, top-model, trainer, VIP.

SUBTITLES AND INTERNATIONAL ANGLIFICATION

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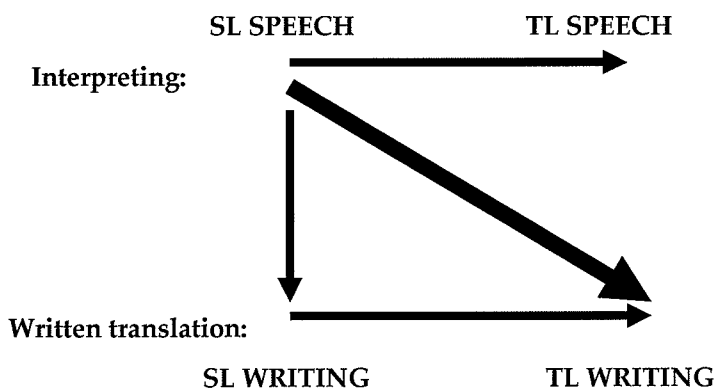
Is subtitling translation?

Language professionals tend to disagree as to whether subtitling is indeed translation, and even the subtitling industry is often reluctant to grant this type of language transfer the status of 'real' translation. This is mainly due to two things:

1) The famous and infamous time-and-space constraints of subtitling, which mean that no more than some 70 (alphanumeric) characters can be fitted into one subtitle, and that – in order to give viewers enough reading time – subtitles should be exposed at a pace not exceeding 12 characters per second. This normally implies some measure of *condensation* of the original dialogue, something that is often not expected in translated texts.

2) The fact that to most people the term 'translation' – or the equivalents 'traduction', 'Übersetzung', 'oversættelse', etc. – means 'the transfer of written text in one language into written text in another'.

I will suggest labeling all types of interlingual transfer 'translation', as they all share one basic quality: verbal messages are recreated in another language. However, a watershed runs between what I will call *isosemiotic translation* on the one hand, and *diasemiotic* translation on the other. Isosemiotic translation uses the same semiotic channel – i.e. channel of expression – as the original, and thus renders speech as speech and writing as writing. This means that processes as diverse as conference interpreting, post-synchronization (= dubbing), technical translation and literary translation are all examples of isosemiotic translation. In contrast, diasemiotic translation crosses over from writing to speech, or – as in the

asemiotic translation crosses over from writing to speech, or – as in the case of subtitling – from speech to writing.

As is seen below, the process of diasemiotic translation is *diagonal*. Thus, subtitling – the only type of diasemiotic translation found in the mass media – 'jaywalks' from source-language speech to target-language writing:

SL SPEECH   **TL SPEECH**

Interpreting:

Written translation:

SL WRITING   **TL WRITING**

The realm of subtitling

Subtitling can be defined as "diasemiotic translation in polysemiotic media (including films, TV, video and DVD), in the form of one or more lines of written text presented on the screen in sync with the original dialogue".[1]

In most European speech communities with less than 25 million speakers, subtitling – costing only a fraction of lip-sync dubbing – has been the preferred type of screen translation ever since the introduction of sound film in the late 1920s.[2] Internationally, at least six different patterns of subtitling are found, with most subtitling countries adhering to only one of them:

1) *Subtitling from a foreign language into the domestic majority language:*
Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, the Netherlands, Portugal, Estonia, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania, Greece, Cyprus, Argentina, Brazil, etc.

2) *Bilingual subtitling (in cinemas) from a foreign language into two domestic languages:* Finland (Finnish and Swedish), Belgium (Flemish and French), Israel (Hebrew and Arabic).

3) *Subtitling from national minority languages into the majority language:* Ireland, Wales (English).

4) *Subtitling from the majority language into an immigrant language:* Israel (Russian).

5) *Subtitling from non-favored languages to the favored language:* South Africa and India (English).

6) *Revoicing foreign-language dialogue in the favored language, with subtitles in a non-favored domestic language:* Latvia (voice-over in Latvian, subtitles in Russian).

Dubbing vs. subtitling

Dubbing, the traditional rival of subtitling, long ago established itself as the dominant type of screen translation in all non-Anglophone major speech communities in Western Europe, i.e. Spain, Germany, Italy and France. Without entering the never-ending 'dubbing vs. subtitling' discussion,[3] two central – and slightly paradoxical – facts need mentioning here:

a) Subtitling, often considered the more authentic of the two methods, constitutes a fundamental break with the semiotic structure of sound film by re-introducing the translation mode of the silent movies, i.e. written signs.

b) Dubbing, a "natural", isosemiotic type of translation, generates a conglomerate expression in which the voices heard, severed as they are

from the faces and gestures seen on screen, will never create a fully natural impression. Only total remakes will be able to supplant the original film.

All in all, the two methods of screen translation differ in the following respects:

1. In semiotic terms, i.e. with regard to

(a) written vs. spoken language mode, and

(b) supplementary mode (subtitling) vs. substitutional mode (dubbing).

2. In wording, where

(c) to a great extent, subtitling is governed by the norms of the written language,[4] and

(d) unlike dubbing, subtitling tends to condense the original dialogue by roughly one third,[5] partly as a result of point 2c above, partly to provide enough reading time for the audience (cf. the constraints mentioned in the introduction).

Subtitling, a multi-talent task

Apart from being an excellent translator of foreign-language lines, a good subtitler needs the musical ears of an interpreter, the no-nonsense judgment of a news editor, and a designer's sense of esthetics. In addition, as most subtitlers do the electronic time-cueing themselves, the subtitler must also have the steady hand of a surgeon and the timing of a percussionist.

Furthermore, due to the diasemiotic nature of subtitling, the subtitler must, on top of translating spoken utterances from one language to another, transfer the dialogue from one sub-code (the seemingly unruly spoken language) to another (the more rigid written language). If this shift of sub-code were not performed as a fundamental part of the subtitling process, the audience would be taken aback by reading the oddities

of spoken discourse. But as the dialogue is always re-coded en route to the bottom of the screen, viewers only react if the other dimension of diagonal subtitling – the translation proper – seems imperfect.

But this happens often enough; double-guessing subtitlers is almost a national sport in semi-bilingual subtitling countries, and several websites are now dedicated to onscreen translation bloopers (see for instance the Danish "Bøfsiden" (= www1) and "Avigsidan" (www2) from Sweden). Naturally, many of the errors reported are inexcusably stupid – albeit very amusing. But at a more sophisticated level, the complex and polysemiotic nature of filmic media renders a simple textual comparison between subtitles and original dialogue insufficient for making quality judgments.

Instead, the synthesis of the four parallel semiotic channels – image, (non-verbal) sound, dialogue and subtitles – should be compared with the original three-channel discourse. Only then will it be possible to determine to which extent the subtitled version *as a whole* manages to convey the semantic gestalt of the original.

Anglophone programing, anglified subtitles?

Film, TV and video are presently being digitized, leading to formats much better suited for special translation needs than the traditional one-translation-per-film entity. Already today, films on DVD are marketed in multi-language versions, with (in theory) up to 8 dubbed and 32 subtitled versions on one disc – although on most DVDs far less than half of these options are offered.[6] With Digital Video Broadcasting (DVB), new standards for TV translation may (still) be expected (Karamitroglou 1999), making 'personal subtitling' – i.e. remote control selection of the preferred language version – a matter of course to most audiences worldwide.

However, as long as the bulk of the international exchange of films and TV productions remains anglophone, both subtitling and dubbing will

very likely keep projecting English language features from the original dialogue to the translated discourse.[7] As things are, high frequencies of Anglicisms are found in both types of translation, as shown in recent German and Danish studies (Herbst 1994 & 1995, Gottlieb 1999 & 2001). And indeed, with the largely unchallenged power of Hollywood, although many subtitlers and language authorities may be critical to linguistic echoes of English in translated media, film companies, broadcasters and audiences worldwide tend to be more positive in this respect – one example being the increasing number of American film titles remaining untranslated in non-anglophone countries.

Interestingly, even when Anglicisms are concerned, subtitling differs from dubbing – in terms of which grammatical level is mainly affected. Dubbing tends to introduce *syntactic* 'Trojan horses' in target languages, primarily because the actors' lip movements force dubbing translators to copy English speech patterns. Subtitling, on the other hand, typically promotes *lexical* innovation, i.e. loanwords, a more transparent Anglicism category. This is partly because viewers expect terminological similarity between what they hear and what they read on the screen (Gottlieb 2001).

For those concerned by these facts, there is little consolation in the alternatives:

a) *Voice-over,* where the original soundtrack is overlayed with impassionate, sometimes English-flavored narration in the target language (Grigaravičiūtė & Gottlieb 1999), with no way of checking the translation against the original,

b) *No translation,* where the domestic language is not 'contaminated', but the audience is forced to make the best of their knowledge of English – a sink-or-swim strategy used in, for instance, several countries in Southern Africa (Kruger & Kruger 2001) – and, finally

c) *English intralingual subtitles,* a method which may help viewers make sense of the spoken English lines, but still offers no interlingual aid.

At the end of the day, boosting domestic productions is the only way to 'minimize the Anglicism problem' – and produce dialogue with only those Anglicisms that are already firmly established.[8] Avoiding all imports is as unrealistic as it is undesirable. Instead, more imports from non-anglophone speech communities would be beneficial to all parties involved.

Language politics and choice of screen translation method

Regarding program exchange and translation choices on television, six scenarios can be outlined, four of which exist today.[9] The two supplementary ones, 'Utopia' and 'Dystopia', should be seen as opposite extremes establishing the cline on which all present and future realities are bound to be found:

Scenario 1: **Utopia**

The *cosmopolitan* situation:

Flourishing international program exchange,

less than 50% English programing,

less than 50% national programing,

a wide range of non-English imports,

standard imports *subtitled in all domestic languages*,

children's imports dubbed or voiced-over

Scenario 2: **Scandinavia**

The *monolingual anglophile* situation:

Substantial program imports,

around 50% English programing,

almost 50% national programing,

very few non-English imports,

standard imports *subtitled in the dominant domestic language*,

children's imports subtitled, dubbed or voiced-over

Scenario 3:   **South Africa**

The *multilingual anglophile* situation:

Massive program imports,

more than 50% English programing,

less than 50% national programing,

very few non-English imports,

standard imports *not translated*,

children's imports either not translated or dubbed / voiced-over,

indigenous programs *subtitled in English*

Scenario 4: **France**

The *monolingual nationalist* situation:

Limited program imports,

less than 50% English programing,

more than 50% national programing,

very few non-English imports,

niche imports subtitled, all other imports *dubbed or voiced-over*

Scenario 5:   **'Anglostan'** (the native English-speaking countries)

The *anglophone* situation:

Very few non-English imports,

almost 100% English programing,

niche imports subtitled, all other imports *dubbed or voiced-over*

Scenario 6:   **Dystopia**

The *anglified* situation:

Very few non-English imports,

domestic and regional production mainly in English,

> standard imports *not translated,*
>
> programs for the elderly subtitled or dubbed

Judged from a global perspective, the only sustainable scenario seems to be the Utopian one, in which neither national nor anglophone productions dominate, and where different segments among viewers may select different language versions of imported programs.

If we want to, we have an all-win situation on our hands:

a) Subtitling anglophone imports enhances the learning of English, still unchallenged as a global lingua franca.[10]

b) Importing more programs from non-anglophone countries will raise viewers' linguistic and cultural awareness and help keep the dominance of English in check.

c) Offering subtitles in all major indigenous languages will improve the status of so-called lesser-used languages and make program production in these languages viable.

Alas, as with so many other choices in life, consensus is easier reached than action, especially when money is concerned. Today, American, British and Australian imports are so much more affordable to TV stations worldwide than domestic productions – as long as these remain difficult to export because neighboring countries keep filling their shelves with anglophone imports.

Vicious or not, this circle needs to be broken, at least for the sake of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Notes

1. The term 'polysemiotic' refers to the presence of two or more parallel channels of discourse constituting the text in question. In a film, up to four semiotic channels are in operation simultaneously: non-verbal picture, written pictorial elements, dialogue, and music & effects.

2. On the history of subtitling, see Ivarsson & Carroll (1998: 9-32) and Gottlieb (2003, 25-34).

3. This issue is thoroughly dealt with in Koolstra et al. (2002). For a state-of-the-art survey of screen translation, see Díaz Cintas (2003).

4. The problems of rendering 'meaningful' deviations from standard speech in subtitling are discussed in Assis Rosa (2001).

5. Several European studies, most of them unpublished, point to a typical (quantitative) condensation rate of between 20 and 40 per cent, see for instance Lomheim (1999).

6. In Denmark, anglophone DVD productions with subtitles commissioned in the USA – although offering a wider variety of language versions – generally display a poorer subtitling quality than those commissioned in Denmark (with subtitles in the Nordic languages only), both in terms of idiomaticy, translational equivalence, reading times, and technical perfection (Witting Estrup 2002).

7. One of the earliest scholarly discussions of this problem referred to Finnish TV (Sajavaara 1991), thus demonstrating that the influence of English via screen translation is by no means limited to Indo-European languages.

8. Impressive documentation of the present European situation regarding English linguistic influence is found in Görlach (ed.) 2001, 2002a and 2002b.

9. Scenarios 2-5 are based on, among other sources, Danan (1995), Gottlieb (1996), and Kruger & Kruger (2001).

10. Even scholars adamantly against the international dominance of English recognize the need for improved English skills the world over (Phillipson 2003).

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TRANSLATION TODAY: A GLOBAL VIEW

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Introduction

Arne Zettersten, to whom this publication is devoted, has been one of the pioneers in the study of varieties of English in the world thus adding a global dimension to English Studies. Today's global view of English cannot avoid to take into account the central role of English in translation work and, at the same time, to note that the shift in focus from the Western world to the global stage also changes the emphasis in Translation Studies.

Translation has always been international, but this article will address mostly the remarkable changes that have occurred in the fields of practical translation, theoretical Translation Studies, and the interplay between theory and practice with special emphasis on the seachanges since 1990. The first major changes in the field are traced back to the beginning of the 20th century, and the article describes the new modes of transfer, their specific constraints and geographical placements. The article then turns towards developments that have become particularly visible or even only introduced within the last decade, such as large-scale useful translation memories, Internet translation, and the introduction of computers at all levels of language work at the European Union institutions. These factors call for new models for the description of translation and the acceptance that target-language texts are not always subordinate to the source-language texts, the 'originals'.

Until the 20th century

Translation is a transfer of linguistic messages from one language to another. Accordingly, interpreting must be the oldest form of translation,

since it has existed ever since the first contacts between humans speaking different languages. It is depicted in Egyptian tombs. Translation in the traditional form presupposes the existence of two written languages and is therefore less than 10,000 years old.

Before the 20th century there was only **a limited number of modes of translation:**

Consecutive interpreting is an oral rendition in the target language of utterances spoken in the source language. Depending on the competence of the individual interpreter (e.g. talent, short-term memory, and note-taking techniques), the rendition may span from a few words to longer segments of speech. On some occasions, seasoned 'interpreters' may even have delivered **'whispered interpreting'** which is nearly simultaneous with the original utterances. Nowadays this is often done by interpreters standing discreetly behind the addressees, at least at high-level political and expert meetings.

Translation (written to written) has been practised in international politics in the broad sense of the word for treaties, agreements, and dictates. In Europe up to the Middle Ages, it was often practised by means of or in combination with a major language or a 'lingua franca' such as Latin. International trade has called for translation between 'minor' as well as 'major' languages. The kind of translation activity which is best documented and therefore most heatedly debated is that of elitist documents, such as literature and, most importantly, religion. It is quite thought-provoking that two of the world's largest religions are based on translation: Buddhist sutras were originally written in Sanskrit and were translated into Chinese (from c AD 150 to c AD 1100), and Christianity is based on the teachings of Jesus Christ who spoke Aramaic. The Aramaic 'original(s)' are not extant, but have been interpreted and translated from c AD 50 to the present day from Latin, Greek and Hebrew – and even English versions.

Prima vista, in which written 'originals' are spoken out in the target language, has probably also occurred when some superior has unexpectedly requested information about what was written in a foreign language, but in the nature of things, we do not know.

And, finally, there have been a few cases in which translation has been accompanied by a 'pictorial side', say, in the relatively few drama translations that we find between European languages. From my relatively superficial knowledge of such translations in Europe, I believe that these texts have been adapted rather than what is nowadays considered 'translated' – often because the translators' foreign-language mastery was not really up to the task.

It must also be noted that in the vast majority of cases, translation involved only two languages, one 'binary pair'.

The 20th century

At the beginning of the 20th century, with the introduction of silent movies, pictures alternated with **intertexts.** They identified for instance settings (such as 'In Los Angeles' and 'Meanwhile, in the mountains'), rendered utterances ('What are you doing?' and 'I feel sick') and were a prerequisite for understanding the action of the film. When films were exported, these intertexts therefore had to be translated from writing to writing.

The introduction of talking films (1927), where the utterances are heard simultaneously with the action, added new modes of linguistic transfer:

One of these was **synchronisation** or **dubbing**, in which the original is provided with a target-language dialogue. This is sometimes done from the written scripts, but these are often unreliable, which means that most professionals prefer to listen to actual speech in movies and the like. The transfer is thus (ideally) from oral source texts to a hopefully idiomatic,

written translation (which is subsequently spoken by actors and recorded for target audiences in countries importing the film).
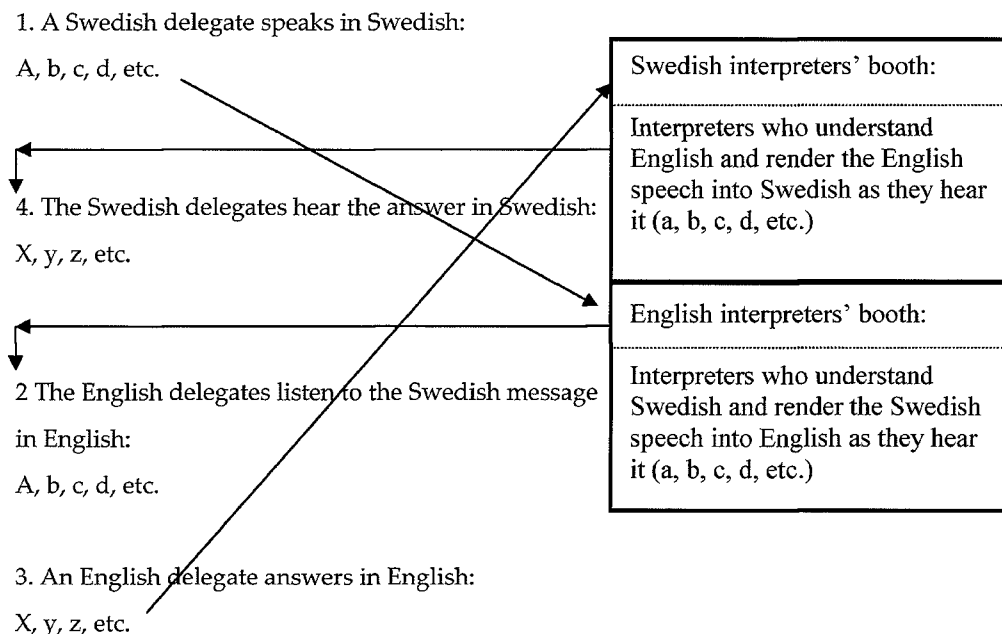
Another mode primarily connected with the importation of foreign films is **subtitling** in which the dialogue of the original is retained in the film's soundtrack and the contents transferred to target-language writing, usually in a form that calls for some shortening ('condensation') when conducted between Indo-European languages.[1]

A third mode found in films is **voice-over**. In voice-over, the original speaker is either muted or removed and instead there is a voice (of an actor or announcer) rendering the speech or dialogue in the target language. In films and television serials, there are sometimes two voices, namely a man and a woman representing male and female characters respectively. In either case, the translator will work either from written or spoken 'originals' and render them in writing for the persons speaking the lines when the film or documentary is released.

The 20th century also saw the introduction large-scale of **simultaneous interpreting.** In simultaneous conference interpreting, participants at international meetings speak into microphones linked to the interpreters' booths. The interpreters render the speeches they hear into the target language so that the addressees get the information in a language they understand. This mode was first used in 1929, and it had its international breakthrough at the Nuremberg war crime tribunals in 1945 against the Nazi leaders of Adolf Hitler's Germany. We may illustrate this procedure with the example of a delegate addressing an international gathering without a manuscript as shown in illustration 1 and, in honour of Arne Zettersten, we shall make this delegate a Swede.

Illustration 1

Swedish delegate addressing an English-speaking audience by means of simultaneous interpreting (ideal):

1. A Swedish delegate speaks in Swedish:

A, b, c, d, etc.

Swedish interpreters' booth:	
Interpreters who understand English and render the English speech into Swedish as they hear it (a, b, c, d, etc.)	

4. The Swedish delegates hear the answer in Swedish:

X, y, z, etc.

English interpreters' booth:	
Interpreters who understand Swedish and render the Swedish speech into English as they hear it (a, b, c, d, etc.)	

2 The English delegates listen to the Swedish message

in English:

A, b, c, d, etc.

3. An English delegate answers in English:

X, y, z, etc.

Explanatory remarks

In the figure, a Swedish delegate makes a number of points. In order to make sure that the points are getting across, there are at least two professional interpreters in the 'English booth'. English is their mother tongue, but their understanding of Swedish is 'perfect'. The moment the speaker has uttered enough for the interpreters to get their bearings, they start interpreting into English. This they do into microphones. The English delegation listens to this rendition by means of earphones (which also cut out the Swedish original in order to make for total clarity of the message uttered). After the Swedish speech is over, an English delegate takes the floor and begins to answer. The English speech is then rendered into Swedish by the Swedish booth (interpreters), and the Swedish delegate can then continue the dialogue with the English delegate.

The form thus introduces near-simultaneity between the 'original' and the translational product. The rendition is oral to oral. There are other forms of simultaneous interpreting: there is often simultaneous interpreting at international press conferences, and in some countries, such as Austria, news programmes use media interpreting, showing e.g. British footage but providing simultaneous interpreting.

In the West, operas have since the 1980s increasingly been sung in the original language (that is, mostly Italian, German, or Russian). In these cases a translation is displayed above and occasionally on the side of the stage. This involves not only a translation of the original written script into a written translation, but the translator also has to see to it that the correct segments of translation are shown at the appropriate times. In other words, today there is also **opera translation.**

Let me add that there are numerous other types. There are software systems with speech recognition which will write the text spoken by a translator (with whose voice the program is familiar) into a microphone; in other words a kind of updated prima vista. In other cases, special modes appear for some time and then disappear again, such as simultaneous subtitling, done on the basis of soundtracks and then made to appear as words (or, rather, syllables) typed by translator-typists for deaf people. And in South Africa you may watch and English-language film on television, turn off the sound on the telly and instead hear the speech and sound on the radio.

Some modes of linguistic transfer are confined to special areas: voice-over is employed for documentaries and children's programmes in virtually all countries and for films in relatively poor countries (notably many countries in the former Soviet Union in the years after its dissolution). Subtitling is found in countries in which a large part of the population is literate (China), and in small nations where the audience will never be large enough to bear the cost involved in synchronisation (Denmark,

Norway, and Sweden, all with less than 8 million inhabitants), for films appealing to 'small' audiences (German serials broadcast at night in Great Britain, European films screened for intellectuals in Buenos Aires, Argentina, etc.). Religious interpreting which is a 'no-no' for European interpreters has been – and may still be - practiced in Singapore.

Institutionalised translation

The Chinese translation of the Buddhist sutras is among the first known instances of institutionalised translation. These translations were undertaken over a period of more than 900 years. Among others were the Arabic centres of translation in the city of Baghdad (in present-day Iraq in the ninth and tenth centuries) and in present-day Spain (mostly in Toledo in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). Paradoxically, these Arabic translation activities saved many of the central works of Greek and Roman antiquity as well as much Arabic scholarship for the European renaissance (c AD 1400). The first well-documented truly multilingual political meeting in Europe was the so-called 'Congress of Vienna' (1814-1815) where more than 200 European rulers or their delegates met in the capital of Austria to determine European borderlines after the Napoleonic Wars. There were repeat performances in the course of World War 1 and at war tribunals after World War 2.

Today, there are many international organisations that have several official languages: the United Nations, the international political forum for independent nations in the world, uses English for internal work but issues political statements simultaneously in its six official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. The language work is done by a permanent staff of c 450 translators and 150 interpreters in addition to free-lancers. The largest professional staff of translators is found at the European Union institutions. They tie together fifteen European countries by means of translation from and into the eleven official lan-

guages, a number which is due to increase. These institutions have a staff of nearly 1,000 interpreters and 3,000 translators and terminologists.

Minority languages

At the same time there has also, both nationally and internationally, been growing awareness of minorities' right to have their own language even within major nations. China has a long and respectable history of accepting the languages of minorities. In Europe, Switzerland has always accepted four languages among its citizens (French, German, and Italian and Raetoroman). The modern European nation states were created in tumultuous processes lasting one hundred years or more after the Napoleonic wars (which came to an end in 1815). The nation states have often had difficulties in accepting minority languages: Official Spain only accepted the minority languages of some of its regions within the last twenty years and Latvia, liberated from the Soviet Union in 1991, only accepted the rights of its 40% Russian minority a few years ago. So the process of acceptance of small languages is slowly but surely gaining ground. In the US, the 'cradle of democracy' which prides itself on its human rights, it is only within the last decades that everybody on trial in a court of law has obtained the right to be present not only physically but also linguistically (by means of translators and interpreters).

However, the recognition of minority languages is an ongoing process – it has not and will not happen overnight. It is related to simple things such as the general welfare of a society: only societies that are no longer involved in bitter fights for survival can allow themselves the luxury of tolerance.

Minor and major languages

It is even more interesting that the division between major and minor languages is getting blurred: when six European nations laid the founda-

tion stones for the European Union in 1957, Italian and Dutch both became 'official languages', but most negotiations and daily work was conducted only in German and French. When Denmark (5.2 million inhabitants) and the UK entered in 1973, the tables were all of sudden turned as the Danes demanded 'equal rights' – and eventually got some concessions. At that stage Denmark itself had accepted that its own linguistic minorities in the North Atlantic, the Faeroe Islands (44,000 inhabitants) and Greenland (56,000 inhabitants) should have near-autonomous status and their own parliaments for local affairs.

The world domination of English as 'lingua franca' should also be taken with a large grain of salt: far from all people who claim to speak 'English' are understandable to most other speakers of English, native as well as non-native. We are seeing a segmentation of 'English'. I predict that there will be a 'world English of top speakers and teachers of Received Standard English' or, in the US, a 'world American'. These branch out into national varieties of Australian, New Zealand, and South African English, all of which have an identity of their own but are spoken by many or even most inhabitants in these countries. Then there are countries in which English is used for business purposes between people of the same 'nationality': Nigeria comprises more than 100 indigenous languages. South Africa has eleven official languages and, in addition, numerous 'heritage languages' which are the first languages spoken by people (at home and in families).

Experts in various fields communicate internationally at conferences, in journals, and on the Internet in some variety of English which is often opaque to outsiders but which has become the acknowledged standard in their respective fields: the essential message is encoded in equations, drawings, sketches and the like, rather than idiomatic and syntactically correct 'English'.

We will therefore not be faced with one 'world-English' but with a very large number of 'regional Englishes' as second languages as well as social and educational segmentations of these types of English. Experts will use types of English that differ from those of tourists, and so on. In other contexts, most obviously international politics, industry, and business, the top politicians and executives will have to depend on the services of linguistic middlemen whose foreign language and cultural competence is tops: There will be an explosion in the number of translators, interpreters, subtitlers, surtitlers and the like in the globalised world of tomorrow.

The national languages and even minority languages will not be replaced by a world English in the foreseeable future. There are clear indications that the small languages are hitting back: whereas English was the dominant language on the Internet in terms of web sites, home pages and the like in the beginning of the 1990s, the latest figures show that it is now down to 40% of the number of accessible home pages - and the number of 'English only' home pages is declining rapidly as the number of pages in other languages, national as well as those of minorities, is increasing (The figures released on the Internet by e.g. Systran should be viewed with considerable skepticism).

The last decade of the 20th century

The most momentous and sudden changes in the world of translation and interpreting took place in the last decade of the 20th century.

The 'machine translation systems' came of age, and developed in ways that could be put to practical use around 1990.

The large-scale use of computers (and the complementary electronic tools including translation memories) by all the 3,000 translators and some of the nearly 1,000 interpreters at the European Union institutions meant that enormous corpora of translations became available to language professionals at the EU institutions.

Finally, machine translation took to the Internet in 1997 and 1998 (first in Babelfish and then Systran itself).

The changes are daunting.

Teamwork

These changes can probably best be described by two key terms: **recycling** and **teamwork**. These were unquestioned parts of the Chinese way of life until the advent of Western traders and continue to this day: Thus the Works of Chairman Mao Tsetung were translated by a large team of translators. Teamwork and recycling were rarely key words in the Western world in its development in the last five hundred years. There is now a dawning comprehension, notably in politics and education that groups of people may share loyalties and can work together as equals, recognising differences in ability, competence, and knowledge. Teamwork has been known for half a century in a few translation agencies in the West, but in general it has been slow to seep down in professional translation circles in the West where - until twenty years ago – one would meet translators who jealously guarded and treasured their specialist vocabularies. However, the United Nations as well as the European Union both of which have come into existence after 1945, have recycled translations in so far as new legislation would have to follow the precise wording of previous translations concerning the same field. Until the large-scale introduction of computers, the mere identification of such previous translation ('documentation') was a time-consuming process demanding use of dictionaries, terminology lists, and complex indexing systems. Now the translators in these organisations can, immediately, store all documentation needed for an assignment on their computers and, if needed, access the whole store of the organisation's previous translations of legally binding agreements. The computer will tell the translator immediately whether a sentence has been translated before and in which form: if le-

gally binding, the phrasing of the first finalised directive cannot be changed. However, if it is an *ad hoc* translation, the translator can re-use previous suggestions or – perhaps – be inspired to write something new and more adequate. There are numerous systems on the market, with TRADOS, SYSTRAN and 'déjàvu' dominating in Europe. The European Union institutions now have their own advanced version of SYSTRAN which is used for 'translating' more than 500,000 pages a year for non-linguistic staff. The system is strictly for internal use, the products must never be released to others than the user in question, and it is not accessible to the public. The main strength is that it is near-instantaneous and serves to give a staff member an overview of the general contents of a document. The translation may be post-edited (that is, 'edited for better readability') if the staff member using the system requests this.

Small translation agencies usually specialise in one or two fields which means that there will often be previous translations concerning the subject matter. When they introduce translation memory systems (often abbreviated to TM) these function well for translation work. The last time I looked into it, it took a firm with four employees about six months before the investment began to pay off. Now they will have their databanks transferred from one computer to newer models, thus accumulating the amount of previous translation readily at hand, and will consequently have increased the number of pages they translate per day. If they boost the process by scanning previous source texts and translations optically, they will increase output even more.

Internet translation

The principles of Internet translation are, to some extent, the same as those mentioned above. Small surprise, for the machine translation system available free of charge is, usually, an earlier version of SYSTRAN than the one for sale on the commercial market. There are other transla-

tion systems, depending on the search engines one uses. The procedure is extremely simple. One accesses a search engine, such as www.alta vista.com, asks for some information in Spanish, French, or English, copies it, and then returns to the start page of the search engine. Here one clicks on the 'Translate' option, dumps the material and receives a 'translation' in English, Spanish, or French.

It will have been noted that I focus on three languages only, although the Internet system prides itself on having numerous language combinations. However, the only combinations which work well enough to give a general idea of the potential of Internet translation are English, French, and Spanish. In the case of English, this is clearly because so much has been translated into and from it. French is strong because it was previously used in international treaties – and more importantly – because all documents in Canada must be written in both Canadian-English and Quebequois-French, the latter having much in common with written French. The reason why Spanish is strong is partly due to the translation activity between South and North America, but also because Spanish translators are best at providing the machine systems with feedback leading to improvements.

In order to provide my readers with a general impression of the potential relevance of Internet translation, I can give a real-life example: I pick an article on page 6 in the national Spanish newspaper 'El mundo' (= The World):

"Y la sharia funciona perfectamente en Sokoto [in Nigeria]. 'Este es el lugar más seguro del país. Aquí nunca hubo matanzas, come en el estado vecino de Kano [another province in Nigeria]', asegura un cristiano que tiene aquí un comercio desde hace 25 años ..."

I ask for a translation from Spanish into English. Within seconds I get the following rendition: "And the sharia works perfectly in Sokoto. "This it is the place more surely of the country. Here never there were slaugh-

ters, like in the neighboring state of Kano," assures a Christian who has been having here a commerce for 25 years."

There are howlers, to be sure. The system is far from perfect. Yet this translation does give us a fairly accurate picture of what the article is about. It is thought-provoking that, as mentioned, Internet translation has been available only since 1997 and that the Internet as such has only been in use for the public since 1992.[2]

And we can easily rephrase the above translation into something read-able: "The sharia works well in Sokoto. "This is the safest place in the country. There have never been any murders here, unlike in our neighbouring state of Kano," assures a Christian man who has had a business here for 25 years."

In July 2002, it was estimated that at least 6 million pages were 'trans-lated' in this way on the Internet every day.[3] Just think of what will hap-pen when Internet translation is just as adequate between English and Chinese or other language combinations.

Predictions

A Danish humorist, Mr Robert Storm Petersen, said nearly a hundred years ago that "It's hard to make predictions, especially about the future." Nevertheless, I dare predict that in the future, the world will need more translators. Their work will become increasingly specialised and with a steady shift towards more intelligent control of the work done by previ-ous translators as well as machines and technological tools.

It is a guess on my part that, since the power of the computer hardware is doubled every 18 months, we shall in the near future see programmes that can search a million bilingual home pages in a matter of seconds and suggest different translations which are equally adequate in different situations for the same source-language segment.

Translation practice and translation theory

A couple of years ago, I published a thoroughly investigated historical and unbiased study of translations of the same body of source texts over a period of 170 years (Dollerup 1999). It was a study of the stories Danes considered as translations of the 'same' source texts, namely the folktales of the German brothers Grimm (first published in Berlin 1812-1815). Reviewers have noted that I establish "non-judgmental criteria for [the] evaluation of the 'adequacy' of a translation which avoid such conflicted notions as 'fidelity' to the source text, or censorship operating in the receptor culture." The book "proposes a model of four overlapping layers with which to analyse textual changes between the source text and the translation on the structural, linguistic, content, and intentional layer ... [and] provides a framework that allows discussion of perennially difficult issues in both folklore and translation studies: the authenticity and textual integrity of ... fairy tales in their transfer between different forms of mediation, and between linguistic, historic, or cultural contexts as opposed to the 'authenticity' of the mediated, translated, or adapted versions" (Seago 2001: 120-121). It has also been noted by several reviewers that the many factors influence a translation and that these "overflow the single thematic units encountered in translation theory" (Gorlée 2000: 68). This is why, at the end of the book, I conclude that "No existing theory or school in Translation Studies is entirely wrong and completely inapplicable, but at the same time none covers the facts of this case completely and exhaustively." (p. 323) And that "Translation Studies is in need of rethinking" (p. 324).

Readers of the present article will appreciate that the present-day scene in the field of translation makes it more important than ever for teachers of translation and theorists in the field to pay attention to what is happening in translation practice.

What we are seeing

We are watching a world in which I believe that Translation Studies in many emerging countries has a major advantage: it can avoid making the mistakes of the West. Li (2001) has argued that a systemic approach to translation is more adequate for Chinese translation of products from e.g. Western cultures than the slippery and indeterminate concept of 'equivalence'. Luo (2002) documents that the Chinese theorist Fu Yan's three principles of translation are really a plea that Chinese translators around the beginning of the 20th century had adjust major parts of what I have termed 'the structural, linguistic and content layers' (1999: 47) of the messages to the target culture in order to make the 'intentional layer' go down with a Chinese readership.

We have to rethink our approaches to translation and translational products. I suggest that we do this in small doses:

The autonomous translations

In the study referred to above (1999), I found that within the 170-year timespan there were nearly 100 different Danish versions of 'Hansel and Gretel' which were all ascribed to the brothers Grimm by the Danish national copyright library. The story deals with a brother and a sister who are deliberately abandoned in the woods, brave dangers including a witch who wants to eat the boy, and it comes to a happy ending because the siblings are loyal to one another. Regarding the 'linguistic layer', Danish translators have gradually ceased to render the German diminutives (implying sentimentality). At the 'content layer' Danish translators have chosen not to translate most references to Christianity. The most interesting deviation at the 'content layer' is that whereas the first German versions (from 1812 to 1840) asserted that the adults were the children's biological parents, the foolhardy father was convinced by the children's *stepmother* in German ever since 1843. Nevertheless there were, as late as 1972, Dan-

ish translations stating that it was the children's own mother who left them in the woods. Danish translations thus established a tradition different from that of the 'original'. No matter what happens at these layers in translation, the 'intentional layer' makes it in all accepted translations: children's fear of losing parental care and the importance of brothers and sisters of helping one another.

This leads to the question of the independence of translations from their origin.

The study showed that different translations of the same stories may co-exist – and even be published the same year and sell well. It also showed that translations may persist even when the original is 'lost'. Thus some Grimm tales translated into Danish remained 'alive' in Denmark for nearly 80 years in the edition of the Grimm *Tales* used by middle-class Danish households even though they had only appeared in one of the seven 'authorised' German editions.

The same goes – more strikingly – for the Christian Bible (that is 'the New Testament') which, as mentioned, has no extant Aramaic 'original'. Nevertheless, this book has permeated Western life for nearly 2,000 years.

In other words, translations acquire an autonomous life not only in terms of being selected for translation, but also in their translated forms. And it is even possible to talk about translations targeted towards special groups. This has been the case in Europe in practical work. Geoffrey Kingscott (2002) mentions that when a British translator must render the German instruction, for instance, for a lawnmower, he will disregard the general introduction which is part and parcel of an instruction in German, and go straight to the instruction itself. Similarly, most international companies today either use 'localisation' in their translation work, or have staff from their foreign markets produce public relations material, ads and the like, so as best to reach potential customers.

The interplay of forces

The German folktales of the brothers Grimm and the fairytales of Hans Christian Andersen have usually made it to Chinese, but in a relay process involving first translation into English for an English audience, then into Japanese for a Japanese audience, and finally into Chinese. Subsequently, it was via English into Chinese. For a period it was probably by way of Russian into Chinese and more recently, again via English into Chinese. In such processes, tales are selected for and adapted towards different audiences. A direct translation presupposes a long history of translation in which the target culture can adapt to different norms. The Grimm tales were translated directly into Chinese from German in 1934 by Wei Yi-Hsin, and Hans Christian Andersen was translated directly from Danish in 1995 by Lin Hua.

The conclusion of my above presentation of the European translation scene is that in order for a translation to be acceptable and identifiable as a translation, the intentions, the intentionality of the source text, must make it to the target language and this also has to be targeted well. This is exactly what Kingscott points out in his article on technical translation in this volume.

Nowadays, it is generally acknowledged that all translations have to function in other cultures than that of the 'original'. Speaking about translation involving Chinese, Ju (2000) has used the term 'transplantation': "When we transplant a tree, we suddenly cut if off from its natural, peaceful environment, its ecological system. The tree is no doubt seriously affected if not disastrously so. In its transportation to distant lands, the tree definitely suffers from the changes, though we make efforts to its entirety. When we plant it in the foreign, remote soil, our principal concern is to make it survive and flourish in the foreign land. The tree must endure changes and get along with the new environment. It will become part of other ecological systems and play a new role, which is the purpose of the transplantation. The impli-

cations of this analogy in the context of translation will signify an inclination towards target orientation" (Ju 2000: 202).

I would like to add: if translational products are to survive, they must be made by native speakers – people who are familiar with the target culture and able to phrase messages in a clear, fluent or, if you like, 'elegant' way in order to carry conviction with target audiences.

Notes

The information in this article derives nearly exclusively from my own research and the high number of interviews I have conducted with people in the world of translation such as presidents of numerous national translator associations (e.g. Slovenia, Hungary, Russia, China, etc), staff at language institutions (e.g. South Africa, Denmark), and with staff and directors of the translation and interpreting services of organisations including the United Nations and some of the European Union institutions. These interviews have been published in 'Language International' (Amsterdam: John Benjamins) over the years. Another version of this article was read as a plenary paper at Tsinghua University, Beijing, China at the 'First Tsinghua-Lingan Symposium.'

1. I am not so sure this would apply to Chinese subtitling: the compact and informative form of many Chinese characters may make it easier to read the written subtitles. This is a guess on my part, but it seems to merit investigation by Chinese scholars.

2. The World Wide Web was set up by Tim Berners-Lee while he worked at the leading European non-military and purely scientific laboratory for fundamental particle research in Switzerland (CERN). The system was originally developed around 1990 in order to allow large groups of researchers to keep up to date with recent developments in studies they participated in. The first useful public browser was set up c 1992. I am grateful to Mr Benny Lautrup, MSc, for this information

3. Information from Mr Geoffrey Kingscott.

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TABULA GRATULATORIA

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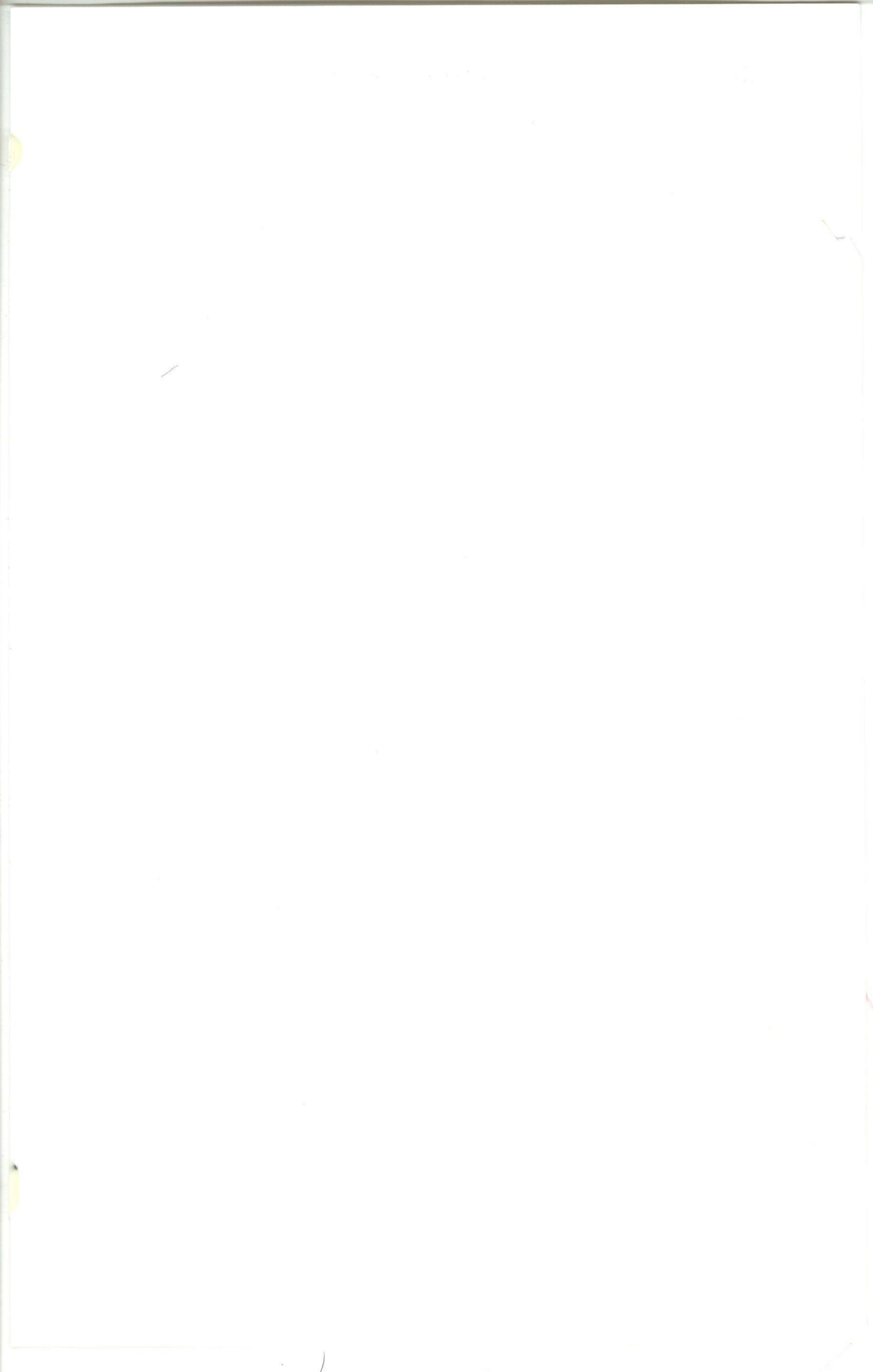Stockholm University,
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