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Contents

Letter from the Editors:

Dear Readers,

Now this is VIEWS 1(2). Thank you for your reactions to the first issue of VIEWS.

*The question we have been asked most frequently is: who is "we"? - There is no secret about it: "**we**" are a group of linguists at the English Department of Vienna University - our individual identities are revealed in the "Impressum" on the last page, as some spare-time detectives may have established.*

While doing our best in giving VIEWS a professional look, we would like to stress again that the editorial policy of VIEWS is to welcome not only article-sized contributions but also miscellaneous notes, reports on work in progress and comments and criticisms. This interactive aspect is reflected in the present issue by H. Widdowson's comments on the papers of N. Ritt and H. Platzer. H. Platzer's contribution reflects another cornerstone of our policy: to provide a forum for the presentation of results from outstanding M.A. theses written at our department. This issue is somewhat more "historical" than the first one but this is sheer coincidence and you will notice that there is a continued interest in language teaching on both a theoretical and a practical level. A preliminary table of contents of VIEWS 2(1) is included (at the bottom - oder wo).

As you can see we are not doing too badly in keeping to the intentions we voiced in the first issue: VIEWS is appearing twice a year, in a spring and an autumn number. This is a low-budget journal but also low budgets involve money. We hope that the first two issues (which you received FREE!!) and the preview for the next number have whetted your appetite to obtain a VIEWS subcription. The cost is not high and you simply need to tear off the reply-card attached to the back of this issue, tick your subscription category and post the card to us together with your payment. You can pay by Eurocheque or postal order, or you can enclose banknotes or international postal reply coupons to that value.

The Editors

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Note to contibutors:

We would like your contributions to reach us on disks (or via e-mail) in any standard IBM compatible word processing format (MS Word, Word for Windows, Wordperfect [for Windows], Word Star, R.T.F., ASCII ...) together with a printout showing character format, special symbols, formulae, tables etc. If you find it helpful to refer to a style sheet we suggest that of the MLA.

Words, words, words,... ... dealing with Vocabulary in ESP[1]

Ilse Born-Lechleitner

During the last eight years, in which I taught English in various job-oriented adult education courses, I have been puzzled, indeed plagued, by words. Words students just could not recognize even if they saw them for the umpteenth time, words they kept asking a German translation for, words they just could not keep in their minds, pronounce or write correctly ..., words, in short, they just never learned. Moreover, I had to discover, that the process of 'learning vocabulary' is a highly individual one, that students had their individual set of problem words which defeated them while the same set of words posed no problems for others. Over the years I became convinced that it was wrong to leave students on their own with vocabulary learning, especially in courses which tended to put high demands on their learning capacity in other subjects, and in which English had a low priority. Thus I started to introduce activities which were intended to help students come to terms with new words. They ranged from simple word-games to fairly complex exercises which provided strategies for successfully guessing the meaning of a new word by using the students' knowledge of the subject and the German and English languages. This was by no means a systematic process, it was rather an intuitive, spontaneous reaction to the needs of each group. At the same time, I discovered that some activities worked and others didn't, and tried to find out why this was so, an interest which coincided with my becoming involved into the training of prospective school teachers in the field of ESP at university level, and into the writing of a textbook for Austria's technical schools (HTL).

The present article is an effort to represent the vocabulary teaching activities I found useful in a systematic way and to report some of the problems

I encountered. However, a number of questions have to be discussed before turning to the fairly special topic of teaching vocabulary in ESP. It is, above all, important to provide a working definition of the concept of a special language, and to give a short description of the lexis that is used in ESP texts. I shall then discuss briefly in which respects ESP-vocabulary-teaching can be regarded as different from general language vocabulary-teaching, and in which respect ESP-students tend to be different from general language students. The final part of this paper will concern itself with some aspects of vocabulary teaching which are particularly relevant to ESP. I shall suggest several possibilities of dealing with highly technical, terminologized vocabulary, which move away from the word-lists favoured in traditional terminology teaching, and I shall finally concentrate on activities concerned with word-formation and sense-relations between words. These two areas are especially useful for the teaching of general language in an ESP classroom, since the former exploits classification and definition skills, which are highly developed with ESP-students, and the latter makes them aware of the 'relativity' of language, which contrasts with the 'objectivity' of the rest of their studies.

Yet what exactly do we mean by ESP? The concept seems to be notoriously difficult to define. While German-speaking authors talk about *Fachsprache* and *fachsprachlicher Fremdsprachenunterricht*, thus focusing on language only, the on-going battle in English-speaking countries seems to be whether the purpose, the language or the methodology is special or (worse?) specific.[2] There are certain characteristics, however, on which most scholars agree, and these I would like to offer as a working definition of 'ESP' for this paper: Special languages are used by specialists to communicate information which relates to their special field of interest. Thus, a certain competence in a particular subject is linked with the use of a special language. Laypersons will not associate the same connotations with a word as specialists, as it is really the knowledge conveyed through language which is special and/or specific. A special language is characterized by a lexis which is subject-specific, but which also includes words which can be understood without special knowledge, and by a tendency to use certain morphological or syntactic means of general language more frequently. Its task is to provide signs for communication in/about specific subjects, which should be as precise and economical as possible.[3]

As compared to general language texts, one of the striking features of non-instructive technical and scientific texts is their nominal style. About half of all words in an ESP text are nouns, making up 30% of text. Verbs carry less communicative value, with finite verbs being significantly less

frequent (Beier 1980:37). The nominal style of ESP texts accounts for their higher average word length and the higher rate of repetition of the same lexical items. One idea or concept is generally expressed by the same specialized word throughout the text, and not conveyed through synonyms or similar expressions for the sake of style. Therefore, the 10 most frequent words constitute approximately 25% of all words, the 100 most frequent words make up 60% of all words (Sager/Dungworth 1980:233). Visuals such as illustrative material, drawings, pictures, statistics, etc., play an important role in the understanding of ESP texts. The exact meaning of a particular word or phrase is often made evident or established by an illustration.

Among the lexis constituting ESP texts, we can identify four more or less distinct groups. Highly technical words such as *electrophoresis* or *claw coupling transmission* make up between 9% and 25% of the total range of lexis (Hutchinson/Waters 1987:166, Beier 1980: 37). Generally speaking, the meaning of these nouns tends to be exact, specific, systematic, concrete, emotionally neutral, self-explanatory, economical and transparent.[4] Symbols, formulae and technical abbreviations can also be regarded as technical vocabulary.

Words commonly met in general English, such as *reflection*, *resistance* or *depression*, take on a specialized meaning within a scientific or technical context, and can thus be regarded as subtechnical vocabulary. Usually this specialization is a reduction or narrowing of meaning, with subsequent changes in synonymy and antonymy-relations, and this results in a clash with the central or focal meaning of a word. Students often have difficulties with these words, for example with quick reading for information, either because of their restricted knowledge of general language, or because the meaning in a particular context differs widely from general language.

Certain general language words, such as *note*, *observe*, *item*, *device*, etc., which have a relatively low priority in general language, are frequently used in all scientific and technical disciplines without a change of meaning. Again, a relatively restricted knowledge of general language can cause problems with these words, in particular if they are taken from an area of general language which is relatively far removed from the relevant scientific discipline. For example, there is a close relationship between cooking words and instructions for chemical experiments or tests, cf. the words *boil*, *shake*, or *stir*.

The fourth group of words which plays a prominent role in ESP texts is that of structural/procedural/functional words. Words like articles, conjunctions, prepositions, and auxiliary verbs amount to 50% of all words in a

technical text, a frequency which is only exceeded in spoken language (Sager/Dungworth 1980:233).

Among linguists, there is no definite agreement as to which words fall into which 'categories'. The last three groups are sometimes called common-core vocabulary and distinguished from specialist vocabulary (Widdowson 1984: 92-93).[5] From the point of view of teaching, however, it is more important to shift the focus of attention from the language-system onto the 'special' act of communication as well as onto the learner. Generally speaking, an ESP-learner does not learn a language for the simple enjoyment of the beauty of its sounds, but "*en route* to the acquisition of some quite different body of knowledge or set of skills" (Robinson 1980:6).[6] Thus, what is special about ESP "refers to the aims of learning and not to the activities that need to be engaged in to bring these aims about" (Widdowson 1983: 82-83), and "all decisions as to content and method are based on the learner's reason for learning" (Hutchinson/Waters 1987:19). In principle, therefore, successful ESP teaching should utilize theories of effective learning and draw on the wealth of general purpose language teaching methodology. I would like to modify this statement, however, by suggesting that, in practice, some methods of general purpose language (and vocabulary) teaching might be more successful in an ESP classroom than others, and that certain skill areas might be more useful for the students.

Even though generalisations are always dangerous, I will venture to say that, for the application of their technical knowledge, ESP-students will need activities that develop receptive rather than productive skills, *viz* they will have to read specification lists rather than talk about them. There are also some characteristics of ESP-students - and these I am voicing with even greater precautions - which tend not to make the job of teaching English any easier. Little language awareness and certain preconceptions about how a language or learning work are sometimes positively counterproductive. The multiple meaning of words, for example, generaly meets with incomprehension: with machines, every switch has just one function. Sometimes even low-level students believe that all they need to read/talk/write about a specialized topic like, e.g., telecommunication, is a list of words concerned with it.

One explanation for this persistence, with ESP students, of the belief that "language equates words" and that the acquisition of a specialist vocabulary alone will suffice for them to gain access to the knowledge they require (Kennedy/ Bolitho 1984:59; Johns 1981:18) might be their adherence to a folk "theory" that still regards language as consisting of separate "chunks" labelled "grammar" or "vocabulary". Since technical texts written in English use basically the same structures as general English texts (though,

admittedly, some of them more often), it is, from this point of view, the lexis which makes ESP special, and it is therefore the lexis alone which has to be learned.[7] In one way or another, these student-preconceptions will always find their way into the classroom, informing the language learning process by considerations which are only remotely connected to language learning theories. The main drawback of the word-list approach is that isolated language items remain without function on the cognitive, operative and communicative level (Fluck 1985:153), and that students are unable to predict how words are used in the rhetorical routines characterizing the discourse concerned (Widdowson 1983:84).

Since "the meaning of a word is its use in the language" (Wittgenstein 1953: 20), we should, even for 'mere' vocabulary teaching, always start with words which are actually being used, not just printed/presented in an artificial order. Between the first confrontation with an unknown word and its successful use, there are many stages,[8] which range from recognizing and reproducing its phonological or orthographic shape to an awareness of its collocations and associations, and are all part of the process of integrating a new word in one's mental lexicon. Vocabulary activities are intended to facilitate this process.

Words in use can best be presented in spoken or written texts, yet in the technical field, this might pose problems. Suppose we have, at a fairly elementary level of English, to teach 'handtools' or 'the car engine'.[9] Both of these topics will involve a number of highly technical words, yet in a catalogue selling tools, the texts, if any, will consist of a random selection of superlatives rather than the terminological group 'handtools and their parts'. Similarly, a text on the combustion engine will probably describe how the engine works, but not necessarily list all the engine parts the students might need (or want to know). Above all, it will be difficult to find a text in which the level of description is adequate to the students' technical knowledge and the language is suitable for their language knowledge. The main problem seems to be that we are presenting all four groups of ESP lexis together, while highly technical vocabulary plays a different role in a technical/scientific text than common-core vocabulary. It is used to define the subject-specific frames of reference, while the other words serve "the general procedural purpose of realizing these particular schemata" (Widdowson 1984). Highly technical vocabulary might therefore, apart from requiring special subject knowledge, also require a different teaching technique.

At the moment, the prevailing opinion seems to be that the teaching of highly technical vocabulary cannot normally be regarded as the language teacher's responsibility, though teachers should be familiar with the rudi-

ments of the subject concerned.[10] The assumption here is obviously that the students will (have) acquire(d) the technical terms they need in their subject lessons. Quite apart from the fact that this attitude might widen the gulf between language teacher and technology/science student (Kennedy/Bolitho 1984: 57), this assumption is simply not true. Especially in training programmes where the subject knowledge and the foreign language are acquired at the same time, as, for example, in Austrian HTLs, the language teacher will be expected to also provide the relevant terminology.

One possible way out of this situation which tends to overburden the language teacher is team-teaching with a subject teacher, but unfortunately this is hardly possible in inflexible institutions with fixed time-tables. Conflicts might also arise out of clashes between potentially different learning and language theories of both teachers, and out of a possibly different social standing of the two teachers within the same organization.

Since "the *meaning* of a name is sometimes explained by pointing to its *bearer*" (Wittgenstein 1953:21), another method would be to use labelled illustrative material for the presentation of specialized words, whether terminologized or not.[11] Even if the technical information presented in these activities will be fairly elementary, gap-filling activities, puzzles, acronyms, etc., used to highlight the target words, will involve the cognitive abilities of the students. Games such as "Word Bingo", essentially an activity relating the phonological to the orthographic shape of the target word, or "Memory", played with target word and an illustration or L1 and L2 equivalents as matching pairs of cards, can be used for revision and further practice. And we should not forget the additional motivation for the student which the use of a CALL program like "Wordstore" can provide for terminology training.

Superordinate-subordinate relationships (hyponymy), which are important for classification, can be demonstrated by word trees, such as the one given below. Students can be asked to fill in a gapped tree, and to expand it, once their subject and language knowledge increases, by adding additional examples or sub-categories.

(1)

Tools			
striking	**cutting**	**driving**	**measuring**
hammer	knife	screw-driver	ruler
axe	saw	spanner	T-square
	plane	wrench	waterlevels

Students could also be given the task of compiling miniature glossaries of certain terminological sets for the benefit of the whole group. While this activity is obviously best suited for students of a fairly advanced level, since it involves complex language processing such as concept designation and key word analysis (Sager 1981: 102), it can also be used, on a lower level, to deal with symbols, formulae and technical abbreviations. Learners are confronted with these from the very beginning of both subject and language learning, and often have difficulties with both decoding the compressed information contained in, e.g., an algebraic symbol or a chemical formula. and with writing them down correctly in a note-taking situation.

Having implied that a text (i.e. words in use) should not be the only means of presentation for highly technical vocabulary, I should like to stress its importance for the teaching of common-core vocabulary. With this group, vocabulary activities can serve two main purposes: One the one hand, they can help students to circumnavigate an unknown word by using their knowledge of, for example, word-formation to make informed guesses about the meaning of an unknown word.[12] On the other hand, vocabulary activities exploring the sense relations between words should make students aware of the 'fuzziness' of meaning in general and of the relations between words; an awareness which might facilitate retention.

As far as word formation is concerned, all of its areas are productive in ESP, though some, especially affixation and compounding, are potentially more exploitable. A student may be able to guess the meaning of a word if s/he knows the meaning of a prefix or suffix and the pattern, an approach which is particularly useful since the amount of bound forms is considerably greater in ESP texts than in general language. The *Longman Dictionary of Scientific Usage*, for example, provides tables which list some of the more widely used prefixes.

(2)

NEGATIVE PREFIXES				
Prefix	**MEANING**	**ADDED TO**	**EXAMPLE**	**COMMENT**
	'the opposite of ', 'not	adjectives *-ed* or *-ing* participles	*stable- unstable* *combined- uncombined*	with gradable adjectives
non-	'not'	adjectives nouns	*polar- nonpolar* *metal- non-metal*	with non-gradable adjectives
in-	as for un-	adjectives	*soluble- insoluble*	*im-* before *m/b/p;* *il-* before *l*,*ir-* before *r*

Longman Dictionary of Scientific Usage

The systematic presentation in these lists also contains information as to word class and irregularities of spelling. Using these lists, students can be asked to decipher complex words in a text and, as a complementary exercise, find, respectively construct, the opposite or negative of words given in the text. The exercise below also exploits affixation. As it is text-free, it allows concentrating on certain target words and can be used as a revision activity.

(3)

What are the opposites/complementaries of the following?

animate
true
similar
perfect
correct

adapted from Gairns/Redman 1986

Another area of word formation which is useful for an ESP context is that of word constituents which go back to Latin or Greek full words, such as *aero-*, *ferro-*, *hydro-*, or *thermo-*. Latin/Greek alternatives and their implications should be discussed here, such as *poisonous*, which we might also find in an everyday context, whereas its Greek alternative *toxic* points towards a medical or chemical context. A presentation of the spelling differences in American/British English (e.g. *antennas-antennae*) might be important for very advanced students. However, a detailed exploitation of this area is frustrating if Latin and Greek are not familiar to the students. Therefore, it seems to be more rewarding to concentrate on suffixes that identify word classes, such as *-al*, *-ive*, *-ful* for adjectives, *-age*, *-er*/*-or*, *-ity* for nouns, *-ify*/*-efy*, *-ise*/*-ize*, *-er* for verbs. Suffixes which alter the word category are also important, and special attention should be paid to any changes in rhythm and stress, as in, e.g., *'rectangle* and *rec'tangular* , since these patterns are one of the characteristics by which words are stored in the mind (Aitchison 1987: 118-127).

Verbs can easily be formed by zero derivation (e.g. *to input data*) or by backformation, where elements are subtracted to produce a different word category. This permits the formation of verb forms which correspond closely to the nominal concepts of certain processes, and also allows the formation of verbs from complex nouns.[13]

It has to be admitted, however, that there are several drawbacks here: word formation activities tend to become tedious after a relatively short time. Some derivatives are more important than others, and comprehensive lists of derived forms ignore these differences. *Industry* and *industrial* are very frequent and therefore important words in a technical context, whereas *industrialist* and *industrialize* are not (Gairns/Redman 1986:49). There is also the problem of over-generalization, which should not be neglected. *Predatory*, as Kennedy and Bolitho remark in not too serious a manner, does not mean *before this date* (Kennedy/Bolitho 1984:60).

Noun compounds are another area which is very productive for the coining of new lexical items for new inventions and their components in the technical field, and they can cause considerable difficulties even to the experienced student. Noun compounds can become fully lexicalized and terminologized units, though they very often exhibit different degrees of lexicality.

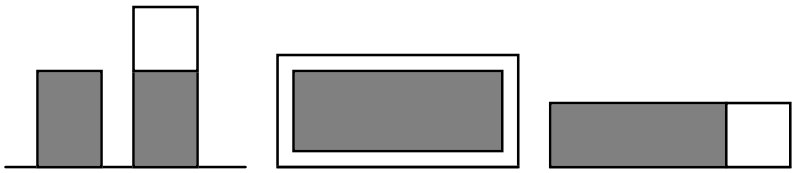
Here, the difficulty is mainly in identifying the terminological units, which depend on the knowledge structure of a discipline, and in identifying the core term for looking up the compound in a dictionary. Different types of testing, for example, such as *bend testing* and *hardness testing* will be found under the same heading, even though they refer to different processes and convey different concepts. The use of a hyphen is capricious, to say the least, (e.g. *toolbox*, *tool-box*, *tool box*) and might cause further confusion. One possible activity is to have the students collect compounds on their own (about 50 items) together with brief context and to let them sort the data they have collected into types according to their own criteria, which they subsequently have to justify (McCarthy 1990: 147-48).

Let us now leave the single word or terminologized phrase and move to the relationship between words. A clear understanding of these sense relations can provide greater precision in guiding students towards the meaning of unknown words, and in helping them to define the boundaries that separate lexical items with related meanings.

Synonyms are often used as a quick and efficient way of explaining unknown words. Words with a synonymous relationship share the general sense but have differences which might be difficult to distinguish. A search for synonyms of selected words in a passage can be rewarding especially if it is followed with an analysis of the potential differences in meaning if the synonyms are substituted. "Odd man out"-exercises help to identify words of related meaning by focusing on the ones that do not belong to the same lexical set. All these activities will help to memorize the meaning of a particular word and the sense relations of different semantic fields.

The general meaning of the verbs in the exercise below is *to make bigger*, yet only one of the three can be used in the sample sentence. The meaning of each verb can be clarified by simple drawings.

(4)



The metal will increase/expand/extend if we heat it.

adapted from Gairns/Redman (1986:15)

Relations of oppositeness (antonymy) have already been touched upon in our discussion of prefixes. One 'word' can have different opposites, however, such as *light*, which can be opposed to *heavy*, *dark* or *strong* according to the noun it defines; or *rough*, which is related to *smooth* (texture), *gentle* (person), *precise* (calculation) or *calm* (sea) (McCarthy 1990:18).

We can also clarify the meaning of a word by using several sense relationships in one exercise.

(5)

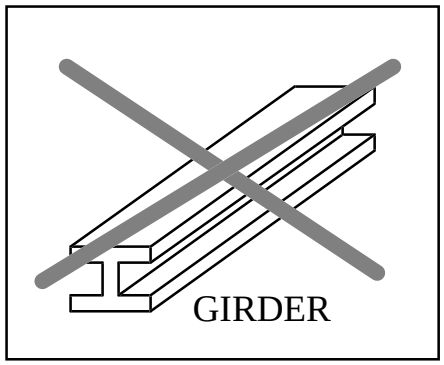
What do you understand by the word "maintenance"

(i) improvements
(ii) repairing or replacing worn components
(iii) a complete overhaul
(iv) stripping down

adapted from Kennedy/Bolitho (1984: 62)

Grids can be used to examine the similarities and differences between words of a semantic field (Gairns/Redman 1986:40) or between words introduced together because of a topic-oriented approach (Harvey 1983:243). They can also be used to exploit existing material in a more flexible, student-centred way. The original input of the exercise below consists of nine drawings showing what different kinds of materials can be used for. The aim of the exercise is to produce sentences like the one next to the drawing. A grid will exploit the material more fully. The fact that more items can be added to the grid both on the horizontal and the vertical axis, transforming a rather boring pattern drill into an open-ended task, is also an advantage.

(6)



CAST IRON is not used for making girders because it is brittle.

CAST IRON - BRITTLE

	CAST IRON	COPPER	GOLD	STEEL	RUBBER	BRASS	LEAD	PLASTIC
BRITTLE	×						×	
DUCTICLE		×						
ELASTIC				×	×			(×)
EXPENSIVE			×					
CHEAP	×				×			(×)
DURABLE						×		×
CORROSIVE								
CONDUCTS ELECTRICITY								

Collocations are another problematic area, both in general language teaching and in ESP. There are no rules explaining why we talk of a *dense system of plant roots*, but *a complex system of ecological interrelations*, since collocations are largely based on convention. Especially with language production, e.g. the writing of test reports, it is important to highlight collocations while at the same time revising the relevant words. For example, verbs commonly associated with *experiment* or *test* are, e.g., *make*, *set up*, *fail*, *be successful*. The exercise below explores similar collocational relationships between verbs and nouns.

(7)

For each of the following phrasal verbs choose two or three nouns that combine with it.

cross out *set up* *rule out*

Nouns:
chance, drawing, experiment, likelihood, mistake, possibility, stall, tripod, word

adapted from Kennedy/Bolitho (1984: 65)

This can also be carried out with sentences:

(8)

The	plan application proposal scheme	was	rejected approved submitted accepted	by the committee

McCarthy (1990:16)

Again, I would like to stress that none of these activities should be done in complete isolation, but should always be done in connection with texts, either as pre-reading or pre-writing activity or as a follow-up. A text on factory organization, for example, can be supplemented with the following activity, which exploits the student's knowledge about the subject as well as superordinate/subordinate relations and word-formation principles:

(9)

Look at the following words

foreman, operator, worker, supervisor, machinist

(i) Which words describe those who are responsible for the work of other people?
(ii) Which is the most general word in the list?
(iii) Which words say something about the kind of work done?
(iv) Can you find the verbs for what people do?

Kennedy/Bolitho (1984:64)

Discussions with a controlled vocabulary input are also useful activities, as an emotional involvement helps to store the words in one's memory. The two activities below exploit the principle of sorting out priorities in a group, which can produce a considerable amount of language output apart from the practice of the target words.

(10)

Name three tools which you want to take on to a deserted island and justify your choice.

(11)

Which of these objects [pictures, list] would you find most important...

> ... in case of a road accident, on a camping holiday, if you have forgotten your car keys, if your computer breaks down, ...?

As an appendix to what I have said about vocabulary teaching, I would like to stress the importance of dictionary work in the classroom. As one of the most important steps towards an individualization of the learning process, it should be encouraged as well as monitored. Students can be asked, for example, to record one word per day in the fullest possible way over a set period of time, and then to hand in this personal vocabulary collection and discuss it with the teacher or the rest of the group. However, with activities like these, students have to be reminded that the meaning found in dictionaries is static and isolated, and can never fully grasp the dynamic creativity of words in actual use (Maley 1990:11).

As a further step into autonomy, students can be encouraged to experiment with different methods of note-taking, for example to devise grids or word-trees, label rough sketches or note down synonyms and collocations, and then find out which method is best for them. Groups with access to a computer can keep a collective index file with the responsibility for updating it rotating regularly among members - groups without advanced technology can do the same on a card index.

Words arise in the course of a lesson whatever we do. The traditional method of writing them down somewhere when they pop up, of maybe adding some antonyms, synonyms, and associations they call up, and of giving some information as to their level of formality is often not enough. We have to keep in mind that the learning of a language and its word requires a complex cognitive effort. A new word has to be matched and integrated into the existing knowledge store, its meaning is negotiated in discourse and recreated in the mind by elaborate acts of relating and matching different kinds of knowledge. This is something the learners have to do on their own, and teachers can only hope to facilitate this process. I have suggested several activities that are intended to help present vocabulary in a motivating and cognitively challenging way. In an ESP-classroom, the situation is made more complicated by the inevitable presence of (terminologized) words that have a highly specific meaning not necessarily known, in all its dimensions, to both teacher and learner. It is important to present words when they are actually being used and, at the same time, to demonstrate the systematic relationship between the individual components of words as well as their systematic relationship to each other, and thus offer some means of systematization and classification for vocabulary to students with considerable classificatory and categorizing capabilities

that can be exploited to relate new words to the students' existing knowledge in a systematic way.

Notes

[1]English for Specific Purposes. I shall restrict my comments to the teaching of English for technical and scientific purposes.
[2]Cf., e.g., Beier/Möhn (1987:passim), Robinson (1980:5-7), Widdowson (1983), Hutchinson/Waters (1987). A very general definition of ESP was offered by Hoffmann: "By LSP we understand a complete set of linguistic phenomena occurring within a definite sphere of communication and limited by specific subjects, intentions, and conditions" (Hoffmann 1979:16). Nevertheless, definitions of ESP still tend to be "vague, superficial and inconclusive" (Opitz 1980:21), and, above all, contradictory.
[3]cf. Beier (1980:13, 21); Fluck (1985) who also gives an overview of more specific attempts at a definition of "Fachsprache" (pp.13-16). For an early attempt to characterize "scientific prose", see Barber (1962).
[4]Beier (1980: 31-33), Fluck (1985: 47). Most highly technical words are terminologized, i.e. they are subjected to a standardization which attempts to establish an exact, one-to one relationship between terms and concepts. Phenomena like interdisciplinary polysemy or the sloppy use of terms, however, undermine this attempt. (Beier 1980: 33-36, Fluck 1985: 47-48). Although technical and scientific subjects lend themselves more easily to terminologization, "there is no subject field which can claim absolute definiteness about the content of all its concepts and terms" (Weißenhofer 1992: 55).
[5]Incidentally, Becker, in his analysis of the grammatico-logical relations in scientific texts (Becker 1986: 123-140) argues that general language words such as *beruhen auf, verursachen, bedingen, ausweisen* are what distinguishes a special from a general language text: "Nach dem grammatisch-logischen Ansatz sind die angeblich allgemeinsprachlichen Verben das zentrale F a c h -sprachliche, während die als fachsprachlich anerkannten Termini eher das F a c h l i c h e verkörpern. Der Terminus als Informationsträger hat nämlich wenige und einfache sprachliche Eigenschaften und steht für einen komplexen Inhalt, während der Funktionswortschatz keine oder nur eine schwache Bedeutung, dafür aber komplexe sprachliche Eigenschaften besitzt." (Becker 1986: 129). Becker wants to develop a methodology which excludes the specific terminology: "Im Rahmen unserer Methodik müssen wir unterrichtliche Verfahrensweisen entwickeln, mit deren Hilfe der allgegenwärtige, informationstragende Terminus - der das Fachliche der Fachsprache so unübersehbar verkörpert und der doch und gerade deshalb weder Lernziel noch Lerngegenstand ist - umschifft und als potentielle Störgröße ausgeschaltet werden kann." (Becker 1986:130).
[6]For an analysis of the communicative uses of special languages, see, e.g., Trimble (1985), Crookes (1985)or Gläser (1982).
[7]) For teachers , the special attraction of presenting lists of isolated lexical items with their mother tongue translations seems to be the fact that testing word-lists is easy. The "word-list" approach might also partly be the result of a misunderstanding and misapplication of the concept of language register, which is, through historical coincidence, closely associated with the teaching of ESP (Widdowson 1983:16, Hutchinson/Waters 1987: 9-10).
[8]Cf. Ellis/Sinclair (1989:28), who follow Wallace (1982) in presenting a list about what 'knowing' a word means.
[9]The decision to use topics as frameworks for language presentation is often made by curriculum authorities and not by the language teacher. For the problems connected with this approach, cf. McCarthy (1990: 91-92).
[10]Cf. Barber (in Swales 1985: 17), Beier/Möhn (1988:60), Kennedy/Bolitho (1984: 56-57), McDonough (1984:54).
[11]Technical and scientific books written for adolescents often provide excellent drawings or photographs, cf., for example, the *Eyewitness Guides Series* published by Dorling Kindersley.
[12]Word-formation exercises can also be used to supplement exercises alerting students to clues they might derive from the text, as outlined, for example, by Nation, quoted in Carter (1987:166-167).
[13]e.g. *automation - to automate, absorption - to absorb*; *to air-condition, to mass-produce, to finish-face, to road-test.* I leave it to word-formation experts to decide whether *automate* derives from *automation* or vice versa.

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Cohesion in Old English Prose

Hans Platzer

0. Introduction

It is the primary aim of this paper to present (and test) a vehicle that will provide an empirical basis for intuitions about differences of various OE text-types. As all texts, by definition, show the presence of text-constitutive (cohesive) devices, we must assume that the differences between specific texts will be reflected in the choice of which and how many of these devices are employed. This view is taken by Halliday & Hasan (1976: 4), who state that the distribution of cohesive devices may indicate "differences among different genres".

As a second step we have to establish which linguistic items are cohesive. Beaugrande & Dressler (1988: 3) give a fairly broad definition of cohesion regarding it as "the ways in which the components of the SURFACE TEXT ... are *mutually connected*". Accordingly, there have been numerous and fairly varied approaches to the question which surface-structure elements are responsible for text-constitution. Isenberg (1971: 156) enumerates several candidates for this function, eg. anaphoric items, selection of articles, pronominalization and pro-adverbials, sequence of tenses etc. but indicates that his list is not complete. Similarly, Beaugrande & Dressler (1988: 49) do not give a self-contained account of cohesive devices. Their list includes: recurrence, partial recurrence, parallelism, paraphrase, pro-forms, ellipsis, junction etc. These phenomena, however, are never systematically interrelated. Due to this lack of a comprehensive model of cohesion studies are often limited to the discussion of one of the above topics such as pronominalization (Harweg 1968) or lexical cohesion (Szwedek 1980), necessarily disregarding other aspects. Nevertheless cohesion seems to represent a profitable methodology for the discussion of text-constitution in (a) children's discourse (cf. eg. Pellegrini 1982 and Pappas 1985) and (b) texts by foreign-language students (cf. Lieber 1979; Lindeberg 1984 and 1985). So much for MnE.

Studies in OE which touch upon the problem of textuality are basically twofold. First, there are a number of turn-of-the-century studies such as Schücking (1904) or Rübens (1915) overtly treating problems of sentence connexion, but mostly in regard to paratactic vs. hypotactic relations.

Secondly, more recent studies may treat problems relating to textuality such as Enkvist (1972, 1986 and 1987a) on the stylistic function of adv. *þa*, or Diller (1988), who relates the use of personal pronouns to orality. Relevant information on linking-devices such as ellipsis etc. can also be found in larger works on OE grammar. (cf. Mitchell 1985). In these contexts text-constitution is necessarily an inherent function of the phenomena in question, but it is never expressly the point of discussion.

Thus there exists no comprehensive approach to the problem of textual connexion for OE, and the only account to date which manages to incorporate at least some of the above mentioned MnE linking devices into a consistent system is Halliday & Hasan's *Cohesion in English* (1976). They achieve this by defining cohesion in a more stringent way than Beaugrande & Dressler (1988). Cohesion is said to occur where "the interpretation of any item in the discourse **requires** making reference to some other item in the discourse" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 11; my emphasis). In that sense cohesive devices "contain ... an explicit signal that the means of their interpretation is available somewhere in the environment" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 11). This definition comprises the following five categories:

I. **Reference** is achieved through the use of (a) personal / possessive pronouns and demonstrative pronouns / adjectives, (b) demonstrative adverbs, (c) adverbs and adjectives of comparison.[1]

(1a)

Seo Wisle is swyþe micel ea, and **hio** toliþ Witland and Weonodland;

(Whitelock 1967: 17)

[The Vistula is a very large stream, and it separates the district east of the Vistula from the land of the Wends.]

(1b)

Þone [port] man hæt **Sciringes heal**. **Þyder** he cwæþ þæt man ne mihte geseglian on anum monþe ... Whitelock 1967: 20)

[That port is called Larvik. He said that one could not manage to go there in a month ...]

(1c)

And þær is mid Estum þeaw, þonne þær biþ man dead, þæt he liþ inne unforbærned mid his magum and freondum **monaþ, ge hwilum twegen**; and þa kyningas and þa oþre heahþungene men, swa micle lencg swa hi maran speda habbaþ, **hwilum healf gear**, þæt hi beoþ unforbærned and licgaþ bufan eorþan on hyra husum. ... and þy þær licgaþ þa deadan men **swa lange**, and ne fuliaþ, þæt hy wyrcaþ þone cyle him on.(Whitelock 1967: 21-22)

[And there is a custom among the Este that when a man dies, he lies uncremated inside with his kinsmen and friends for a month, at times two. And the rulers and the other men of high rank lie the longer the more power they have. It is sometimes half a year that they lie uncremated above the earth in their houses. ... and the dead lie there so long for the reason that they can keep them cool.]

II. **Substitution** mainly uses (a) *one/ones* to stand in for NPs, (b) *do/does* and *do so* for VPs.[2]

(2a)

My **axe** is too blunt. I must get a sharper **one**.

(2b)

You think Joan already **knows**. - I think everybody **does**.

(Halliday & Hasan 1976: 89)

III. **Ellipsis** may be (a) nominal or (b) verbal / clausal.

(3a)

... 7 hie wærun twæm gefylcium; on oþrum wæs Bachsecg 7 Heafdene þa heþnan cyningas, on oþrum wæron þa eorlas. (Smith 1951: a. 871)

[... and they were two bands. In the one were Bachsecg and Healfdene, the heathen kings; in the other were the noblemen.]

(3b)

Ond þa fengon Æþelwulfes suna twegen to rice. Æþelbald to Wesseaxna rice 7 Æþelbryht to Cantwara rice ... (Smith 1951: a. 855)

[And at that time Aethelwulf's two sons ascended the throne; Aethelbald that of Westsaxony and Aethelbryht that of Kent...]

IV. **Conjunction** is brought about by adverbial conjuncts with (a) additive, (b) adversative, (c) logical[3], (d) temporal meaning.

(4)

Adversative:

Se hwæl biþ micle læssa þonne oþre hwalas: ne biþ he lengra þonne syfan elna lang; **ac** on his agnum lande is se betsta hwælhuntaþ; (Whitelock 1967: 18)

[That species of walrus is much smaller than other walruses: it is not longer than seven ells. But in his own country there is the best whaling.]

(5)

Temporal:

... seoh þurh claþ; sete **eft** ofer fyr; (Grattan & Singer 1952: §XXXI)

[... sieve it through a cloth; then set it over fire;]

V. **Lexical cohesion** is characterized either by reiteration (ie., (a) repetition, (b) synonymy, (c) super-ordinate, (d) general word) or collocation (ie., items which tend to co-occur).

(6)

Reiteration:

Ohthere **sæde** his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge, þæt he ealra Norþmonna norþmest **bude**. He **cwæþ** þæt he **bude** on þæm lande norþweardum wiþ þa Westsæ. (Whitelock 1967: 17)

[Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred, that of all Norsemen he had lived farthest north. He said that he had lived in the northern land bordering on the sea to the west of Norway.]

(7)

Collocation:

Þa for he þa giet norþryhte swa feor swa he meahte on þæm oþrum þrim dagum **gesiglan**. Þa beag þæt land þær eastryhte, oþþe seo **sæ** in on þæt lond ... (Whitelock 1967: 17)

[Then he went on northward as far as he could get in three further days. Then the country bent eastward, or the sea turned into that country ...]

1. Analysis of the corpus

The above mentioned points (ie., reference, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion - for the absence of substitution see fn.2) represent the model which was tested on the OE corpus.[4] The corpus itself consists of the following four text-types of equal length (242 clauses each):

I. the native OE interpolation of Ohthere's and Wulfstan's voyages into Alfred's *Orosius* translation; (Whitelock 1967)
II. a section of the *Parker* Ms. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; (Smith 1951)
III. the laws of King Ethelberht of Kent; (Liebermann 1903)
IV. a number of recipes for ointments and potions contained in the Ms. *Lacnunga*; (Grattan & Singer 1952)

The following four tables present the results for each cohesive type:

Fig.1 **Reference**

Code	*Orosius*	*Parker*	Laws	*Lacnunga*
R1 Personal	215 (78%)	135 (67%)	25 (52%)	112 (79%)
R2 Circumst.	35 (13%)	51 (25%)	6 (13%)	19 (13%)
R3 Comparat.	24 (9%)	16 (8%)	17 (35%)	11 (8%)
	274	202	48	142

Fig.2 **Ellipsis**

Code	*Orosius*	*Parker*	Laws	*Lacnunga*
E1 Nominal	17	8	18	9
E2 Verbal / clausal	50	95	62	90

Fig.3 **Conjunction**

Code	*Orosius*	*Parker*	Laws	*Lacnunga*
C1 Paratactic and hypotactic				
C11 Additive	82 (42%)	152 (78%)	14 (11%)	63 (44%)
C12 Adversat.	14 (7%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
C13 Logical	15 (8%)	2 (1%)	94 (73%)	10 (7%)
C14 Temporal	38 (20%)	27 (14%)	10 (8%)	50 (35%)
C2 Purely hypotactic	44 (23%)	14 (7%)	9 (7%)	18 (13%)
	193	196	128	142

Fig.4 **Lexical Cohesion**

Code	*Orosius*	*Parker*	Laws	*Lacnunga*
L1 Reiteration				
L11 Repetit.	144 (55%)	69 (26%)	203 (60%)	36 (35%)
L12 Synonymy	26 (10%)	41 (16%)	31 (9%)	7 (7%)
L13 Super-ord.	11 (4%)	13 (5%)	8 (2%)	19 (18%)
L14 General word	-	-	-	-
L2 Collocation	2 (31%)	138 (53%)	99 (29%)	42 (40%)
	263	261	341	104

Let us first discuss **conjunction** (fig.3) in detail. What strikes us right away is that the **laws** seem to be extremely marked in regard to logical connexion. Whereas all other texts have the additive relation as their primary form of conjunction (C11: from 42% to 78%), the laws have logical conjunction (C13: 73%) as theirs, virtually all examples of which are conditional clauses.

The second major fact is the high number of additive items. Parataxis is considered to be a typically medieval feature of connexion giving an archaic flavour or, as Andrew ([1966]: 87) has it, an "immature and almost childish" one.[5] In this respect we can observe that ***Orosius*** appears most 'modern' because of the comparatively low number of additive devices (C11: 42%) together with a relatively large number of purely subordinating ones (C2: 23%). Compared with the others this text has the most balanced distribution of clause connectors. Conversely, the text-type of the **chronicle** relies to a very large extent on additive connexion (C11: 78%). The abundant use of this cohesive device (together with subject-ellipsis; see fig.2 / E2) accounts for the typical style of chronicle entries.

Lastly, it is surprising to find the most widespread use of temporal connectives (C14: 35%) not in narrative texts, like chronicles or an account of a voyage, but in **recipes**. Here the temporal connectives serve to make the different stages of preparation explicit to the reader. This sort of signposting might be crucial in text-types with a particularly close relationship to the extralinguistic reality. In other words the reader of a narrative can be left to his own devices in interpreting the temporal arrangement of the text-world as that arrangement is hardly the primary concern. Whenever a text is situated at the junction between language and action, however, extra care seems to be necessary in order to ensure that the two systems of text and extralinguistic reality coincide in their more important aspects. In this case the specific function of the text clearly determines the choice of a specific cohesive type.

Lexical cohesion is presented in fig.4 with the main result that the laws stand out in this respect as well. They contain the highest number of lexically cohesive items (341), and among these repetition (L11: 60%) is highest again. Beaugrande & Dressler (1988: 59) observe that "recurrence, partial recurrence, parallelism, and paraphrase" contribute to "stability and exactness of content" and that these are particularly important in MnE legal texts. This statement does not apply to OE, however. Liebermann (1903,1: VII) mentions that the meaning of OE laws is often far from clear ("oft fast unverständlich"). The high number of lexically cohesive items together with the large quantity of conditional clauses, which appear as syntactic parallelisms, rather reflect the strongly formulaic quality of the OE legal text. This use of formulas most probably stems from the oral transmission of the original legal code, which was only fixed in writing at a later date. Thus, the motivation for using lexical cohesion and parallelisms was ease of (oral) composition, rather than "stability and exactness of content".

Regarding **reference** (fig.1) it is by no means surprising to find personal reference most important in all four texts (R1: over 50%) as this is the group where personal pronouns and the definite article are located. Again, however, the legal text is striking for its extremely low frequency of referential items in absolute numbers. The ratio between the laws and *Lacnunga*, which contains the next-higher number of referential items, is 1 : 3. Thus the laws take a special place in the statistics again. Let us bear this in mind for a later stage in the discussion.

The table for **ellipsis** (fig.2) does not contain any tell-tale information, except that chronicle entries turn out to be formulaic as well. They are characterized by an inordinately high number of additive connectives (see fig.3 / C11) and ellipted subjects (see fig.2 / E2).

So much for the discussion of individual cohesive types. In the following table (fig.5) we shall take a more comprehensive look at the cohesive devices employed.

Fig.5 **Total sums per text-type**

Orosius		Parker		Laws		Lacnunga	
R	274	R	202	R	48	R	142
	-16 (33%)[6]		-6 (26%)		-2 (8%)		-5 (28%)
E	67 (9%)	E	103 (14%)	E	80 (13%)	E	99 (21%)
C	193 (25%)	C	196 (26%)	C	128 (22%)	C	142 (29%)
L	263 (34%)	L	261 (35%)	L	341 (57%)	L	104 (22%)
	781		756		595		482

Going over fig.5 we can observe a basic correspondence between the percentages given for *Orosius* and *Parker*. In these two texts the distribution of all four cohesive types seems fairly equal. I suggest that this is the empirical reflexion of the fact that both may be regarded as narrative texts in contrast to the laws and *Lacnunga*. For the further discussion it is important to emphasize that up to now we have followed an intuitive primary grouping of the corpus into: (1) narrative text (a) *Orosius* (b) chronicle; (2) legal text; (3) recipe. This grouping was based on text-external factors, and we tried to check these against text-internal ones, viz. by assigning each text a typical distribution of cohesive devices.[7]

We should bear this in mind and in the meanwhile return to fig.5. A cursory glance at the total sums suggests that the recipes in *Lacnunga* might feature the loosest connexion among the corpus. Reading through the individual texts, however, this is not the impression one gets. On the contrary, in this respect the legal code appears to be the least 'connected' one. This discrepancy is either due to a faulty perception, or our methodology needs some further adjustment. Let us therefore look at the basics of cohesion once more, always with the statistics in mind at the same time. The one striking point in fig.5 is the fact that well over half of the links in the law-code belong to lexical cohesion. No other text relies so exclusively on any one of the four types. What then is the status of lexical cohesion in terms of our methodology? We recall that Halliday & Hasan (1976: 11) defined cohesion as occurring where "the interpretation of any item in the discourse **requires** making reference to some other item in the discourse" (my emphasis). We may further ask ourselves whether the mention of *cwæþ* in the second sentence of example (6) really **requires** the earlier appearance of *sæde* in the same way that *hio* demands the previous mention of *seo Wisle* (example 1a). The cohesive devices in example (6)

(*sæde, cwæþ, bude*) all seem readily understandable in their own right without explicitly demanding a further preceding or following item. Therefore, it seems to me that the connexion through *hio* and *cwæþ* represent two distinct phenomena. Moreover, the data appear to support the view that we have to do with two types of linkage here. On the one hand there are reference, (substitution,) ellipsis and conjunction - which actively point to an antecedent - and on the other hand lexical cohesion. So it follows that the latter does not, strictly speaking, conform to Halliday & Hasan's (1976) own definition.[8]

Fig.6 will clarify this point. Dividing the whole number of cohesive items in each text by the number of clauses (ie., 242) we get an average number of cohesive items per clause.

Fig.6 **Average number of items per clause**

Text	(I) all items	(II) R+E+C	(III) R1 + E2
Orosius	3,2	2,1	1,1
Parker	3,1	0	1,0
Laws	2,5	1,0	0,4
Lacnunga	2,0	1,6	0,8

The factors in column (I) reflect the impression that *Lacnunga* seems to have the loosest connexion. Substracting the lexically cohesive items however (column II) the picture changes to what we would have expected. Now the legal code appears least 'connected'. And even though chronicle and recipe are otherwise fairly divergent text-types, they have something in common which the laws apparently have not: they cohere chiefly by means other than lexical cohesion.

After this definition *ex negativo* we may also try to define positively what *Orosius*, *Parker* and *Lacnunga* have in common. Trusting intuition once more the feature which seems to distinguish these three texts from the laws is the presence of a basic continuity: of persons and places in *Orosius* and the chronicles; of ingredients in the recipes. In syntactic terms this continuity would be that of the central parts of speech, ie., subject, predicate and object. We may conjecture that subject and object will most likely be taken up by personal reference; ellipsis of each of the three presenting a second major possibility of linkage. The basic continuity is therefore upheld by R1 (personal reference) and E2 (ellipsis). The respective factors are given in column (III) with the result that the laws are now very obviously outside the group of the other three texts.

It should be understood that this is the reverse procedure from the one we employed before. In discussing the various cohesive types we followed a typology based on text-external criteria and checked these against cohesive (ie., text-internal) factors. In the last paragraph on the other hand the differentiation between the texts was based solely on text-internal criteria. In this respect the notion of cohesion seems to be a powerful concept as it cannot only be used to support text-external decisions but also brings forth additional relations between texts which a primarily text-external analysis tends to obscure. In this light we have to see the basic likeness between *Orosius, Parker* and *Lacnunga*, which is basically text-internal. A purely functional description could not have provided this additional information.

2. A comparison of the OE and MnE cohesive systems

After having confined myself exclusively to OE up to now, I should like to present a short contrastive analysis of the systemic differences between OE and MnE cohesive types. Taking OE as the point of reference, the following modes of cohesion are not possible in MnE: (a) Adverbs of place giving a direction (cf. OE *þider, þiderweard*) are no longer used "in ordinary speech" in MnE; (*OED* 1989: s.v. *thither*) Such adverbs are responsible for 21 occurrences in the OE corpus. (b) OE employed original prepositions as adverbs, eg.:

(8)

> **þa [stælhranas]** beoþ swyþe dyre mid Finnum, for þæm hy foþ þa wildan hranas **mid**. (Whitelock 1967: 19)
>
> [The decoy-reindeer are very valuable for the Lapps because they hunt the wild reindeer with them.[9]]

The corpus contains 5 such occurrences. These 26 items, which could not occur in MnE, make up roughly 1% of the total sum of 2614 cohesive devices in the corpus.

Taking MnE as the point of reference we have said that OE does not know: (a) nominal substitution (MnE *one*); and (b) verbal substitution (MnE *do*).[10] For figures in regard to these MnE cohesive devices I have to rely on Halliday & Hasan's (1976: 340-55) corpus . This contains a total of 264 cohesive items, 5 of which represent substitution by *one* (2 items) and *do* (3 items). Thus they make up about 1,9% of the total sum.

Such a comparison between the OE and MnE cohesive systems must remain sketchy, however, because the OE corpus cannot be compared exactly with the texts used by Halliday & Hasan (1976). Yet the preliminary figures presented in the last two paragraphs suggest that even though a thousand years stand between the composition of the two corpora, the vast majority of cohesive devices represent types that could be found in either

stage of the language. Despite the time-gap the two systems therefore seem to be highly congruent.

Notes

[1]I slightly reshuffled Halliday & Hasan's (1976) system of **reference** as certain OE items can be shown to fall more conveniently into a different subgroup of reference than their MnE counterparts. Halliday & Hasan's (1976) subgroup of **(a) personal reference** (=R1) here includes demonstrative pronouns and adjectives as these can be shown to make up one paradigm with personal pronouns in OE, but not in MnE. Due to reasons discussed in fn.4 personal reference also comprises relative pronouns / particles. Halliday & Hasan's (1976) second subgroup **demonstrative reference** here only includes demonstrative adverbs (formerly also demonstrative pronouns / adjectives) and is thus re-designated **(b) circumstantial reference** (=R2). Lastly, **(c) comparative reference** (=R3) remains identical for OE and MnE.

[2]None of the authorities on OE syntax, such as Mitchell (1985), nor on lexicography, like Bosworth & Toller (1898 [1973]), record a substitue function of OE *an* 'one' and *don* 'do' that would be comparable to their MnE counterparts *one* and *do*. They do not appear in the corpus either. (For a description of the corpus see page 84.) It therefore seems that **substitution** did not exist in OE. Only the *do so*-type can be found:

Her bed Burgred Miercna cyning ⁊ his wiotan Æþelwulf cyning þæt he **him gefultumade þæt him Norþ-Walas gehiersumade**. He þa **swa dyde** ... (Smith 1951: a. 853) In this year the Mercian King Burgred and his counsellors asked King Aethelwulf whether he would help them to keep the North Welsh under subjection. And he did so ...

But as one can make a strong case for incorporating this linking device into the type of comparative reference (R3) - in OE as well as MnE! - the equivalents of MnE *do so* (OE *swa don*) are regared as referential.

[3] Halliday & Hasan's (1976) subgroup *cause / reason* is here generalized to *logical* in order to incorporate, eg., conditional clauses. See fn.4.

[4]There is one major adaptation, though. Halliday & Hasan's (1976) study gives an account of the links between **independent sentences**. (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976: 10)

Regarding OE two observations are necessary:

(a) OE Mss. contain no punctuation in the modern sense, and it is to be doubted whether the sentence, as we today understand it, existed as an entity of composition then. (cf. Mitchell 1985: §1879)

(b) Apart from this basic consideration we are faced with a fair number of ambiguous relative / demonstrative pronouns (cf. Mitchell & Robinson 1986: §162.3) and ambiguous subordinating conjunctions / sentence adverbs (eg. *þa*: adv. 'then' vs. conj. 'when'; cf. Mitchell & Robinson 1986: §168). Because of these it is often impossible to decide whether the strings containing such items are independent sentences or subordinate clauses.

An unambiguous segmentation of OE texts into sentences is therefore simply not feasible in many instances.

In this respect Halliday & Hasan (1976: 9) state that "cohesion within the sentence need not be regarded as essentially a distinct phenomenon". Therefore, we need not confine ourselves to recording cohesive devices between sentences; any other grammatical unit is possible, as well. As it is less of a problem to establish clause-boundaries in OE, I decided to observe cohesion between clauses. For this reason Halliday & Hasan's (1976) system had to be modified by adding typical clause connectors:

(a) The category of personal **reference** (R1) is augmented by the subgroup of relative pronouns / particles.

(b) As far as **conjunction** is concerned, the subgroups of *additive, adversative, causal, temporal* (C11-14) will include subordinating as well as coordinating conjunctions, beside the original sentence adverbs. All four subgroups are therefore placed under the common heading of *Paratactic and hypotactic* (C1). (*Cause / reason* is re-designated *logical* in order to accomodate, eg., conditional clauses as well.) An additional group is established - *Purely hypotactic* (C2) - which contains only subordinating relations, such as *þæt*-clauses, comparative or relative clauses.

[5]Despite all due qualifications brought forth by Mitchell (1985: §1686) to the contrary.

[6]As relative pronouns and particles are both referential (by referring to an antecedent) and conjunctive (being subordinating conjunctions), I entered them into both groups in figs.1 & 3 for a comparison between the four cohesive types. For the total sum of all cohesive items one set of these has to be substracted, though, in order not to count a single item twice.

[7]For a discussion of text-internal vs. text-external criteria and intuitive text-types see Gülich & Raible (1977: 46-47) and Lewandowski (1990: s.v. *Textsorten*). Text-internal factors are in this paper equated

with cohesive devices, text-external ones include, among other things, pragmatic criteria such as "Kommunikationsakt" (Gülich & Raible 1977: 26), "Sprecher und Hörer" (Gülich & Raible: 1977: 28) and "Intention und Reaktion" (Gülich & Raible 1977: 29).
[8]Halliday & Hasan (1976: 12-13) argue that lexical cohesion does in fact function in the same way as the other cohesive types, but I still hold that their own definition, and the facts, contradict them in this case.
[9]A MHG translation could make of use the related construction *da**mit***.
[10]See II. *Substitution* at the very beginning.

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Luick, the theoretician

Nikolaus Ritt

0. Preliminary remarks

In 1985 a symposium on English historical linguistics was held near Vienna, Austria to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Luick, the Austrian philologist whose international reputation is based - among other things - on his monumental *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*. In the opening speech, Gero Bauer observed that "historical linguists on both sides of the Atlantic [...] turned to Luick more than to anyone else when in search of what is so nice and curtly called 'the data'" (Bauer 1985, 4). This was so, Bauer suggested, because "in the question of empirical vs. theoretical bias Luick [...was] on the empirical side" (Bauer 1985, 5): a view that was supported by Jacek Fisiak, who observed in his own paper that "Luick was not a theorist [but ...] was more interested in a historical presentation of phonological details".(Fisiak, 1985, 17). Having the great richness and variety of phonological detail presented in Luick's *magnum opus*, the *Historische Grammatik* in mind, Bauer could finish his eulogy by stating that "after several generations of scholars working in the field", Luick could still be regarded as "the **natural starting point** for any [...]consideration of historical English phonology" (Bauer 1985, 12)[1].

Obviously, panegyric statements such as these are to be expected at anniversaries. However, they can also be interpreted to be more than just praise. Being made at a time when most historical linguists had come to agree that the innovations generativism had introduced to linguistic theory were of limited use for their purposes, Bauer's and Fisiak's statements served to vindicate those colleagues who had refused to join ranks with the Chomskians in the first place and who, therefore, had probably experienced at least a decade or so in which they would often have felt painfully out-of-date. Thus, the praise of Luick betrays a certain nostalgia for the days when language was thought to have been studied without too much worry about exactly which theoretical approach one ought to take. Those days, it is implied, were good days, because the application of new linguistic theories to actual utterances or texts had often turned out to go hand in hand with undesirable distortions of data. Luick, on the other hand, managed to keep his descriptions free of theory and therefore free of distortions as well.

Thus, Luick is posthumously turned into a symbol of resistance against the oppression of generative theoreticians who go about establishing grand

frameworks and turn only briefly to actual language data in order to see if they can find a few examples to support them. Since Luick was not interested in defending a particular theory, it is suggested, he could dare to look linguistic truth straight in the eye. Unlike his theory ridden successors during the 'generative interlude' he did not have to twist reality but could afford to describe historical events in an unbiassed and straightforwardly objective manner. Luick was no theorist: therefore his descriptions can be regarded as facts.

It is this image of Luick as a pure empiricist that I would like to scratch in this paper. Analysing his treatment of a sound change known as **Trisyllabic Shortening**, I intend to show that Luick was much more of a theorist than is generally assumed. In particular, I will argue that he was capable of the same kind of doubtful practice as is normally associated only with the more recent breed of linguists he has come to be posthumously contrasted with. That is to say, I will show that there are instances where Luick's way of handling language data seems to have been determined by a desire to keep his system coherent and his theoretical framework intact rather than by a wish to remain as close to observable evidence as possible.

In other words, this paper does not simply intend to show that there was a theory behind Luick's achievements. That his outlook was essenially neogrammarian is well known anyway. Rather, I will try to describe the peculiar way in which Luick related theoretical persuasion to factual evidence. By the same token, this contribuition should not be understood as a judgement on the basic plausibility of Luick's accounts or a criticism of Luick for being more theoretically minded than one might tend to think.

1. Trisyllabic Shortening deconstructed

According to Luick, Trisyllabic Shortening was an Early Middle English sound change that shortened long vowels if they were in antepenultimate syllables of wordforms. He describes the changes in the following way:

> In Weiterführung eines schon altenglischen Vorganges, der Längen in dreisilbigen Wörtern vor zwei Konsonanten beseitigte (§ 204, 2) wurden nun lange Vokale vor einfachen Konsonanten und den Konsonantenverbindungen, die sonst Länge begünstigten, in Dreisilblern gekürzt. (Luick 1914/21, 328)
>
> [In continuation of an Old English process that had eliminated long vowels in trisyllabic words before two consonants (§ 204, 2), long vowels were now shortened in trisyllabic items before single consonants or groups that normally favoured length.]

These are his examples:

(1)

Middle English	**Modern English**
alderman	'alderman"
æmette	'ant'
æni3e PL	'any'
ærende	'errand'
bretheren PL	'brethren'
cicenu PL	'chicken'
deorlingas PL	'darling'
evere	'ever'
feorþin3as PL	'farthing'
feowerti3	'forty'
freondscipe	'friendship'
hali3da3	'holiday'
heafodu PL	'head'
heringes PL	'herring'
hryþeru PL	'cattle'
linenes GEN DAT	'linen'
Monendai	'Monday'
redili	'readily'
seliness	'sillyness'
stiropes PL	'stirrop'
suþerne	'southern'
Thuresday	'Thursday'
westenne DAT	'waste (desert)'
wiþi3as PL	'willow'

(cf. 328f.)

boseme ACC	'bosom'
othere ACC	'other'
redeles pl	'riddle'
wepenes PL	'weapon'

(cf. 392f.)

Although one might not notice it at first, there is something unusual about them. This becomes evident, when one compares the examples to the ones which Luick gives to illustrate another sound change that occurred at the period, namely Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening, which - in Luick's view - lengthened non-high short vowels in open penultimate syllables. The examples he gives there are found in (3) on the next page.

As Luick observes, the items were disyllabic in all or most of their inflected forms ("in allen oder doch den meisten Wortformen zweisilbig" [398]).[2] This means that all or most of the actual forms in which the words could occur were potential inputs to the lengthening process which Luick assumed to have been a rule that nowadays would be formalized as

(2)

$$V \rightarrow [+long] / \_\_ \S \sigma \#$$

Vowels (V) were lengthened ([+long]), if they were immediately followed by a syllable boundary (§) and if there was exactly one more syllable (σ) in the word (#).

(3)

Middle English	**Modern English**
ale	'bull'
ape	
bathen	'bathe'
bequeþen	'bequeathe'
bere	'bear'
beren	'bear'
blase	'torch'
cake	
eten	'eat'
fele	'many'
floten	'float'
fole	'foal'
gasen	'gaze'
grote	'
haten	'hate'
heven	'heave'
hopen	'hope'
knave	
laden	'load'
lane	
maken	'make'
mane	
mete	'meat'
name	
name	
nose	
pere	'pear'
quaken	'quake'
sake	
same	
schaken	'shake'
schame	'shame'
score	
smoken	'smoke'
sole	
sparen	'spare'
speken	'speak'
stelen	'steal'
stove	
taken	'take'
tale	
tere	'tar'
waden	'wade'
wanen	'wane'
weren	'wear'
weven	'weave'
þrote	'throat'

(cf. 398)

With the examples given for Trisyllabic Shortening, on the other hand, this is not the case at all. Apart from *ærende æmette* and *evere*, the items are all morphologically complex and co-exist with wordforms whose structure

would have blocked the application of Trisyllabic Shortening, if this is thought of as a rule such as

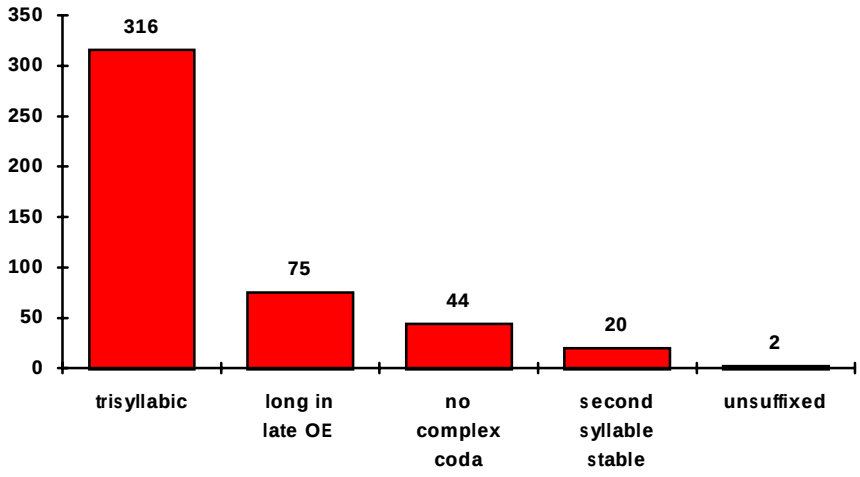
(4)

$$V \rightarrow [\text{-long}] / \_\_\_ C(C)\sigma\sigma\#$$

Vowels (V) were shortened ([-long]) if they were followed by one or two consonants and if there were two more syllables (σ) in the word (#).

This difference is rather striking and reveals what is it is that is so peculiar about Luick's examples of trisyllabically shortened words. Thus, it is strange that Luick should have picked only complex forms to illustrate the change even though there might have been a sufficient number of simple ones to do the job, ... or could it have been the case that there simply were no simple items that could have been affected by the Trisyllabic Shortening at all? In an attempt to answer that question I took an Early Middle English text that was available to me in a computer readable version with syllabic tagging, namely the *Owl and the Nightingale*, and had the Oxford Concordance Program (also known as 'Micro OCP') search it for trisyllabic wordforms. The results of this search, which are summed up in the following chart, were rather telling:

(5)



There were more than 300 trisyllabic word-forms in the text. Among those, however, there were only 75 which had an original long vowel and some of those had complex codas in their stressed syllables, so that shortening could equally well have been due to syllable weight. Of the items that did have simple codas, then, many had rival forms in which the second syllable was deleted and consonant clusters were created. Of the few remaining items, finally, practically none were morphologically simple. In other words,

Trisyllabic Shortening did not have any simple forms to apply to, and Luick's choice was not a coincidence, in this respect.

So, if there were no simple items that could have been given to illustrate the effect of Trisyllabic Shortening, the question is why Luick chose the very items he did from the many complex trisyllabic wordforms that no doubt there must have existed? Are they a random sample of all items on which Trisyllabic Shortening must have applied (if it really was what Luick assumed it to be)? Or is there a crucial difference between the examples Luick gave, such as *cicenu PL, linenes GEN DAT, ænigе PL, ærende, suþerne, westenne DAT, deorlingas PL, heringes PL, stiropes PL, redili* or *wepenes PL*, on the one hand, and other potential inputs to the shortening, such as *esterne, findige, blindely, gosteli*, or *finalli*, on the other.

Obviously, there is a difference: in practically all of Luick's examples the Modern English counterparts still reflect the shortening, while the Modern English reflexes of *esterne, blindely, gostelli*, and, I would guess, most of the inputs to Trisyllabic Shortening that Luick did not mention, show no trace of the change at all and have a long vowel. This is so, because the cases which Luick quoted were not only affected by Trisyllabic Shortening but reflect at the same time the impact of intraparadigmatic levelling, with analogy working from complex to simple forms. This is the common characteristic of the items which Luick gives in paragraph 353 of his grammar.

It is at this point that I start feeling distinctly uneasy about the way in which Luick presents his chapter on Trisyllabic Shortening: after all, from the data it contains, it could equally well have been presented as a chapter about a few curious cases of analogical levelling. After all, the Modern English shortness of the vowels in Luick's examples must have been as much due to that as to the sound change. The fact that analogical levelling took place, however, is only mentioned in passing by Luick. His focus is on the shortenings of the complex forms themselves, and it is only after the reader's attention has been directed to those, that Luick adds (almost as afterthoughts and often in the form of unconspicuously appended prepositional phrases beginning with "danach") that the lengthening came to be extended on simple forms because they adapted to the complex ones:

> lange Vokale [wurden] vor einfachen Konsonanten und den Konsonantenverbindungen, die sonst Länge begünstigten, in Dreisilblern gekürzt. [...] Hierher gehören zunächst die Fälle mit leichtem Nebenakzent, welche in § 307 und 314, 2 besprochen wurden: heafodu, hryþeru plur. und **danach** heafod (neben -ea-) 'Kopf', hryþer 'Rind', ferner cicenu plur., linene(s) gen. dat. [...] und **danach** cicen 'Küchlein', linen 'Leine' [...](Luick 1914/21, 328, my boldface, NR)

> [long vowels [were] shortened in trisyllabic items before single consonants and groups that normally favoured length. This includes, first of all, examples with light secondary stress, which have been discussed in § 307 and 314, 2: heafodu, hryþeru plur. and accordingly heafod (neben -ea-) 'head', hryþer 'cattle'; furthermore cicenu plur., linene(s) gen. dat. [...] and accordingly cicen 'chicken', linen 'linen' [...]"

In other words, Luick made the chapter look as if it was primarily about a sound change. In that case, however, a different strategy would have served his purpose better: after giving his version of the change, for example, he might have listed a representative sample of the forms which must have been affected by the change by virtue of their structure. Then he might have given evidence for the assumption that they were indeed affected by it; and, finally, he might have dealt with the problem of competing tauto-paradigmatic forms that were not affected by the change and might have shown that the long term implementation of the change was unsystematic and seemed to reflect the unpredictable working of analogical levelling. In this final part, then, Luick's examples would have been well-placed.

But Luick did not choose this type of strategy. Instead, his chapter on Trisyllabic Shortening turns out to be inconsistent and misleading in that the change and its long term implementation through analogy are not kept apart. - What might have been Luick's motives for doing so? The answer I would like to suggest is that Luick's presentation of Trisyllabic Shortening ought not to be regarded as a simple instance of bad writing but that it reflects, ultimately, Luick's view of the way in which the development of English - and indeed any language, one might add - ought to be described

Thus Luick made it clear in the introduction to his historical grammar, he intended the book to

> erzählen, was in Urzeiten einmal war, wie es sich nach und nach verändert hat und allmählich zu dem geworden ist, was heute besteht; sie [=Luick's *Historische Grammatik*] soll auch danach forschen, *warum* alles so geworden ist. [...] Die Lautlehre z.B. wird die Lautwandlungen, ihre zeitliche und örtliche Begrenzung und ihre Beziehung untereinander in den Mittelpunkt rücken.
>
> (Luick 1914/21, 5f.)

> [relate what the situation was like in primeval times, how it gradually changed and gave rise to what exists today. Also, it [=Luick's *Historical Grammar*] shall investigate *why* everything has come to be as it is. [...] Phonology, for example, will focus on sound changes, on their temporal and geographical domains and on their relatedness to one another.]

From this innocently looking statement, then, all idiosyncrasies of Luick's description of Trisyllabic Shortening can be derived quite easily. The reason why Modern English reflexes were given to illustrate the change was that Luick wanted to 'explain' the condition of Modern English through its

historical development. And the reason for Luick to highlight the sound change itself while at the same time backgrounding the levellings was that he believed in 'Lautwandlungen' (sound changes) as the explanatory devices that were most suitable for his task.

In his attempt to explain the quantity of the Modern English vowels in such words as *head*, *chicken*, *linen*, *any*, *errand*, *ant*, *southern*, *friend*, *holiday*, *alderman*, *herring*, *stirrop*, *Monday*, *Thursday*, *silly*, *ready*, *brethren*, *ever*, *other*, *riddle*, *bosom* or *weapon*, then, Luick applied a rigid scheme. In perfect keeping with Hempel/Oppenheim's scheme of scientific explanations, Luick explained his *explananda* through a law plus a set of strictly defined antecedent conditions:

(6)

EXPLANANDUM:		Why is the /e/ in ModE *errand* short?
EXPLANANS:	LAW:	Early Middle English vowels were shortened in antepenultimate syllables.
	CONDITION:	In Middle English, the /e/ in erende did occur in an antepenultimate syllable.

It is easy to see that the apparent stringency of such explanations would be greatly decreased if the role of analogical levelling was duly appreciated. The ways and directions in which analogical levelling seems to have worked cannot easily be reduced to covering laws as in the above scheme; nor is it possible to formulate sufficient and necessary conditions on which a 'law of analogical levelling' could be assumed to apply. Therefore, if Luick had given levelling the prominent status that it would have deserved considering the data which Luick knew of, the 'explanation' he could have given for the shortness of the vowels in his examples would have looked similar to this:

(7)

LEVEL 1:		
EXPLANANDUM:		Why is the /i/ ModE *linen* short?
EXPLANANS:	STATISTICAL LAW:	In case of the intraparadigmatic coorccurrence of divergent forms, analogical levelling may take place.
	CONDITION:	Simple *l**i:**nen* coexited with complex *l**i**nene* (dat.)and *l**i**nenes* (gen.)
LEVEL 2:		
EXPLANANDUM:		Why were the vowels in forms such as *linene* and *linenes* short?
EXPLANANS:	LAW:	Early Middle English vowels were shortened when they occurred in antepenultimate syllables.
	CONDITION:	In Early Middle English, the /i/s in *linene* (dat.)and *linenes* (gen.) did occur in antepenultimate syllables.

While a two-levelled explanation which incorporates a statistical law (if it deserves the name, but this is a different question) may appeal to contemporary readers, it was something which Luick seems to have tried to avoid at all costs. His chapter on Trisyllabic Shortening can thus be understood as an elaborate attempt at hiding the role of levelling from the reader's view without committing the blunder of denying its rather obvious existence. It is hardly surprising that such a task could not have been accomplished without rhethorical contortions that necessarily reduced the intelligibility of the text.

At the same time Luick's efforts at downtoning the importance of analogical levelling betray how strongly he must have clung to the view that the phonological development of (the English) language could be understood as a basically mechanistic system of straightforward laws, whose apparent complexity results merely from the manifold ways in which these laws have come to interact with each other. It seems that Luick believed that in the end all apparent mysteries in the way in which a language developped could be shown to result from a yet undiscovered regularity, just as Verner's Law managed to explain apparent exceptions to the First Germanic Consonant Shift. Essentially, Luick seems to have believed, the development of a language must be as predictable as a the working of a swiss watch.

Now, unless one reserves the term for more explicit explanatory systems, Luick's belief in phonological development as a succession of covering sound laws does deserve to be called a 'theory'. And if one does call it that, one may argue that - at least in the chapter on Trisyllabic Shortening - Luick's way of presenting data was not so much determined by his interest in phonological detail but much rather by his desire to

corroborate, strengthen or defend his theoretical position - even though he never acknowledged this explicitly.

As a matter of fact, the very incoherence which Fisiak observed in Luick's introduction to his Historical Grammar, can be viewed as an attempt at hiding his theoretical stand-point from the sight of possible critics: Thus, Luick ought not to be taken literally, when he claims that

> while the propositions in the *Historische Grammatik* may, in a sense, be read as rules,[3] this secondary quality[4] must not make one forget what they really are[5], namely plain historical accounts of what the situation was like in primeval times, how it gradually changed and gave rise to what exists today (cf. Luick 1914/21, 5)

Rather, this disclaimer appears as yet another rhethorical device aimed at concealing Luick's real belief in the regularity of language development.

3. Conclusions

In light of all this, then, it becomes highly questionable whether it is such a good idea at all for "historical linguists on both sides of the Atlantic [...to] turn[...] to Luick more than to anyone else when in search of what is so nice and curtly called 'the data'". One might get more theory with them than one is aware of, because - as I hope to have shown - Luick's presentation of the history of English sounds was less data oriented in some respects than determined by his desire to explain it in terms of a set of interacting rules, as if it developed basically like a logical calculus, with historical accidence (in the shape of levelling, dialect mixture, etc.) blurring the picture only minimally.

One will have to suspect, therefore, that the make-up of Luick's chapter on Trisyllabic Shortening might not have been the only way in which his hope that changes could be explained in terms of covering laws shaped his view and analysis of the data. It is not unlikely that there could be other instances where Luick's way of describing the phonological development of English deserves to be questioned in a similar manner, now that the possibility that it may have been biassed by an implicit but very determined theoretical standpoint is recognized.[6] And this, in turn, would have to be followed by much more detailed investigations of the actual historical evidence, if one really wanted to decide where and to what degree Luick allowed his theoretical belief to influence and distort his interpretation of the data available to him.

The purpose of this paper, however, has been much humbler than that. What I hope to have shown is simply that Luick's approach to English historical linguistics was much less empirical and a-theoretical than is generally assumed. Rather than as a collection of phonological details, his

magnum opus, the Historische Grammatik, deserves to be regarded as an elaborate effort to tell a coherent and systematic story of English, which, in some places at least, sacrifices observable truth to system coherence or the magic appeal of modelling a linguistic microcosmos that rests in splendidly hermetic harmony with itself. In this respect, then, Karl Luick was neither better nor worse than most of the theoretical linguists with whom he is sometimes nostalgically contrasted.

Notes

[1]In a sense, this is even an understatement: for generations of undergraduate or graduate students at Vienna university Luick has not only been the starting point for their considerations of historical English phonology but has at the same time often come to represent that mythical level of knowledge and understanding which no ordinary human being is ever likely to reach anyway. Thus, Herbert Schendl told me recently that when he was a student he and his colleagues were under the impression that knowing the history of English phonology was equivalent to knowing Luick's *Historische Grammatik* by heart: of course, nobody could reasonably hope to achieve this humbling task. - As far as my own student days are concerned, then, the situation was even more deplorable: for us, even the shorter and more systematical handbook by Luick's disciple Hans Pinsker, which can - in many respects - be regarded as a simplified version of Luick's *magnum opus*, was more than most of us were ready or able to take in, while the *Historische Grammatik* itself was something few ever dared (or wished) even to open.

[2] Most crucially they were so in what was to become their base forms.

[3]"die Sätze der historischen Grammatik in gewissem Sinne den Charakter von Regeln [haben]

[4]"über dieser sekundär sich ergebenden Eigenschaft"

[5]"ihr eigentliches Wesen"

[6]In particular, one would have to be suspicious of all parts of Luick's *Historische Grammatik* that serve to convey the picture that English phonology developed in the mechanically predictable way outlined above. They might have been motivated by Luick's theoretical bias and be correspondingly distorted. If one consciously looks for such elements one finds them rather easily. The very assumption of a Trisyllabic Shortening rule in Early Middle English, for example, becomes doubtful. After all, there are other ways of accounting for the short vowels in ModE *head*, *chicken*, *linen*, *any*, *errand*, *ant*, *southern*, *friend*, *holiday*, *alderman*, *herring*, *stirrop*, *Monday*, *Thursday*, *silly*, *ready*, *brethren*, *ever*, *other*, *riddle*, *bosom* or *weapon*: Most of them have retained their second syllables, many had high vowels, some have developed complex codas (*Thursday)* and others (such as *any*) tend to occur relatively frequently in unstressed positions. All of these factors can be shown to have disfavoured lengthening and favoured shortening in the relevant period of English (see Ritt 1992). There are two crucial differences between them and the Trisyllabic Shortening rule which Luick assumed: first, they seem to have been tendencies rather than covering laws. Thus, vowels are not necessarly shortened, if they are high, for example, or if they are followed by more than one consonant, or another syllable within the same word. The only thing one may observe is that these factors seem to have disfavoured vowel length. Second, they have to face the fact that words such as *any*, *errand*, *southern*, *friend*, *herring*, *ready*, *brethren*, *ever*, or *weapon* display structures which according to Luick triggered a vowel lengthening rather than a shortening, i.e. Lengthening in Open Syllables. Trisyllabic Shortening explains their idiosyncratic behaviour rather easily. The apparent contradiction ceases to be a problem, however, as soon as one gives up the idea that Open Syllable Lengthening was not a covering law either but also a mere tendency. Then, while the long term impact of Luick's Shortening rule can only be explained with reference to analogical levelling as an unobtrusive deus ex machina, the alternative descriptions given above do not rely on the levelling influence of inflected forms but make sense with regard to the base forms that have actually come to survive. At the same time, they do not have to brush the fact that Trisyllabic Shortening has not survived in the ModE counterparts of *esterne*, *findige*, *blindely*, *gosteli*, or *finalli* under the carpet. What this means, however, is that if one does not insist on the assumption of covering laws in the way in which Luick seems to have done, there is hardly any reason at all to assume

a Trisyllabic Shortening rule to have operated in early Middle English, and the whole concept may be regarded as an invention born from Luick's desire to find a law for every apparent exception other laws. Just as Verner's Law 'explained' exceptions to Grimm's Law, Luick's Trisyllabic Shortening was meant to 'explain' exceptions to Open Syllable Lengthening.

There are also other sound changes in Luick's account, which seem to play similar roles as Trisyllabic Shortening does with regard to Open Syllable Lengthening. I shall point out two.

First, Luick assumes Early Modern English short /a/s to have been turned into /au/s before word-final or pre-consonantal /l/s (/hal/ > /haul/, /half/ > /haulf/) (cf. Luick 1914/21, 603ff.). Of course, there seems to be corresponding spelling evidence to support that assumption. However, incidentally, this change bleeds another rule namely the general fronting and raising of short /a/ to /æ/(cf. Luick 1914/21, 669ff.). Only after that change and a similar change of the long /a:/ sound to /æ:/ had taken place, the diphthong /au/ allegedly re-assumed its original quality and was turned into /a:/ before eventually being backed into /ɔ:/.(cf. Luick 1914/21, 642ff.) Thus, the diphthongization rule saves the /a/ > /æ/ and/or /a:/ > /æ:/ rules from having to face 'exceptions' before the /l{C,#}/ environments. Considering what Luick did in order to convey a picture of English phonology developing as if according to a well designed logical calculus (with historical accidence in the shape of analogical levelling, dialect mixture, etc. disturbing the picture only minimally), his account of /a/ before /l/ strikes one as suspiciously clean and almost too neat to be true, as it were. Therefore, without committing myself on this point, the very concept of /a/ ever to have turned into /au/ might have sprung from Luick's obsession with neat rule than from objective evidence, so that a reappraisal of the records seems to be required.

A similar case might be Luick's assumption that Early Modern English vowels developped epenthetic schwas before /r/.(cf. Luick 1914/21, 610ff.) This process supposedly created the diphthongs aə, eə, iə, oə, uə, a:ə, e:ə, ɛ:ə, i:ə, o:ə, ɔ:ə and u:ə, and thereby bled all rules working on the monophthongs in the same way as the diphthongization of /a/ into /au/ bled brightening. Being bled, the affected rules - such as fronting of /a/ or unrounding and lowering of /u/ to /ʌ/ - could then be described as general and had to confront considerably fewer 'exceptions'. Again, Luick's solution could be understood to result from an effort to make his rule system work, and there are grounds suspect that such an attempt could have biassed Luick's interpretation of the actual evidence, so that the development of Early Modern English vowels before /r/ might prove worthy of a thorough reassessment as well.

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Comments on: Luick, the theoretician. *Nikolaus Ritt and* Cohesion in OE prose. *Hans Peter Platzer*

H G Widdowson

Both of these papers seem to me to raise issues of wider implication concerning the application of theory to the description of language. What I should like to do is to note some which came to my mind when reading the papers in draft, and during the seminar discussion which preceded publication.

Perhaps the first and most obvious point to make is that data never signal their own significance, nor indeed their own factual status. Any descriptive system presupposes a theory which selects and categorizes data in its own image. There cannot be an objective description, so it must be misleading to suggest that Luick's work is a completely reliable source of information about absolute linguistic fact. His description is relative, like any other.

But this does not prevent it from being authoritative, and this authority can be seen in both a positive and a negative way. Positively, one can point to the fact that Luick's descriptive scheme accounts for regularities which would be generally recognized, and so in accord with other theoretical perspectives. It reflects a concensus. In Chomsky's sense, it may be authoritative in that it achieves a considerable measure of descriptive adequacy: it accounts elegantly and economically for linguistic phenomena which it would be generally agreed constitute the data to be described. Negatively, the authority may attach to the prestige of Luick as a scholar and attract undue deference, so that people are persuaded to believe that his scheme is complete and correct and a source of factual information, that his description **is** the data.

What Nikolaus Ritt does is to point out that there is a theoretical perspective which informs the description and which has the effect of bringing recalcitrant data into line. But the theory is covert since it is stabilized as an accepted paradigm. Luick's concern, it would seem, is to turn it to descriptive advantage, to exploit it not to explore it. He is in the business of applying a model of description to data, not of using data to test out the validity of a model.

And, of course, this is an entirely legitimate thing to do. If we spent all our time in theoretical enquiry we would never get anything done. We have to assume some stability, even if this is ultimately an illusion. The fact that a

settled theory cannot be absolute in its validity does not mean that it cannot have value for description. The difficulty arises when there is an assumption of absolute validity. Data will always in some degree be made to fit descriptive categories, but one needs to recognize that this is indeed the case, and that there is always the possibility of different categorizations based on different theoretical perspectives. It is perhaps always wise to grant that any system is partial both in the sense of incomplete and in the sense of prejudiced in favour of a particular point of view. In reference to the point that is made about Luick making the data accommodate to his preconceived categories, one might say that it would have been preferable for him to acknowledge that in some respects, and for some data, his scheme, like any other, has its shortcomings. But then he might well have felt that this compromise would indeed have compromised him as an authority and called his scholarship into question. One cannot blame him for wanting to protect his status. One of the difficulties about scholars of all kinds is that they always want to be right. Luick is not unusual in this respect. Once you have got a paradigm to work within, and a community of like-minded scholars to establish solidarity with, whether they be called neo-grammarians, or generative grammarians or systemic linguists or whatever, then your inclination quite naturally is to close ranks, get your house and your data in order, and settle into the assurance of positivism.

Was Luick a theoretician, then? In one sense, he could not help being one since any set of descriptive categories must presuppose some theoretical provenance. In this respect the data which they account for are only partially represented. The categories can always be questioned and if they are presented as unquestionable and absolute it will always be possible to find data of doubtful fit. Luick, it appears, was not concerned with questioning, however, and in this respect he was not a theoretician. He did not theorize. His empirical work was of the kind which referred data to an established scheme, not of the kind which referred theoretical ideas to data, testing them out in the development of a scheme. He was not in theoretical quest of a model of description: he had one. What he wanted to do was to apply it.

Luick was engaged in the usual intellectual enterprise of trying to discover some order underlying the superficial appearance of things. I have been suggesting that it is of the very nature of such an enterprise that such discovery is in part bound to be invention, and that this does not in itself invalidate the description. What it does do is to make it relative and so subject to revision from a different perception of the data. This is what Ritt shows in his paper. But a descriptive model may require modification when it is called upon to deal with data other than that which it was designed to account for. This brings us to the paper on cohesion by Hans Peter Platzer.

Like Luick, Halliday & Hasan propose a model of description for the categorization of linguistic data without getting involved in any explicit discussion of its theoretical basis. The model is presented as unproblematic, as an operational instrument. For their purpose, again, is not to demonstrate how the model is derived from theory, but how it can be directed to the description of data. What seems to me to be of particular interest in Platzer's paper is that his attempt to apply their categories to Old English makes them problematic and leads to questions about their more general validity. There is, of course, an argument that can be used in defence of Halliday & Hasan which cannot be used in the case of Luick, namely that their scheme was designed to deal with different data. But then whatever shortcomings might emerge from an extended application should suggest what a more general theory of cohesion needs to account for. Again, the point is not to dismiss the descriptive scheme as invalid but to define the limits of its validity, and to follow through the theoretical implications that arise from its application.

Platzer, then,(like Ritt) finds that some of the data he is dealing with will not fit easily into the proposed descriptive scheme. Thus he suggests that for OE it is "convenient "(and given the points I have made earlier, this term seems to me to be a very apt one) to re-group the items which are categorized by Halliday & Hasan under personal and demonstrative reference into categories which are grammatically consistent in terms of word class, namely those of pronominal and adverbial reference. This immediately raises the question as to what the criteria for the categorization of cohesive devices should be. There are two obvious possibilities: either you identify types of cohesive function however they are formally realized, or you fix on the formal realizations themselves and categorize them. This distinction is what Halliday & Hasan would seem to have in mind themselves when they talk about **types of reference** and **reference items** (Halliday & Hasan 1976:.37). Which, then, serves as the primary criterion for defining their categories of cohesion?

It is not, I think, very clear. The chapters of the the book **Cohesion in English** are subdivided into sections many of which quite explicitly, and in a good deal of detail, provide a list of different formal realizations. The main headings, however, would appear to refer not to realizations but functions (**Reference, Substitution** and so on). Often, therefore, a main function is sub-categorized not in terms of sub-types of function but sub-types of formal realization. And this, I think, has two related consequences. Firstly it results in the same kind of data manipulation that Ritt points to in the work of Luick. Secondly, it creates a conceptual confusion about the very nature of the phenomenon being described and leaves the notion of cohesion

incoherent. In both cases, we are confronted with questions about the theoretical status of the model.

Consider first the point about the manipulation of data. Since formal realizations are adduced as sub-categories of function, the implication is that particular forms do not generally operate in more than one cohesive capacity. Thus, to take one small example, it would appear that the personal pronoun **it** is referential and cannot substitute, whereas the indefinite article **one,** or the item **same,** is a type of substitution and cannot refer. Now the distinction between **it** and **one** is, in part at least, a matter of specific vs non-specific reference, associated with the prior use of the indefinite article. **It** ,but not **one**, refers to something specific in the speaker's mind. Thus we can compare:

(1.)

1. I am looking for a disk I left here on my desk. Have you seen **it**?
2. I am looking for a disk for my computer. Have you got **one**?

Or consider the following examples (both cited by Halliday & Hasan themselves):

(2.)

3. A: I'll have two poached eggs on toast, please.
   B: I'll have the same.
4. I am bound to you
   That you on my behalf would pluck a flower. -
   In your behalf still will I wear the same.

According to the Halliday & Hasan scheme **the same** in these expressions functions as substitution. But if the first were were to be replaced by **that** and the second by **it,** the speaker would be achieving cohesion by reference instead, and this is quite a different thing. Now it is true that Halliday and Hasan concede that some formal items can indeed function in more than one mode. So in the small print, so to speak, they mention that when **same** is "a cohesive element of the comparative type... it is a reference item and not a substitution"(p.105)

But then how and why does it alter its cohesive function so radically? And there is no doubt that the distinction between these types of cohesion **is** seen as radical. This is how it is expressed:

> Substitution is a relation between linguistic items, such as words or phrases; whereas reference is a relation between meanings. In terms of the linguistic system, reference is a relation on the semantic level, whereas substitution is a relation on the lexicogrammatical level, the level of grammar and vocabulary, or linguistic 'form'.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976:89)

How can it be, one wonders, that in uttering the first of the expressions given above (1), I am expressing a meaning relation and in the second (2) I

am not, but simply linking up two linguistic forms. Surely **all** cohesion is a matter of using language to make meaning. So what does it mean to talk about a lexicogrammatical level as **distinct** from the semantic level? One gets the strong impression here of scholarly ingenuity, perhaps not entirely ingenuous. What Nikolaus Ritt says of Luick applies just as much here.

Except perhaps that Halliday and Hasan do seem to concede that their descriptive scheme is only an approximation. Consider this apparent disclaimer:

> The distinction between substitution and reference is that substitution is a relation in the wording rather than in the meaning. It has been emphasized already that the classification of cohesive relations into different types should not be seen as implying a rigid division into watertight compartments. There are many instances of cohesive forms which lie on the borderline between two types and could be interpreted as one or the other.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 88)

What, though, is being disclaimed here? The distinction between the types of cohesive relation (reference and substitution) seems to be asserted as absolute. The uncertainty lies in attributing particular linguistic realizations, particular cohesive forms, to one category or the other. The implication is that if there is a problem, it lies not in the design of the model but in its application.

We are back again to the issue of the relationship between theory and description and data. Many instances of cohesive forms lie on the borderline. How many? And which are they? How many do there have to be and of what kind before one begins to wonder whether the borderline does not need to be redrawn, or withdrawn altogether.

But if the criteria for the Halliday & Hasan definition of cohesive categories is open to question, which criteria can we consider in their place? What after all **is** cohesion? One difficulty about the taxonomic proliferation of categories in this descriptive scheme is that induces a kind of blurred myopic vision. You cannot see the wood for the trees. There is no broad conceptual view. Paradoxically cohesion is represented as a diffuse collection of devices, separated out and listed, rather than an integral and integrating phenonemon. And this descriptive analysis distracts attention away from any theoretical synthesis. Thus substitution is dealt with in separation from ellipsis, even though it is acknowledged that they are really the same sort of phenomenon. And both are said to be a cohesive relation within texts as distinct from reference which is relation with "something else", with the world outside text. But we only make sense of text when we relate it to our own conceptual reality, when we realize it as discourse, and as soon as we process a text it becomes part of this reality. The point is that

language never stays inside the text. The distinctions which Halliday & Hasan make are pragmatically incoherent.

For cohesion is surely an essentially pragmatic matter. It is therefore of limited value to display the different devices which are available. What we need to discover are the conditions, the pragmatic conditions, which call for the use of one cohesive device rather than another. Platzer points out that in his OE texts certain devices occur more frequently than others. Why? And what contextual conditions favour the use of different devices in different texts in modern English? Again, a sharp distinction is made in Halliday & Hasan between grammatical and lexical cohesion. But is this distinction really warranted? Is it not rather that there is (to use Halliday's own word) a cline? If this is so, then what is of primary interest surely is not how many different formal expressions you can list as points on the cline, but what determines the movement along it from the more to the less lexically explicit, what are (to use the title of Cruse 1977) "the pragmatics of lexical specificity".

As I have tried to show, both papers printed here , though focussing on particular descriptions, raise issues of very general relevance for the study of language, Ritt quite explicitly and Platzer by implication. In bringing these out in the open in these comments it is not my purpose to be dismissive or deny the value of these descriptive systems but only to indicate their limitations, their **necessary** partiality. The point I would wish to make is that the significance of works of scholarship like those of Luick and Halliday & Hasan lies not only , perhaps not principally, in the information they provide but in the critical attitude they provoke. What is often of greater interest is not what they tell us, but what they do not.

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