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Articles

"I DO NOT WISH TO BE CALLED AUCTOUR, BUT THE PORE COMPILATOUR": THE PLIGHT OF THE MEDIEVAL VERNACULAR POET

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In the middle of the fifteenth century Osbern Bokenham, an Augustinian friar of Stoke-Clare and author of works such as the *Legendys of Hooly Women* and the *Mappula Anglia* writes: "I do not wish to be called auctour, but the pore compilatour". He sees his work, therefore, as that of a compiler of others' writings and claims no originality or the title of author. He does not give his own name (except in an acrostic), but one might ask how many authors' names we in fact know before the last quarter of the fourteenth century? "Anon" was a very busy writer in the Middle Ages. Apart from Cynewulf, who we know nothing about and may never have existed, we have no known Old English poets, and there are also very few names in the early Middle English period other than Layamon. Who wrote, for example, *Cursor Mundi, Sir Orfeo, King Horn, Havelok the Dane, Floris and Blanchflour* or *Arthur and Merlin,* and in the Chaucerian period who were the geniuses responsible for *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Pearl, Patience, Purity, St Erkenwald* and the medieval mystery plays?[1]

Then in Chaucer's time and in the fifteenth century we know of Gower, Langland, Hoccleve, Lydgate, Clanvowe and many more. Suddenly poets are no longer ashamed to be seen as authors and one wonders about the significance of this change. Is anonymity simply a modesty topos, or are authors afraid of political or ecclesiastical criticism? This is indeed the case of the Wycliffite and Lollard writers and poets of political and religious satire, but would the author of romances have

felt politically threatened? Latin works of authority, on the other hand, *had* to have named authors and be accompanied by commentary. If there were no author, then a patristic name would be assigned to the writing. Even vernacular theological works had named authors, for example in the Old English period we know of Wulfstan and Ælfric.

The second question that arises from Bokenham's statement is why does he not want the term 'author' given to him? To answer that we need to investigate how the medieval vernacular writer viewed his function and see why there is a change happening in the later period —late fourteenth century— when we have so many known names. I believe that there *is* a change in attitude from modest compiler to self-confident author and that it can be traced not only in *what* they wrote, but in how they presented their work in manuscripts. For that reason I shall be looking at codicological evidence —the manuscript context of their work.

John Gower, Chaucer's contemporary and friend, stresses at the conclusion of his Latin work, *Vox clamantis*: "I have not written as an authority [*ut auctor*] these verses in a book; rather, I am passing on what I heard for you to read. A swelling of my own head did not cause me to write these things, but the voice of the people put them in my ear".[2] The *auctoritas* or the primary efficient cause, as it is called in rhetorical handbooks, was God. Gower equally modestly states in his Prologue to this work: "I myself am a worthless man. But a precious thing often resides in a vile mineral and the commodity on being extracted is valued" (Minnis 1988: 172). Gower then claims that he is not an author but a medium, a compiler of material, akin to the manuscript compiler, taking pieces from others and presenting them anew.

Boccaccio, Chaucer's contemporary, also claims in his *Decameron* that he is a mere scribe:

> I could only transcribe the stories as they were actually told [...] even if one could assume that I was the inventor as well as the scribe of these stories (which was not the case) I still insist that I would not feel ashamed if some fell short of perfection, for there is no craftsman other than God whose work is whole and faultless in every respect. (quoted in Minnis 1988: 204)

So it is expected that postlapsarian man will write flawed works, as it would be presumptuous, if not sinful, to think oneself a perfect author.

The Senecan image of a bee is often quoted in the Middle Ages to describe this process: the bee gathers nectar, arranges it into cells and creates honey: it borrows, re-arranges and comes up with something new. A similar image is that given by Isidore of Seville who compares the *compilator* not with an artist but a paint dealer who mixes ingredients together to make the paint. A writer of fiction then is a

borrower and arranger, like the person responsible for the layout and arrangement of others' material in manuscripts (Carruthers 1990: 192). Medieval rhetoricians claimed that *compilatio* comes from *pila*, a pillar or column, as the manuscript compiler arranges his material in columns like the later type-setter and so is also given the functions of author and the 'manager' of the manuscript.

The true *auctor* is one with *auctoritas* 'authority', one who wrote works of truth, which were worthy of imitation. So *auctor*, authority, and authenticity were all cognate terms. Innovation was no more welcome amongst poets than it was amongst students who were expected to memorise the authoritative commentaries. There was also a perception that old was good and the best writers were the most ancient. Like canonisation or being called an 'Old Master' in painting, the title of *auctor* was only given after generations agreed to honour a work or author with this accolade. Walter Map in the late twelfth century, aware of his talent and the intrinsic worth of his writings, immodestly apologises for being still alive: "My only fault is that I am alive [...] I have no intention, however, of correcting this fault by my death" (quoted in Minnis 1988: 12).

In the Middle Ages there was a clear distinction between scribe, who copies and adds nothing, compiler, who, as mentioned above, mixes and rearranges the thoughts of others, commentator who supplies a fresh reading of another's work and finally the author who is divinely inspired to convey a work of intrinsic worth and truth, generally reinforced by patristic commentary. The authentic work was, then, one that had been confirmed by commentary and glossing. As nothing that is not in Latin can be of such worth, all the vernacular author can hope to do is to be a compiler, conveying the essence of the meaning of authoritative texts to a lay audience —to be a midwife to the *sentence* 'meaning'.

Marie de France claimed that the ancient *auctores* deliberately wrote obscurely so that later writers might "gloss" or interpret ("gloser la lettre") their great works (Irvine 1992: 97). So there grows up in the Middle Ages a palimpsest of commentaries on commentaries, all explaining the original *auctor*. The implication is that any new literature can therefore only be commentary. An example might be Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Prologue* which is a "gloss" on speeches by La Vieille in the *Roman de la Rose*, which in turn is a "gloss" on Jerome's *Contra Jovinianum*, which is based on St Paul's teaching. Chaucer wishes us to see him as someone who recites the work of his pilgrims who in turn are retelling old stories. Ralph Hanna states that "the Wife's *Prologue* becomes marked as a compilation because so much of it, very nearly the whole thing, is pieced together from verbatim translation. Moreover, this translation is derived —as a series of extracts— from a fuller source explicitly inscribed in the text of the poem" (Hanna 1987: 1). Yet no one would

accuse Chaucer of religiously copying other texts or of the Wife of Bath being stereotypical.

In order to avoid any accusation of originality, the medieval poet frequently turned to the dream vision form. John Gower in *Vox Clamantis* claimed his source was a vision from St John and Chaucer placed most of his early work in the dream genre, which distances the author and makes him appear as one who recites others' material. A similar stratagem is the false assertion that the source came from an ancient text. In both cases the poet appears to provide a compilation or supplementary text, thereby interpreting, commenting on and rewriting his authoritative source. Many scholars have spent time searching for these sources; for example, Chaucer never acknowledges in his *Troilus and Criseyde* that he is deeply indebted to Boccaccio, as he too was a living, vernacular author, but gives the Latin and fictitious name of Lollius as his source, thereby adding authority.

Robert Henryson, the fifteenth-century Scottish poet, in his *The Testament of Cresseid* states that after he had read about Criseyde in Chaucer, he took "ane-uther quair" in which he claims he finds an account of "the fatal destenie/Of fair Cresseid, that endit wretchitlie" (*The Testament* ll. 62-63). He then queries the 'truth' of Chaucer's work and the second book —probably a work that never existed:

> Quha wait gif all that Chauceir wrait was trew?
> Nor I wait nocht gif this narratioun
> Be authoreist, or fenyeit of the new
> Be sum poeit, throw his inventioun. (*The Testament of Cresseid*, lines 64-67)

The implication is that Cresseid was a historic character and Henryson's narrator queries the veracity of both Chaucer's narrative and that of this second "narratioun". There is however a tension created in these lines between the "authoreist narratioun" and the "inventioun" "fenyeit" by "sum poeit", the latter being inferior and lacking 'truth'. Henryson cleverly distances himself from any accusations of "inventioun" and assumes the role of the compiler of material, the simple narrator of what he heard or read elsewhere. Jean de Meun, the author of what might be called the greatest medieval work of fictional narrative, *Roman de la Rose*, similarly opens with a typical *apologia*, stating that he simply compiles material he has found and if you doubt him, go to his source books to check. If there are any lies, then they are not his, but belong to his sources. "Je n'i faz riens fors reciter", "I do nothing but recite/report", he states (quoted in full in Minnis 1988: 198).

This is echoed later in Chaucer's protestations in the *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*:

> For this ye knowen al so wel as I,
> Whoso shal telle a tale after a man,
> He moot reherce as ny as evere he kan
> Al speke he never so rudeliche and large,
> Or ellis he noot telle his tale untrewe,
> Or feyne thyng, or fynde wordes newe. (*General Prologue*, lines 730-5)

The danger is that he will "feyne thyng, or fynde wordes newe" and such originality is to be avoided at all costs. The narrator's job is to "reherce" or "recite", as Henryson says, as closely as possible his source or else he is being "untrewe", even if it means reciting what the foul-mouthed Miller says:

> He nolde his wordes for no man forbere,
> But tolde his cherles tale in his manere.
> M'athynketh that I shal reherce it here [...]
> [...] demeth nat that I seye
> Of yvel entente, but for I moot reherce
> Hir tales alle, be they bettre or werse,
> Or elles falsen som of my mateere. (*The Miller's Tale,* lines 3168-3175)

Chaucer repeats the verb "reherce", for his action is that of scribe not even compiler. The alternative is to "falsen", "falsify" his material. The poet, then, goes to great lengths to avoid any criticism of originality. In his *A Treatise on the Astrolabe* (ll. 59-62) he states: "But considere wel that I ne usurpe nat to have fownde this werk of my labour or of myn engin. I nam but a lewd compilatour of the labour of olde astrologens."

So, according to Chaucer, all the writer must do is to recycle old material, or, as he puts it in *The Parliament of Fowlis*:

> For out of olde feldes, as men seyth,
> Cometh al this newe corn from yer to yere,
> And out of olde bokes, in good feyth,
> Cometh al this newe science that men lere. (*The Parliament of Fowlis*, lines 22-25)

Just as new corn grows from the earlier seed, so also is new material taken from the works of the ancients. Once more the concept of "good feyth" or "truth" is introduced as a kind of escape clause. The vernacular author, then, reproduces and recycles the ancients.

Are these declarations simply a case of the modesty topos? I believe that in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there is a definite concern about the status of the poet; many are deliberately drawing attention to the process of composition and by playing with these modesty topoi they are *confirming* not *denying* their

originality and power of creativity. And this change can be seen in the manuscripts in which their works appear.

With the preparation of medieval manuscripts there is a similar divide between the Latin and the vernacular. Indeed scribes, aware of the status of the two languages, will change script in mid-line when shifting from Latin to vernacular. The Bibles of the Old English period are elaborately illuminated and illustrated, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels or Book of Kells, but we have no attractive manuscripts of vernacular Old English. The Junius 11 manuscript with its religious verse is the only poetic manuscript with a few basic line drawings. The poetry in all the poetic codices is not set out as verse, as was Latin verse, but as continuous prose and is often marked with prompts for reading. The reason for this was that Old English poetry was not work that was intended to be *read* but to be *listened to* and therefore there was no need for elaboration. The plain and unadorned nature of the vernacular manuscripts stands out in sharp contrast to the ornate Books of Hours, Graduals and Psalteries which were of intrinsic worth and truth, works of illumination in every sense of the word. The presence of illuminations, illustrations, coloured capitals, glosses and rubrication also reflected the status and prestige of the text the page displayed.

The script chosen by the scribe also sends signals to the reader. The finest works of authority would be in clear, Gothic or textura script, the more painstaking, formal script such as the rotunda or quadrata, while by the fourteenth century vernacular works and less important documents would normally be in a court or cursive hand, the predecessor of our modern handwriting. There developed, therefore, a hierarchy of scripts which carried significant associations. Square capitals might be used for headings and less imposing minuscule script for glosses. It was not uncommon to have the same scribe change from textura to cursive on the same page if he were moving from a Latin to a vernacular text. In the Old English *A Summons to Prayer*, found in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 201, pp. 166-7, the scribe changes hand within each line of this macaronic poem as it shifts from Latin to Old English (Caie 2000a: 15-19). By the fifteenth century professional scribes would prepare sample pages of scripts for their clients to choose from and of course the cost depended on the time a specific script took. It is significant that much (though not all of) later Lollard writings appear in reasonably cheap manuscripts in a fast, utilitarian, cursive script, as the aim was not to produce attractive books, but to spread religious ideas as quickly, cheaply, legibly and widely as possible.

There is also a difference in layout in Latin and vernacular manuscripts. The early vernacular manuscripts were mostly free from marginalia and other non-textual prompts, as these could not be contained in oral delivery, while in Latin works the

manuscript is very 'busy'; one finds in addition to the main text headings, marginal and interlinear glosses, historiated or illuminated capitals, lemmata, pointers, etc. These manuscripts containing works of *auctoritas* provided a host of visual signals as they were obviously meant to be read silently and committed to memory, as that was the final aim in reading an *auctor*. As books were rarely owned by students, they were a means to the end of memorising the great authorities. Mary Carruthers in *The Book of Memory* outlines this process:

> The book itself is the chief external support of *memoria*. In its layout and ordering, it serves the requirements of readers who expected to engage it in their own memories. It will contain in its glosses a chain of comments on the source text, presenting in its multiple margins the graphic display of a whole community of readers over time. The distinctive format of the glossed book is the most satisfying model of authorship and textual authority which the Middle Ages produced. (Carruthers 1990: 194)

The gloss was the mark of the privileged, authoritative or canonical texts, not a mere after-thought. The layout itself then had an interpretative function in the presentation of the text to the reader, as Martin Irvine points out:

> In every format that was designed to include glosses, page layout and changes in script were used to signify both the distinction between text and gloss and the inseparable textual relationship between them. The text and gloss format, and the literary methodology that it represents, continued in various forms throughout the later Middle Ages... The layout of manuscripts in the grammatical tradition reveals a striking case of interpretative methodology crystallizing into a visual form that disclosed an underlying principle of textuality. (Irvine 1992: 89-90)

Even writing on vellum was a commitment. The material was expensive and the act time-consuming perhaps akin to publication today. Wax tablets, scraps of vellum and slates were used for rough copies. The verb 'to write' has a Germanic root that means 'to tear' or 'scratch', hence 'inscribe' and it has a sense of permanence about it. Dictamen 'dictation' was the word used for rough copy and implies the oral function of dictating. Michael Clanchy mentions the story of Orderic Vitalis who hears a good legend while visiting a neighbouring abbey, but it is too late and too cold, he says, to 'write' it, he will instead 'dictate' it onto wax tablets and write in later in the comfort of his own abbey. He states: "I made a full and accurate abbreviation on tablets, and now I shall endeavour to entrust it summarily to parchment" (Clanchy 1987: 91).

Recently in Paisley we discovered slates with faintly inscribed fragments of lyrics in Middle Scots, obviously attempts to practise poetry and alongside them equally feeble attempts to draw Celtic crosses. Membrane was not the material for such

practice works, although cheap vellum or vellum cut from the margins of books might also be used in this context.[3]

The next clue is *how* the manuscript is arranged, the *mise-en-page,* as this too gives us important clues as to interpretation and readership. The layout of the manuscript page is of vital importance. The script, its size and position tells the reader —and I stress the need for these to be read— immediately which text on the page has authority, just as today we know that the footnote in smaller typeface is less important than the main text on a printed page.

The presence of glosses was of major importance as they were not merely marginal additions, but an integral part of the work and necessary for the reading experience. They were carefully planned when the page was ruled, sometimes with a ratio of 1:2 lines for text and gloss. The interlinear gloss gave lexical or syntactic aids and the *ennaratio* or commentary was generally positioned in the margins. All manuscripts presented with an apparatus of glosses and commentary would be immediately recognised as containing works of cultural value and spiritual significance. An unglossed text was not worth consideration just like an unreviewed book today.[4]

The reason for this is the nature of the university teaching system of the twelfth century onwards, namely scholasticism. Schools were gradually divorced from monastic control and with the growth in bureaucracy there was a need for more educated men and more written material. The explosion in learning, especially after the Black Death, meant that more and more texts were needed. Pragmatic literacy was on the increase and "was becoming something of a survival skill" (Coleman 1981: 47). In the later fourteenth century members of the stationers guild in London were allowed to remain open on Sundays to catch up with the growing demand for books (Coleman 1981: 56).

The way to eradicate heresy was to ensure that the accepted, authoritative commentaries were glossed in the margins of the texts, and so a palimpsest of gloss on gloss grew up. Additional commentary was squeezed in between text and official commentary as the text evolved. This relationship is typical of medieval textuality, namely a dialogue between text and metatext or gloss, centre and margin, which could continue over centuries. For this reason the medieval manuscript is considered fair game for addenda. It is an organic, living, regenerating object. There were glosses on glosses in a Chinese box fashion and in the manuscripts of scholastic texts the original text trickles through wide margins filled by commentary on commentary. Beryl Smalley stresses the vital importance of the glosses in teaching and exegesis up to the seventeenth century (Smalley 1964: 367).

The manuscripts which contain Chaucer's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione philosophiae* contain the Boethian text in a fine textura hand and well spaced, while Chaucer's translation and the commentary by Nicholas Trivet are in a less prestigious hand and confined to margins.[5]

But where does this leave the compiler or author of a vernacular text? In the fourteenth century vernacular writers were growing in confidence and with their increased fame and power, they were usurping the privileges of the authoritative text. This can be seen in the layout of the manuscript page, for example in the use of marginal glosses. Boccaccio was one of the first to add his own glosses to the manuscript of his work. In his manuscript of the *Teseida* Boccaccio himself invented and wrote down his own glossed commentary, in addition to rubrics and decorations (Carruthers 1990: 218). It is an exemplar for scribes to imitate in every detail, as Mary Carruthers points out:

> The stanzas of the source text are written in the large display hand reserved for "auctors", and commentary, written in the appropriate script, surrounds it in the margins. These annotations, comments and corrections are also Boccaccio's [...] In *Teseida*, Boccaccio is both the originator of his text, and its reader; his own commentary invites commentary from others [...] By giving his new work all the trappings of a glossed book, Boccaccio was claiming for it the immediate institutional status of an 'auctor'. (Carruthers 1990: 218)

So the vernacular poets of the fourteenth century who, like Gower and Chaucer, were aware of their talents and originality could ensure, by adapting some of scholastic manuscript practices, that the layout and presentation of their work made the reader immediately aware that this was the work of an *auctor*, in spite of explicit, textual claims that they were mere compilers. One example is the layout of the Gower manuscripts. Gower furnishes his *Confessio Amantis* with Latin apparatus such as glosses and a Latin colophon. The marginal glosses which he composed himself provide commentary or refer to sources. Gower, then claims to be a mere compiler, but, like Boccaccio, presents his own works in a manuscript setting which would lead his contemporary readers to think that this was the work of a genuine *auctor* (Minnis 1988: 275). As with the Latin works there is a difference in the script between the vernacular and the Latin. The same scribe wrote both, but with a more formal hand for the Latin, which is rubricated and introduced with a paraph. Derek Pearsall states that Gower's plan was carefully preserved by later scribes and that "we have to understand [...] how exceptional for a vernacular work was the role that Gower chose for the Latin apparatus" (Pearsall 1989: 14). Pearsall also sees a dynamic relationship between the Latin and the English in Gower and "Latin is the means by which Gower's poem is turned into a Book" (Pearsall 1989: 23).

And what of Chaucer? Alistair Minnis states:

> Chaucer was content to assume the role of compiler and to exploit the literary form of *compilatio*. Indeed, so deliberate was he in presenting himself as a compiler that one is led to suspect the presence of a very self-conscious author who was concerned to manipulate the conventions of *compilatio* for his own literary ends. If Gower was a compiler who tried to present himself as an author, Chaucer was an author who hid behind the 'shield and defence' of the compiler. (Minnis 1988: 210)

However, the manuscript evidence suggests otherwise. One of the earliest of *The Canterbury Tales* manuscripts is Ellesmere which is written on fine membrane in a careful and attractive hand. It has illustrations of the Canterbury pilgrims which were prepared for by the compiler and not squeezed in later. As Malcolm Parkes states, "he [the compiler of Ellesmere] clearly anticipated the apparatus of headings and glosses, since he added a frame ruling in the outer margins to receive it, and all the apparatus —headings as well as glosses— is placed within the ruling [...] In Ellesmere the scribe allowed for one- or two-line decorated initials" (Parkes 1991: 225). He used an impressive anglicana formata script for the main text and a finer bastard anglicana (that is, with textura elements) for the heading, incipits, explicits and any Latin in the glosses. Parkes assays this manuscript as follows:

> The value of a *compilatio* depended on the wealth of the *auctoritates* employed, but its utility depended on the way in which the *auctoritates* were arranged. The *ordinatio* of the Ellesmere manuscript interprets *The Canterbury Tales* as a *compilatio* in that it emphasizes the role of the tales as repositories of *aucoritates-sententiae* and aphorisms on different topics which are indicated by the marginal headings. (Parkes 1991: 228)

The Ellesmere manuscript is a large, imposing book —what today might be considered a coffee table book, as much for display as use. Its appearance and *ordinatio* then immediately tell the reader that this is an impressive work and thereby signal that its composer is an *auctor* as much as Gower's *Confessio Amantis* or Boccaccio's *Teseida*.

Of major significance is the fact that the earliest and most authoritative manuscripts such as Ellesmere and Hengwrt also have Latin glosses. I have shown elsewhere that I believe that many of the glosses in *The Canterbury Tales* were authorial, just as Gower's and Boccaccio's were. The glosses, however, have never been given their rightful place by editors, and it is only with the advent of electronic editing and manuscript digitisation that we can see their significance. Most glosses are in Latin and quote source material. The very presence of glosses in the same hand (or even more prestigious hand) with the same size of initial capital, with paraph sign and given equal visual prominence on the page, makes it look like an authoritative text.

They are found in around thirty of the fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Tales*, and were considered by succeeding generations of scribes to be sufficiently important to copy. They are not all source references, but comments which divert the reader's eye from the text to the gloss.[6]

Some glosses simply state 'Verum est', for example in the Wife of Bath's Prologue when the Wife says that no man can swear and lie as any woman (line 227). Some quote Chaucer's Latin source, but in doing so remind the reader of the biblical context and in some occasions by quoting the text, they highlight the Wife's deliberate, partial quotation from the Bible in which she omits the reciprocal continuation of the text, e.g., "God bad oure housbondes for to love us weel" or "I have the power durynge al my lyf/Upon his propre body and not he". Other biblical quotations in the glosses are in fact comments: The Wife claims that no clerk ever praised a woman (689), while the gloss adds the Proverbs 31:10 text: "The value of a virtuous woman is far above rubies", thus showing that clerks do praise women, but only virtuous ones.

At one point the Wife says she is attracted to her fifth husband "for his crispe heer, shynyng as gold so fyn" (304), "for his curly hair that shone like fine gold" —an innocuous line, except that our attention is shifted to the gloss "Et procurator calamistratus" ("The curled darling who manages her affairs"); this quotation comes from St Jerome's *Contra Jovinianum* I, 47, and refers to the married whore who has what today is called a toyboy, a young man with blond, curly hair. One might pass over this comment about blond, curly hair, if the gloss had not quoted from Jerome, and reminded us of the Wife's literary ancestry —the married whore who misuses marriage to conceal adultery and milk the husband of his money. The glosses attack not her sexuality as much as her textuality —not so much the sexual harassment of her husbands but the textual harassment of Jerome.

The English and Latin texts are balanced on both sides of the page and so it might be that the compiler of the manuscript wished to counterbalance the subversive views of the Wife which are in English with Latin glosses from genuine authoritative texts such as the Bible and Jerome. Ironically it is now the Latin that has the lesser role of providing the commentary on the vernacular text.

Many critics who have studied the glosses in detail seem to agree that it is likely that they were written by Chaucer himself. This might also explain why they were given such prominence on the page and were faithfully copied for a century. Robert Enzer Lewis has shown how the glosses in *The Man of Law's Tale* from Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi* probably came from the same source manuscript as that used by Chaucer when translating Boethius in his *Boece*, as the same phrasing and errors occur in both. He states that the glosses "were written either by Chaucer in his autograph copy of the *Man of Law's Tale* or by a scribe under Chaucer's

supervision from Chaucer's own manuscript of the *De Miseria*, or by a scribe shortly after Chaucer's death from that same manuscript found among Chaucer's papers" (Lewis 1967: 13).[7]

The new breed of English poet in the fourteenth century, therefore, verbally *claimed* to be mere *compilators* (the Ellesmere manuscript has a colophon which states "compiled by Geoffrey Chaucer"), but the manuscript evidence says otherwise. In the visual presentation of their work poets, beginning with Boccaccio, went to great lengths to ensure that they *appeared on parchment* as authoritative texts. In fact in their own lifetime they had 'arrived' —they were genuine *auctores*. And this evidence is only conveyed on the manuscript page, contradicting the self-effacing and traditional modesty that is protested in the text. Such a conclusion can only come from viewing the text in its manuscript context.

Additional Note

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Notes

1. Parts of this article are forthcoming in Caie, Graham D. and Denis Renevey. (eds.). *Medieval Texts in Manuscript Context.* London: Routledge.

2. This translation is quoted from Minnis (1988: 185), who continues: "The *auctoritas* belongs to God or to the divine will as expressed by the voice of the people [...]; he is a humble and unworthy minister of that doctrine" (Minnis 1988: 186).

3. See my article "The Inscribed Paisley Slates" (Caie 2000b).

4. See Smalley (1964: 56, 66 and 367).

5. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. G.41, fol. 1r, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.3.21, fol. 14r. These are reproduced and discussed in Irvine (1992: 90-94).

6. See Caie (1977: 354-5) and Caie (1984).

7. Lewis (1967: 2-3) lists the critics who support the argument of Chaucerian authorship. See also Silvia (1965).

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IS COGNITIVE GRAMMAR A USAGE-BASED MODEL? TOWARDS A REALISTIC ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS[1]

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1. Introduction

As pointed out by Newmeyer (2003: 683), the term *usage-based* was coined by Langacker (FCG1: 46, 494) to refer to those approaches which, as is the case with Cognitive Grammar (CG), reject a sharp distinction between language knowledge and language use. In a usage-based approach, knowledge of a language is seen as based in knowledge of actual usage and of generalizations made over usage events. Language acquisition is therefore a bottom-up process, driven by linguistic experience. Unlike generative grammar, which, in Langacker's (FCG1: 46) words, has "always operated with an archetypal conception of language as a system of general rules, and [has] therefore not accommodated irregular and idiosyncratic phenomena in a natural or convincing manner", a usage-based theory is claimed to give "substantial importance [...] to the actual use of the linguistic system and a speaker's knowledge of this use" (ibid.: 494; see also Langacker 1999: 91-145).

The question I wish to pose in this paper is whether Cognitive Grammar so far has taken its own usage-based character seriously and has really given "substantial importance to actual use". Interestingly, some recent research within the CG field appears to imply that it has not. I have in mind, in particular, a plenary lecture with the revealing title "'Usage-based' implies variational: On the inevitability of Cognitive Sociolinguistics", which was delivered by Dirk Geeraerts in the summer of 2003 at

the Eighth International Cognitive Linguistics Conference in La Rioja (Spain). In it Geeraerts stressed the importance for Cognitive Linguistics of starting to apply empirical methods and making regular use of language corpora capable of representing the full range of language varieties and linguistic groups. Basically the same view is implicit in the official website [http://cerebro.psych.cornell.edu/emcl/] of a workshop on *Empirical Methods in Cognitive Linguistics* held at Cornell University in May 2003. Under the heading 'Motivation', we can read as follows:

> Recent years have witnessed a virtual explosion of theory about the relationship between language and cognition in work on cognitive grammar (Langacker), cognitive semantics (Talmy), conceptual integration (Fauconnier and Turner), and conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, Sweetser). However, most of the empirical support for these theories lies in the linguistic judgments and intuitions of their proponents. [...] The *Empirical Methods in Cognitive Linguistics Workshop* is motivated by the idea that experimental and observational work can help substantiate the claims of cognitive linguistics, and to further develop an empirically valid account of the connection between language and cognition.

It seems reasonable to assume that in the future CG will be increasingly concerned with goals of this kind. After all, the variability of language has from the start played a major role in Cognitive Linguistic thinking, and, in addition, CG has repeatedly claimed (cf. Langacker FCG1: 154ff, FCG2: 494ff, Taylor 2002: 201-203) that it can handle straightforwardly, by reference to one or more knowledge structures or *cognitive domains*, such 'extralinguistic' aspects of a sentence's meaning as metalinguistic awareness of dialectal, sociolinguistic and stylistic diversity.

Bearing all this in mind, in the remainder of this paper I will examine the claims of CG with regard to one specific area of English grammar, namely sentential complementation, and will then go on to check whether such claims are supported by empirical data. I will end by arguing that the CG account of the complex area of English sentential complementation is unsatisfactory in a number of ways and does not reflect actual linguistic usage.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly introduces the theoretical framework known as CG. Section 3 presents an overview of English sentential complements and summarizes their development since Old English times (700-1100); the justification for including diachronic information in a paper dealing only with Present-day English (PDE) will become clear in due course. Section 4 is concerned with non-cognitive research on the semantics of English complementation. Sections 5 and 6 review the chief cognitive analyses and examine their proposals in the light of the data on complementation retrieved from several computerized corpora of Present-day British and American English. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Some basic tenets of Cognitive Grammar

Cognitive Grammar, as described in Langacker (FCG1, FCG2, 1988a, 1999), assumes that grammar is inherently symbolic and meaningful, not autonomous or accidental, and that "all valid grammatical constructs have some kind of conceptual import" (Langacker FCG2: 338). The meaning of a grammatical construct involves its conceptual content, and also how that content is construed. *Conceptual content* is the cognitive *domain* or background knowledge with reference to which linguistic expressions are characterized semantically (Langacker FCG1: 147-166, Taylor 2002: 195-203). To take an example, in describing the meaning of the word *thumb-nail* the speaker activates the domain of the human body, against which a host of body-part terms are conceptualized: *thumb-nail*, *thumb*, *finger*, *hand*, *arm*, etc.

More often than not, a semantic unit needs to be conceptualized against more than one domain. The concept [FATHER], for instance, is understood against the domain of kinship. But a father is also a physical being with weight and dimensions, and a living being who was born, grew up and will die. Thus physical object, living thing and kinship each constitutes a relevant domain for [FATHER]. In the same way, as already noted in Section 1 above, within CG, 'extralinguistic' aspects of meaning such as degrees of formality, dialectal diversity, and sociolinguistic variation are all candidates for conceptual domains against which the conceptualization of a given word or expression takes place.

Linguistic meaning does not, however, reside in conceptual content alone, for, as Langacker notes (1999: 5), "we are able to *construe* the same content in alternate ways, resulting in substantially different meanings". Thus the sentences in (1) are truth-conditionally equivalent: if one of the sentences truly applies to a situation, then so will the other. They differ, however, with respect to the particular *construal* the conceptualizer imposes on the scene:

(1) a. Someone stole the princess's diamonds from her safe.
b. The princess's diamonds were stolen from her safe.

Similarly, as will become apparent below, the different syntactic realizations of sentential complements are treated within CG as the reflection of variations in the construal of the complement scene (see, among others, Langacker FCG2: 438ff, Achard 1998, Hamawand 2002, 2003a, 2003b).

A third aspect of CG which is also relevant for the purposes of this paper has to do with its conception of a semantic theory based on ideas of family resemblance (Rosch 1977, Langacker FCG1: 369-408). Linguistic expressions, whether words or larger units, are often polysemous and have a variety of related senses that form

a complex category that can be represented as a network. For instance, the network describing the conventional meanings of the English noun *ring* is represented by Langacker (1988b: 51-52) as consisting of a central (prototypical) member ('circular piece of jewelry')[2] plus several other members of the category linked to the prototype by *extension* (the semantic relation between prototypical and peripheral values; for instance, between 'circular object' and 'arena')[3] and *elaboration* (an entity elaborates another entity when it is construed with a greater degree of precision; e.g. 'circular piece of jewelry worn thru nose' elaborates 'circular piece of jewelry'). Categorizing relationships between the instances of a complex category vary in terms of their cognitive salience and also in their 'distance', i.e. the extent to which [A] must be extended or elaborated to yield [B]: while "clear meaning relations exist between adjacent members of the category, non-adjacent members may have little in common with each other" (Smith and Escobedo 2001: 551).

Related to the above is another theoretical construct in CG which also imposes a conceptualization of experience, namely *image schemas*, as defined by Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1987). An image schema is a schematic conception (e.g. *container-content*, *part-whole*, *source-path-goal*, *center-periphery*, *balance*, etc.) which is grounded in everyday physical or bodily experience "and is projected onto new [cognitive] domains via metaphor" (Johnson 1987: 74; see also Langacker FCG2: 399ff, Taylor 2002: 519ff). Thus the notion of *balance* emerges primarily through our experience of maintaining an upright posture. The notion then gets extended to other, more abstract, domains, such as psychological states (*a balanced personality*), financial situations (*a balanced budget*), or power relations (*a balance of power*); importantly, as Taylor (2002: 523) notes, certain structural properties of the image schema are preserved across all its domain-specific instantiations. Later in this paper, we will see that cognitive research on complementation has generally argued that *to*-infinitival complements evoke aspects of imagery inherent in the source-path-goal image schema associated with prepositional *to*.

3. English sentential complementation: an overview

Sentential complementation, i.e. the situation that arises when a subordinate clause functions as an argument with respect to a governing element or head, has been a prolific area of research for many years (cf. Horie and Comrie 2000 for an overview) and is also becoming increasingly popular among cognitive linguists. Witness in this connection studies such as Dirven (1989), Langacker (FCG2: 31ff, 148-149, 419-423, 438-463, 1992: 304-308), Verspoor (1990, 1996, 2000),

Achard (1998), Horie (2000), Heyvaert (2000, 2003), Smith and Escobedo (2001), or Hamawand (2002, 2003a, 2003b).[4]

In the case of English, four major types of complement clauses can be distinguished, as illustrated in (2)-(5):[5]

(2) *That/zero*-declaratives:
  a. It is clear (*that*) *he made a mistake*.
  b. He knows (*that*) *you are here*.
(3) Bare infinitives:
  a. All I did was *ask a question*.
  b. We saw *Kim leave the bank*.
(4) *To*-infinitives with and without a subject:
  a. Max wanted *to change his name*.
  b. The best plan would be *for them to go alone*.
(5) *-Ing* clauses with and without a subject:
  a. *Inviting the twins* was a bad mistake.
  b. I resented *them/their going without me*.
  c. We saw *Kim leaving the bank*.

Types (2) and (3) have been on record since Old English times (700-1100). As regards type (4), it is worth mentioning that the particle *to* introducing the infinitive was in origin a directional adverb/preposition with the meaning 'toward'. By Late Old English or Early Middle English (1100-1300) *to* had lost its prepositional character and had grammaticalized to an infinitive marker, so that it began to occur where previously only the bare infinitive was found (cf. Traugott 1992: 241ff, Fischer 1992: 317ff). Finally, the history of type (5) is considerably more complex (see Fanego 1996a, 1996b, 2004a, 2004b for details). The pattern in (5c), where the matrix predicate is a perception verb (*see*), can be traced back to Old English; here the *-ing* form represents historically the present participle. By contrast, in (5a) and (5b) the *-ing* form descends from an Old English derivational suffix which could be freely added to verb stems to form abstract nouns of action, as in OE *spilling* "destruction" (< *spillan* "destroy") or OE *wending* "turning" (< *wendan* "turn"). Following common practice among historians of the English language, I will employ the label *nominal gerund* to refer to this kind of noun and to their reflexes in PDE, as in "*the exploring of the mountain* took a long time". The labels *verbal gerund* or *gerundive -ing clause* will be applied to types (5a) and (5b), while type (5c) will be called an *-ing participle clause*.[6]

In Old English and Early Middle English (1100-1300) nominal gerunds behaved like any other noun in all relevant respects, and could therefore take nominal dependents of various kinds. The following examples illustrate their use with determiners (*the*, *his*) and with *of*-phrases serving as their notional objects:

(6) 1472-1488 *Cely Letters* 94/5:
at *the makyng of thys lettyr*
"at the moment of writing this letter/when writing this letter"
(7) c1385 Chaucer *Troilus and Criseyde* V 1833:
And thus began *his loving of Criseyde*

For reasons which I have discussed elsewhere (cf. Fanego 2004a), from Late Middle English (1300-1500) onwards nominal gerunds began to acquire verbal properties, a development that has ultimately led to the Present-day English situation, where gerunds have the ability to: *a)* govern an object or a predicative complement (e.g. "their following *the child* into England", "I don't like being *ill*"); *b)* be modified by adverbs or adverbials restricted to co-occurring only with verbs (e.g. "my *quietly* leaving before anyone noticed"); *c)* show tense and voice distinctions (e.g. "of *having done* it", "the necessity of *being loved*"); and *d)* take a subject in a case other than the genitive (e.g. "I resented *them* going without me"). In this way, English, unlike all other European languages, has evolved a third type of sentential complement, alongside finite clauses and infinitives.

Though, as noted above, the first instances of verbal gerunds can be dated back to Late Middle English, their spread across the grammar of English extended over a period of several centuries, with some subtypes becoming possible much earlier than others. Initially, for instance, verbalization was largely restricted to those gerunds that were dependent on a preposition, as in (8).

(8) c1303 (MS a1400) *Handlyng Synne* HS 408:
yn feblyng þe body with moche fastyng
"in weakening the body by too much abstinence"

In object position, the first verbal gerunds occur from the middle of the sixteenth century; see (9) for an early example and Fanego (1996a) for details. The earliest verbs to govern gerundive object clauses were negative implicative[7] verbs like *escape*, after which *to*-infinitives (e.g. c1420 Lydgate *Troy Bk.* 3, 1084 "Troilus... *escaped to be* prisoner") had formerly been the rule:

(9) Shakespeare *The Tempest* 2.2.59: [You would] Scape being drunk, for want of wine.

Subsequently, the use of gerunds in object position spread to more and more negative implicative verbs (*avoid, decline, cannot/could not help*, *neglect*, *shun*, etc.) and eventually to other classes of verbs, as I have discussed elsewhere (1996a, 1996b, 2004a), with the result that from the late seventeenth century onwards gerundial complements replaced —either completely or in part— *to*-infinitives (and occasionally finite clauses) with a wide variety of verb classes: emotives (*fear*, *hate*,

like, love, etc.), retrospectives (*remember, forget*), suffering and bearing (*cannot/could not abide, bear*), intention and verbal communication (*propose*), and aspectuals (*cease, begin, start*), among others.

To sum up, English sentential complements have undergone important changes in the course of time. Furthermore, as will become apparent later, many of these changes are still in progress, thus giving rise to considerable regional and stylistic variation.

4. Non-cognitive work on the semantics of English complementation

Despite the many difficulties inherent in the semantic analysis of English complementation, there are a few points that most scholars and grammar books agree on (see, for instance, Huddleston 1984: 207ff, Quirk et al. 1985: 1061ff, 1191ff, Biber et al. 1999: 753-759, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: Chapter 14, Miller 2002: 44, 47). They include the recognition that matrix verbs with similar or related meanings (such as *wish* and *desire* or *remember* and *forget*) will typically take the same kind or kinds of complements; that verbs denoting volition (*intend*, *want*, *wish*, etc.) usually correlate with *to*-infinitives; that there is a tendency for certain *-ing* clauses to be associated with factuality, and for *to*-infinitives with non-factuality (compare, for example, *he enjoyed reading it* with *he hoped to read it*); that *that*-clauses typically occur with cognition predicates such as *know* or communication predicates such as *say*; or that there is an aspectual difference between bare infinitives and *-ing* clauses after verbs of sensory perception (*we saw Kim leave/leaving the bank*), with the *-ing* clause having progressive meaning.

Specially from the 1980s, however, functional linguists such as Givón (1980), Wierzbicka (1988: 23-168), Dixon (1991, 1995) or, more recently, Duffley (1992, 1999, 2000, 2003) have investigated in considerable detail the possibility that there may exist systematic correlations between the different syntactic realizations of complements and their semantics. Givón (1980, 1993), for instance, proposed a *binding hierarchy* based on iconic principles which predicted that the degree of "semantic binding" (i.e. the matrix subject's influence on the event expressed in the complement clause) is closely correlated with the degree of morpho-syntactic independence of the complement clause. Thus, examples (10)-(11) show that the stronger semantic binding of manipulation verbs (*make, tell, order, ask* etc.), as opposed to cognition verbs (*know, think*, etc.), accounts for the lesser syntactic independence from its matrix clause of the complement clause in (10):

(10) He made her leave [manipulation verb; lesser syntactic independence in terms of tense-aspect-modality]

(11) He thought that she had left [cognition verb; greater syntactic independence in terms of tense-aspect-modality]

Givón's binding scale, which works well for a number of complement constructions, is not really being challenged in this paper, where my concern is rather with the kind of semantic contrasts between different complement types put forward by Wierzbicka in her influential work (1988) on English complementation. Among a number of illuminating observations, Wierzbicka argued that "[i]n most types of TO complements [...] there is a clear future orientation ('this will happen'), and there are reasons to think that this feature, too, should perhaps be regarded as part of the semantic invariant of all TO complement constructions" (1988: 165). She related (ibid.: 28-29) this future orientation of *to*-complements to the meaning of *to* in purposive clauses (e.g. *Mary went out to read the newspaper*) and also to its use as an 'allative' preposition (e.g. *Mary went to the library*). Implicit in this interpretation is of course the view that infinitival *to* retains some vestiges of its original role as a directional preposition meaning 'toward' (see Section 3 above), a claim that, as Langacker (1992: 304) has observed, appears to be basically correct if "it is formulated at the level of generality". It seems problematic, however, that Wierzbicka should detect a future component not just in uncontroversial cases such as *I want to go* or *I intend to win*, but also in sentences such as *he ceased to breathe* (1988: 81), *Mary continued to paint the car* (ibid.: 82), *it is wrong to lie* or *she was delighted to win* (ibid.: 165).

Wierzbicka also looked at gerundive complements, whose most basic meaning, she argued (ibid.: 69), is to indicate "sameness of time" between the process denoted by the matrix verb and the process denoted by the complement. Once again, though this certainly applies to *Mary enjoyed eating the steak* and to many other examples, sentences such as *I dread being summoned by the boss*, where *dread* refers to the future, or *I remember talking with John last year*, where the reference is to the past, seem to constitute clear exceptions to Wierzbicka's characterization. Despite these apparent difficulties, her work has exerted considerable influence on later cognitive research on complementation (see, for instance, Langacker FCG2: 439ff, Smith and Escobedo 2001, Hamawand 2003a).

Other influential analyses include Dixon's (1991, 1995) semantic approach to English complement clauses, and Duffley's (1999) account of the variation between infinitives and *-ing* clauses after aspectuals. As will be seen in the next sections, some of their claims recur in the cognitive literature on complementation.

5. Cognitive inquiries

In keeping with CG's central assumption that grammar is inherently symbolic and meaningful, and that "all valid grammatical constructs have some kind of conceptual import" (Langacker FCG2: 338), cognitive research on complementation has tended to focus on a number of closely interrelated issues, namely:

a) the possibility that certain complementation types might be associated with schematic meanings, such that "the acceptability of a complementation pattern with a given verb would then be a consequence of the compatibility of the conceptualizations denoted by the main verb and the complementation pattern" (Taylor 2002: 433);

b) the correlation between the different syntactic realizations of complement clauses (i.e., in the case of English, *that*-clauses, *to-* and bare infinitives, and *-ing* clauses) and the type of *construal* (Langacker FCG2: 294ff) imposed on the complement scene by a given conceptualizer;

c) the extent to which certain features of complement sentences, such as the absence of an overt complementizer in *I saw her leave*, as opposed to its presence in *I saw that she left*, can be accounted for by appealing to the notion of *iconicity*, and specifically to the idea that the linguistic distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between them (cf. Haiman 1985).

In the sections that follow I will review how these various issues are dealt with in the chief cognitive studies on English sentential complements published so far, namely Dirven (1989), Langacker (FCG2: 31ff, 438-449, 1992: 304-308), Verspoor (1990, 1996, 2000), Smith and Escobedo (2001), and Hamawand (2002, 2003a, 2003b).[8]

5.1. Dirven (1989)

Dirven's preliminary approach to the semantics of English complementizers explores possible correlations between the form and meaning of different complement types. Most of the correlations proposed coincide with those mentioned in earlier treatments of the topic (see Section 4 above) and hence will not be discussed here.

In addition, Dirven draws attention to a few other more controversial points. Thus, regarding the choice between *to*-infinitives and gerundive clauses after some verbs, he notes (p. 120) that "*intend*, *plan* and *propose* can express volition, i.e. the desire that a new action should occur", in which case they take the infinitive, or "they

may merely denote the suggestion of such an action, which is much vaguer and therefore requires a gerund":

(12) a. I intend to go tomorrow. (= I want to; this is what I have decided).
b. I intend going tomorrow. (= It's what I have vaguely planned).

According to Dirven, therefore, with many predicates the gerund tends to code more general, non individualized phenomena, a claim which is repeated on pp. 116 and 125-128 with respect to such varied structures as *parking the car is a problem* (versus *it's easy to park the car*), *he is used to getting up early* (versus *he used to get up early*), *staying at work all day means our having only sandwiches for lunch*, or *the garden needs watering*.

With aspectuals, the use of *to*-infinitives and gerunds is complicated by the fact that the gerund can easily become associated with the idea of ongoing activity which is inherent in the formally identical progressive. Dirven (pp. 129-130), like many other analysts before and after him, draws attention to this fact when he notes that, in cases like *the clock began striking twelve*, the focus seems to be on the continuous nature of the event described ("various strokes"), rather than on its inception, unlike in *the clock began to strike twelve*. Similarly, he explains (p. 131) the difference between *cease* V*ing* and *cease to*-infinitive by pointing out that "*cease* with gerund... denotes the stopping of some ongoing activity or process; with *to*-infinitive it implies that the cessation may be a permanent one":

(13) a. The buses have ceased running (= for today, but they will start running again tomorrow).
b. The buses have ceased to run (= for ever; this denotes a new permanent situation).

5.2. Langacker (FCG2, 1992)

Langacker's brief analysis of English sentential complements is programmatic and, at least as regards his characterization of *-ing*, *to-* and *that*-clauses, largely inspired by Wierzbicka (1988). Thus, he agrees with Wierzbicka (see Section 4 above) in that it is an essential feature of *-ing* constructions that there should be "*some kind of temporal overlap* between the main- and subordinate-clause profiles" (FCG2: 445, 1992: 305); unlike Wierzbicka, however, he admits that that value may not be universal to the category of *-ing* clauses, but "only prototypical" (FCG2: 445).

With respect to *to*-infinitival complements, Langacker argues that their prototypical value is to "incorporate some notion of futurity [...]; attributing such a value to the complementizer *to* itself renders more transparent the nature of its relationship to the variant that occurs in purpose clauses (e.g. *He did it just to annoy her*) as well as the path preposition (*They walked to the store*). Inherent in all these notions

is the *path-goal* image schema" (FCG2: 446).

Again following Wierzbicka (1988: 164-165) Langacker claims that *to*-complements "are associated with a personal, subjective, first-person mode: 'I want', 'I think' or 'I know'" (FCG2: 446). The hallmark of *that*-complements, by contrast, is *objectivity*. In this context, the term *objectivity* is to be understood in the sense it has within CG (FCG1: 130-131), that is, as a notion contrasting with *subjectivity* and referring to a specific way of conceptualizing a scene. For instance, a sequence like *don't lie to me* (said by mother to child) represents a subjective construal; *don't lie to your mother* (uttered by the same speaker) involves objectification. Similarly, in (14a) below *that* "serves to objectify the conception of the proposition expressed" (FCG2: 447): Phil construes himself objectively, viewing his own activity in the same way that he would anybody else's. In (14b), by contrast, he views himself subjectively and "conceptualizes the subordinate process more from the vantage of one engaged in actually carrying it out" (FCG2: 448). The effect of *that* is thus "to step back from the situation [...] and construe it as an abstract object or **proposition** capable of being manipulated, evaluated, and commented on. Instead of being asserted, this proposition is taken as one participant in a higher order relationship [...], whence its role as a clausal subject or object" (FCG2: 35):

(14) a. Phil definitely expects *that he will reach the summit by noon*.
b. Phil definitely expects *to reach the summit by noon*.

Langacker also draws attention to the 'atemporal' construal imposed by complementizers on the complement event. Within CG, verbs are symbolic expressions whose meaning designates a process. The process involves "a continuous series of states representing different phases" and "construed as occupying a continuous series of points in conceived time" (Langacker FCG1: 244). For the conceptualization of this complex process the conceptualizer employs the mode of cognitive processing known as *sequential scanning* (Langacker FCG1: 145), in which a series of states are conceived non-cumulatively "through the successive transformation of one into another" (FCG1: 493). In the case of nouns and nominals, by contrast, the mode of conceptual scanning applied is *summary scanning* (Langacker FCG1: 145), which consists in the cumulative, *holistic* conceptualization of a scene in its entirety.

Complementizers change the way in which the component states of the verb are scanned. Their effect is to bring about a kind of *conceptual subordination* (FCG2: 440) of the process coded in the complement clause: rather than being viewed in its own terms as an independent object of thought, it is primarily considered for the role it plays within the superordinate relationship expressed by the main clause.[9]

Viewing the subordinate process as a main-clause participant implies a conceptual distancing whereby this process is construed *holistically* through summary scanning and manipulated as a unitary entity (Langacker FCG2: 439ff, 1992: 305-306). For this reason, Langacker argues, complementizers (i.e. *-ing*,[10] infinitival *to*, *that* or zero) "are plausibly analyzed as imposing an atemporal, perhaps even a nominal construal on the structures they combine with" (FCG2: 440).

5.3. Verspoor (1990, 1996, 2000)

Verspoor[11] argues (1996: 436) that

> in general terms [...] a causal schema plays a role in the use of verbs and their complement structures. This causal schema applies to both verbs denoting a type of causation, where the energy goes from subject to object and to verbs denoting mental spaces, where there is a two-way causal relation: the energy goes from subject to object, and the object in turn causes the mental state.

If the causal dependency coded in the overall construction is "very direct and immediate" (p. 434) a plain infinitive or *-ing* occurs, as illustrated in (15). If the causal relation is construed as indirect, which is less immediate, a *to*-infinitive occurs as in (16). If the conceptualizer does not construe the main clause subject and the complement event as causally related, a *that*-clause may occur as in (17):

(15) a. *I made John leave.* [The force I exerted on John was direct, and the leaving event was a direct result of the force.]
b. *I saw John leaving.* [The event caused my perception directly and immediately.]

(16) *I ordered John to leave.* [The force I exerted on John was directly given to him, but through some medium (words), and the leaving event may occur some time after the order was uttered.]

(17) *I ordered that John should leave.* [The force I exerted on John was not necessarily direct; John may have not been there and the order may have been given through a third party.]

Verspoor further tries to demonstrate that each of the complement constructions listed above can be characterized as "a complex radial category with some members that are more central, which have common properties that play a role in characterizing the basic schemas" (1996: 421). Her discussion focuses in particular on the composite structure **[subject] [verb] [*-ing*]**, which she interprets as "involving direct causal relevance —either in a concrete physical sense or abstract mental 'source' sense— between the subject and the event expressed by the *-ing* phrase" (ibid.: 449; see also 2000: 215). With regard to the schematic meaning of *-ing* itself, she adopts (1996: 437, 2000: 214) Langacker's definition (FCG2:

209) of the *-ing* participle in the progressive construction: *-ing* expresses an imperfective atemporal relation viewed from an internal perspective that does not include the initial and final states of the event.[12] Since the *-ing* symbolizes an event construed as ongoing, it is "natural that it be compatible with main verbs that express co-temporality of main event and subordinate event" (Verspoor 2000: 214; see also 1996: 438 and Wierzbicka 1988).

After this overall characterization, Verspoor examines the interplay between *-ing* complements and various classes of matrix verbs, namely those of **cause and action** —which she exemplifies with items such as *avoid* and *begin*, among others—, **sensory and mental perception** (e.g. *see*, *remember*, *imagine*), or **communication** (e.g. *acknowledge, confess, admit, deny, advise*). With respect to cause and action verbs, she grants (1996: 441-442) that the notion of direct causation "may not be quite so evident" with a verb like *avoid* (*I avoided hitting the tree*), whose analysis seems problematic in view of the fact that the semantically related *refuse* can only select a *to*-infinitive (*I refused to attend the meeting*). Verspoor solves this apparent contradiction by pointing out that "when one avoids hitting a tree, one intends not to hit the tree, but the intention not to hit the tree is simultaneous with the action that is supposed to prevent one from hitting the tree. However, when one refuses to leave, one intends not to leave at a later moment. In other words, *refuse* is related to a future event" (pp. 441-442). Concerning *begin*, Verspoor largely follows Wierzbicka (1988: 60) in asserting that with *begin* (*I began dancing*) the *-ing* structure expresses simultaneity and *begin* itself "symbolizes [...] the intentional state of the main clause subject" (1996: 442); the *to*-infinitive (*I began to dance*), by contrast, denotes a vague future orientation.

With respect to perception verbs (*I **saw** him crossing the street*, *I **imagined** sitting on the beach*), it is generally agreed (cf. Section 4 above) that the *-ing* complements following them have progressive meaning. This is also Verspoor's interpretation, whether the verb denotes sensory (*see, hear, feel*) or mental (*imagine, remember*) perception. In the latter case, she notes that the *-ing* structure symbolizes "that at the moment that the act of remembering or imagining is taking place, a mental representation of at least part of the event itself causes the recollection" (1996: 445).

Finally, Verspoor looks at communication verbs. Most of these (*announce, promise, say*, etc.) are compatible with *that*-clauses, since they signal acts of verbal communication that convey propositions. However, some communication verbs like *acknowledge, admit, confess* and *deny* may be followed by *-ing* structures as well, as in (18) below; in such cases, Verspoor claims that "the verb of communication expresses something other than a pure mode of speaking, namely the subject's attitude towards an event [...] the *-ing* complement symbolizes that the event (not

a proposition) expressed by the complement clause is experienced from very close by in the mind and affects in an abstract manner the emotional state of the subject" (1996: 448):

(18) *Mary acknowledged not having done her work right.* [Mary expresses (not necessarily verbally) that she is not happy about the fact that the work was not done right.]

5.4. Smith and Escobedo (2001)

Like Verspoor before them, Smith and Escobedo set out to demonstrate that "most occurrences of *to* vs. *-ing* complements are semantically motivated and not arbitrary" (p. 561). Though their focus is on matrix predicates taking subjectless (PRO) complements as their only objects, as in *Mary wants to study German*, where PRO is coreferential with the matrix subject, they believe that their analysis could be extended to other kinds of complements as well.

Concerning *to*-infinitivals, in keeping with Langacker's views on the semantics of English complementation (see Section 5.2 above) they argue that in *to*-infinitivals *to* "marks the conceptual distance between the matrix and subordinate clauses by iconically separating them in the grammar" and reflects aspects of imagery "inherent in the source-path-goal image schema" (p. 561). This is most obvious with verbs expressing future intention and volitionality (*want, intend, hope, plan*, etc.). Verbs such as *refuse, decline, fail, fear, forget, neglect* and many others do not evoke motion, purpose or intent directed toward the attainment of a goal, but even in these cases Smith and Escobedo believe that *to* can be motivated from the source-path-goal imagery because a path's goal is construed holistically, as conceptually whole and complete; cf. Langacker's (1992: 305) visual analogy: "if we see a barn in the distance, at the end of a spatial path, we see the entire structure as a clearly bounded object". In the same way, a *to*-complement "receives a holistic construal vis-à-vis the main-clause relationship" (ibid.). Smith and Escobedo conclude, therefore, that the *to*-complements of verbs of declining and refusing "seem motivated primarily by the holistic notion" (2001: 554).

In order to characterize *-ing*, Smith and Escobedo start from Langacker's conception that an *-ing* complement "generally involves temporal overlap with the main-clause process" (Langacker 1992: 305; see 5.2 above). But they carry this notion one step further, to claim (p. 556) that *-ing* evokes a "general conceptual overlap" between the main and subordinate events, the exact nature of which depends on the matrix verb. They thus distinguish the four types of matrix predicates listed below:

(I) *Abhor, admire, appreciate, detest, dislike, enjoy, keep, (don't) mind, question,*

relish, resent, tolerate, understand. With these verbs "actual temporal overlap is evoked between the matrix and subordinate processes in that the latter are construed as happening simultaneously (or nearly so) with the former".

(II) *Admit, advocate, complete, deny, excuse, finish, forget, forgive, miss, quit, recall, recollect, recommend, remember, regret, resume, stop*. These "evoke prior rather than actual overlap between the matrix and subordinate processes, as illustrated in *I recommend studying linguistics with her* [...] By recommending or admitting something I indicate I have had prior experience with it (though one can recommend without prior experience)."

(III) *Anticipate, consider, contemplate, discuss, dream of, imagine, propose, reject, suggest, think (about)*. In an example like *Fran imagined/proposed living in the forest* "there is no sense in which the subordinate events ever actually occur [...] but *-ing* complements are motivated with these predicates because they evoke some kind of imagined conceptual overlap between the main and subordinate clauses."

(IV) *Avoid, delay, dread, escape, postpone, put off, resist*. Smith and Escobedo acknowledge that verbs in this class "appear to pose an intractable problem for a semantically-based account of complementation, because their complements do not appear to evoke any kind of overlap whatsoever with the matrix processes (whether temporal, prior, or hypothetical)". To solve this difficulty, Smith and Escobedo invoke Langacker's (1999: 297-315) notion of *subjectivity*, and argue that these verbs reflect subjective vs. objective overlap between the main and subordinate processes. Thus, "if I say that *Mary dreads or avoids doing something*, I imply that, although there is no overt objective overlap between the matrix subject Mary and the process she dreads or avoids doing, there ought to be such overlap".

To conclude their research on English complementation, Smith and Escobedo look in somewhat greater detail at a few verbs which can take either *-ing* or *to*-infinitival complements with apparently little difference in meaning, such as the aspectuals *begin*, *start* and *cease*, and the emotives *love, hate, prefer, like* and *can't stand*. Concerning *begin* and *start* they concur with Dirven (1989: 129-130; see 5.1 above) and Duffley (1999: 312ff) in that with *to*-complements the initial boundary of the subordinate process is especially salient, whereas "*-ing* complements imply temporal overlap with the first part of the matrix process" (2001: 559). They also rely on Dirven (1989: 131) and Duffley (1999: 325-327) in asserting that in sentences such as *it ceased to rain/raining* "the *to*-complement evokes that the subordinate process stops permanently [...] it is construed holistically in such a way that it is wholly completed". In contrast, the *-ing* complement evokes "that the rain has stopped for a while (and may resume). This reflects [...] that the cessation of the subordinate process is construed as momentary within an on-going process" (2001: 260). Finally, with respect to emotives they note, following Langacker

(1992: 305), that in *she always likes running/to run a marathon* the *-ing* complement "evokes the idea of actually running a marathon, while the *to*-complement focuses more on the idea of doing so" (2001: 561).

5.5. Hamawand (2002, 2003a, 2003b)

Hamawand's recent work on English sentential complements merely repeats many of the arguments put forward in Wierzbicka (1988) and in previous cognitive research. Complementizers are claimed to iconically encode different degrees of conceptual distance between the referents of the main and complement clauses (2002: 87, 2003a: 66), and are viewed as polysemous complex categories consisting of "a central prototypical meaning from which all other meanings are derived" (2003a: 70). As in Langacker (FCG2, 1992) or Smith and Escobedo (2001) it is assumed that *to*-marked complement clauses reflect aspects of the path-goal image schema, with *to* incorporating "some notion of subsequence or posteriority" (2003a: 74). In turn, the prototypical value proposed for *-ing* is "temporary ongoingness of an activity" (ibid.: 79), but extensions from this core meaning yield two different schematic values, namely *simultaneity*, where two durative events happen at the same time, and *anteriority*, where "the complement event temporally precedes the time of the utterance expressed by the main verb". Simultaneity is said to occur with verbs expressing a mental activity (*she considers accepting the offer*), with which "the complement event is mentally concurrent with the main event, even though physically it is not necessarily so", and with verbs expressing an emotional reaction (*Kate enjoys dancing the tango*); in this case, Hamawand points out that "if one enjoys doing anything, one takes delight or pleasure in it at the very time one is doing it". The semantic value 'anteriority' is found after verbs expressing communication (*he admits tripping her up*), since the event of making her fall "has actually occurred and happened before the event of admitting" (ibid.: 80). One may note in passing that, oddly enough, retrospective verbs like *remember* or *forget* (see also Hamawand 2002: 225-227) are grouped with *consider* and other matrix verbs of simultaneity, rather than with *admit* and verbs expressing anteriority, despite the fact that with retrospectives the reference of the *-ing* complement (e.g. *I remember him saying that it was dangerous*) is clearly to past time and thus contrasts with the future reference of the *to*-infinitival pattern available with the same verbs (e.g. *I will remember to post the letter*). Finally, as regards *that*-clauses Hamawand (2002: 61-62, 66-67, 71) closely follows Langacker (FCG2: 35, 446-448) in arguing that they indicate an objective construal of the complement scene; non-finite complements, by contrast, conceptualize the complement content subjectively.

6. English sentential complements: facts and fiction

Possibly the first thing to attract the reader's attention when reviewing the cognitive literature on complementation is the nature of the evidence adduced to support the analyses. Considering the importance attached by CG to "the actual use of the linguistic system" (Langacker FCG1: 494) and to the "context-dependent variants" of linguistic expressions (cf. Achard 1998: 25), it comes as a surprise that, without a single exception, the research examined in the preceding section is based on very short invented sentences rather than naturally-occurring discourse. One should also recall that, as pointed out earlier in this paper, CG has not hesitated to claim that the organization of its semantic theory in terms of cognitive domains enables it to account in a natural and straightforward manner for aspects of meaning which prove intractable for other models, as is the case with pragmatic specifications or sociolectal variation. How these extralinguistic aspects of meaning can manifest themselves in the type of data employed by cognitivists is far from clear.

A propos of this problem, Noël (2003: 347) complains in a recent paper about what he calls *semantic extremism*: "after a few decades of syntax with as little meaning as possible, [...] it has become fashionable to adhere to the creed that literally everything in syntax is meaningful". Semantic extremism is evident in all functional, as opposed to formal, models of grammar, but among practitioners of CG in particular it has become axiomatic that "every lexical and grammatical choice has semantic import" (Langacker 1999: 339). Discovering the exact conceptual import of each linguistic expression is therefore the primary task for cognitive grammarians, but this task is being carried out, in most cases, on the basis of linguistic introspection and intuition rather than empirical evidence. Herein lies the chief source of the inaccuracies which can be detected in the cognitive research on English sentential complements. It is to these inaccuracies that I now turn.

6.1. Some contrasts between infinitival, gerundive and that-clauses

As already noted, the different syntactic realizations of sentential complements are treated within CG as the reflection of variations in the way of construing the complement scene. These differences in construal, according to Langacker (1999: 339), constitute "genuine differences in meaning, construal being central and essential to linguistic semantics".

It is not my intention to contradict the above view: there is a clear functional distribution of *-ing*, *to-* and *that*-clauses with many classes of verbs, and this must be indicative of the existence of semantic differences between those complement types. But while this may be valid as a generalization, there are also examples where

their use appears to be governed by factors that can hardly be considered 'meaningful' and which in some cases are rooted in the earlier history of *-ing*, *to-* and *that*-clauses. To illustrate the point I am making, let's consider in the first place infinitival and *that*-clauses. From the earliest written records (cf. Traugott 1992: 234ff, Fischer 1992: 312ff), these two types of complement lacked one of the basic characteristics of full-fledged nominals, namely, they could not be governed by prepositions. This must have imposed severe limitations on the structure of English, especially after the enormous expansion in the use of prepositional phrases that took place in Middle English as a consequence of the decay of Old English case inflections. In the opinion of many scholars (cf. Miller 2002: 345, Fanego 2004a), the development of the nominal gerund into a verbal form from about 1300 was either initiated or promoted by systemic pressure to develop a clausal pattern capable of occurring after prepositions, as seems to be suggested by the fact that verbal gerunds occurred earliest in that environment. In the course of time, verbal gerunds have spread to non-prepositional contexts and have become common as subjects, objects, or predicatives, but even today gerunds dependent on a preposition represent around 68 per cent[13] of all gerund uses:

(19) FLOB [Humour] R06 150: the Mirror sees The Royalty Corp as an essential industry and thus one that can drain the public purse *without too many questions being asked*.

(20) FLOB [General Fiction] K04 22: one of the paradoxes *of being an army psychiatrist* is that you don't actually get very far...

In other European languages the equivalents of the gerundive clauses in (19)-(20) would take the form of finite clauses or infinitives. Spanish, for instance, would use, respectively, a finite clause introduced by *que* "that" ("sin *que* se hagan muchas preguntas") and an infinitive ("de *ser* psiquiatra del ejército"). In the specific environment under consideration, therefore, English and Spanish opt for different syntactic constructions, but it seems hard to accept that these formal choices can be the reflection of differences in the way in which the two languages 'construe' or conceptualize the complement scene. The correct analysis, as I see it, is to admit that English gerundive clauses are triggered automatically by the presence of a governing preposition and thus stand in complementary distribution with *that-* and *to-*infinitival clauses; whatever semantic distinctions may exist between those various complement types become neutralized in some of their uses.

Another important nominal feature which *that*-clauses also lacked in earlier stages of the language was the capacity to function as pre-verbal subjects; in other words, sequences such as PDE *that Jane came yesterday is true* are not found in either Old or Middle English (cf. Fischer 1992: 312-313). In contemporary English this restriction has been somewhat relaxed, but pre-verbal *that*-clauses continue to be

extremely infrequent, as shown by Biber et al. (1999: 674-676). In the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus (LSWE), which contains over 40 million words of text representing several written and spoken registers, extraposed *that*-clauses (e.g. *it is true that Jane came yesterday*) occur overall more than 200 times per million words; pre-verbal *that*-clauses, by contrast, occur only 10-20 times per million words in writing and "are virtually non-existent in conversation" (Biber et al. 1999: 676). These data are in agreement with my own findings drawn from a small corpus comprising 120,000 words of written British and American English.[14] I recorded 71 extraposed subject *that*-clauses (37 in AmE, 34 in BrE) and just one in pre-verbal position (in BrE):

(21) 1991 FLOB [Humour] R06 7: A theory currently going the rounds of the diasporate Fleet Street is that the Murdoch tabloids have got it in for the royals. *That the glorious republic, when it comes, will be heralded by a rollicking Ron Spark leader ("The Sun Says Give Us Liberty, Folks, or Give Us Death!")* is, apparently, finally proved by the Sun's publication, last week, of a photograph showing the Duke of York as only his mother, his wife and a few dozen hopeful debs had previously seen him.

Extraposition of complement clauses has to do with pragmatic and discourse factors (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 677-678, 896-898, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1367-1372, 1403-1407). There is a tendency in English for information which is familiar to be placed before that which is new ('the *information* principle'), and for placing clauses and other heavy constituents after the main clause predicate ('the *end-weight* principle'). Since heavy constituents are more likely to carry new than old information, the information principle and the principle of end-weight often reinforce each other. Complement clauses thus tend to appear in end-position not just because they are long, but also because they typically encode new information. By contrast, pre-verbal subject clauses are more likely to encode information which is discourse-old or at least presupposed to be familiar to the addressee. In addition, irrespective of other considerations, pre-verbal position may be obligatory when, as is the case in (21) above, the main clause verb is followed by a series of complex constituents; in such cases, extraposition of the subject clause would place a great burden on the short-term memory of the receiver, who would need to process all intervening constituents before finally reaching the logical subject of the main clause (i.e. the extraposed clause).

Apart from confirming the statistical tendency for finite subject complements to be extraposed, what is interesting about the data retrieved from my corpus is that it shows that whenever a subject clause with an explicit subject needs to occur pre-verbally in written English, *the fact that*-constructions and verbal gerunds serve as convenient alternatives to *that*-clauses.[15] Thus the American English texts I

examined contained no *that*-clauses in subject position, but yielded an isolated instance of a *the fact that*-construction ((22)). The British texts included, apart from the *that*-clause in (21) above, one instance of a *the fact that*-construction and the two gerunds quoted as (23)-(24).

(22) 1992 FROWN [Press Reportage] A07 199: The congress is expected to promote some younger, more reformist leaders into the top echelons of the party. *The fact that the party has officially closed the chapter on Mr. Zhao before the congress* suggests that hard-liners opposed to even a partial clearing of his name were hoping to use that strategy to prevent any newly elected reformist leaders from reopening the case,

(23) 1991 FLOB [Humour] R06 72: Once a tabloid royal-watcher who had just signed a piece to the effect that *Prince Edward's leaving the Royal Marines* was but a step away from his appearance in the Danny La Rue Follies spent some time trying to convince me that Edward had been on the phone to him as soon as the piece appeared congratulating him on his journalistic acumen.

(24) 1991 FLOB [General Fiction] K04 147: There was a ship sailing past, quite a long way out, in the estuary, and I looked at this little scrap of ribbon floating and I looked at the ship, and I thought that *me trying to stop the war* was a bit like trying to stop the ship would have been. You know, all they'd've seen from the deck was this little figure jumping up and down, waving its arms, and they wouldn't've known what on earth it was getting so excited about.

The fact that-constructions, being headed by a noun, are patently more 'nominal' than *that*-clauses. So are verbal gerunds, as shown by the fact that they can take subjects in the genitive case (cf. *Prince Edward's* in (23) above) and retain other typically nominal properties such as resistance to extraposition[16] (cf. (25)) or the ability to follow the verb in subject-auxiliary inversion constructions (cf. (26)). All of these features, which evoke their nominal origin, serve to distinguish them syntactically from *that*-clauses and explain why, unlike *that*-clauses, they can readily function as pre-verbal subjects.

(25) a. *It surprised me *his having a hat*.
b. It surprised me *that he had a hat*.

(26) a. Did *his having a hat* surprise you?
b. *Did *that he had a hat* surprise you?

The two gerund clauses in (23)-(24) are interesting in yet another respect, namely in that they reflect the varied nature of the extra-semantic factors which may influence the choice of complement at any given time. Notice that both gerunds are themselves embedded in a *that*-clause (*that Prince Edward's leaving the Royal Marines.../that me trying to stop the war...*), hence a sequence of two identical

subordinators (e.g. *that that I should try to stop the war*...) would have been difficult to process and also stylistically awkward.

To conclude this brief survey of the structural contrasts between *that*, *-ing* and infinitival clauses, let us now check whether the corpus data adduced so far confirm Langacker's proposal (cf. Section 5.2 above) that the basic semantic contribution of *that*-clauses is *objectivity*, in that they "serve to objectify the conception of the proposition expressed" (FCG2: 447) and to "construe it as an abstract object [...] capable of being manipulated, evaluated, and commented on" (ibid.: 35). As already noted, the term *objectivity* is here to be understood in the sense it has within CG (cf. FCG1: 130-131), that is, as a notion contrasting with *subjectivity* and referring to a specific way of conceptualizing a scene. For instance, according to Langacker a sequence like *Phil expects to come* represents a subjective construal; *Phil expects that he will come* involves objectification. However, it is hard to see in what way the *that*-clause in (21) above is any more objective than the two verbal gerunds quoted as (23)-(24), so that we just have to take Langacker's word for both the validity and relevance of this distinction. On the other hand, the capacity of *that*-clauses to be evaluated and commented on is not unique to them, for as is well known (cf., inter alia, Noonan 1985: 117, Duffley 2003: 343-345) gerund clauses are very often dependent on commentative predicates; witness *seeing Jane was fun*, *writing letters is not easy* or the two corpus examples ((23)-(24)) under discussion, where the matrix predicates are commentatives (i.e. *was but a step away.../was a bit like trying*...). If it were true that the complementizer *that*, or *that*-clauses in general, convey an invariant meaning distinct from the prototypical meaning of other complementizers, one may wonder why we have such a hard time discerning it in specific instances such as those examined in this section.

6.2. Non-finite clauses as object complements[17]

As we have seen in Section 5 of this paper, most of the cognitive literature on complementation starts from the conception that "principles of iconicity play a role in each kind of complement construction" (Smith and Escobedo 2001: 550), and views complementizers as polysemous complex categories consisting of "a central prototypical meaning from which all other meanings are derived" (Hamawand 2003a: 70). Since the instances of a complex category vary in terms of their 'distance', i.e. the extent to which a given member [A] must be extended or elaborated to yield [B], prototype theory thus affords a convenient tool to account for apparent exceptions to the general meaning ascribed to each complementizer. As Hamawand (2002: 91-92, 2003a: 71) puts it,

> the semantic extensions of a given complementiser may involve some twists or bends. One extension may well spawn a further extension that obscures the difference

> between two otherwise distinct domains. The new extension may spawn an extension that is not even directly related to the original concept.

In the case of the complementizer *to* the proposal of all cognitive work is that *to* reflects aspects of the source-path-goal image schema and hence incorporates "notion[s] of futurity" (Langacker FCG2: 446), future orientation (Verspoor 1996), "conceptual distance" (Smith and Escobedo 2001: 561), or "subsequence or posteriority" (Hamawand 2003a: 74). In the case of *-ing*, the cognitive literature generally endorses Wierzbicka's (1988: 69) notion that its most basic meaning is indicating "sameness of time" between the matrix verb and the process denoted by the complement. We thus read that *-ing* prototypically indicates "temporal overlap" (Langacker FCG2: 445, 1992: 305); that it symbolizes an event construed as ongoing and is hence "compatible with main verbs that express co-temporality of main event and subordinate event" (Verspoor 2000: 214, 1996: 438); that it evokes "a general conceptual overlap" (Smith and Escobedo 2001: 556); and that it designates "temporary ongoingness of an activity" and "simultaneity" (Hamawand 2003a: 79). The many examples of *-ing* clauses that cannot be covered by this characterization, such as those listed below, are therefore explained as extensions or elaborations from this central meaning:

(27) Jack remembers seeing Mary.
(28) I admit tripping her up.
(29) I enjoy watching movies.
(30) I abhor living in the country.
(31) The island ceased farming sugarcane.
(32) Jack avoided meeting Mary.

A preliminary indication that this way of accounting for the complexities of English sentential complements yields less than satisfactory results is the fact that the views of cognitive linguists on one and the same predicate differ enormously at times and can even be clearly contradictory. One would expect scholars working on the same field and within the same theoretical framework to arrive at similar conclusions regarding the semantics of specific complement-taking verbs, but this is not the case. To name a few examples, let's first consider *remember* V*ing*. According to Smith and Escobedo (2001: 557), this evokes "prior rather than actual overlap between the matrix and subordinate processes". For Verspoor (1996: 445-446), by contrast, a sentence such as *Martha remembered paying the bill* is not substantially different from one containing a verb of sensory perception (*I saw John entering the building*); in both cases the perception, whether real or imagined, is "direct". Hamawand (2002: 225, 227) concurs with Verspoor in assigning *remember* to a class of predicates with which "the complement event is mentally concurrent with the main event" (Hamawand 2003a: 79), but he adds the

unjustified qualification that in the pattern *remember* V*ing* the complement event "implies less certainty" (2002: 192) about the truth of the complement content than in the related construction with a finite clause *Martha remembered that she had paid the bill*. Yet *remember*, being a factive predicate, entails the realization of its complement, so it is not easy to discern different 'degrees' of certainty in the clauses following it.

Another case in point is *admit* and related communication verbs. For Smith and Escobedo (2001: 557) and Hamawand (2002: 227, 2003a: 80), the *-ing* complements occurring with them evoke anteriority. Verspoor (1996: 448), by contrast, argues that *acknowledge*, *admit*, *confess* and *deny* are not pure communication verbs, but rather contain an attitudinal component which is symbolized by the use of a following *-ing* clause. Thus in a sentence such as *Mary acknowledged not having done her work right* there exists direct causal relevance — and hence some form of simultaneity— between the emotional state of the subject and the event expressed by the *-ing* complement. One wonders, of course, not just how it is possible to speak of simultaneity in a construction where the complement clause unambiguously refers to past time, but also what kind of emotional component is to be discerned in communication verbs such as *mention* (*he mentioned having read it in the paper*) or *report*:

> (33) 1992 FROWN [Belles Lettres/Biographies/Essays] G33 22: We can catch glimpses of this involvement through her letters, from the frottages in the manner of Max Ernst *that she reports sending to Marianne Moore*, to the comic descriptions of herself as a painter in competition with her Brazilian cook, on down to the older self that made a box in homage to Joseph Cornell.

Also worthy of note are the disparate interpretations proposed for the *-ing* clauses selected by negative implicative verbs such as *avoid*, *escape* or *postpone*. As Smith and Escobedo (2001: 558) recognize, these verbs "appear to pose an intractable problem" to the widespread cognitive view that *-ing* complements evoke some kind of overlap between the matrix and subordinate processes. To solve this difficulty, Smith and Escobedo appeal to the notion of subjectivity: if I say *Mary avoids doing something* "I imply that, although there is no overt objective overlap between the matrix subject Mary and the process she [...] avoids doing, there ought to be such overlap". Verspoor's bizarre explanation for the same set of predicates, already quoted in these pages, is simply that "when one avoids hitting a tree, one intends not to hit the tree, but the intention not to hit the tree is simultaneous with the action that is supposed to prevent one from hitting the tree" (1996: 441-442). Finally, for Hamawand (2002: 210) *avoid* and related verbs "present a perfect semantic fit with the *-ing* gerundial complement clause" because they "display an important semantic property of their context-free meaning [...] pertaining to

simultaneity, which implies that the thought of the event or the mental recollection of such an event takes place as concurrent with the event denoted by the main verb" (p. 211).

In essence, what the previous analyses show is the unsoundness of starting from the preconceived notion that complementizers and complement clauses have one central use and then attempting to explain all other uses in terms of it. In the case of *-ing*, the choice of 'temporal overlap' as the prototypical central value appears particularly erroneous in view of the fact that, as already noted in Section 3 above, historically the earliest English verbs to govern gerundive object clauses were, precisely, negative implicatives such as *avoid*, *escape*, or *refrain*, whose complements, as will be apparent to anyone, do not evoke any kind of overlap with the matrix processes, whether temporal, prior, or hypothetical. Cognitive linguists, if they wish to offer a convincing semantically-based account of English complementation, could surely benefit from looking at the complex historical processes that have been affecting English complement clauses for several centuries. Failing to do so leads to proposals regarding complement use that have no basis in linguistic reality, as is easy to demonstrate by confronting some of the introspection-based analyses reviewed in this paper with actual data. This will be done in the next section.

6.2.1. *Object complement clauses and linguistic reality*

As pointed out in Section 3 above, around 1300 English developed a new type of clausal complement, namely, gerundive *-ing* clauses. Initially, gerundives were chiefly restricted to prepositional environments (e.g. "*on hearing a cry*, she dashed into the garden"), but from about the middle of the sixteenth century they became available in object position (Fanego 1996a, 2004a) and have since been spreading at the expense of infinitival clauses, and occasionally of finite clauses. The result is that in PDE a very large number of predicates have come to govern *-ing* clauses as objects, either preferentially or exclusively.

This important syntactic shift, which is gradually transforming the grammatical core of standard English, is far from complete, as we know from recent research by Mair (2002, 2003), Cuykens (2004), De Smet (2005), or Fanego (forthcoming). As regards the variables controlling the spread of gerundives, the semantics of the complement-taking verb obviously plays an important role (cf. Fanego 1996a; Rudanko 1998): complements of certain types of verbs are seen to be affected first or more fully by this historical change, while those of other types of verbs are affected later or less fully. Semantics alone, however, does not suffice to explain everything, as is shown by the fact that verbs of related meaning can select different complements in PDE; witness pairs like *refuse* (*I refused to speak to her*) and *avoid*

(*I avoided speaking to her*), or *enjoy* and its synonym *like*: while *enjoy* can only take gerundives, *like* allows both gerunds and *to*-infinitives. On the whole, though further research on this complex area of English grammar is still needed, it seems clear that the expansion of *-ing* clauses across the grammar of English is governed by a host of factors. Some that have been mentioned in the literature include:

a. style (informal registers can promote the use of gerundives; cf. Fanego 1996a);

b. social and regional variation (the rate of spread of *-ing* clauses is not the same in all varieties of English; cf. Mair 2002, 2003);

c. degree of *entrenchment* (Langacker FCG1: 59-60):[18] Cuykens (2004) and Cuykens and De Smet (2004) have recently suggested that entrenchment may play an important role in the continuing competition between gerund and infinitive, in that high entrenchment appears to have a conservative effect, so that the infinitive —the historically older form— tends to be retained in contexts where it is most entrenched (i.e., after highly frequent emotive verbs (*like*, *love*) and in semi-fixed expressions and strong collocations (e.g. *I hate to tell you this,*)), but is gradually being ousted in other contexts.

Admittedly, research on the development of English complement clauses is recent, yet one would expect cognitive linguists interested in complementation to be at least aware that this is an area of grammar where important changes are in progress, so that their intuitions about usage might turn out to be wrong when confronted with actual data. To take one example, the verb *intend* is usually seen in the cognitive literature as a prototypical verb of intention and volition that "present[s] a perfect semantic fit" (Hamawand 2002: 204; see also Smith and Escobedo 2001: 553) with *to*-infinitival constructions, as is also the case with *want, wish* or *aim*. Only Dirven (1989: 120; see also Section 5.1 above) points out that *intend* can sometimes be followed by a gerund, but in this case, he claims, *intend* does not express volition, i.e. the desire that a new action should occur, but "merely denote[s] the suggestion of such an action, which is much vaguer and therefore requires a gerund". On this interpretation, therefore, an utterance such as *I intend going tomorrow* would be roughly equivalent to "Going tomorrow is what I have vaguely planned".

To check whether Dirven's hypothesis was correct I conducted a computer search of four matching corpora of written British and American English, namely LOB, BROWN, FLOB and FROWN.[19] The first two are one-million-word samples compiled in 1961 and containing British and American texts from fifteen different register categories; in the 1990s they were replicated by a Freiburg-based research group (for details see Mair 2002), who eventually made FLOB (sampling year:

1991) and FROWN (sampling year: 1992) available to the linguistic community. The interval of thirty years between the two original corpora and their Freiburg updates broadly corresponds to one generation and is usually considered the minimum period required to clearly identify and document linguistic change in real time.

The results of my search on *intend* are shown in Table 1. Though the number of examples is too small to be statistically significant, it nevertheless suggests that in British English gerundives after *intend* are slowly gaining ground, despite the fact that this, as a 'prototypical' volitional verb, might be expected to collocate only with infinitives. Yet, as repeatedly noted, *-ing* clauses have been encroaching upon *to*-infinitives for the past five hundred years, so the increase of *-ing* with *intend* is probably to be interpreted merely as another manifestation of this widespread linguistic trend. In the case of this verb, informal registers seem to be leading the change, to judge from the fact that the six occurrences of *intend* V*ing* reflected in Table 1 occur in Mistery and Detective Fiction (1 ex.), Adventure and Western (3 ex.), Skills/Trades/Hobbies (1 ex.), and Press Editorial (1 ex.).[20] What is clear, at any rate, is that Dirven's proposed semantic distinction between *intend to*-infinitive and *intend* V*ing* is not corroborated by the corpus evidence, as can be seen from (34):

(34) 1991 FLOB [Press Editorial] B24 247: Several years ago, the gentleman who lived opposite me applied for permission to build a bungalow in the rear of his garden to enable his elderly aunt to live near him. Permission was refused on several grounds, but now, it seems, these reasons do not apply any more as the gentleman in question has since sold the house which has been bought by a builder *who intends building a three-bedroom house with double garage in the rear garden*. Permission for this building has been granted...

	BrE	AmE
1961	64:1	44:0
1991/1992	81:5	60:0

TABLE 1: To-*infinitive vs V*ing *after* intend *in four matching corpora*

Another complement-taking predicate which has often attracted the attention of cognitive linguists is *cease*, since it can select both gerundives and infinitives without any apparent different in meaning. Following Dirven (1989: 131; cf. Section 5.1 above), both Smith and Escobedo (2001: 560) and Hamawand (2002: 266) claim that with the *to*-infinitive *cease* implies that the cessation of the action is permanent, while with the gerund "the cessation of the subordinate process is construed as

momentary within an on-going process" and "may resume" (Smith and Escobedo 2001: 560). But as in the case of Dirven's predictions concerning *intend*, this intuition is far from being correct; the single occurrence[21] of *cease* V*ing* in either FLOB or FROWN (see Table 2) clearly refers to the permanent cessation of an activity:

(35) 1992 FROWN [Miscellaneous] H13 100: Due to a number of recent developments, we have an abundance of idle farmland and a growing rural labor pool. Last Friday, the big island's second largest sugar plantation, Mauna Kea Agribusiness, announced that *it would cease farming sugarcane*. Beginning in November, nearly 9,000 acres of caneland will be converted to other agricultural uses. One-third of the land producing sugarcane 20 years ago is no longer being cultivated today.

	BrE	AmE
1991/1992	19:0	10:1

TABLE 2: To-*infinitive vs* V*ing after* cease *in two matching corpora*

A couple of aspectual verbs also licensing gerunds and *to*-infinitives are *begin* and *start*. As we have seen in Section 5 above, it has become customary in the cognitive literature to claim that when *to*-complements follow these verbs (e.g. *I began to read the novel*) the initial boundary of the subordinate process is especially salient, whereas the *-ing* gerund "draws attention to the fact that the activity is in operation" (Hamawand 2002: 263; see also Dirven 1989: 129-130, Smith and Escobedo 2001: 559). However, recent research by Mair (2003) suggests that the variation between infinitives and gerunds with *begin* and *start* can no longer be regarded as primarily a phenomenon of linguistic *micro-structure* (lexical meaning of the two verbs, semantics of infinitival vs. gerundial complements) but as *macro-structural* variation conditioned by stylistic and sociolinguistic factors. In other words, what happens is that *-ing* complements after these verbs are rapidly increasing in written American English, as shown in Table 3; the trend is not yet clearly discernible in written British English, but may well be manifested in the near future in view of the pressure which American English is currently exerting on the other great national standard (cf. Mair and Leech forthcoming). In fact, the evidence retrieved from COLT, a 500,000-word corpus containing conversations by London teenagers recorded in 1993 (cf. Hofland et al. 1999), reveals that in certain varieties of spoken British English *-ing*, with 132 ex., as against only 27 ex. of *to*-infinitives, is already the preferred complement type after *start*.

	BrE	AmE
1961	260:23	230:50
1991/1992	204:20	202:95

Note: BrE vs. AmE 1961 $p < 0.001$; BrE vs. AmE 1991/92 $p < 0.001$, BrE diachronic not significant, AmE diachronic $p < 0.001$.

TABLE 3: To-*infinitive vs V*ing *after* begin *in four matching corpora (from Mair 2003: 336)*

	BrE	AmE
1961	36:52	47:49
1991/1992	49:59	59:110

Note: AmE diachronic $p < 0.05$, all others not significant.

TABLE 4: To-*infinitive vs V*ing *after* start *in four matching corpora (from Mair 2003: 336)*

My last example involves *prevent* and other three-place negative implicative verbs (e.g. *hinder, stop*, etc.) allowing a choice between a complementation pattern with NP V*ing* and one with NP *from* V*ing*. This type of variation has been seen by both functional and cognitive linguists as exemplifying the iconic correlation between linguistic distance and conceptual distance. Thus Hamawand (2002: 81, 88, 2003a: 66-68), following an earlier suggestion by Dixon (1991: 236), argues that *Dora prevented Clark finishing his job* and *Dora prevented Clark from finishing his job* are "different constructions each with its own semantic import" (Hamawand 2002: 88): the former is likely to describe a situation in which Dora is portrayed "as employing some direct means in her action, e.g. by not letting him make use of the files", while the latter describes a situation in which she is portrayed as using indirect means in her action, "e.g. by using her influence to make sure he did not have any access to the files". Hence the two events in the first sentence are conceptually more integrated than those in the second sentence".

Once again, the corpus evidence is far from confirming Hamawand's hypothesis. To start with, in many varieties of English, including American English, only the *from* pattern is available, as can be seen in Table 5. In British English, where both *prevent* NP *from* V*ing* and *prevent* NP V*ing* have been on record for a long time (cf. Visser 1963-1973 §§ 2092, 2108, Mair 2002), the distribution of the two patterns is clearly unstable, with the *from*-less pattern quickly spreading at the expense of the pattern with *from*.

	BrE	AmE
1961	36:5	47:0
1991/1992	25:23	36:1

Note: BrE diachronic $p < 0.001$; all other contrasts not significant.

TABLE 5: Prevent *NP* from *V*ing *versus* prevent *NP V*ing *in four matching corpora*[22]

Even more importantly, as aptly noted by Mair (2002: 114), the iconic factor proposed by Dixon (1991) and Hamawand (2002, 2003a) to distinguish between the two variants is difficult to perceive in most contexts, and is clearly irrelevant in the numerous cases in which either the subject of *prevent* or the NP following it are inanimate or denote an abstraction, as in (36)-(37):

(36) 1991 FLOB [Press Editorial] B17 108: Nor is there any legislation *that can prevent Mr Major being something of a lame duck leader*, lacking total authority within his own party, during a parliamentary session which is his own choice.

(37) 1991 FLOB [Science] J40 175: The legacy of Italy's imperial, religious or cultural past was regarded by futurists as *a dead weight preventing her from becoming a technologically advanced, militarily strong national community.*

7. Concluding remarks

To conclude, this paper shows that the wide-ranging nature of the claims in cognitive linguistics creates a particular need for converging evidence from empirical work that can help substantiate those claims. A theory of language that prides itself on its attention to actual linguistic use is expected to rely on facts, rather than on one or two people's intuitions about a few sentences. Fortunately, there are welcome signs that cognitive researchers are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of corpus data, as I pointed out in Section 1 of this paper, and as seems to be indicated by recent cognitive work with a firm empirical basis, such as Deignan (1999), Peña (2003) or Ruiz de Mendoza (2004), among others.

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Notes

1. This paper is dedicated to Günter Rohdenburg on the occasion of his 65th birthday, in recognition of his important work in the field of English sentential complementation. Parts of the material included here were presented at the Fourth Conference of the Spanish Cognitive Linguistics Association (AELCO/SCOLA, Zaragoza 13-15 May 2004), and at the Seventh International Conference of the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE7, Zaragoza 8-12 September 2004); I would like to thank the participants in these conferences for helpful discussion. Thanks are also due to Iraide Ibarretxe, Carlos Inchaurralde and Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza, and to Celestino Deleyto, Susana Onega and the organizers of ESSE7 for their kind invitation to speak at such a well-run and intellectually productive event. I am also grateful to the Autonomous Government of Galicia (grant no. PGIDT01PXI20404PR) and the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (grants nos. BFF2001-2914 and HUM2004-00940/FILO) for generous financial support.

2. The prototype is usually the most frequent sense and the one that "is likely to be activated in preference to others in a neutral context" (Langacker 1988b: 51).

3. The sense 'arena' constitutes an extension relative to 'circular object' or 'circular entity' because it does not incorporate the specification of circularity (boxing and wrestling rings are typically rectangular).

4. On Egan (2003) see footnote 8 below.

5. Interrogative complements (*I'm wondering why to go at all*, *I doubt whether they knew*) present few problems of analysis and hence have been left out of the discussion.

6. Not all grammars of Present-day English make a distinction between these two types of *-ing* clause; see, for instance, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 82-83, 1187ff, 1220-1222), who lump them together under the label *gerund-participial*. Yet though the inflections for gerund and participle have syncretized in PDE, gerundive and *-ing* participle clauses still differ as regards case marking on the subject NP, with the genitive being an option only with gerundives (compare *I resented their going without me* with **we saw Kim's leaving the bank*).

7. For the label see Karttunen (1971).

8. The work of Taylor (1996: 265-286) and Heyvaert (2003) on *-ing* nominalizations falls beyond the scope of this paper and will not be examined here. Also excluded is Langacker's (1999: 317-360) research on the variation displayed by verbs of the *believe* type between infinitival and finite complements, as this has been discussed in detail by Noël (2003). One further exclusion is Egan (2003), a locally published Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Oslo which makes use of a (loosely) cognitive framework. Egan's 434-page-long analysis of infinitives and gerunds in object position is based on data retrieved from the British National Corpus, but otherwise exhibits the same flaws as the cognitive work on complementation reviewed in later sections of this paper, in that his claims regarding the distribution of gerunds and infinitives tend to be made in advance, with the corpus examples being then interpreted in that light. Thus he asserts on p. 37 at the beginning of his dissertation that *to*, unlike *-ing*, "points to one of several theoretically possible options as the preferred option", a characterization which is then elaborated in the remaining chapters, but not convincingly.

9. In other words, according to Langacker (p. 441) the subordinate clause is backgrounded and "the main clause [...]

imposes its processual profile on the overall expression". It should be noted, however, that recent research by Diessel and Tomasello (2001) on child language acquisition, and by Sandra Thompson (2002) on English conversation suggests that in many important cases this is actually a misconception. Thus Thompson (2002: 155) argues that conversational English provides no evidence that finite complements in object position (e.g. *I think they're relightable*) are in any sense subordinate. Instead, what the data show is the frequent use of "a schema consisting of an epistemic/evidential/evaluative phrasal fragment and a clause", with the fragment expressing speaker stance toward the content of the clause. Interesting as Thompson's findings are, I will not explore them any further in the sections that follow, since there can be no question that non-finite complements are embedded in a higher matrix, and it is with non-finite, rather than with finite, complements that this paper is chiefly concerned.

10. As regards the 'construal' of the *-ing* complementizer, Langacker's discussion is far from clear. In the case of *-ing* participle clauses depending on perception verbs (*I saw the ship sinking*) he asserts that we "can attribute to *-ing* precisely the same value that it has in the progressive construction" (FCG2: 443), that is, *-ing* "focuses on the interior of the verbal process [and] imposes on that process a profile which comprises a series of component states but excludes both endpoints" (1992: 306). This has been misinterpreted by most cognitive linguists as applying to **all** *-ing* complements, whether gerundive or participial; witness in this respect Verspoor (1996: 437, 2000: 214), Smith and Escobedo (2001) or Hamawand (2002: 33, 70, 2003a: 78). However, as reported by Heyvaert (2003: 75-76) and as seems to be implicit in FCG2 (p. 441, 444-445), for Langacker gerundive clauses differ from *-ing* participle clauses in that gerundives offer a holistic view of the complement event.

11. Most of my discussion in this section will focus on Verspoor's (1996) article, which is based on her (1990) dissertation. Her (2000) paper reworks the ideas expounded in (1996) in terms of the iconic principle that linguistic distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between them.

12. See footnote 10 above.

13. This percentage is based on data retrieved from the corpus referred to in footnote 14 below. This yielded 671 verbal gerunds, of which 454 (= 67,66%) were dependent on a preposition.

14. The corpus is based on the matching FLOB and FROWN corpora. These are one-million-word samples of written British and American English dating back, respectively, to the years 1991 and 1992 (for details see Mair 2002). For my analysis of clausal complements I used 60,000 words of BrE and 60,000 of AmE, each of these samples consisting of six extracts, each 10,000 words long, representing the following registers: General Fiction, Mistery and Detective Fiction, Humour, Press Reportage and Editorial, Science, and Skills/Trades/Hobbies.

15. Theoretically, *for* NP *to*-infinitives (e.g. "*for Jane to arrive late* surprised him") can also function as pre-verbal subjects, as is often pointed out in the cognitive literature (cf., for instance, Hamawand 2003b: 178-179, Heyvaert 2003: 223). In practice, however, this possibility is very rarely used: *for* NP *to*-infinitives in subject position do not occur in my corpus, while in the *Survey of English Usage* (= 895,000 words) Mair (1990: 22) found only five examples.

16. Extraposition of *-ing* clauses, specially if they lack an overt subject, is possible under restricted circumstances (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1407), as is confirmed by my corpus, which contained four extraposed examples, as against 43 *-ing* subjects in pre-verbal position. Moreover, it should be noted that in written English, where the clue of intonation is lacking, it is often not clear whether post-verbal *-ing* subjects are to be interpreted as genuine cases of extraposition or rather as right-dislocated

constituents, with *it* functioning as a referential pronoun referring cataphorically to the event expressed in the *-ing* clause; cf. the following examples, which I counted as cases of extraposition:

(i) 1991 FLOB [Humour] R08 56: She thought of the days when it had taken her five minutes to get dressed to go out. Those simple days when it was a matter of which pair of jeans was clean. [...] It was all very well *turning herself into the latter day answer to Ava Gardner*, but no one had warned her about all the work involved.

(ii) 1992 FROWN [Skills/Trades/Hobbies] E01 133: the event raises money for the Safe-House for Battered Women in Denver. With 4,373 finishers in 1991, the race raised $20,000 for the shelter. "It was a very neat experience *being with all women and seeing the men and staffers and friends on the side cheering*," says Keeler. "And what I really liked was the idea of women helping women."

Right dislocation, as is well known, is found predominantly with noun phrases (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1411-1414). If the above sentences were seen as involving right dislocation rather than extraposition, then they would afford further evidence of the strongly nominal character of English gerundives.

17. For the sake of simplicity, I will use the familiar label *object clause* or *object complement* to refer to structures such as "I wish *to see Mary*", "I enjoy *watching films*" or "he started *reading the novel*". It should be recalled, though, that as noted by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 958, 1017ff, 1206ff), the term 'object' is inadequate for many of the clauses functioning as internal complement of the verb.

18. Cf. Langacker (FCG1: 59): "Linguistic structures are [...] conceived as falling along a continuous scale of **entrenchment** in cognitive organization. Every use of a structure has a positive impact on its degree of entrenchment, whereas extended periods of disuse have a negative impact. With repeated use, a novel structure becomes progressively entrenched, to the point of becoming a unit; moreover, units are variably entrenched depending on the frequency of their occurrence (*driven*, for example, is more entrenched than *thriven*)".

19. They are available in Hofland et al. (1999).

20. On the press as an *agile* genre quick to respond to innovations and trends in the language see Hundt and Mair (1999).

21. I have excluded from the count the two occurrences of *cease* V*ing* quoted below. In (i) *trading* lacks postmodification and hence, as noted by Palmer (1965: 154) with regard to *I like boxing*, the *-ing* form might be nominal rather than verbal; in (ii) *going* follows a *to*-infinitive, a syntactic context in which *-ing* forms have been strongly preferred over infinitives since at least the seventeenth century (cf. Fanego 1996a: 42).

(i) 1991 FLOB [General Fiction] K10 80: a cabin trunk covered with labels of hotels that had long since *ceased trading*, shipping lines long since defunct, railways long since torn up.

(ii) 1992 FROWN [Romance and Love Story]: P09 207 Even he was forced *to cease going against what I said*.

22. The data in this table are adapted from Mair (2002: 112), whose figures for BrE usage are slightly inaccurate (he gives 34:7 for 1961, and 24:24 for 1991).

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WILL THE *OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY* BE MORE 'EUROPEAN' AFTER ITS FIRST COMPREHENSIVE REVISION SINCE ITS FIRST EDITION OF 1884-1928?

JOHN SIMPSON
Chief Editor, *Oxford English Dictionary*

An ESSE conference is a particularly appropriate forum to discuss the growing internationalization of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). The editors of the dictionary today spend a considerable amount of time addressing specialist philological and dictionary audiences, but the *OED* isn't only about philology in the narrow sense. It spans the English language in general, and alongside this the culture that surrounds the language and allows it to develop.

My title may sound surprising: will the *OED* be more 'European' after its first revision for a hundred years? How indeed can the *OED* claim to be 'European' at all? In order to examine this question, we may need to start thinking about the *OED*, and the language it describes, in a slightly new light.

In order to find an answer, I would like to address a range of features in the *OED*, and to apply our question to each. And I would like to illustrate each feature briefly with examples from the revision work on the *OED* on which we are now engaged. This will also give some impression of the editorial work that is currently under way in Oxford.

The *OED* was originally published in twelve volumes over forty-four years between 1884 and 1928. Supplements of recent material were added in the twentieth century, and these were then incorporated into the Second Edition of 1989. But at this point the mass of original text from the first Edition was not updated, and what I and the other seventy or so members of the *OED* staff in Oxford are

currently working on is the first comprehensive revision of the *OED* in its history of over one hundred years.

The foundations for the present revision of the dictionary were laid in the 1980s, when the text of the First Edition (1884-1928) and its four-volume *Supplement* of (principally) nineteenth- and twentieth-century additions to the language were converted to machine-readable format as a result of a substantial keyboarding and proofreading operation managed by the Oxford University Press. An account of this process may be read in the introductory matter published in the Second Edition of the dictionary (Simpson and Weiner 1989: l-lv). The Second Edition presented the text of the First Edition and that of the *Supplement* in a single alphabetical sequence, but without substantial editorial revision. A CD-ROM of the dictionary, published in 1993, became the format in which the Second Edition became perhaps most widely disseminated throughout the academic world.

The machine-readable (SGML-tagged) text of the dictionary became the starting point for the current comprehensive revision of the dictionary. The first fruits of this revision were published online in March 2000, and further revised and updated text is now published at quarterly intervals. This text is available to subscribing institutions and individuals. The complete cycle of revision and update is expected to last another twenty years or so.

Work on the revision is conducted principally in Oxford. Staff are divided into various areas of speciality: general revision, scientific revision, etymology, bibliography, library research, new words, and editorial finalization. Editorial work in Oxford is complemented by that of the *OED*'s North American Editorial Unit in New York, established in 1999. The dictionary has access to several hundred specialist consultants around the world, to whom draft revisions and new entries are presented for scholarly review, prior to publication. In addition, the dictionary continues to benefit from many voluntary contributions offered by scholars and others throughout the world.

For future reading on the history of the *OED*, see *Caught in the Web of Words*, the biography of the founding editor, Sir James Murray, written by his granddaughter Elisabeth Murray, and two books by Simon Winchester: *The Surgeon of Crowthorne*, and *The Meaning of Everything: the Story of the Oxford English Dictionary*.

At this point it should be remembered that the English language started life as a 'European' language —or at least has its strongest roots on mainland Europe— around 1500 years ago, and so even then possessed strong continental credentials. Needless to say, these credentials consisted of the Germanic base from which English arose. The Romance component of English, which is so much a part of English today, dates principally from a later era.

But what pan-Europeanism the English language lacked in its earliest Germanic origins, it soon adopted after the Norman Conquest of 1066; the Germanic skeleton was clothed in an array of French garments. And subsequently English followed continental Europe through the Renaissance, sharing an influx of classical terms in the arts and sciences. Despite its insularity, Britain has been linked to Europe throughout its history through trade, travel, shared military and colonial experience, and many other things. It is hardly surprising that the network of English contains so many continental 'European' strands.

But that is to anticipate my argument. It is important to remember at the outset that because of its history English is a sponge-like language, absorbing features from all over the world in the course of its history.

The *OED* and new words from continental Europe

The first feature I would like to address is new words —words which have entered the English language in the recent past. English has imported words from the continental mainland in the past, but what is happening at present?

French is one of the dominant lenders of words to English, as we can examine briefly some of the recent imports from France. Amongst many others, *nul points* is an example of a French phrase which has seeped its way into the *OED* (see Fig. 1). It is defined as: 'No points, as scored in the Eurovision Song Contest. Hence (*allusively* and *humorously*): no points scored in any context, esp. as a hypothetical mark awarded for a failure or dismal performance.' The *OED*'s evidence for the existence of the expression in English dates from 1978. We might add that when first encountered, the United Kingdom couldn't imagine scoring no points in the Eurovision Song Contest. But things have changed since then!

Fashion, and food and drink, are other areas where French culture has had an important effect on English. The *bustier* ('a short, close-fitting, often strapless bodice or top worn by women as a fashion garment') made its way into English by 1979, subsequently to be elaborated in *bustier dress* ('a dress having a bodice styled in this way'). This comes at the end of a long line of French fashion terms in English. On the food and drink menu we find the recent innovation (in English) *fromage frais* ('unripened soft cheese, originally French; subsequently also, any very soft, fresh, low-fat cheese sold esp. as a dessert; hence, any of various dairy products based on such cheese, often with fruit, herbs, or other flavourings added') recorded in English since 1976.

Intellectual challenge is something that is associated with France. In the case of the following new terms from the last few decades, the English have adopted the words

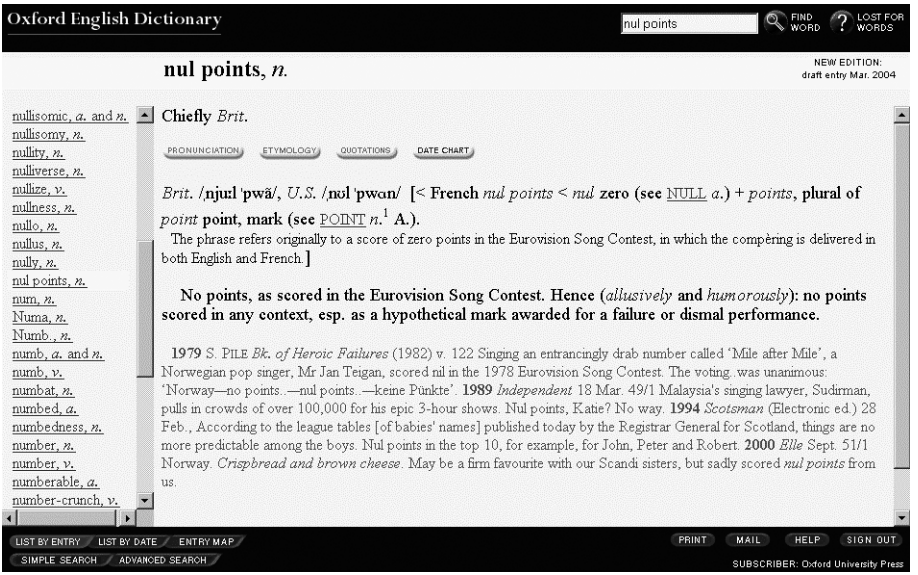

FIGURE 1: the entry for *nul points* from *OED3* (OED Online)

and fitted them into English spelling patterns, so that one might not realize, just by looking at them, that their origin is French: *intertextuality*, *logocentrism*, *phonocentrism*, and *spontaneism*. But *intertextuality* ('the need for one text to be read in the light of its allusions to and differences from the content or structure of other texts; the (allusive) relationship between esp. literary texts') derives from French *intertextualité*, coined by Julia Kristeva (in volume 23 of *Critique*, in 1967); and *logocentrism* ('the belief that the rational analysis of text and of its articulation through language is central to the meaning of being; hence, any system of thought in which the analysis of meaning is based upon the analysis of words, symbols, and other external references used to express meaning') stems from Jacques Derrida's 1967 text *De la Grammatologie*.

Other terms from French which have found their way into English include standard expressions such as *SCART*, as in *SCART socket*, the 21-pin socket used to connect video equipment (from the name of the Syndicat des Constructeurs des Appareils Radiorécepteurs et Téléviseurs), and the *nootropic* drugs ('any of a group of drugs considered to improve cognitive functioning, esp. to enhance memory, and used to treat some cases of dementia').

We can see similar trends arising in words borrowed into English in the recent period from German. There are fewer of these than from French, but they too indicate typical points of contact between the two language areas. Transport is represented by the *O-bahn* (1982 in English; the bus track, or the bus service running on this), and drink by *Eisbock* (1977). Major political shifts manifest themselves in *Ossi* (1989; a former East German) and *Wessi* (1990; a former West German), and in *Westpolitik* (1970) and *eco-socialism* from 1985. From Dutch was have the Rotterdam style of house music *gabba* (from 1992) and perhaps the more familiar *woonerf* (a road in a residential area provided with traffic-calming measures), from 1978. From Italian we might expect culinary terms, and sure enough we find *lollo biondo* (1987), *lollo rosso* (1987), *orecchiette* (1975; pasta in small ear-shaped pieces), and *panna cotta* (1987), along with *barista* (a bar-tender, from 1982). From the traditional interest in English-speaking countries with Italian crime, we have *capo di tutti capi* (1972; a regional Mafia boss) and the *ndrangheta* (1978; the Calabrian organized crime syndicate). And then as a curious add-on from Tuscan dialect, *skeevy*, meaning 'disgusting', 'sleazy'.

The *OED* and old words from Europe

What started me thinking about the way the revised *OED* is presenting English in a new way in relation to the other European languages wasn't the new entries, but the etymologies. After working through the first few ranges of entries for publication I started to see the effects of our new etymological policy taking hold. The etymologies of the First Edition of the *OED* (until now unrevised) tended to concentrate on the formal development of words in the donor languages, and to take less account of the semantic ramifications, and also to privilege English as a creative force rather more than the evidence in fact showed. Put in such a bald way this is perhaps a little hard to follow, so I have some examples.

Firstly we can investigate the suggestion that the original edition of the OED tended to concentrate on the *formal* development of words in the donor languages and in English. *OED1* is particularly concerned to document the word forms in other languages (French, Italian, Norwegian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, etc.) before a word enters English, and there is no doubt that this is vital information. The word *mundane* is a typical example. *OED1*'s etymology runs to only two lines, effectively saying that the word entered English from French (where the 12th and 13thcentury form was *mondain*), which itself derived directly from the Latin adjective *mundanus*, itself from Latin *mundus* meaning 'world'. This is, however, a very formal and rather minimalist etymology, showing how the word arrived historically at the point of borrowing from French into English in the late Middle Ages.

But much work has been done on etymology in French, Italian, Spanish, and the other European languages since the days of the First Edition of the *OED* (the entry for *mundane* dates from around 1904). The editors on the *OED* today are able to make use of this extensive range of scholarly work in their revision of the dictionary's own etymologies.

The word *mundane* has several meanings in English:

- belonging to the earthly world (as opposed to heaven) (and this is the earliest recorded meaning) —"It was bad to sacrifice things mundane; but this thing was the very Holy of Holies!" (Trollope),
- belonging to the 'world' as opposed to the Church —"The beginnings of the mundane poetry of the Italians are in Sicily" (Matthew Arnold),
- belonging to the world of fashion (comparable, as *OED1* points out at the relevant sense, to French *mondain*),
- relating to the cosmos or the universe,
- in Astrology: relating to the horizon as opposed to the ecliptic or zodiac —"Not only national but world-wide disasters are foretold in mundane astrology" (Louis MacNeice),

and two meanings not sufficiently attested —or not even in use— at the time of *OED1* but which have now been included:

- ordinary, commonplace, humdrum, lacking in excitement, and
- belonging to the world outside the sphere of interest of a particular group of enthusiasts.

A small word with quite a history! There are additionally a number of meanings of *mundane* as a noun.

The policy on *OED3*, when revising *OED1*'s etymologies, is to try to fill out the picture both formally and semantically. It seems important to us to document the meanings available in the donor language at the point at which a word entered English, but also to remember that few words experience an explosive introduction in English. The language contact which gave the opportunity for *mundane* to enter English from French was not immediately severed as soon as the word entered English, but continued as the two languages remained in contact, allowing other meanings in the French word (or the earlier Latin term) to influence the development of the word *mundane* in English.

So an understanding of the nexus of meanings that pre-date the introduction of *mundane* into the English language is important for a proper appreciation of the subsequent development of the word in English. Indeed, later developments in French may, for whatever reason, also become significant in English as language contact is maintained.

So how does this affect *mundane* in the current revision of the dictionary? Firstly, modern scholarly work on Anglo-Norman, the variety of French used in England after the Conquest of 1066, shows that our word is found both here and in Middle French in senses which are retained in English:

- late 12th century Anglo-Norman: worldly, earthly,
- c1225 Old French: secular,
- c1275 Old French: cosmic,
- c1480 Old French noun: person fond of worldly pleasures,
- 1498 Old French: dweller in the earthly world,

ultimately derived from classical Latin *mundanus*, where the word possessed the following meanings:

- belonging to the world,
- relating to the universe,
- cosmic (2nd century AD in Apuleius, but earlier as noun);

and in post-classical Latin also in the senses:

- secular (4th century),
- c1230 in astrological sense,

from classical Latin *mundus* 'world' and *-anus* '-ane' (the suffix also found in English in, for example, *germane*, *humane*, and *urbane*).

The implication of this new information is that the word had a much broader European application than the First Edition of the *OED* was able to demonstrate. Many of the specific uses in English can be seen to have their origins in the French or Latin of the Middle Ages or earlier, and it now becomes possible to identify more easily those meanings of the word in English which are native developments. Even the more recent sense 'relating to fashion' was plucked from later French *mondain*, which is first recorded in this meaning from the middle of the nineteenth century (at *OED3*'s entry for *mondain* adj.).

What had seemed a fairly simple picture, with a straight progression from Latin to French and finally into English, is seen as a much more complex story of interconnection and influence.

The second suggestion mentioned above is that the First Edition of the *OED* gives English slightly more credit as a creative force than may, strictly speaking, be deserved. Critics have made similar observations with reference to a sense of Empire which it has been said the First Edition of the dictionary was actively or inadvertently peddling.

Here is a short example. The First Edition of the *OED* has an entry for the term *natural history*, with an earliest example (in English) from 1567. The etymology

of this term was given in *OED1* as simply from the word *history* (*natural* is not even mentioned, on the assumption that *natural history* is self-evidently a compound based on this word). *OED3* takes a wider view, deriving the term formally from the English terms *natural* and *history* (to which it cross-refers), but also drawing in European equivalents which preceded the English term and can be regarded as influential in its development (see Fig. 2).

- Classical Latin has *naturalis historia* (particular known as the title of a work by the elder Pliny)
- Ancient Greek has *physike historia* (Aristotle)
- Middle and modern French have *histoire naturelle*, recorded from the mid sixteenth century in the sense 'a work on the natural world' and from 1765 as 'the branch of knowledge that deals with all natural elements'.

A new earliest example of the English term, from 1555, comes from Richard Eden's *Decades of the newe worlde or west India*, a translation of Petrus Anglerius's

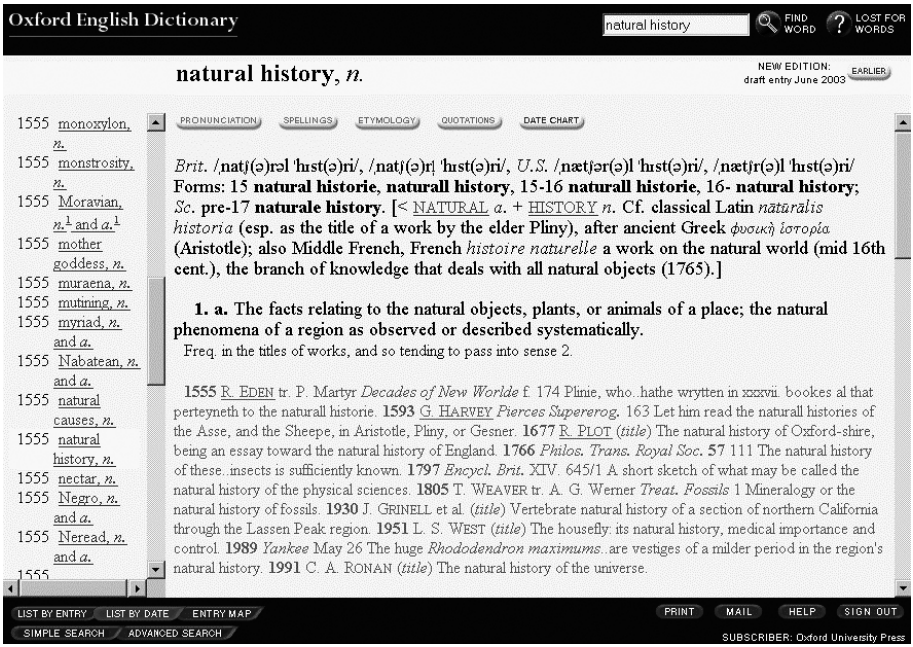

FIGURE 2: the entry for natural history from *OED3* (OED Online)

Latin text *De orbe novo*. The fact that the first English usage derives from a translation of a text written in Latin by a European writer, and actually referring to Pliny, is a clear indication that the term *natural history* is not a native creation within English! Without wishing to multiply example upon example, suffice to say that this particular instance is not isolated. When additional European information is provided for what may otherwise appear to be native English compounds the true position of English amongst the other European languages in the Renaissance and later begins to appear.

How does the *OED* find words from continental Europe?

But where do the editors of the *OED* search for evidence of continental influence? The principal answer is in the source texts which are read as evidence for the lexicon of English. Journals of travellers into foreign countries furnish much useful data, as do translations of European texts. Both were widely used in the days of *OED1*, but with our knowledge of what has previously been read, and the extensive databases of Early Modern and later Englishes available to editors (as well as to other researchers) the picture can be extended.

Again an example, and this time the plant *nasturtium*. *OED1* dates this in English from 1570 (Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*), with the next example coming from *Five Godlie Sermons* by a certain R. T. The impression given by these two leading examples is that the documentation begins in English texts in Britain. However, the picture is rather different if we factor in all of the information that has built up about the word over the one hundred years since *OED1*. The evidence shows that early uses of the word in English occur in translations from Latin and French. Rather than first appearing in the late 16th century, *nasturtium* is actually recorded in an Old English text (the translation of Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarium*) of many centuries earlier. Then we find it in Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of the late 14th century, before it appears in the translation of Guy de Chauliac's *Grande Chirurgie* of around 1425. The word was clearly well known in mainland Europe before it found its way into native English sources.

This is further supported by its appearance in Italian *nasturcio* around 1320, Spanish *mastuerzo* in 1385, Catalan *nasturci* in 1492, and Middle French *nasturce* in 1587. By drawing this information into the revised *OED3* entry for *nasturtium* we are able to achieve a more rounded picture of the emergence of the term in medieval Europe and to plot the place of English within this development.

It is often said that the *OED* favours the canonical authors of English literature, and (as far as the First Edition is concerned) there is some truth in this, though not as much as is sometimes claimed. Not many of these travel writers count as

canonical authors, and nor do many of the other sources in which we find the early appearance of European words from pre-modern periods of the language.

It is interesting to take a closer look at this aspect of the *OED* with reference to words entering English from, say, Dutch in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In particular we can investigate those recorded as entering English between 1760 and 1770.

First there is *span*, a kind of cable or rope, first recorded in William Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* of 1769; another new arrival in English at this time is *twiffler*, 'a plate or shallow dish intermediate in size between a dessert plate and a dinner plate' (1770). Next we have *raad*, a legislative assembly, from Banks's journal of 1770; and then *to slinger*, an obscure verb meaning 'to swing or roll (as of a ship at sea)' from the poetry of William Meston in 1767. Meston's poetry is not well known: this volume was entitled *The poetical works of the ingenious and learned William Meston*, which gives some idea of the sort of cachet he had!

The results of looking at this small batch of Dutch borrowings into English show that they do not arise in the words of the classic writers of English literature. And the more one investigates the *OED* (and increasingly more so in the current revision), the more one sees the language being formed in contexts which are not consciously literary, but a mixture of everyday, specialist, exploratory or experimental, as well as literary texts.

Assimilating European pronunciations

It is worth thinking for a moment about how the *OED* has changed over a hundred years in its representation of the pronunciation of foreign words in English. The First Edition of the dictionary marked many words as 'alien', that is, not naturalized as English words. This labelling applied to a vast number of Latinate words, and many from French, German, and other continental languages. Examples include *bottega*, *chaparral*, *maillot*, *religioso*, and even *insomnia*. Some attempt was made in the original transcription system of *OED1* to indicate that the vowels (in particular) in such words had not been accommodated to the regular English pronunciation system.

In what may appear at first sight to be a shift away from the Europeanization of the dictionary, for *OED3* we have reassessed such vocabulary. Many words, such as *insomnia*, will now be regarded as regular English words, with an English pronunciation. Others will also be shown fitting into the English system of pronunciation (though nasalization is still retained when appropriate). The assumption is that in the real world most native English-speakers are unable to

reproduce the precise sounds of the donor language, and accommodate such words to English patterns. There are occasionally times when we feel that a word or expression has not (yet) been accommodated to English patterns of pronunciation, and in these cases we state that the relevant term is 'not fully naturalized in English'. Examples of this are: *mal du pays* ('homesickness'; recorded in English from 1777), the rather literary *mise en abysme* ('self-reflection within the structure of a work'), the Italian *mancia* or tip, and *pensiero*, a sketch or rough design in Art.

Assimilating European spellings

This practical approach to the pronunciation of continental newcomers in English is to some extent carried over to the spelling of such words. But here, as elsewhere in the dictionary, we are led by the written evidence which we have collected. Words which entered English many centuries ago have now largely been accommodated to the spelling patterns of English, and their continental origin is all but hidden, although they may have been very clear to most English-speakers, say, in the Middle Ages.

The tendency nowadays is to leave such new arrivals untouched as regards spelling, unless they fall easily into a pattern suggested by their various affixes, or unless diacritics can be dispensed with. So, in a sequence of words from Spanish, we find *marvedi*, *margarita*, *maria*, *maricon*, and *mariposa*; and from Italian we have *maestoso*, *maestrale*, *maestria*, *maestro*, *maestro di capella*. It's not that these words are considered to be English in origin, but that the English-speaker does not feel the need to anglicize their appearance.

To summarize:

- There are plenty of new entries coming into the *OED* nowadays from the modern European languages.
- The etymologies of the current revision of the *OED* attempt to give more detail about the meaning and chronology of words in the modern European languages that are significant for the emergence and development of terms in English.
- There is some evidence that the First Edition of the *OED* tended to over-portray the creativity of English in word-formation and semantic development by not mentioning continental models.
- For English pronunciation the *OED* is nowadays likely to assume that native English speakers apply the regular English sound to words from the European languages, rather than reproduce precisely the original pronunciation.
- Many foreign words are used in English without accommodating the spelling to English patterns, though this is not always the case.

The *OED* and the Internet

What is the effect of the Internet in all of this? One big change for the *OED* is that we now allow certain illustrative quotations from Internet sources (and this occurs particularly when the term is first recorded on a newsgroup or similar archived resource). Here's an example:

Weblog: the earliest recorded example of this term, dating from 1993, comes from the title of a posting on a Usenet newsgroup (*comp.infosystems.www*): "Announcing getsites 1.5, a Web log analyzer."

There the word simply means: 'A file storing a detailed record of requests handled (and sometimes also errors generated) by a web server.' (See Fig. 3.)

FIGURE 3: KWIC concordance of instances of weblog from OED3 (OED Online)

But a second, and much more familiar, meaning is also first recorded from a web site. On 23 December 1997 someone on *alt.culture.www* (another Usenet newsgroup) wrote: "I decided to start my own webpage logging the best stuff I find as I surf,

on a daily basis:.. www.mcs.net/~jorn/html/weblog.html. This will cover any and everything that interests me, from net culture to politics to literature etc."

And so the *OED* cites the first use of *weblog* from the Internet itself.

This in itself may alarm some conservative linguists, but how does this have a European perspective?

A problem for the historical lexicographer is that citing from the Internet opens up a whole nest of issues concerned with the relative unreliability of text. For online references to texts that are already published in hard-copy form, this doesn't present any problem, as we can simply recheck the text and reference in the original printed source. But, at the other extreme, there is the case in which a word is apparently obsolete, with no evidence known to us, except for a straggle of instances obtainable via a search engine on the Internet.

These instances need careful review. Sometimes we accept them as citable quotations (e.g. from an online seed catalogue). On other occasions a little investigation shows that all of the, say, seven examples in fact derive from texts written (as far as can be determined) by non-native speakers of English. This often happens in scientific texts, but can occur in almost any text type.

So the question for us, as editors, is whether to accept as citable a lone example, or a poorly attested cluster of examples, of an otherwise unknown or obsolete word recorded only in text provided by non-native speakers of English. Our view is that we do not accept these quotations as valid, as they may simply represent the anglicization of a Spanish, German, or even Hindi term. This is very much on the border of what is 'English', but is worth noting as an area where potential European creativity in English may at present find itself excluded. The Internet is a very valuable tool for lexicographers, but it cannot be used without discrimination.

Exporting words from Britain to Europe

One aspect of the relationship between English and the other European countries is not illustrated by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but it is of great interest to mainland Europeans: namely, the appearance of English words in the continental European languages. This is clearly an emotive issue for some countries. I have had some experience of this through my membership of EFNIL, the European Federation for National Institutions of Language, where I represent the United Kingdom, alongside (at present) representatives from almost all of the pre-enlargement EU members. The objectives of the Federation are European plurilingualism (which was a word new to me before I became involved in the

Federation several years ago), the collection and exchange of language information, and several other related topics.

As a lexicographer in the United Kingdom I rarely sit down to consider the effect on the continental languages of the export of English words. The concerns of myself and my colleagues are almost exclusively related to the import of words into English. But membership of EFNIL has brought home to me very forcefully the differing attitudes towards English throughout Europe. Most countries see some international benefit from the increased appearance of Anglicisms in their vocabulary, and others do not. In general the concern is not so much based upon an ungrounded fear that English will sweep other national European languages aside, but that it (or other large languages such as —in the case of some enlargement countries— Russia) will prejudice the development of some of the national and minority European languages. This is a real concern, which each country is addressing in its own way.

My point here is to highlight a very useful study of Anglicisms in the European languages, namely Professor Manfred Görlach's *Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (published in 2001). The wealth of data which Professor Görlach has been able to amass throws a very interesting light on the export of English.

Take, for example, a number of the words in the region of the word *pop* (pop music). Professor Görlach documents the appearance of the English word in German and Norwegian in the 1950s, in Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Iceland from the 1960s. He presents much additional information on the introduction of the term in other European languages from the mid twentieth century, and is able to indicate from his evidence whether English words typically retain their formal English spelling and pronunciation, or are adapted somewhat on import.

Popcorn is another word he addresses. Here the word is identified in more European languages in the 1950s than *pop*, as we might expect. But he finds it in Croatian, Hungarian, and Polish, for example, at a later date than *pop*.

Port wine has a slightly different profile yet again. It appears in German in the nineteenth century, in Norwegian in the eighteenth, in Polish (for example) at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Some of these words do not enter a language directly from English, but by way of a more circuitous route around the languages of Europe. But the key point is that, as with imports into English, the flux of vocabulary around Europe follows cultural, social, and historical patterns, and by studying these patterns we can look at European interaction in what is for many a slightly unfamiliar but quite valid way.

The OED, Europe, the past, and the future

So what does all of this tell us about the relationship between the English language and Europe, and the *OED*'s view of this? To me it shows that the dictionary plots, really quite closely, the tangled web of interaction between Britain and continental Europe over the last fifteen hundred years.

The editors of the First Edition of the *OED,* in the late nineteenth century, may not have been aware of a hidden agenda in how they approached their work. In much the same way, many English writers of that time may not have been aware that their work would be fixed by subsequent critics into a pattern of literature characteristic of their own times. But there's no doubt that the First Edition of the *OED* did place English (and in particular, British English) squarely in the centre of its world. The old canon of literary greats was well represented, authority came from Oxford, and all was right in the world.

One hundred and more years later we are living in a different universe. When we look through the linguist's microscope at the language today we don't see the tidy patterns which the First Edition of the *OED* appears to demonstrate. Words don't always enter English and then establish their own growth pattern in English entirely divorced from the influence from the donor language. English doesn't nowadays swallow the spelling of a loanword, assimilating it into its own spelling patterns. Words and meanings enter English untidily, surreptitiously, unknown, and may make their first appearance in uncharacteristic sources. As the culture changes, so too does the language. The forces which change the culture also change the language.

Where that leaves us as regards English and Europe in the future it is impossible to say. But then that's a question the British often seem to ask in political as well as linguistic contexts!

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GENRES OF SECULAR INSTRUCTION: A LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF USEFUL ENTERTAINMENT

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Methodology

Genre and text type

My method of assessment combines two levels. The first word of the title, 'genre', is a notoriously difficult term as scholars use it in various ways. In my approach, 'genres' are groupings of texts according to language-external evidence: function (here useful instruction), audience (here heterogeneous, including both professional and lay people), and occasion (teaching and learning). In contrast, 'text types' denote classifications made on the basis of linguistic criteria. The two terms are often used interchangeably, but I have found the distinction suggested by Biber (1988) useful. Both terms are abstractions, and provide different ways of grouping texts (Taavitsainen 1997a, 2001a).

Appropriation

Genres display conventions of communication and condition both the writing process and the reception of texts. Their function in the dissemination and appropriation of scientific knowledge is important. Genres are culture-specific and unfold in different ways. They have been assigned a major role in the reception of texts, as they are dynamic cultural schemata used to organize knowledge and

experience through language (for an overview, see Paltridge 1997). According to the already classical formulation, they create "horizons of expectation" for readers to recognize and audiences to share (Jauss 1979, Burrow 1982). The above definition shifts the focus to the recipient. In this connection, the theory of appropriation is helpful as, with appropriate theoretical tools, it becomes possible to detect how useful knowledge was appropriated. The term 'appropriation' means the process by which meaning is negotiated and produced and the ways in which discourses affect the reader and lead to a new form of comprehension of oneself and the world (Chartier 1994: 27, 1995: 89). Thus the meaning of a text is created each time a text is read, produced in a dialogue between the propositions contained in the work and readers' responses to them. The theory of appropriation provides an interesting starting point for the assessment of instruction in the form of useful entertainment aimed at a broad and heterogeneous audience. According to this theory, common cultural sets are appropriated, understood and acted upon differently by different audiences. It is possible to take the insights of this theory one step further and apply them to linguistic text type analysis and stylistic analysis of genres, i.e. texts grouped together by text external criteria. A large part of the material falls under the heading 'popular' literature (Taavitsainen forthcoming). According to cultural historians, 'popular' is a way of using cultural products, and the matter is more complicated than an issue of polarized 'high' and 'low' culture (Burke 1978, Harris 1995). According to a more sophisticated view there are no stable, universal, or fixed meanings, but only plural significations that are constructed according to the competence of the public that adopts them (Chartier 1994: ix-x). Texts have even contrasted uses, as the same text can be perceived in different ways at different times by different audiences, depending on how and in which context it is presented. What we have in these instructive books reflects the author's or the bookseller-publisher's view of their readers' and customers' expectations and abilities.

Readership

Genres need anchoring to their sociohistorical reality, and it is important to address the question of who the readers of these texts were. Secular instruction in Late Middle and Early Modern English was aimed at a wide and heterogeneous audience, but facts about the exact readership are hard to find. Text external evidence, e.g. owner inscriptions, library catalogues and wills give sociohistorical evidence of the distribution of texts, but unfortunately such indications are rare (for the methodology, see Pearson 1994). Literacy was not common and the majority of readers came from the learned elite and upper middle classes. Use of the

vernacular is significant in itself in the multilingual discourse world of scientific writing, though the mention of 'the unlearned' in the prefaces was rather a matter of decorum and a commonplace than a reflection of the real target audience (Slack 1979). The following preface is from an early printed book from 1530 (emphasis in all examples mine):

> Than is this boke necessary to **al men** [...] Than I consayle **euery man to rede this boke, or that cannot rede to geue dylygent eere** to the reder for they shal fynde therin great frute bothe to the soule and body. (*Sidrak and Bokkus*, 1530, CUL, Peterborough Sp. 27, p.ii)

In the course of time literacy became more common, and sales figures of e.g. almanacs reached millions a couple of centuries later (Capp 1979). For example, a handbook like Izaac Walton's *The Compleat Angler* or *The Contemplative Man's Recreation* (1653) is described as

> A "piscatorial classic" [...] read and loved by countless people [...] an exquisite book. There is no dullness and no stagnation; the characters walk briskly, talk vigorously, angle, eat, and drink like cheerful men of the world. The passage of time has given the book a further importance, for it is a pretty "compleat" picture of a way of life that has gone. (Sampson 1970: 322)

Genres of secular instruction: A historical overview

The word 'secular' in the title is intended to rule out the vast field of religious instruction, though religion was so dominant that it cannot be avoided altogether, as Example 2 will demonstrate. My studies for some years have focused on scientific register, especially on medical literature, and much of my present assessment has its starting point in this field. Medicine was the spearhead in many respects: vernacularization in medical writing led the way, and matters of health are of general interest so that the scale is wide. Medical matters are a concern in many other fields of useful writing as well, e.g. how to build houses, how to cultivate plants, how to raise cattle, and so on. Practical advice and advice for a better life seem to be so central that almost all secular instruction in one way or another has a link to it.

I now wish to survey genres of secular instruction in a long diachronic perspective from Old English to Modern English. My list does not include purely literary genres, though some of them can claim a place among useful entertainment, e.g. romances may have had didactic aims, but their primary affiliations are different, and as such they do not belong to the scope of this paper. Subject matters like the wonders of the East and travelogues are nearer to the present concerns, but my

focus is more directly on instruction. The following inventory lists the most important secular genres of instruction.

Old English genres of secular instruction

1. Maxims, riddles
2. Handbooks of (veterinary) medicine, astronomy (including prognostics)
3. Instructive miscellanies like *Salomon and Saturn*
4. Language teaching

Maxims and riddles head the above list. Maxims state facts of life and derive from various sources, e.g. "The apple never rolls so far that it does not make known whence it came" is a translation from Latin (the modern version "The apple doesn't fall far from the tree"), or "Each one who calls desires a response" states a self-evident truth and is of unknown origin. Several maxims coincide with proverbs (for a detailed analysis of maxims, see Cavill 1999). There are handbooks of (veterinary) medicine and astronomy (including prognostics) and remedybook materials include recipes, rules of health, charms and *materia medica*. Entertaining elements are rarely present, but there are texts where instruction is given in more interactive form. *Salomon and Saturn,* for example, is a dialogue touching on miscellaneous matters, and an Old English gloss of Aelfric's *Colloquy* describes various occupations in a dialogue form (see below). After late Old English, there is a gap before the emergence of secular instruction in English in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

Middle English and Early Modern English genres of secular instruction

1. Encyclopaedias: learned and popular
2. Handbooks of medicine, music, navigation, agriculture, astronomy, etc. (including prognostics)
3. Wisdom literature, including *secreta secretorum*
4. Pastimes of rural life: hunting, hawking, fishing
5. Language teaching

I have put together the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods together, as they are closely connected. The scientific register was introduced into the vernacular in the fourteenth century, and all kinds of utilitarian texts appear in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is still unknown ground to be explored, as new texts are being discovered and editions cover only part of extant manuscripts (see Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004). The Early Modern period continues the trends set in the fifteenth century. There are new developments and, in general, the amount of

useful writing of all kinds increases in the aspiring world of Early Modern England. Secular instruction covers a vast area, with both serious and more playful texts.

Encyclopaedias are an important genre of medieval learning with the function of giving explanations and accounts of the universe, man and the animal world. The human condition was seen in terms of correspondences between the microcosm of man and the macrocosm of the universe. Health was understood as the balance of humours; sickness was due to the excess or lack of one of them (see e.g. Getz 1998: 55-6). Learned Latin encyclopaedias include *De proprietatibus rerum,* which deals with theoretical issues like humours and elements and has sections on anatomy and herbs, and the order of angels. Trevisa's translation into English is from the first phases of the vernacularization of learned treatises (1398/9) and was initially undertaken for patriotic purposes (see Wogan-Brown *et al.* 1999 for the preface).

> [1] *De humoribus et eorum generacione effectu operacione. Capitulum 6m.*
> And þere beþ foure humours: blood, flewme, colera, and melencolia [...] **þise foure humours, if þey beþ in euene proporcioun in quantite and qualite, he fediþ alle bodyes þat haþ blood and makeþ hem parfite and kepiþ in þe beinge and state of helþe; as ȝenward, if þey beþ vneuen in proporcioun and infecte, þanne þey brediþ eueles.** [...] So seiþ Galien super amphorismorum.
> (*Trevisa*, ed. by M. C. Seymour *et al*, 1975: 147-8)

> And there are four humours: [...] These four humours, if they are in balance in quantity and quality, they feed all bodies that have blood and make them perfect and keep them alive and in the state of health; and the contrary, if they are uneven in proportion and corrupted, they breed evils [...] So says Galen super amphorismorum. (All translations mine.)

The English version reflects the multilingual situation as it retains the use of Latin in rubrics, perhaps to emphasize the transfer of knowledge from the world of learning to the vernacular. The academic quality of the work is shown by its impersonal style with passive constructions and references to authorities, typical of Late Medieval science. A concern for accuracy typical of learned texts is also present. An important definition of health as the balance of humours (see Siraisi 1990) is also contained in the passage. This is academic teaching in expository prose.

Matters of health are of general interest, and some kind of knowledge of the basic doctrines must have penetrated all layers of society, forming a common ground and reflecting a world view (see Burrow 1986). Although the world view gradually changed, the same principles lived on in texts written centuries later. Entertaining elements are few at the learned end of the spectrum, but there are encyclopaedias for a general readership as well, and these are important for the present assessment.

Correspondences seem to have been appropriated in different ways by different audiences.

An important genre from the present point of view is handbooks. Handbooks contained useful knowledge including all kinds of advice for improving one's life. Most handbooks were compilations of things one needed to know in one field or another, including music, navigation, agriculture, astronomy, and even household matters, e.g. how to treat servants. Instruction on manners and courtesy books also belong to this branch of literature. Important areas of secular instruction include *secreta secretorum* writings and other wisdom literature (see Mustanoja 1948 and Manzalaoui 1977). The frame of parental instruction is old and derives from Egyptian and classical models. Rural pastimes like hunting, hawking and fishing inspired lots of writings, and educational works include language teaching dialogues, grammar books and glosses. Most of this material is very useful but not very entertaining.

A linguistic history of useful entertainment

Traditional histories of English focus on phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis, and structures of words and sentences form the basis of the traditional outline. Some more recent histories of English have different foci and view the history from different perspectives: from the point of view of standardization, communication, sociolinguistics, and generic developments. With the new, more comprehensive evidence of corpus-informed data we have achieved more knowledge of linguistic changes and generic developments. The outline of the history of English has become fuzzier.

There is a growing awareness that there is no such thing as a single history; instead there are several overlapping histories depending on the point of view and focus of interest. Genres and registers, for example, behave differently, and processes like standardization take place at different rates in different types of writing (see Diller and Görlach 2001, Taavitsainen 2001b). Pragmatic aspects of the history of English provide a challenge; some studies have already opened up new horizons (Arnovick 1999, Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000, Kohnen 2000, Taavitsainen and Jucker forthcoming, Kohnen forthcoming). This article points in the same direction as it provides an assessment of how meanings of texts are historically constructed and negotiated in interaction between text participants. It is possible to see how this is done concretely, revealing what means are used in works of secular instruction to help the reader. In what follows I hope to show some concrete examples of the use of the interactive dialogic discourse form in the history of English to ensure the reception of instruction in the intended way. This linguistic history includes

macro- and micro-level assessments; both discourse forms and the use of individual linguistic features.

What makes a text entertaining?

The literature of secular instruction is found in various discourse forms and most texts fall into the genres of textbooks, manuals, and handbooks. Instruction and entertainment go together in several texts. The core question for closer assessment is what do we mean by entertainment? At this point it is useful to look up the on-line *Oxford English Dictionary*, which gives the following definitions:

> *entertainment*
> **8. a.** The action of occupying (a person's) attention agreeably; interesting employment; amusement

The definition of *amusement* clarifies the issue further:

> *amusement*
> **5.** The pleasurable occupation of the attention, or diversion of the mind (from serious duties, etc.) [...] **a.** (*in early use*) Idle time-wasting diversion [...] **b.** (*generally*) Recreation, relaxation, the pleasurable action upon the mind of anything light and cheerful; **c.** (*esp.*) Pleasant excitement [...].

One of the quotations refers directly to the present topic:

> **1735** HANWAY *Trav.* (1762) I. 10 We seldom profit by writings that do not afford amusement.

My next question is: What provided useful entertainment in the Late Medieval and Early Modern world? What means are used to engage the readers' minds in agreeable action and pleasant excitement, and at the same time profit the readers by teaching them something useful in a period before the advent of the entertainment industry and modern mass media? The answer may be somewhat surprising. The first item in my answer is *verse*, the second the *underlying text type* with descriptions and narratives at the top, the third is *style*, and the fourth conventional *frames* of literary presentation.

Verse

In the Middle Ages, verse had a very different status from today. It was considered a more elementary mode of expression than prose, which was more sophisticated and associated with philosophy and higher learning. Rhymes were easy to memorize and had links to oral culture. Earlier studies on the transmission of works both in verse and in prose established different audiences for the two modes; prose

was for the learned, while verse was for a more popular audience. The oral quality of verse and devices to aid the memory such as rhyming couplets and common stock rhymes make the contents easy to memorize. An example of a compilation of useful knowledge in verse is *Sidrak and Bokkus*, a pedagogical and philosophical dialogue in verse between a Christian philosopher (Sidrak) and a heathen king (Bokkus). The contents give a digest of medieval knowledge in the fields of science, theology, and moral teaching. Matters of general interest include physiognomy, how to recognize various types of people, useful advice for the right timing of actions, and sexual instruction. The items are dispersed in the text, and knowledge is represented in a simplified and stereotypical form. The work is an encyclopaedia of a popular type, widely disseminated throughout Europe; several dozen manuscripts are extant in French, English, and other European vernaculars (Burton 1998).

The following passage starts with a scientific question, states the basic doctrine of science concerning the elements and complexions, but it soon reverts to a narrative, in this case the canonical story of creation from the Bible. Readers and listeners knew the story and derived pleasure from it (see Frye 1982). The extract also shows how religion was constantly present: the borderline between religious and secular culture did not exist and religion often plays a role in medieval secular writings. It is also noteworthy that this encyclopaedic verse compilation, *Sidrak and Bokkus*, is a narrative that builds on questions and answers (see below).

[2]	
Now wolde I wite whe̓per wore	scientific
Soule or body made bifore.	question
The body is first made clere and fair	
Of fire and watir, erthe and air;	answer: basic
And þe **iiij complexiouns** þat ere	theory
In man of þise iiij þei were.	
And whanne þe body was made also,	
God of his grace come þerto	
And blewe in him a goost of lyf	
And sithen made of him a wyf,	
And lord and sire made him to be	biblical story
Of al þat he in erthe might se;	
But whan he þe appel ches,	
Clothing of grace he forlees:	
And þat angrid him ful sore	
As ȝe haue herd bifore.	

Now I would like to know/Whether soul or body was made first.
The body was made first clear and fair/Of fire and water, earth and air
And the iiij complexions that are/In man of these iiij they were.
And when the body was made also/God in his grace came thereto
And blew in him a spirit of life/And then made of him a wife
And lord and sir made him to be/Of all that he on earth could see
But when he the apple chose/He lost the clothing of grace
And that caused a great deal of sorrow/As you have heard before.

The following passage of the same work serves to illustrate how scientific doctrines were appropriated in this more popular mode of expression. The passage introduces the basic concepts of humours, with a climax in the last line: *were deed anoon,* which refers to the conception of health as balance, but has reduced it to a blunt statement of the cause of death.

[3] Ca. xxxviij
Telle me now, if þat þou can,/þe perilousest þinges þat ben in man.
Foure colours a man haþ him ynne/þat of **foure complexiouns** bigynne:
[...]
And if a man of þise wantid oon,/His body were deed anoon.
(*Sidrak and Bokkus,* ed. by Tom L. Burton, 1998: 498)
Tell me now if you can/the most dangerous things that are in man.
Four colours a man has in himself/that of four complexions have their origins.
[...]
And if a man lacked one of these/His body were dead at once.

My next example comes from *The Englishman's Doctor* about two hundred years later, 1607. The verse form is simple. The poem begins with a short summary of theory and an application follows. This is typical, as (according to my studies) applications mark the popular mode (Taavitsainen forthcoming). With applications, serious instruction strikes a more entertaining note; the more popular type of prognostication resembles a game in which different properties and characteristics are assigned to those present.

[4]
Foure Humours raigne within our bodies wholly, ⎫
And these compared to **foure Elements**, ⎪ theory
The Sanguin, Choller, Flegme, and Melancholy, ⎪
The later two are heauy, dull of sence, ⎪
The tother are more Jouiall, Quicke, and Jolly... ⎭

Complexions cannot vertue breed or vice,
Yet may they vnto both giue inclination,
The Sanguin gamesome is, and nothing nice,
Loues wine, and women, and all recreation.
Likes pleasant tales, and newes, plaies cards and dice,
Fit for all company, and euery fashion:
Though bold, not apt to take offence, nor irefull,
But bountifull and kind, and looking chearefull:
Inclining to be fat and prone to lafter,
Loues myrth, and musicke, cares not what comes after.

application

(*The Englishman's Doctor*, ed. by D. A. Talboys)

These examples show how central doctrines were appropriated by heterogeneous audiences. Applications follow the theoretical section, often in a somewhat simplified form. A shift of emphasis has obviously taken place.

Text type

Text types, i.e. groupings made on the basis of linguistic features, provide insights into combining instruction with entertainment. Instruction by itself is one of the prototypical text types, the others being expository, narrative, descriptive, and argumentative text types (Werlich 1982). Instruction is most directly realized in imperative forms and action-demanding sentences. A recipe is a prototypical representative of the instructive text type. It has imperative forms and action-demanding sentences; it is certainly useful but hardly entertaining:

[5]
For any swellinge in Horses backe [...]
Take a pinte Chamberly & about halfe a pound of Hogges grease & boyle them well togeather & take a Linen cloth & putt in here & so bath y^{r} Horse wth this once a day very well.

(Archdale Palmer. *Recipe book*, p. 161)

Instruction can be very matter-of-fact, even boring. Likewise, expository texts lack an entertaining function (see Example 1). In this respect it is worth attending to the testimony of contemporary witnesses. The explanations of the titles of many works often serve as the author's or publisher's sales blurb to attract potential readers. They give a clue to the reception of these texts.

[6] IOYFVLL NEWES out of the newfound world, wherein are declared the rare and singular vertues of diuers and sundrie Herbs, Trees, Oyles, Plants, & Stones, with their applications, aswell to the vse of Phisicke, as Chirurgery: which being wel

> applied, bring such present remedy for all diseases, as may seeme altogether incredible: notwithstanding by practize found out, to be true.
> (Nicolás Monardes. *Ioyfvll Newes Out Of The Newfound World*)

The adjectives 'ioyfvll', 'rare and singular', and 'incredible' are used to describe the contents. A promise of profit is given and truth assured. In accordance with the earlier text's passages, applications are explicitly mentioned here. According to this witness, applications together with descriptions of the wonders of the world can engage the reader's mind in pleasant excitement and surprises.

Most pleasure and amusement is, however, derived from narratives. People like to hear stories, e.g. the simplified version of the Creation brings the story to people's minds in an accessible and entertaining fashion. Instruction makes use of narratives in several ways, e.g. they may serve to prove the point and act as efficacy phrases; case reports in medical texts often serve this purpose. A more imaginative and entertaining possibility is to give the whole instruction in the form of a narrative. This indirect form of instruction is important as stories are the main means of providing excitement and engaging the mind in pleasant action. Narrative is one of the prototypical text types and a discourse form with various manifestations. I shall go deeper into this issue by looking at question-answer sequences, mimetic dialogues and their stylistic features and literary frames.

Discourse form: questions and answers

Questions and answers were originally a classical discourse form, but underwent a development from sophisticated philosophical treatises to turn-taking in textbooks and entertaining commonplaces. Mimetic dialogues are closely connected, and though originally distinct, the forms merge and the traits intertwine in the Early Modern period (Taavitsainen 1999). The discourse form of questions and answers is already found in Old English. Language teaching and learning dialogues have a long history, starting with Aelfric's *Colloquy* composed in the ninth century as a companion piece to a Latin grammar. Teachers asked the questions and pupils were expected to memorize the answer. Anglo-Saxon glosses were added by a contemporary scholar. Several occupations are represented with direct questions, address terms, and interjections, as in this modern translation: "What do you say, plowman? How do you practise your work? Oh, dear Lord, I labour extremely [...]" (for the Old English text, see Mitchell and Robinson 1982: 184).

In addition to language teaching, the question-answer form is found in scientific books, and some fifteenth-century alchemical texts. There is a medical handbook from the fifteenth century, with questions and answers, called *Thesaurus pauperum*. There are long monologic passages revealing that the frame was based on an earlier monologic text. Dialogic elements in the following passage include

address terms and pleas like *tell me*. The answer begins with an expository explanation, but soon the passage turns to applications of the doctrine, such as how to recognize various types of people. This is practical advice, the long lists of characteristics providing entertainment for the readers and listeners (cf. above). This kind of reading is still popular in almanac literature today.

> [7] **Brother**, syth thou hast spoke of malice of complexion, **telle me what is a mannys complexion**, and **wherof it cometh, and whether al men ben of on complexion, or buth nat. Telle me hou I may know a mannys complexion.**
> **Brother, ther be foure humours** in a man, of the which humours a mannys body is norisshed [...] **Blode is hot & moyst** in his kynde, and **therfor men that ben sangweyne in complexion ben hot & moist** in his kynde for plente of blood that they haue. [...] And euery man is of on of this foure complexions. And yf he be changed from on complexion [...] **he shal falle into seknes [...] And me[n] may knowe mannys complexion by hir stature, & by hir colour, & by hir maners. For sagnwyne men ben** of medle stature and of rody colour; and thay ben loyung, & large inough in spendyng, and good syngers, & of lawhyng chier, and hardy inough, & benyngne. **Colorik men ben** of hye stature [...].
>
> *(Thesaurus pauperum*, BL MS Sloane 3489, f. 30)

> Brother, since you have spoken of malice of complexions, tell me what is a man's complexion and where does it come from, and whether all men are of one complexion or not. Tell me how I can know a man's complexion.
> Brother, there are four humours in a man, by which humours a man's body is nourished [...]. Blood is hot and moist in its kind, and therefore men who are sanguine in complexion are hot and moist in their kind as they have plenty of blood [...]. And every man is of one of these four complexions. And if he is changed from one to another [...] he shall fall into sickness [...]. And men can know a man's complexion by his stature, by his colour and by his manner. For sanguine men are of middle stature and of red colour and they are loving and large enough in spending and good singers and of laughing disposition, and hardy enough and benign. Choleric men are of high stature [...].

The use of the interactive discourse form increases in the sixteenth century. There are textbooks structured in this form and, in general, the format is commonly used in instruction in the Early Modern period. The most widely spread informative works for centuries were the pseudo-Aristotelian questions and answers. There were several collections: the *Masterpiece*, *Problems,* and *Questions.* Ultimately, these collections stem from classical models, and pseudo-Aristotelian texts from earlier periods, but the contents have been modified. The emphasis is on sexual matters and theories of reproduction (Wear 2000: 192). All kinds of questions are dealt with in a similar pattern.

[8]

> Q. Why be men's eyes of divers colours?
> A. This proceedeth, saith Aristotle, be reason of the diversity of humours [...].
> (Aristotle's *Problemata*)

The answers are built on various aspects of humoral theory and the medieval world view is retained. Correspondences are attributed the same explanatory power as centuries earlier though learned literature had already abandoned them. The question-and-answer format is still used in manuals for quick consultation, textbooks, and columns on "most frequently asked questions".

The works that provide useful and amusing entertainment clearly represent the literary side of secular instruction. There are shared areas so that literary and non-literary modes overlap: narratives are used in scientific texts, settings familiar from literary works are quoted in scientific books, and fictional characters are introduced into mimetic dialogues. The borderlines between these modes are not clear, but this interface between literary and non-literary texts is of great interest for the present purpose, as it seems to be an area where useful entertainment and secular instruction meet.

Discourse form: mimetic dialogues

One of the devices to make teaching more entertaining was to cast the contents into mimetic dialogues by introducing fictional characters and setting the conversations in literary frames. This discourse form starts to emerge in the Early Modern English period. In the most skilful examples, secular instruction achieved a new mode. The mimetic dialogue made use of several literary devices and of music. Medieval texts were anonymous, but the authors of Early Modern dialogues are known by name.

William Bullein (c. 1515-1576), one of the most important authors of health guides, is the first known author of mimetic dialogues in medicine. Participants have well-defined roles and present typified characters. Bullein's texts have been recognized for their literary merits (Sampson 1970: 111). *Pills to Purge Melancholy* grows into a social satire: the vice of greed is impersonated by two lawyers and a learned physician in somewhat carnivalistic scenes with vivid dialogue (see Taavitsainen and Nevanlinna 1999). The main contents, however, indicate an affiliation with handbooks and instruction. The literary form is a dialogue set in the frame of the countryside at the time of the plague (cf. *Decamerone*), and the recreational function of literature is explicitly referred to (see Olson 1982). Another handbook, *The Gouernement of Health* (1558-9), is a dialogue between John, a young man sowing his wild oats, and Humphrey, a physician and a wise old man. The frame is adopted from the long tradition of wisdom literature. The following passage is from their dialogue and contains an explanation of the basic doctrines

of humoral theory and the concept of health as balance, again accompanied by applications. The use of Latin emphasizes Humphrey's learnedness.

> [9]
> *Ioh.* **What, might not men**, beasts, fish or foule, hearbe or tree, bee of one element as well as of foure? I pray you tell me.
> *Hum.* No, for Aristotle saith: *Deus & natura nihil agunt frustra,* God and nature hath doone nothing in vaine. **And if any thing vpon the earth sencible were of one element, no sicknesse could hurte it, nor disease corrupt it,** but euerie thing liuing vppon the earth, seeing it hath had beginning, it must needes haue ending [...].
> *Ioh.* What is the complexion of the quarters of the yeare, and names of signes?
> *Hum.* The spryng time when bloud doeth increase: Summer [...].
> *Ioh.* What be the complexions of medicines?
> *Hum.* Those things that ouercome and gouerne the body, as purgations [...].
> (William Bullein. *The Gouernement of Health*, p. 8)

The doctrine is also given as a song. The entertaining elements have been enhanced, rhymes provide further aid to the memory and songs give pleasant variety to the readers. The role of music and songs as recreation was very prominent, and the insertion of such passages emphasizes the entertaining function.

> [10]
> *Ioh.* **Now thou hast taught me** [...], **I pray thee shewe me** some pretie rules of the complections of men, and **that I may aptly knowe them** with their properties, elements, temperaments, and humours.
> *Hum.* **Vpon my Lute** some time**, to recreate myselfe**, I ioine with my simple harmonie, many plaine verses. Among all other **one small song of the foure complections**: wilt thou heare it? Take that chaire and sit downe, and I will teach thee my song.
> *Ioh.* I thanke thee.
> *Humfrey.*
> The bodies where heat and moysture dwel,
> Be sanguine folkes as Galen tell,
> With visage faire and cheekes rose ruddy. (pp. 7-8)
> The sleepes is much & dreames be bluddy.
> Pulse great and full, with digestion fine,
> Pleasantly concocting flesh and wine.
> Excrements aboundant, with anger short,
> Laughing very much and finding sport,
> Vrine grosse, with colour red:
> Pleasant folkes at boord and bed.
> *Ioh.* This is a good song, and I will learne it [...]. Now thou hast spoken [...], I praie thee teach mee shortly, howe to knowe the elements [...].
> (William Bullein. *The Gouernement of Health*, p. 8)

Stylistic features

A text can be made interesting and appealing to the reader by features that create involvement style and make the contents worth listening to and learning. Such features include personal pronouns of the first and second person to create interpersonal relations, proximal deictic expressions like *here, now, this*, and present tense verbs (see Taavitsainen 1997b). The frequencies of these items are high in Bullein's text, but a frequency count is not enough. It is necessary to go one step further and see how and in what context these personal pronouns are used. This assessment revealed an interesting feature: the first person singular forms are mostly found in speech acts —in thanking, apologizing, complimenting. This is in contrast to most scientific treatises where these pronouns are found in metatext, i.e. comments about the unfolding text. The speech acts are expressions of polite behaviour in interpersonal management and form part of the narrative dialogue. The whole discourse grows to be an interpersonal negotiation of giving and taking good advice, teaching and learning. New topics are regularly introduced by a discourse particle, *now*, and direct questions are frequently used to clarify the topics.

Language is used to structure and express thought and experience in another way, too. Proverbs and maxims are linguistic moulds into which observation and experience are cast. The contents are self-evident truths as the Old English maxim showed. Such commonplaces serve to preserve inherited wisdom and provide pleasure, and they are frequently reverted to at the more entertaining end of secular instruction.

Literary frames

Literary frames are found in several instructive texts of the Early Modern period. Dialogues are commonly set in a rural background, in accordance with the Latin literary device *loci amoeni* and models taken from classical literature. In the following professional surgical treatises of the sixteenth century, the interlocutors are real surgeons, not fictional characters, and the contents of their discussion an "institution", i.e. a textbook on surgery. Like Chaucer's narrator in *The Book of the Duchess*, the protagonist cannot sleep but rushes out in an early May morning.

> [11] *Iohn Yates.* Phoebus who chasith awaye the darke and vnconfortable night: castinge his goldyne beames on my face, **woulde not sofer me to take anye longer slepe**: but said awake for shame,& beholde the handy worke of our sister Flora, how she... in so muche that the old and wetheryd cote of **wynter**, is quite **done away**... my hart quickened in me, and all desire of slepe was eftsones forgotten.
> **Wherfore I am now cumme into this beautiful mydowe to recreate my selfe**... **But let me see? me thinke I perceyue**. ij. men walkinge... I wyll aproche neerer vnto them, perchaunce they be of my acquaintaunce: Suerly I shoulde knowe them. I am

> deceyued yf the one be not my frende maister Gale, and the other maister Feilde. It is so in deade. Wherfore I will go and salute them. God that hath brought vs together in to this place, make this daye prosperous and fortunate vnto you both.
> *Tho. Gale,* **Brother Yates** the same we wishe vnto you, & you are welcome into our co~pany.
> *Iohn Feilde*. **This faire and plesant mornynge**, will not soffer maister Yates to kepe his bed: but leuynge the citye, he **rometh the feildes**, to espie oute some strange herbes, vnto hym yet vnknowen.
> Iohn Yates. I muste of force confesse, that **you doe hitte the nayle on the heade**... I wolde leaue of my former determinyd purpose, and require you to enter into some **talke of Chirurgerye**... **knowledge**, & **experience**,... **profite**... longe **practise**...: y**ou shoulde meruaylouslye pleasure**
> **me, and profit other**... vnto those that shall here after desire the knowledge | of Chirurgerye.
> *Tho. Gale*. Your request is honest, and reasonable: and therfore not to be denyed.
> (Thomas Gale. *An Institution of a Chirurgian*, f. 1)

The book starts with eloquence, and for example the historical present is used to make it more vivid. The discussion itself contains occasional colloquialisms like *hit the nail in the head,* discourse particles and direct questions, but mostly the discourse is very matter-of-fact and professional, perhaps taken directly from an earlier textbook. The same frame of walking in the countryside while holding a pleasant conversation is employed in Walton's *The Compleat Angler* from 1653.

> [12]
> *Piscator.* You are wel overtaken, Sir; a good morning to you; **I have stretch'd my legs up** Totnem Hil to overtake you, hoping your businesse may occasion you towards Ware, **this fine pleasant fresh May day in the Morning**.
> *Viator.* Sir, I shall almost answer your hopes: for my purpose is to be at [...] I wil not say, before I drink; but before I break my fast: for I have appointed a friend or two to meet me there [...] And that made me **so early up**. And indeed, to walk so fast.
> *Pisc*. Sir, I know the thatcht house very well: I often make it my resting place, and taste a cup of Ale there [...] and to that house I shall by your favour accompany you, and either abate my pace, or mend it, to enjoy such a companion as you seem to be, knowing that (as the Italians say) **Good company makes the way seem the shorter**.
> *Viat*. It may do so Sir, with the help of good discourse, which (me thinks) I may promise you, that both look and speak **cheerfully**. And to invite you to it, I do here promise you, that for my part, I will be as free and open-hearted, as discretion will warrant me to be with a stranger.
> *Pisc*. Sir. I am right glad of your answer; and in confidence [...].
> (Izaac Walton. *The Compleat Angler*, pp. 1-2)

The conversation flows more freely in this text and the whole discourse is more consistent in civilised and polite style of interaction.

Conventions in a diachronic perspective

In studying the linguistic features and their stylistic associations, various levels of assessment are possible. The range is considerable, from serious to playful and entertaining, and from matter-of-fact instruction to fictitious dialogue. The interactive discourse form makes the reader more readily involved with the use of direct address, appeals, and questions; verse provides pleasure by rhymes, and various devices like proverbs have an entertaining function. Such stylistic devices are employed to make the scientific doctrines more easily accessible and instruction more personal; the whole discourse takes on an appealing and entertaining tone. An overall description of style can be achieved by tracing the co-occurrence patterns of linguistic features with different functional and conventional associations, but that remains to be done in a future study. This survey proves that there is a great deal of variation within genres of secular instruction, as linguistic realizations of texts and the conventions reflecting social practices of communication vary. The present assessment of a linguistic history of useful entertainment showed an interesting continuity from Old English to Early Modern English in maxims and proverbs and didactic dialogues. The explanations can be found in underlying Latin models. This is a new perspective worth further investigation.

From the present point of view, genre-specific diachronies are interesting. Scholastic features in post-scholastic periods have different connotations from their heyday use (Taavitsainen 2002). Mutability of genres has been emphasized in literary genre theory (Fowler 1982), and the same kind of mutability applies to science, instruction and useful entertainment. For example, recasting the discourse forms but keeping the contents changes the generic affiliation; when a medieval commentary was recast in a new format, it became more accessible to its readers as an instructive text and fell into the textbook genre, and perhaps it became more entertaining as well. With the change of thought-styles and world picture, earlier science became pseudoscience, as the Aristotelian questions show. The contents of the originally scientific doctrines became fossilized and applications gained a more important role. In the course of time the originally sophisticated philosophical discourse form of questions and answers was reduced to more popular uses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This shows how earlier high-level science acquired different connotations and different appropriations. Earlier scientific doctrines, for example, became stereotypical maxims. There is indeed a continuity in this circular movement and the dynamics of change become clear: features of former learned writing find their way into texts for "popular" uses, and a vacuum is created at the learned end of the scale, showing that there is room for innovation.

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"I DO NOT WISH TO BE CALLED AUCTOUR, BUT THE PORE COMPILATOUR": THE PLIGHT OF THE MEDIEVAL VERNACULAR POET

Graham D. Caie

This paper looks at changing attitudes to the role of the vernacular author in the 14th and early 15th century England and Scotland. The title of auctour was previously reserved for the writer of Latin theological works, while the vernacular writer hid behind several guises such as anonymity or the dream vision, and considers himself simply a modest compiler or translator of the work of others. The shift to self-confident author can be traced not only in what they wrote, but in how they presented their work in manuscripts. For that reason I shall be looking at codicological evidence, in particular the writing material, the different scripts, the mise-en-page (which had an interpretative function), glosses and other clues which point to the intrinsic value of the text in its manuscript context. Chaucer, Henryson and Gower are studied in detail, as they went to great lengths to ensure that their work appeared on parchment as authoritative texts, which suggests that, in spite of modesty protests, they considered themselves in their own lifetime to be auctoures.

Key words: Medieval, Chaucer, Gower, codicology, glosses, authorship.

IS COGNITIVE GRAMMAR A USAGE-BASED MODEL? TOWARDS A REALISTIC ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS

Teresa Fanego

Cognitive Grammar (Langacker FCG1, FCG2) is commonly described as a *usage-based model*, a label applied to grammatical approaches which purport to give "substantial importance to the actual use of the linguistic system and a speaker's knowledge of this use" (Langacker FCG1: 494). This paper examines this claim in the light of the Cognitive Grammar research on English sentential complements, and confronts its findings with empirical data on complementation retrieved from several computerized corpora of Present-day British and American English.

Key words: Cognitive Grammar, usage-based, sentential complementation, empirical support, iconicity.

WILL THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY BE MORE 'EUROPEAN' AFTER ITS FIRST COMPREHENSIVE REVISION SINCE ITS FIRST EDITION OF 1884-1928?

John Simpson

This paper asks a puzzling question in its title, and then looks at various aspects of the current revision of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED; Third Edition, 2000-) in search of answers. After a brief account of the history of the dictionary from the nineteenth century up to the present day, it examines some new words which have entered English from the languages of continental Europe, and then reviews some of the older words in English, which entered English at a much earlier period. Aspects of a shared European culture emerge through the exchange of vocabulary (both imports into and exports from English), and the paper highlights types of text (including Internet sources) which are important in plotting this language change.

Key words: Dictionaries, lexicography, philology, *Oxford English Dictionary*, language change, neologisms, loanwords, etymology, Internet, Anglicisms, modern European languages.

GENRES OF SECULAR INSTRUCTION: A LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF USEFUL ENTERTAINMENT

Irma Taavitsainen

The aim of this paper is to outline a history of useful entertainment through genres of secular instruction. My focus is on Late Medieval and Early Modern texts, but I shall touch upon a longer diachrony as well. I shall first go through the title word by word, to explain my method of analysis and approach, and show how useful entertainment and instruction are linked in the history of English. In the empirical part of my paper I shall focus first on discourse forms and then on the linguistic features of some typical texts.

Key words: Entertainment, genre, secular instruction, Late Medieval/Early Modern texts.

Notes for contributors

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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...this issue has received a lot of attention by relevance theorists (Blakemore 1987, 1992; Wilson and Sperber 1993).

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Neale, Steve. 1992. "The Big Romance or Something Wild? Romantic Comedy Today". *Screen* 33 (3) (Autumn 1992): 284-299.

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