

LEXICOGRAPHICA Series
Maior

LEXICOGRAPHICA

Series Maior

Supplementary Volumes to the International Annual for Lexicography

Suppléments à la Revue Internationale de Lexicographie

Supplementbände zum Internationalen Jahrbuch für Lexikographie

Edited by

Sture Allén, Pierre Corbin, Reinhard R. K. Hartmann,

Franz Josef Hausmann, Ulrich Heid, Oskar Reichmann,

Ladislav Zgusta

103

**Published in cooperation with the Dictionary Society of North America
(DSNA) and the European Association for Lexicography (EURALEX)**

Symposium on Lexicography IX

Proceedings of the Ninth International
Symposium on Lexicography April 23–25, 1998
at the University of Copenhagen

Edited by
Jens Erik Mogensen, Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen
and Arne Zettersten

Max Niemeyer Verlag
Tübingen 2000



Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

{*Lexicographica / Series maior*}

Lexicographica : supplementary volumes to the International annual for lexicography / publ. in cooperation with the Dictionary Society of North America (DSNA) and the European Association for Lexicography (EURALEX). Series maior. – Tübingen : Niemeyer.

Früher Schriftenreihe

Reihe Series maior zu: *Lexicographica*

103. Symposium on Lexicography <9. 1998, København>: Symposium on Lexicography IX. – 2000

Symposium on Lexicography <9. 1998, København>: Symposium on Lexicography IX : proceedings of the Ninth Symposium on Lexicography, April 23 – 25, 1998 at the University of Copenhagen / ed. by Jens Erik Mogensen – Tübingen : Niemeyer, 2000

(*Lexicographica : Series maior* ; 103)

ISBN 3-484-39103-0 ISSN 0175-9264

© Max Niemeyer Verlag GmbH, Tübingen 2000

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen. Printed in Germany.

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Druck: Weihert-Druck GmbH, Darmstadt

Einband: Industriebuchbinderei Nädele, Nehren

Table Of Contents

Introduction	
English	VII
French	XII
German	XVII
Gabriele Stein	The Otto Jespersen Memorial Lecture. John Palsgrave as Precursor of Otto Jespersen 1
Ladislav Zgusta	Some Developments in Lexicography, Past and Present 11
Andrejs Veisbergs	Latvian Bilingual Lexicography – Tradition and Change 27
Elena Bárcena & Tim Read	The Architecture of a Cognitive-based Multilingual Computational Dictionary 35
Matthias Kammerer	Kritisches zu Schnelles Applizierung einer “Logischen Semantik” bei Wörterbüchern vom COBUILD-Typ 43
Jørgen Erik Nielsen	Otto Jespersen as a Lexicographer 71
Dorthe Duncker & Hanne Ruus	Multi Level Text Representation in an LCB 77
Rufus H. Gouws	Strategies in Equivalent Discrimination 99
Sándor Martsa	On Animal Frames in English and Hungarian 113
Geart van der Meer	Further Ways to Improve the Active Dictionary: <i>Collocations,</i> <i>Non-morphological Derivations, Grammar</i> 125
Stefan J. Schierholz	Governed Prepositions. A Database for German, English and Portuguese Nouns 143
Ulrich Busse	Recent English Learners’ Dictionaries and their Treatment of Political Correctness 165
Bernhard Diensberg	Toward a Revision of the Etymologies in the <i>Oxford</i> <i>English Dictionary</i> (OED 3 rd edition, in progress) 203
Lars Holm	“The bishop who strove for completeness” – On Taboos and Taboo-breaking in Swedish Dictionaries through the Ages 225

Hanne Lauridsen & Arne Zettersten	The New <i>Politiken English-Danish Dictionary: Politikens Engelsk-Dansk med betydningsforklaringer</i>	253
Hideki Watanabe	Quotations from <i>Beowulf</i> and Other Old English Poems in the <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>	263
Andreas Gröger	A Semantic Analysis of Old English Mental Verbs, Based on the Material of the <i>Helsinki Corpus</i>	271
Ljubima Jordanowa	Die Zweite Wende (1996-1997) und die neuen Probleme für die Lexikographie in Bulgarien	287
Makimi Kimura	The Naturalization Process of Japanese Loanwords as Reflected in English Dictionaries – The Four-Stage Hypothesis and Associated Problems	293
Gunnar Persson	Vit flugsvamp or Destroying Angel. Cognitive Aspects of Names for Fungi in Some Languages	305
Maja Lindfors Viklund & Yvonne Cederholm	Chasing the Dragon – Drug Related Terminology in a Multilingual Perspective	323

Introduction

The Ninth International Symposium on Lexicography at the University of Copenhagen, the proceedings of which are hereby published, took place on 23-25 April, 1998. This time we enjoyed meeting participants from the Nordic countries, Bulgaria, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Japan, Latvia, The Netherlands, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and the USA.

There were five plenary lectures – by Gabriele Stein, University of Heidelberg, Ladislav Zgusta, University of Illinois, Ulrich Heid, University of Stuttgart, Peter Gilliver, The Oxford English Dictionary, and Jørgen Erik Nielsen, University of Copenhagen.

As from 1994, the Otto Jespersen Memorial lecture has been linked to the International Symposium on Lexicography. This year it was given as the opening plenary lecture of the Symposium by Gabriele Stein of the University of Heidelberg, former President of EURALEX.

The papers read at the Symposium are presented in this volume under four different headings:

1. Historical and theoretical papers

Gabriele Stein, Ladislav Zgusta, Andrejs Veisbergs, Elena Bárcena & Tim Read, Matthias Kammerer, Jørgen Erik Nielsen.

2. Structural problems of dictionaries

Dorthe Duncker & Hanne Ruus, Rufus H. Gouws, Sándor Martsa, Geart van der Meer, Stefan J. Schierholz.

3. Criticism and typology of dictionaries

Ulrich Busse, Bernhard Diensberg, Lars Holm, Hanne Lauridsen & Arne Zettersten, Hideki Watanabe.

4. Semantics and lexicology

Andres Gröger, Ljubima Jordanowa, Makimi Kimura, Gunnar Persson, Maja Lindfors Viklund & Yvonne Cederholm.

1. Historical and theoretical papers

Gabriele Stein presents in her Otto Jespersen Memorial lecture John Palsgrave's monumental work "Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse" from 1530 and emphasizes the similarities between Palsgrave and Otto Jespersen. Both advocate, for example, the careful study of authentic texts in the foreign language, both have devised a phonetic notation and took an interest in didactic questions, both being phoneticians and grammarians at the same time. Finally, a corpus – based study of the do-periphrasis by Palsgrave is presented.

The second plenary lecture, by *Ladislav Zgusta*, Urbana, Illinois, deals with "Some developments in lexicography, past and present." This comprehensive paper covers all of the following central areas connected with lexicography: historicism, structuralism, Danish structuralism including Louis Hjelmslev, valences, collocations, frequency, American

Structuralism including, Bloomfield, Block, Fries and Harris, pedagogical dictionaries, post-structuralism, prototypes, compatibility of theories, theoreticians and practitioners, and computer programs. In commenting on the last of these areas Zgusta concludes that "the time is ripe for our joining forces with the computational linguists, not only by accepting the programs resulting from their efforts, but also by participating in the research that is necessary for the construction of these programs".

Andrejs Veisbergs writes on Latvian bilingual lexicography, discussing recent English/Latvian lexicographical work against the background of the lexicographical tradition in Latvia, which he describes as mainly bilingual, purist, and to a large extent divorced from actual usage. The main problem at present is to prepare a dictionary reflecting modern usage rather than the ideals of purists. Although some progress has been made in this area, the author feels that there is still a long way to go.

Elena Bárcena and *Tim Read* introduces a fascinating prototype of a cognitively based, multilingual on-line lexical reference system. The idea is to copy the mental lexicon of native speakers, and information is stored for each language in a kind of thesaurus format. Links are then established to other languages, so that one can move from a Spanish headword with synonyms to the corresponding English entry.

Matthias Kammerer concerns himself with Helmut Schnelle's thesis, according to which the semantic information in dictionaries of the COBUILD type should be regarded as an axiomatic system. According to a deconstruction of Schnelle's argumentation, Kammerer first explains that the predicate logic with regard to the natural language leads to better insight than the propositional logic that Schnelle took as his basis. Further, it is shown that both the correctness thesis and the completeness thesis fail in Schnelle's case and that we cannot talk about axioms of natural language in respect of indications of meaning. It is made clear that a logic cannot be applied to a natural language like, for example, English in a meaningful way.

Jørgen Erik Nielsen shows us Otto Jespersen as a lexicographer, demonstrating that although lexicography was admittedly only a minor interest for him, Otto Jespersen nevertheless made important contributions to the leading Danish encyclopaedia of his time, Salomonson's, and to the largest English/Danish dictionary, Brynildsen's, for which he prepared the phonetic transcription of the headwords. Also, he prepared a small dictionary of Novial, a language he himself had constructed on the basis of Esperanto.

2. Structural problems of dictionaries

Dorthe Duncker and *Hanne Ruus* suggest a model for a Lexical Corpus Base (LCB) and describe a methodology for building it. Examples are taken from the LCB of Danish 16th century texts; this LBC offers access to the entire text corpus, and at the same time presents the content of the corpus texts in a way which facilitates vocabulary studies and lexicographical work.

Rufus Gouws pertinently calls for improvements in the way bilingual dictionaries traditionally help users to select a correct 'equivalent' for a source language word. He stresses that bilingual lexicography should use many of the same strategies as monolingual lexicography, and goes on to discuss practical problems and their solution on the basis of English/Afrikaans lexicography.

Sándor Martsa, drawing on the definition of J.F. Taylor (1995), discusses animal 'frames' i.e. the background knowledge, real or assumed, that guides a native speaker's use of a given word. Particularly interesting are the so-called 'folk generic animal frames' which enable the English to 'make pigs of themselves', whereas the Russians can 'jump about like he-goats' (i.e. in a clumsy manner), and the Hungarians can 'pig' (i.e. indulge in filthy talk).

Geart van der Meer deals with some problem areas which in his view need improvement regarding active dictionaries of Dutch-English, English-Dutch. He proposes that a fine-meshed system of reference should be introduced in the case of the English non-morphological derivation of the type *city/town* > adj: *urban* and *son/daughter* > adj: *filial*. Geart van der Meer also submits some suggestions for improvement in the case of collocations. He further suggests that regarding grammar in dictionaries, we should make more use of the examples of sentences given.

Stefan J. Schierholz describes in his paper the Erfurst Project dealing with the valency of nouns and prepositions in Dutch, English and Portuguese. Since grammars as well as dictionaries contain too few examples, basic research is necessary. Eighteen governing prepositions in German will be investigated and the problems connected with their translation will be touched upon. It is worth noticing that there are only about 1,000 relevant German nouns in this context. The results of the project will be of use not only for lexicography and grammar studies, but also for computer-assisted translation.

3. Criticism and typology of dictionaries

Ulrich Busse investigates the treatment of politically correct lexemes in four learners' dictionaries of contemporary English. The pragmatics of various areas of vocabulary are categorized, e.g. ethnical words (*Negro, coon, nigger*), derogatory nationality labels (*Kraut, Yank, Yid*), pronominal usage (*he, she, he or she, they*), word formation (*salesman, saleswoman, salesperson*), as well as words for sexual orientation (*queer*) and elderly people (*oldie, oldtimer*). Busse makes it clear that the category is not summarized in a survey in any of the dictionaries investigated; however, it is clear from the various dictionary entries that the lexicographers are fully aware of the problems.

For several years, *Bernhard Diensberg* has been engaged in revising the etymologies of Old French loanwords for the new *Oxford English Dictionary*. In this article Diensberg deals primarily with the following areas: two phonological systems in contact, conclusions regarding the phonological reception/integration of Anglo-French and Old French word material into Middle English, the integration of Anglo-French vowels, the integration of Anglo-French consonants, the integration of Old French morphonological alternations, as well as certain inconsistencies in the etymological and historical dictionaries.

Lars Holm has made a comprehensive survey of taboos and taboo-breaking in Swedish dictionaries from the 16th century to the present day. He has concentrated his study on specific groups of taboo-words, which he calls *loo words, fuck words*, etc. His results are displayed in a summarizing figure which indicates how 25 keywords have been treated in 100 Swedish dictionaries.

Hanne Lauridsen and *Arne Zettersten* present in their paper their new English-Danish Dictionary in two volumes, published by Politiken Forlag, Copenhagen. Some special as-

pects of bilingual dictionary-making are discussed in connection with some new features characteristic of the dictionary, such as the corpora used, the special emphasis on grammar, interactive definitions, collocations, the variety of Danish equivalents, and the emphasis on pragmatics.

Hideki Watanabe continues his series of scrutinies of the Oxford English Dictionary (2nd ed.) by looking critically at quotations retrieved from the CD-ROM version of the dictionary. This time he concentrates on dictionary quotations from Old English poems, especially *Beowulf*, since this poem is of additional interest to the audience, as most of the scenes are set in Denmark and adjacent Scandinavian countries. His critical comments concern titles of poems and their abbreviations, dates of composition, problems caused by multiple additions, etc.

4. Semantics and lexicology

Andreas Gröger, Bayreuth, presents a summary of his work on Old English mental verbs, based on the material of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. Gröger analyses the lexical fields of 15 so-called mental verbs, referring to verbs denoting mental activities and states, such as thinking, believing, remembering, supposing, etc. As a result of the analysis, a synthesis is presented in the form of overview field diagrams and quantitative diagrams.

Ljubima Jordanowa presents the lexicographical problems connected with the language of the Turnaround (Collapse of communism) in Bulgaria. After establishing the periods after the Bulgarian Turnaround, Jordanova introduces the Vocabulary Corpus of the so-called "Second Turnaround" (1996-97), which is being set up at the Academy of Sciences in Sofia. This Corpus will later be available on the Internet.

In her paper *Makimi Kimura* analysis the naturalization process of Japanese loanwords as represented in five English dictionaries, The Oxford English Dictionary (2nd ed.), Webster's Third, The Random House Dictionary, The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary and the Oxford English Dictionary Additions Series. The author shows that Japanese loanwords go through four stages of naturalization process in the English Vocabulary: 1) Pronunciation, Vocabulary, 2) Attributive use, 3) Productivity and 4) Semantic shift.

Gunnar Persson writes on the cognitive aspects of names for fungi in a number of languages. He posits 12 categories such as shape, colour, distribution, etc., that enter into the naming of fungi, and draws a distinction between learned and folk taxonomy; according to the former, a 'toadstool' is a fungus, to the latter, a mushroom.

The paper concludes with playfully suggesting a new linguistic field called "comparative mycological linguistics": One question to be raised here would be whether there are differences in the naming strategies of various languages. It would appear, for instance, that English is especially keen to warn people against the harmful effects of some fungi.

Maja Lindfors Viklund and *Yvonne Cederholm* in their paper present the work on drug related terminology within the AVVENTINUS project, which aims at providing European police organisations with appropriate linguistic tools to facilitate cooperation across language barriers. The most interesting point about the sublanguage described is that it comprises terminology in the traditional sense as well as slang. There is strong English influence on all other languages within this area, and the frequent use of synonyms and metaphors poses interesting questions in a multilingual perspective.

Acknowledgements: The editors wish to thank the authors of the contributions for placing their manuscripts at our disposal and all participants, old friends and newcomers, for joining the symposium. We are indebted for financial support to the Faculty of the Humanities, the English and German Departments and the Center for Translation Studies and Lexicography, Copenhagen University. Finally, we want to thank Mia Nielsen at the English Department for assisting the editors in preparing the texts for the printers.

Copenhagen, May 1999

The editors

Introduction

Le Neuvième Symposium International de Lexicographie, dont les débats sont publiés ci-après, s'est tenu à l'Université de Copenhague du 23 au 25 avril 1998. A cette occasion, nous avons eu le plaisir de rencontrer des participants des pays nordiques, de Bulgarie, d'Allemagne, de Grande-Bretagne, de Hongrie, du Japon, de Lettonie, des Pays-Bas, de Russie, de Slovaquie, de Slovénie, d'Espagne et des États-Unis.

Cinq conférences en séance plénière ont été délivrées par Gabriele Stein, Université de Heidelberg, Ladislav Zgusta, Université d'Illinois, Ulrich Heid, Université de Stuttgart, Peter Gilliver, The Oxford English Dictionary et Jørgen Erik Nielsen, Université de Copenhague.

Depuis 1994, une conférence à la mémoire de Otto Jespersen est incluse dans le Symposium International de Lexicographie. À l'occasion de la conférence de 1998, elle a été donnée en tant que conférence plénière d'inauguration du Symposium par Gabrielle Stein de l'Université de Heidelberg, ancienne présidente d'EURALEX.

Les exposés présentés au Symposium figurent dans le présent volume sous quatre rubriques différentes :

1. Exposés historiques et théoriques

Gabrielle Stein, Ladislav Zgusta, Andrejs Veisbergs, Elena Bárcena & Tim Read, Matthias Kammerer, Jørgen Erik Nielsen.

2. Problèmes structurels des dictionnaires

Dorthe Duncker & Hanne Ruus, Rufus H. Gouws, Sándor Martsa, Geart van der Meer, Stefan J. Schierholz.

3. Critique et typologie des dictionnaires

Ulrich Busse, Bernhard Diensberg, Lars Holm, Hanne Lauridsen & Arne Zettersten, Hideki Wanatabe.

4. Sémantique et lexicologie

Andreas Gröger, Ljubima Jordanowa, Makimi Kimura, Gunnar Persson, Maja Lindfors Viklund & Yvonne Cederholm.

1. Exposés historiques et théoriques

Dans sa conférence à la mémoire de Otto Jespersen, *Gabrielle Stein* présente l'oeuvre monumentale de John Palsgrave 'Lesclarcissement de la langue françoysé' de 1530 en soulignant les ressemblances entre Palsgrave et Otto Jespersen. À titre d'exemple, tous deux recommandent l'étude attentive de textes authentiques dans la langue étrangère, tous deux ont établi une notation phonétique et tous deux s'intéressaient aux questions didactiques puisqu'ils étaient à la fois phonéticiens et grammairiens. Finalement, une étude fondée sur corpus de la périphrase de 'do' est présentée.

La deuxième conférence plénière, donnée par *Ladislav Zgusta*, d'Urbana, Illinois, traite de 'Quelques développements en matière de lexicographie, passés et présents'. Cet exposé

exhaustif couvre l'ensemble des domaines cruciaux suivants liés à la lexicographie : historicisme, structuralisme, structuralisme danois, y compris Louis Hjelmslev, valences, collocations, fréquence, structuralisme américain, y compris Bloomfield, Block, Fries et Harris, dictionnaires pédagogiques, post-structuralisme, prototypes, compatibilité des théories, théoriciens et praticiens ainsi que programmes informatiques. Dans son commentaire sur ce dernier domaine, Zgusta conclut que 'l'heure est venue d'unir nos forces avec les linguistes informatiques non seulement en acceptant les programmes qui sont le fruit de leurs efforts mais aussi en participant à la recherche nécessaire à la construction de ces programmes'.

Andrejs Veisbergs écrit sur la lexicographie bilingue lettonne en discutant des œuvres lexicographiques anglais/letton récentes par rapport à la tradition lexicographique de la Lettonie qu'il décrit comme essentiellement bilingue, puriste et dans une large mesure éloignée de l'usage courant. Le principal problème consiste actuellement à préparer un dictionnaire reflétant l'usage moderne plutôt que les idéaux de puristes. Bien que quelques progrès aient été accomplis dans ce domaine, l'auteur pense qu'il reste beaucoup à faire.

Elena Bárcena et *Tim Read* introduisent un prototype fascinant de système de référence lexical en-ligne multilingue, à base cognitive. Il s'agit de copier le lexique mental des personnes parlant leur langue maternelle, et pour chaque langue, l'information est engrangée sous une sorte de format de thesaurus. Des liens sont alors établis avec d'autres langues afin qu'on puisse passer à l'aide de synonymes d'une entrée en espagnol à l'entrée correspondante en anglais.

Matthias Kammerer se penche sur la thèse de Helmut Schnelle selon laquelle l'information sémantique des dictionnaires du type COBUILD devrait être considérée comme un système axiomatique. Suivant une déconstruction de l'argumentation de Schnelle, Kammerer explique tout d'abord que la logique du prédicat en ce qui concerne la langue naturelle aboutit à une meilleure connaissance que la logique propositionnelle sur laquelle se fondait Schnelle. En outre, il est démontré que les deux thèses de la correction et de la complétude sont erronées dans le cas de Schnelle et que nous ne pouvons pas parler d'axiomes de langue naturelle en matière d'indications de sens. Il est établi clairement qu'une logique ne peut pas être appliquée à une langue naturelle comme, par exemple, l'anglais de manière significative.

Jørgen Erik Nielsen nous montre Otto Jespersen comme un lexicographe et démontre que bien que la lexicographie ne soit certes que l'un de ses intérêts mineurs, Otto Jespersen avait pourtant fait d'importantes contributions à la plus grande encyclopédie de son temps, l'encyclopédie Salomonsen, et au plus grand dictionnaire anglais/danois, le Brynildsen, pour lequel il avait préparé la transcription phonétique des entrées. Il avait également préparé un petit dictionnaire de novial, langue qu'il avait lui-même construite à partir de l'espéranto.

2. Problèmes structurels des dictionnaires

Dorthe Duncker et *Hanne Ruus* suggèrent un modèle de Lexical Corpus Base (LCB) et décrivent une méthodologie de construction de ce modèle. Des exemples sont pris au LCB de textes danois du 16e siècle ; ce LCB permet l'accès à l'ensemble du corpus de textes tout en présentant le contenu des textes du corpus de manière facilitant les études de vocabulaire et les travaux lexicographiques.

Rufus Gouws demande à juste titre des améliorations de la manière dont les dictionnaires bilingues aident traditionnellement leurs usagers à sélectionner un 'équivalent' correct d'un terme dans la langue source. Il souligne que la lexicographie bilingue devrait se servir d'un grand nombre des stratégies de la lexicographie monolingue et discute les problèmes pratiques et leur solution sur la base de la lexicographie anglais/afrikaans.

Sándor Martsa élaborant sur la définition de J.F. Taylor (1995), discute les 'images' inspirées du règne animal, c'est-à-dire le fonds de connaissances, réelles ou supposées, qui guide l'utilisation d'un mot déterminé par une personne parlant sa langue maternelle. Sont particulièrement intéressantes les 'images génériques populaires inspirées du règne animal' qui permettent aux Anglais de 'se comporter comme des cochons', tandis que les Russes peuvent 'sauter comme un bouc' (c'est-à-dire maladroitement) et que les Hongrois peuvent 'se vautrer dans la boue comme un porc' (c'est-à-dire employer un langage obscène).

Geart van der Meer traite de domaines qui, selon lui ont besoin d'améliorations en ce qui concerne les dictionnaires actifs néerlandais-anglais et anglais-néerlandais. Il propose l'introduction d'un système de référence rigoureux dans le cas de la dérivation non morphologique du type *city/town>adj : urban* et *son/daughter>adj : filial*. *Geart van der Meer* soumet également quelques suggestions d'amélioration dans le cas des collocations. Il suggère en outre en ce qui concerne la grammaire dans les dictionnaires de tirer plus de parti des exemples de phrases donnés.

Stefan J. Schierholz décrit dans son exposé le Projet Erfurst qui traite de la valence des noms en néerlandais, anglais et portugais. Étant donné que les grammaires et les dictionnaires renferment trop peu d'exemples, une recherche fondamentale est nécessaire. Dix-huit prépositions régissantes en allemand seront étudiées et les problèmes liés à leur traduction seront abordés. Il convient de noter qu'il existe seulement quelque 1000 prépositions dans ce contexte. Les résultats du projet seront utiles non seulement pour les études lexicographiques et grammaticales mais aussi pour la traduction assistée par ordinateur.

3. Critique et typologie des dictionnaires

Ulrich Busse examine le traitement des lexèmes politiquement corrects dans quatre dictionnaires d'apprentissage de l'anglais contemporain. La pragmatique de divers domaines de vocabulaire est divisée en catégories, par exemple les termes ethniques (*Negro, coon, nigger*), les qualificatifs de nationalité désobligeants (*Kraut, Yank, Yid*), l'usage de pronoms (*he, she, he/she, they*) la formation de mots (*salesman, saleswoman, salesperson*) ainsi que les termes s'appliquant à l'orientation sexuelle (*queer*) et les personnes âgées (*oldie, oldtimer*). Busse établit clairement que cette catégorie n'est résumée dans une étude dans aucun des dictionnaires examinés ; toutefois, les diverses entrées des dictionnaires font nettement apparaître que les lexicographes sont entièrement conscients des problèmes.

Depuis plusieurs années, *Bernhard Diensberg* se consacre à la révision des étymologies de mots d'emprunt de l'ancien français pour le nouveau *Oxford English Dictionary*. Dans son article, Diensberg traite avant tout des domaines suivants : deux systèmes phonologiques en contact l'un avec l'autre, conclusions concernant la réception/intégration phonologique de mots anglo-français et de l'ancien français en moyen-anglais, l'intégration

de voyelles anglo-françaises, l'intégration de consonnes anglo-françaises, l'intégration d'alternances morphologiques de l'ancien français, et certains illogismes dans les dictionnaires étymologiques et historiques.

Lars Holm a mené une étude exhaustive des tabous et de la violation des tabous dans les dictionnaires suédois du 16e siècle à nos jours. Il a concentré son étude sur certains groupes spécifiques de mots tabous qu'il qualifie de *loo words, fuck words*, (mots scatologiques, mots obscènes), etc. Ses résultats figurent sur une figure synoptique indiquant la manière dont 25 mots clés ont été traités dans 100 dictionnaires suédois.

Hanne Lauridsen et *Arne Zettersten* présentent dans leur exposé leur nouveau dictionnaire anglais-danois en deux volumes publié par la maison d'édition de Copenhague Politiken Forlag. Certains aspects particuliers de la lexicographie bilingue sont discutés dans le cadre de certains éléments caractéristiques du dictionnaire tels que les corpus utilisés, l'importance particulière accordée à la grammaire, les définitions interactives, les collocations, la variété des équivalents danois et l'insistance sur la pragmatique.

Hideki Watanabe continue sa série d'examens minutieux de l'Oxford English Dictionary (2e éd.) en se penchant de manière critique sur les citations provenant de la version CD-ROM du dictionnaire. Cette fois-ci, il se concentre sur les citations du dictionnaire prises à des poèmes en vieil-anglais, en particulier *Beowulf* puisque ce poème présente un intérêt supplémentaire pour les participants étant donné que la plupart des scènes sont situées au Danemark et dans les pays scandinaves voisins. Ses commentaires critiques concernent les titres de poèmes et leurs abréviations, les dates auxquelles ont été écrites les œuvres, les problèmes causés par les multiples ajouts, etc.

4. Sémantique et lexicologie

Andreas Gröger, de Bayreuth, présente un résumé de ses travaux sur les verbes mentaux du vieil-anglais, fondés sur le Corpus de Helsinki de textes anglais. Gröger analyse les champs lexicaux de 15 verbes dits mentaux, soit les verbes exprimant des activités et des états mentaux tels que penser, croire, se souvenir, supposer, etc. En tant que résultat de cette analyse, une synthèse est présentée sous forme d'aperçu des diagrammes de champs et des diagrammes quantitatifs.

Ljubima Jordanowa présente les problèmes lexicographiques liés au langage du Renversement (l'effondrement du communisme) en Bulgarie. Après avoir traité les périodes suivant le Renversement bulgare, Jordanowa introduit le corpus de vocabulaire du 'Deuxième Renversement' (1996-1997) en cours l'élaboration à l'Académie des Sciences de Sofia. Ce corpus sera ultérieurement accessible sur l'internet.

Dans son exposé, *Makimi Kimura* analyse le processus de naturalisation des mots d'emprunt japonais tels qu'ils sont représentés dans cinq dictionnaires anglais, The Oxford English Dictionary (2e éd.), Webster's Third, The Random House Dictionary, The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary et The Oxford English Additions Series. L'auteur montre que les mots d'emprunt japonais passent par quatre phases de naturalisation dans le vocabulaire anglais : 1) Prononciation, Vocabulaire, 2) Usage attributif, 3) Productivité et 4) Mutation sémantique.

Gunnar Persson écrit sur les aspects cognitifs des noms de fongi dans plusieurs langues. Il présente 12 catégories telles que la forme, la couleur, la répartition, etc. entrant dans le

nom des fongi et fait une distinction entre la taxonomie scientifique et la taxonomie populaire ; selon la première, un ‘toadstool’ est un fongus et selon la dernière, un champignon.

L'exposé conclut en proposant sur un ton badin un nouveau champ linguistique appelé ‘linguistique mycologique comparée’ : il faudrait à cet égard poser la question de savoir s'il existe des différences de stratégies de désignation de diverses langues. Il semblerait, par exemple, que l'anglais insiste particulièrement pour mettre en garde contre les effets nocifs de certains champignons.

Maja Lindfors Viklund et Yvonne Cederholm présentent dans leur exposé leurs travaux sur la terminologie liée aux stupéfiants dans le cadre du projet AVENTINUS visant à fournir aux organisations de police européennes des outils linguistiques propres à faciliter la coopération par-dessus les barrières linguistiques. Le point le plus intéressant relatif à la sous-langue décrite est qu'elle comprend une terminologie dans le sens traditionnel ainsi qu'un argot. Il y a une forte influence de l'anglais sur toutes les autres langues dans ce domaine et l'usage fréquent de synonymes et de métaphores pose des questions intéressantes dans une perspective multilingue.

Remerciements : Les éditeurs souhaitent remercier les auteurs des contributions d'avoir mis leurs manuscrits à leur disposition et tous les participants, vieux amis et nouveaux venus, d'avoir assisté au symposium. Nous avons bénéficié de l'aide financière des départements d'anglais et d'allemand de la Faculté des Lettres et du Centre de Traductologie et de Lexicographie de l'Université de Copenhague.

Copenhague, mai 1999

Les éditeurs

Vorwort

Das Neunte Internationale Symposium zur Lexikographie, dessen Akten hiermit veröffentlicht werden, fand in der Zeit vom 23.-25. April 1998 an der Universität Kopenhagen statt. Gefreut haben wir uns diesmal über die Anwesenheit von Teilnehmern aus den nordischen Ländern, Bulgarien, Deutschland, Großbritannien, Japan, Lettland, den Niederlanden, Russland, der Slowakei, Spanien, Ungarn und den USA.

Es wurden fünf Plenarvorträge gehalten, und zwar von Gabriele Stein, Heidelberg, Ladislav Zgusta, Illinois, Ulrich Heid, Stuttgart, Peter Gillivar, Oxford, und Jørgen Erik Nielsen, Kopenhagen.

Das Symposium wurde durch die „Otto Jespersen Memorial Lecture“ eröffnet – seit 1994 ein fest integrierter Teil des Internationalen Symposiums zur Lexikographie. Gehalten wurde sie diesmal von Gabriele Stein, Heidelberg, der ehemaligen Vorsitzenden von EURALEX.

Die auf dem Symposium gehaltenen Vorträge werden in diesem Band unter vier verschiedenen Überschriften vorgestellt, wie das auch der folgenden Einteilung zu entnehmen ist:

1. Historische und theoretische Beiträge

Gabriele Stein, Ladislav Zgusta, Andrejs Veisbergs, Elena Bárcena & Tim Read, Matthias Kammerer, Jørgen Erik Nielsen

2. Strukturale Probleme von Wörterbüchern

Dorthe Duncker & Hanne Ruus, Rufus H. Gouws, Sándor Martsa, Geart van der Meer, Stefan J. Schierholz.

3. Wörterbuchkritik und Wörterbuchtypologie

Ulrich Busse, Bernhard Diensberg, Lars Holm, Hanne Lauridsen & Arne Zettersten, Hideki Watanabe.

4. Semantik und Lexikologie

Andreas Gröger, Ljubima Jordanowa, Makimi Kimura, Gunnar Persson, Maja Lindfors Viklund & Yvonne Cederholm.

1. Historische und theoretische Beiträge

Gabriele Stein stellt das 1530 erschienene Monumentalwerk von John Palsgrave „Lesclarcissement de la langue françoise“ vor und betont dabei die Ähnlichkeit zwischen Palsgrave und Otto Jespersen. Beide setzten sich beispielsweise für das gründliche Studium authentischer Texte in der Fremdsprache ein, haben jeweils eine Lautschrift entworfen und befassten sich mit didaktischen Fragestellungen. Ferner waren sowohl Palsgrave als auch Jespersen Lexikographen, Phonetiker und Grammatiker zugleich. Der Aufsatz schließt mit einer korpusbasierten Studie zum periphrastischen *do* bei Palsgrave.

Im zweiten Plenarvortrag behandelt *Ladislav Zgusta*, Urbana, Illinois, „Einige Entwicklungen in der Lexikographie der Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart“. In diesem umfassen-

den Beitrag werden folgende für die Lexikographie zentrale Themenbereiche abgehandelt: Historismus, Strukturalismus, dänischer Strukturalismus einschließlich Louis Hjelmslev, Valenz, Kollokationen, Frequenz, amerikanischer Strukturalismus einschließlich Bloomfield, Block, Fries und Harris, pädagogische Wörterbücher, Poststrukturalismus, Prototypen, Kompatibilität von Theorie und Praxis sowie Computerprogramme. Hinsichtlich dieses zuletzt genannten Themas stellt Zgusta abschließend fest, dass die Zeit jetzt dafür reif sei, „dass wir uns als Lexikographen mit den Computerlinguisten zusammentun, nicht nur durch die Übernahme der von ihnen entwickelten Programme, sondern auch durch die Teilnahme an der für die Herstellung dieser Programme erforderlichen Forschungsarbeit“.

Andrejs Veisbergs stellt die lettische zweisprachige Lexikographie vor, indem er die gegenwärtige englisch/lettische Wörterbucharbeit vor dem Hintergrund der lexikographischen Tradition Lettlands diskutiert, die er vor allem als puristisch und über den aktuellen Sprachgebrauch erhaben charakterisiert. Die Hauptaufgabe, so Veisbergs, bestehe heute darin, ein Wörterbuch herzustellen, das den aktuellen Sprachgebrauch anstelle puristischer Idealvorstellungen widerspiegelt. Trotz einiger Ansätze bleibt nach Ansicht des Autors in diesem Bereich noch viel Arbeit zu leisten.

Elena Bárcena und *Tim Reed* stellen den faszinierenden Prototyp eines kognitiv basierten multilingualen eindirektionalen lexikalischen Bezugssystem vor. Der Hauptgedanke besteht darin, den mentalen Wortschatz eines Muttersprachlers zu kopieren und diesen für jede Sprache im thesaurusähnlichen Format zugänglich zu machen. Durch Links zwischen den jeweiligen Sprachen kann sich der Benutzer etwa von einem spanischen Lemma mit Synonymen zu dem entsprechenden englischen Lemma bewegen.

Mathias Kammerer setzt sich mit der These von Helmut Schnelle auseinander, nach der die Bedeutungsangaben in Wörterbüchern des COBUILD-Typs als ein axiomatisches System zu betrachten seien. Nach einer Dekonstruktion der Argumentation von Schnelle weist Kammerer zunächst einmal nach, dass die Prädikatenlogik erster Ordnung hinsichtlich der natürlichen Sprache zu besseren Einsichten führt als die von Schnelle zu Grunde gelegte Aussagenlogik. Danach wird aufgezeigt, dass sowohl die Korrektheitsthese als auch die Vollständigkeitsthese bei Schnelle versagen, und dass es sich bei den Bedeutungsangaben daher nicht um Axiome der natürlichen Sprache handeln kann. Es wird festgestellt, dass eine Logik nicht in sinnvoller Weise auf eine natürliche Sprache wie z.B. das Englische appliziert werden kann.

Jørgen Erik Nielsen zeigt uns Otto Jespersen als Lexikographen. Obwohl die Lexikographie zugegebenermaßen nur am Rande seiner Interessenfelder lag, hat Otto Jespersen trotzdem wichtige Beiträge zur zeitgenössischen Lexikographie geleistet. So hat Jespersen einerseits für das führende dänische Lexikon „Salmonsen“ Artikel verfasst, und für „Brynildsen“, das größte englisch-dänische Wörterbuch, hat er für die phonetische Umschrift der Lemmata gesorgt. Auch hat er ein kleines Wörterbuch zu „Novial“ entworfen, einer von ihm selbst auf der Basis von Esperanto geschaffenen Sprache.

2. Strukturelle Probleme von Wörterbüchern

Dorthe Duncker und *Hanne Ruus* schlagen das Modell einer lexikalischen Korpusbase (Lexical Corpus Base, LCB) vor und beschreiben die dabei zu Grunde zu legende Methodologie. Anhand von Beispielen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert wird aufgezeigt, inwieweit

der Zugang zum ganzen Textkorpus über die LCB erfolgen kann, und abschließend wird hervorgehoben, dass die Texte im Korpus in einer solchen Weise dargeboten sein müssen, dass der Benutzer sowohl bei lexikologischen Studien wie auch bei lexikographischer Arbeit davon profitieren kann.

Rufus Gouws fordert mit Recht zur Verbesserung der zweisprachigen Wörterbücher im Hinblick auf deren Äquivalentendarbietung auf. Seines Erachtens müsste sich die zweisprachige Lexikographie viel mehr der gleichen Strategien bedienen wie die einsprachige Lexikographie. Diskutiert werden praktische Probleme und deren Lösung anhand der Lexikographie zum Sprachenpaar Englisch/Afrikaans.

Unter Anwendung der Definition von J. F. Taylor (1995) diskutiert *Sándor Martsa* die sogenannten tierbezogenen „Frames“ unter dem besonderen Aspekt des realen oder fiktiven Hintergrundwissens, das den Gebrauch eines bestimmten Idioms in der Muttersprache steuert. Besonders interessant sind dabei die sogenannten „volkstypologischen tierbezogenen Frames“, durch welche z.B. die Engländer, wenn sie sich den Bauch vollschlagen, „make pigs of themselves“, während die Russen „wie die Ziegen herumspringen“ (d.h. sich schwerfällig bewegen), und die Ungarn „schweinen“ (d.h. Zoten reißen).

Geart van der Meer behandelt einige seiner Ansicht nach verbessерungsbedürftige Problembereiche in Bezug auf die aktiven Wörterbücher zum Sprachenpaar Niederländisch und Englisch. Es wird vorgeschlagen, bei der im Englischen vorkommenden nicht-morphologischen Derivation des Typs *city/town* > Adj. *urban* und *son/daughter* > Adj. *filial* ein feinmaschiges System von Verweisen einzuführen. Auch im Bereich der Kollokationen werden Verbesserungsvorschläge unterbreitet, und was die Grammatik im Wörterbuch betrifft, wird vorgeschlagen, zunehmend auf den Gebrauch von Beispielsätzen zu achten.

Stefan J. Schierholz beschreibt das Erfurter Projekt zu den präpositionsvalenten Substantiven im Deutschen, Englischen und Portugiesischen. Da sowohl Grammatiken als auch Wörterbücher zu wenige Beispiele enthalten, sind Grundlagenforschungen notwendig. Es werden achtzehn regierte Präpositionen des Deutschen untersucht, und die mit deren Übersetzung verbundenen Probleme werden angesprochen. Beachtenswert ist, dass es im Deutschen insgesamt nur etwa 1000 präpositionsvalente Substantive gibt. Die Ergebnisse des Projekts können letztendlich nicht nur für die Lexikographie und Grammatikographie, sondern auch etwa für computerunterstützte Übersetzungen nutzbar gemacht werden.

3. Wörterbuchkritik und Wörterbuchtypologie

Ulrich Busse untersucht die Behandlung politisch korrekter Lexeme in vier Lernerwörterbüchern des Gegenwartsenglischen. Thematisiert wird die Pragmatik verschiedener Wortschatzbereiche, u.a. ethnische Wörter (z.B. *negro*, *coon*, *nigger*), herabsetzende Nationalitätenbezeichnungen (z.B. *Kraut*, *Yank*, *Yid*), Pronomengebrauch (z.B. *he*, *she*, *he or she*, *they*), Wortbildungen (z.B. *salesman*, *saleswoman*, *salesperson*) sowie Bezeichnungen sexueller Orientierungen (z.B. *queer*) und älterer Menschen (z.B. *oldie*, *oldtimer*). Es wird festgestellt, dass das Thema in keinem der untersuchten Wörterbücher etwa in einer Übersicht zusammengefasst wird; aus den einzelnen Wörterbuchartikeln geht aber hervor, dass sich die Lexikographen des Problems durchaus bewusst sind.

Seit mehreren Jahren beschäftigt sich *Bernhard Diensberg* im Hinblick auf die Neuauflage des „Oxford English Dictionary“ mit der Revision der etymologischen Angaben

bei den altfranzösischen Lehnwörtern. Im vorliegenden Beitrag behandelt Diensberg vor allem folgende Bereiche: zwei phonologische Systeme im Kontakt (d.h. die phonologische Integration des anglofranzösischen und altfranzösischen Wortmaterials ins Mittelenglische), die Integration des anglofranzösischen Vokalismus und Konsonantismus, die Integration der altfranzösischen morphonologischen Alternanzen, lateinische Etymologien französischer Lexeme sowie Inkonsistenzen der etymologischen und historischen Wörterbücher.

Lars Holm hat eine umfassende Übersicht über den tabuisierten bzw. tabubrechenden Wortschatz in schwedischen Wörterbüchern vom 16. Jahrhundert bis heute zusammengestellt. Dabei konzentriert er sich auf bestimmte Gruppen der Tabuwörter, u.a. skatologische und auf den Koitus bezogene Wörter. Seine Ergebnisse, die auf der Untersuchung von 25 Schlüsselwörtern in 100 schwedischen Wörterbüchern basieren, werden abschließend in Übersichtsform zusammengefasst.

Hanne Lauridsen und *Arne Zettersten* stellen das von ihnen erarbeitete und vom Verlag Politiken (Kopenhagen) herausgegebene neue zweibändige Englisch-Dänische Wörterbuch vor. Allgemeine Probleme der zweisprachigen Lexikographie werden diskutiert und mit einigen für das vorzustellende Wörterbuch besonders charakteristischen Aspekten in Verbindung gebracht, z.B. benutzte Korpora, der besondere Nachdruck auf Grammatik, interaktive Bedeutungsangaben, Kollokationen, Umfang der dänischen Äquivalenzstrukturen und die gezielte Betonung der Pragmatik.

Hideki Watanabe setzt seine Studien zur zweiten Ausgabe des Oxford English Dictionary fort, indem er die auf der CD-Rom-Version des Wörterbuches aufgefundenen Zitate untersucht. Diesmal konzentriert er sich auf die im Wörterbuch enthaltenen altenglischen Zitate, besonders aus dem „Beowulf“, zumal darin die meisten Szenen in Dänemark und dessen Nachbarländern spielen. Seine kritischen Kommentare beziehen sich u.a. auf den Titel der Gedichte und deren Abkürzung, das Entstehungsdatum, die wegen der verschiedenen Fassungen entstandenen Probleme etc.

4. Semantik und Lexikologie

Andreas Gröger, Bayreuth, stellt eine Zusammenfassung seiner auf dem „Helsinkier Korpus altenglischer Texte“ basierenden Arbeit zum mentalen Wortschatz des Altenglischen vor. Gröger analysiert das lexikalische Feld fünfzehn sogenannter mentaler Verben, d.h. Verben, die sich auf mentale Prozesse und Zustände beziehen, z.B. Verben des Denkens, Glaubens, Vermutens und Sich-Erinnerns. Als Ergebnis der Analyse wird eine Synthese in Form von Übersichtsdiagrammen und quantitativen Diagrammen vorgestellt.

Ljubima Jordanowa stellt die mit der Sprache der Wende in Bulgarien verbundenen lexikographischen Probleme dar. Nach einer Periodisierung der bulgarischen Wendezzeit erfolgt die Präsentation des an der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sofia zu erstellenden wortschatzbezogenen Korpus der sog. „Zweiten Wende“ (1996-97). Dieses Korpus soll später im Internet zugänglich sein.

Makimi Kimura analysiert in ihrem Beitrag den Entlehnungsprozess japanischer Lehnwörter, so wie dieser aus den folgenden fünf Wörterbüchern des Englischen ablesbar ist: The Oxford English Dictionary (2. Ausgabe), Webster's Third, The Random House Dictionary, The New Shorter Oxford Dictionary sowie The Oxford English Dictionary

Additions Series. Die Verf. weist nach, dass japanische Wörter bei der Entlehnung ins Englische vier Phasen durchlaufen: 1) Aussprache, Wortschatz, 2) Attributiver Gebrauch, 3) Produktivität und 4) semantischer Wandel.

Gunnar Persson schreibt über kognitive Aspekte bei der Bezeichnung von Pilzen in einer Reihe von Sprachen. Er schlägt zwölf Kategorien vor, u.a. Form, Farbe, Umgebung etc., die bei der Benennung von Pilzen jeweils eine Rolle gespielt haben. Dabei unterscheidet er zwischen gelehrt Klassifizierungen und Klassifizierungen, die auf dem Volkswissen beruhen. Abschließend wird spielerisch vorgeschlagen, ein neues linguistisches Gebiet einzuführen, und zwar die „vergleichende mykologische Linguistik“. Dabei wäre z.B. die Frage zu klären, inwieweit sich verschiedene Sprachen bei der Namengebung von Pilzen unterschiedlicher Strategien bedienen. Z.B. würde hervorgehen, dass besonders das Englische bemüht ist, den Sprachbenutzer vor den schädlichen Wirkungen der Pilze zu schützen.

Maja Lindfors Viklund und *Yvonne Cederholm* stellen ihre Arbeit zur drogenbezogenen Terminologie im Rahmen des AVENTINUS-Projektes vor, dessen Ziel darin besteht, den europäischen Polizeiorganisationen über die Ländergrenzen hinweg angemessene sprachliche Mittel zur Verfügung zu stellen. Zu den interessantesten Punkten bei dieser Subsprache gehört der Umstand, dass sich diese Sprache sowohl aus Terminologie im traditionellen Sinne wie auch aus Slang zusammensetzt. Das Englische übt in diesem Bereich einen starken Einfluss auf alle anderen Sprachen aus, und durch die häufige Verwendung von Synonymen und Metaphern erheben sich Fragen, deren Klärung auch in multilingualer Hinsicht von Interesse wären.

Die Herausgeber danken den Autoren sehr herzlich für ihre Bereitschaft, die Manuskripte ihrer Beiträge für den Druck zur Verfügung zu stellen. Wir danken auch allen Anwesenden, alten und neuen Freunden, für ihre Teilnahme am Symposium. Als Organisatoren sind wir der Humanistischen Fakultät der Universität Kopenhagen, dem Englischen Institut, dem Institut für Germanische Philologie und dem Zentrum für Übersetzungswissenschaft und Lexikographie der Universität Kopenhagen sehr zu Dank verpflichtet. Danken möchten wir auch Mia Nielsen vom Englischen Seminar für ihre Mitarbeit bei der Fertigstellung der Druckfassung des Manuskripts.

Kopenhagen im Mai 1999

Die Herausgeber

Gabriele Stein

The Otto Jespersen Memorial Lecture
John Palsgrave as Precursor of Otto Jespersen

Five years ago, in the first of these memorial lectures, Randolph Quirk reminded us that, although Jespersen is rightly remembered as the greatest grammarian of English, he was drawn to vernacular languages far more generally and that in fact the first language to attract him was French.

So it was with John Palsgrave, though he was not so much drawn to French as driven to it by that most irreversible of masters, King Henry the Eighth. And as you might expect with this monarch, one must *chercher la femme*: the situation is almost the reverse of the problem encountered by an earlier Henry, in linguistic difficulty wooing a French princess - as dramatised in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, Act II, Scene II. In Palsgrave's case it was the French king for whom Henry VIII had not only *cherché une femme*, but actually *trouvé la femme*: his sister. The long-cherished marriage plans between Mary Tudor and the prince of Castille had come to naught, and when, in early 1514, the French king's wife died, a marriage between the 52-year-old, gout-stricken Louis XII and the young English princess was agreed upon. Linguistically she had already to a certain degree been prepared for a continental union. She had been given lessons in French, and court records from 1513 show that the king had employed a certain John Palsgrave, a native of London and graduate of Paris, as French tutor to his sister. It was this challenging and distinguished task that prompted Palsgrave to subject the French language to a thorough analysis and to compare it to English, his royal pupil's mother tongue. He first produced a description of French pronunciation and an analysis of French grammar. When both were presented to Mary Tudor and her second husband, the duke of Suffolk, they were so deeply impressed by Palsgrave's achievement that they suggested he should add a comparative study of the lexicon and present the work to the king himself. Palsgrave obliged and after years of intense and meticulous study, he completed a monumental book which was published in 1530 as *Lesclarcissement de la langue françoise*. In more than 1000 pages, he had 'reduced a vernacular to rules', something which at that time was not believed possible, and what is more, he, an Englishman, had reduced the French language to rules, a fact which has caused French scholarship some unease.

Lesclarcissement de la langue françoise consists of three parts or books: Book I deals with "the true sowndyng of the frenche tongue", Book II provides a basic French grammar, and Book III, the bulk of the work, is an English-French dictionary. The three books are closely interrelated. The dictionary is divided into word-class sections. We thus have a bilingual word list for nouns, for adjectives, for adverbs, etc., the verb list constituting the most comprehensive part of *Lesclarcissement* (some 400 pages). Each word list is preceded by chapters on the respective part-of-speech grammar in which the rudimentary treatment of the second book is developed into an impressive grammatical analysis.

In the compilation and execution of his work Palsgrave revealed himself as a linguistic scholar of the first order. He studied the work that had been done before him, he, a non-native speaker of French, had to find a basis on which he could rest his description of 16th-century

French, a basis which at the same time would impart on his findings the necessary authority. So some 400 years before grammarians like Jespersen, Poutsma and Kruisinga supported their linguistic descriptions of English by usage examples meticulously excerpted from reading English texts, John Palsgrave set himself a reading programme to complement his personal knowledge of French. He turned to the works of such authors whom he felt "to be most excellent in the frenche tonge" (Book I, fo. xxi^r). Among these we find Jean Lemaire de Belges (1475-c.1520), Jean Meschinot (c.1420-91), Guillaume Alexis (d.1486). Yet he did not stop there: he also read earlier great literary works which provide his linguistic descriptions with an historical underpinning: he was familiar with the works by Alain Chartier (c.1385-1433) and Jean Froissart (c.1333-c.1410), and he admiringly quotes from the *Roman de la rose*. But his reading did not only embrace French literature, he also studied English writers, above all the works by John Lydgate, then in high fashion, and Geoffrey Chaucer. Here are two examples to show how Palsgrave used the linguistic material gleaned from his detailed study of French and English texts. Both are taken from the verb lists:

I Make blynde / Ic aucugle. pri-
 me cōiu. or ie aucuglis. secunde cōiu.
so that in ſy olde romant tonge they
vſe this verbe of their fyrſte coniu-
gacion / but Johan le Mayre vſeth
hym of their ſeconde. Wene you to
make me blynde with your wyles:
Pencez vous de me aucuglyr de voz
ruses.
 (Book III, fo. cc.lxxxxix = cc.lxxxix)

I Queme I please or I satysfy /
Chaucer in his Caūterbury tales /
this worde is nowe out of vſe.
 (Book III, fo. ccc.xxi)

The close study and analysis of authentic French texts gave Palsgrave the linguistic background and authority he needed, but this does not mean that the language actually described in *Lesclarcissement* is overwhelmingly literary. Rather, it is predominantly the common language in use at the time. Palsgrave had a keen interest in the teaching of languages and in the language learners. He was fully aware that they needed the contemporary idiom - and he supplied it, occasionally with a humorous touch as becomes evident from the following examples:

I Plucke I hale or pull at a thing
Ie tire. prime cōiuga. ✕ ie halle. pri-
me cōiuga. Plucke syrs for shame be
nat you syxe able to plucke a iade
out of ſy myer: Tyrez, or hallez gal-
lans nauez vous poyn de honte que
vo⁹ ſix ne pouues tirer vne charoigne
hors de la fange.
 (Book III, fo. ccc.xix)

I Set a house a fyre. / Ic atise vne
mayson, or ie boute le feu dedens vne

**mayson. I can do some thyng for I
can set a house a fyre & ronne awaye
by the lyght whan I haue done: Ic
scay faire quelque chose, car ie scay
bouter le feu en vne mayson et men
fuyr par la clarté.**
(Book III, fo. ccc.lvi)

In many instances, learners are not simply presented with a choice and use of idiom, but there are also explicit metalinguistic comments on actual language usage:

**I Helpe I socoure / le ayde, pri-
me coniuga. [.....] Helpe
helpe / as men krye that be in daun-
ger of theues or any other peryll: A
layde alayde [...]**
(Book III, fo. cc.Ixv)

As interjections of “callyng” Palsgrave mentions French *hay*, *hau* and *hola*. After examples like *Viencia hay, hau pety Iehan apportez mon arc* he explains:

**so that hay, is vsed whan
they call one that is in their syght or
nere them: hau, to one that is far-
ther of or out of syght / also whan
they call at ones doore standynge
without / they saye Hola, and they
within forthe awnswere: Qui est la. ...**
(Book III, fo. cccc.lxxiii)

In the concern to offer learners adequate idiomatic and thus interesting and challenging language material Palsgrave's and Jespersen's minds meet as we learn from the latter's book *How to teach a foreign language* (1967:18-19).

There is another issue which preoccupied both our scholars: the relation between, and the influence of, the mother tongue and the foreign tongue in the language learning process. Jespersen counters the argument that learning a foreign language may or will result in improved knowledge of the mother tongue by pointing out that the prevailing teaching method, learning through translating, was apt to make pupils offend against good English usage (*ibid.* 45-46). Palsgrave discusses this relationship in his only other work *The Comedy of Acolastus*. In order to make the learning of Latin more interesting and enjoyable for his pupils in The Hague, the Dutchman William Fullonius had written a comedy narrating the story of the prodigal son. The work was first published in 1529 and became an early schoolbook bestseller in Northern Europe. Within a short time, reprints appeared in Paris, Cologne, Leipzig, Basel. A German translation came out in the mid-1530's. The great popularity of this parable in colloquial Latin and its teaching of Christian morals must have made it attractive to Palsgrave, a teacher of Latin and chaplain to Henry VIII at a time when one Latin grammar for the teaching at schools was to be made compulsory throughout the whole realm. Besides a grammar, adequate Latin texts for interpretation had to be prepared. This is the educational background of Palsgrave's translation of Fullonius' comedy. It appeared in 1540 and included a unique feature: it was a two-language text, giving the Latin as well as the English translation,

printed next to each other. In the dedication to the king, Palsgrave explains why he had translated the work and provided a two-language version. He describes his translation as having been done "after suche maner as chylderne are taught in the grammar schole, fyrst worde for worde, as the latyne lyeth, and afterwarde accordynge to the sence and meanyng of the Latin sentences: by shewing what they do value and counteruayle in our tongue" (1540:title page). It was meant as a remedy against various teaching practices, so lively depicted by Palsgrave: the Latin instructor who uses Latin only and confounds the young learners' minds, or the one who is transported into the higher realms of text interpretation and never completes explaining more than a few lines in the classroom.

Yet the idiomatic English version after the word by word translation was not only to ease the masters' explanation burden and the pupils' understanding, it was also aimed at university graduates. Palsgrave gives us a very detailed description of the linguistic situation experienced by the more educated youth of the kingdom: the medium of education was Latin, but the skills acquired by university students in their respective subject fields were not similarly developed for the mother tongue. Here is his characterization of the difficult and totally unsatisfactory linguistic situation:

And somme other [teachers] furthermore there be, whiche thoughte they haue by their greate studye, at youre graces Unyuersities, soo moche prouffyted in the Latyne tongue, that to shewe an euydente tryalle of thei r lernynge, they canne wryte an Epistle ryght latyne lyke, and therto speake latyne, as the tyme shall mynster occasyon, very well ... yet for all this, partly bycause of the rude language vsed in their natyue countreyes, where they were borne and firste lerned (as it happened) their grammer rules, & partly bycause that commyng streight from thense, vnto some of your graces vniuersities, they haue not had occasions to be conuersante in suche places of your realme, as the pureste englysshe is spoken, they be not able to expresse thei r conceyete in thei r vulgar tonge, ne be not suffycyente, perfectly to open the diuersities of phrases betwene our tonge and the latyn (which in my poore iudgemente is the veray chiese thyng that the schole mayster shulde trauayle in). In so moche that for want of this sufficient perfection in our owne tongue, I haue knownen dyuerse of theym, whiche haue styl continued thei r study in some of your graces vniuersities, that after a substanciall encrease of good lernynge, by thei r great and industrious study obteyned, yet whan they haue ben called to do any seruice in your graces cōmen welthe, eyther to preach in open audience, or to haue other administration, requiringe thei r assiduous conuersantynge with your subiectes, they haue then ben forced to rede ouer our englyshe auctours, by that meanes to prouyde a remedy vnto their euident imperfection in that behalfe. (1540:Aiiiv-[Aiiii])

As this somewhat lengthy extract shows, Palsgrave's interest in speakers' linguistic competence was not restricted to the languages he taught, Latin and French, it fully embraced the mother tongue.

So far I have drawn attention to similarities between John Palsgrave and Otto Jespersen as scholars and as dedicated language teachers: as non-native speakers of the vernacular they were investigating, they both opted for the same scholarly approach. They based their linguistic description on a close study of authentic texts. Both men showed a deep concern for the right choice of an appropriate style of language to be taught. And both reflected on the impact which the method of teaching the foreign tongue had or would have on the learners' mother tongue.

From Jespersen's *Novial Lexike* it emerges that both also had a strong interest in the lexicon, each producing a dictionary. Since I have discussed Palsgrave's achievement as a lexicographer in detail (Stein 1997), we shall turn to them as phoneticians and grammarians.

Jespersen's expertise and excellence in these two linguistic disciplines has long been known. Palsgrave's striking achievements of more than four centuries earlier are only beginning to be more fully assessed.

In the *Introduction* to *Lesclarcissement Palsgrave*, with impressive insights, highlights a number of linguistic features which he regards as characteristic of the French language, to which he alerts his learners and which he later describes more fully in Books I, II, and III. For the pronunciation of French these are the nasalized vowels, and phrase and sentence intonation. Having identified the phonetic position and surroundings of the three vowels *a*, *e* and *o* he describes the formation of the nasalized vowels as follows:

... so that these thre letters M/N/ or E fynall / nat hauyng the accent vpon hym/be the very and onely causes why these thre vowelles A/E/O/ be formed in the brest and soūded by the nose. And for so moche as of necessyte / to forme the different sounde of those thre vowelles they must nedes at theyr fyrist formyng open theyr mowth more or lesse / yet whan the vowel ones formed in the brest / ascendeth vpwardes and must haue M/ or N/ sounded with hym / they bryng theyr chawes togetherwardes agayne / and in so doyng they semme to sounde an v / and make in maner of A/ and O/ diphonges / whiche happeneth by rayson of closyng of theyr mowth agayne / to come to the places where M/ and N/ be formed / but chefely bycause no parte of the vowel at his expressyng shulde passe forth by the mowth ... (*The Introduction*:B)

As to intonation, Vivian Salmon in a recent paper on "John Hart and the beginnings of phonetics in sixteenth century England" (1994) has credited Palsgrave with precedence over Hart in identifying and describing it for a vernacular. Intonation is a matter of *accent* which Palsgrave describes as follows:

Accent in the frenche tonge is a lyftinge vp of the voyce / vpon some wordes or syllables in a sentence / aboue the resydue of the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence / so that what soeuer worde or syllable as they come toguyder in any sentence / be sowned higher than the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence vpon them / is the accent ... And note / that suche lyftinge vp of the voyce happeneth euer by reason of some vowel or diphthonge / & neuer by reason of any consonant. (Book I: fo. xviii)

It is this "lifting up of the voice" that creates the impression, so Palsgrave,

why theyr tong semeth to vs so brefe and sodayn and so harde to be vnderstāded whan it is spoken / especially of theyr paysantes or cōmen people / for thoughē there come neuer so many wordes of one syllable together / they pronounce them nat distinctly a sonder as the latines do / but sounde them all vnder one voyce and tenour / and neuer rest nor pause vpon any of them / except the cōmyng next vnto a poynt be the cause therof. Seconde / euery worde of many syllables hath his accent vpon the last syllable / but yet that nat withstandyng they vse vpon no suche worde to pause / except the cōmyng next vnto a poynt be the causer therof / and this is one great thyng whiche inclineth the frenchemen so moche to pronounce the latin tong amysse / whiche cōtrary neuer gyue theyr accent on the last syllable. (*The Introduction*:B.ii^v)

Palsgrave is here describing the oxytone stress in French and in Book I he provides the learners with example sentences where the last stressed syllable of the sentence carries an accent mark.

In order to help the self-studying learners to acquire a good pronunciation of French Palsgrave even attempted to transcribe text passages. At the end of Book I he applies his pronunciation rules in quoting prose and poetry samples and subscribing them, line by line, with a transcription system of his own. Here is a "transcribed" line:

A la tres haulte et excellente maieste des princes
Alatreháuto eevzsellánto maiesté de prinsós

As we can see, there are no pauses in the line which is meant to reflect his earlier explanation of the oxytone sentence intonation in French. The unusual spellings in *o* (*háuto*, *evzsellanto*, *prinsos*) are an attempt at rendering the pronunciation of a final unstressed *e* as in *homme*, *contre*, *parle*. Palsgrave explains that the *schwa*-sound is “soūded in a meane voyce betwene e and o” (Book I:D) and for its production the learner has to “lyft vp hys voyce vpon the syllable that commeth nexte before the same e / and sodaynly depresse his voyce / whan he cometh to the soundyng of hym and also sounde hym very moche in the noose” (Book I:A.ii).

These observations on Palsgrave as a pioneer of French phonetics leave no doubt that he had an excellent command of the language and that he excelled in describing his linguistic insights for his learners.

We come to Palsgrave the grammarian. Language areas where English and French differed seem to have had a magnetic attraction for him: they constituted a challenge in linguistic method and analysis for his highly original and independent mind. For English speakers the tense system of French is unusual: whereas English has one past form, e.g. *he closes* vs *he closed*, French has two: the *imparfait*, *il ferma*, and the *passé simple*, *il ferma*. What were the respective functions of these two past tenses in 16th-century French? What rules did Palsgrave give his readers when to use which form? As to English, the linguistic situation was more complicated and unsettled than present-day English usage: the use of periphrastic *do* in positive active sentences was very prolific.

The origin and development of the *do*-periphrasis, just as the development of the expanded tenses, is one of the most frequently and most controversially discussed topics in English historical linguistics. Some language historians have quoted passages from Palsgrave's *Lesclarissement* where he maintains that “it is all one to say” *I speak* or *I do speak*, *I spoke* or *I did speak* (Book III: fo. cc.xvi^v). But what most of these scholars have overlooked is that, when describing the various conjugation patterns, Palsgrave systematically pairs the form of the French *imparfait* (which he calls *preter imparfit tense*) with the *do*-form:

e.g. *ie parloye* - *I dyd speke*

and the form of the *passé simple* (called the *indefinite tense* by him) with the English simple past:

e.g. *ie parlay* - *I spoke*.

By implication then, the two English forms would not express the same state of things, events. So what is the difference in use of the two French tenses? Palsgrave gives us a most impressive functional analysis which he then exemplifies, again with authentic text passages and explanatory comments, for his readers. He sees the functional difference between the use of the *imparfait* and the *passé simple* as follows:

Whan the frenche men write an hystory or make rehersall of any acte or mater that is passed / intendyng to declare the cyrcumstances or maners howe the same hystorye or acte was done / haue chefely their consyderacion vpon the tyme whiche was present whan the same actes were in doynge. And all suche particuler dedes as aboute that tyme were begon / and incontynently aboute the same present tyme ended or ouer passed / all suche maner of dedes expresse they by their indyfinyte tence / and all suche dedes as at the same tyme were in doynge and had contynuance after the same present

tyme / all suche actes expresse they by their preter imparfyte tence. So that their preter imparfyte tence serueth to expresse þy chefe actes that they wyll speke of and their indiffynyte tence to declare þy partyculer actes and cyrcüstances whiche ouerpased in þy meane whyle / as if I wolde shewe one þy I was yesterday at yorke & what thynges chaunced me in þy meane season þy I was there / as I met there with a man whiche salued me & talked with me of many thynges / they say / *le estoys hier a Yorke la ie recontraý vng homme qui me salua et men parla de plusieurs choses.* (Book III: fo. c.xxii^v) [my emphasis]

In the extract, I have highlighted the major opposition: the “chefe actes” are expressed by the imparfait, the “partyculer actes” by the passé simple. To this overall general rule Palsgrave has added an exception: the imparfait is used when the speaker wants to express “an hundred dedes togyther / whiche all were in doyng and contynued attones at any season whiche somtyme was present” (*ibid.* fo. c.xxiii)

This remarkable functional interpretation of 16th-century French usage is a most valuable historical document in the vernacular. For English it leaves us with some problems. On the one hand, Palsgrave maintained that for the English present and past tense the addition of periphrastic *do* made no difference. From the examples and context provided it is clear that he is referring to affirmative statements only. On the other hand, he paired past tense forms only, implying by his explicit analysis of the French imparfait and the passé simple an imperfective function for the periphrastic past in English. Is Palsgrave's analysis the result of an oversystematization prompted for the past tense only because of the French set of forms? Was his statement that the use of a periphrastic *do* did not make any difference an overall assessment of general current English usage which left enough linguistic freedom to the individual speaker? So individuals may and will have differed in their preferences or dislikes of *do*-forms. And some (the more enlightened ones) may have attributed to their use of periphrastic *do* certain meanings, so that Palsgrave himself might have been influenced by his knowledge of French.

Alvar Ellegård in his classic study of *do* (1953) has rightly stressed that Palsgrave was exceptional as a 16th-century grammarian in discussing the function of periphrastic *do*. Yet he rather quickly dismissed Palsgrave's suggestion of a ‘past imperfect tense’ as its function because he did not find it sustained in other writing. Engblom (1938) on the other hand, had drawn attention to later English grammarians (Gill 1621, Wallis 1653) who also mentioned an imperfective function. Since much more research is needed in this complex field of English grammar, I decided to investigate Palsgrave's actual use of *do*-forms in order to see how much agreement there was between ‘theory’ and practice. The findings may be a contribution to more recent corpus studies on periphrastic *do*.

The corpus basis which suggested itself was the verb list. As mentioned earlier, Palsgrave illustrates his verb lemmata with example sentences which occasionally are taken from a source text, but on the whole are invented by himself, capturing the common and colloquial language of the time. Each English sentence has a French counterpart. I restricted the corpus to all instances where an English main verb (other than *be* and *have*) was used, either in the simple past or the periphrastic past, and rendered by a French imparfait or a French passé simple. That is, when there was a lack of correspondence, e.g. an English past matched by a French passé composé, the instance was ignored. Since the corpus is aimed at the use of periphrastic *do* alone, questions and negative sentences were not taken into account. Occurrences of the special *but*-construction (as in *I did but admire her*) were also excluded.

The example sentences which illustrate the verb lemma in an English past tense form amount to 598 occurrences. An immediately striking result was the rather low number of *do*-instances. The distribution for the English and the French past forms is as follows:

	Imparfait	Passé simple	
+ DO	13	42	55
- DO	127	416	543
	140	458	

Let us try to interpret these findings:

1. In 416 cases, that is more than two thirds of the total number of instances, the English simple past is matched by the French passé simple.
This might justify Palsgrave's overall assessment.
2. The same point would hold if we took into account the total number of French passés simples: of 458 instances less than one tenth would be irregular because they correspond to an English periphrastic past.
3. The relationship between French imparfait forms and French passé simple forms is roughly 1:3, and this relationship is the same whether a *do* form is used or not.
4. The actual correspondence between a periphrastic past matched by a French imparfait has the lowest occurrence.
5. The findings which do not confirm the tendency described by Palsgrave are the 42 instances of periphrastic *do*, rendered by the French passé simple, and the 127 simple past forms which are imparfait translations in French.

The corpus results do not conclusively sustain any claim for the distinction between the use or non-use of *do* in relation to the French imparfait and passé simple. But we should not forget that at Palsgrave's time all the *do*-constructions were in a process of diverging development and any attempt at a functional description in itself must be regarded as a highly original endeavour. Palsgrave's interpretation of the relation between the French past tenses and periphrastic *do* has some justification. But more refinement is needed.

A closer study of the frequency with which verbs occur and of their meanings yields some interesting results:

1. The simple past of the verbs *to say* and *to tell*, for instance, is translated into a French imparfait as if the content of communication presented was still relevant and therefore a "chief act" in Palsgrave's sense. *To speak* and *to talk*, on the other hand, occur with a French passé simple.
2. A very striking case are the *do*-less past tense forms of the verbs *to see*, *to know* and *to hear* rendered by a French passé simple: there are 81 occurrences for *to see*, 11 for *to know*, 9 for *to hear*. That is, nearly one quarter of the predicted correlation between the English simple past and the French passé simple is made up of these three verbs of perception.

Yet it is also the whole linguistic and extra-linguistic context that has to be taken into account. This becomes manifest from a closer study of the apparent exceptions to the general rule advanced by Palsgrave. Among the startling instances where a periphrastic *do* past is rendered by a French passé simple we find quite a number of examples that relate to historic events, e.g.:

I remēber well ynough whan ē
 comens of Cornewall dyd ryse:
 le me souient asses bien quant
 les communs de Cornovaille se mu-
 tinerent. (Book III: fo. ccc.xlii)

It was a goodly syght to se whan the kynges
 good grace dyd set his siege byfore tourneye:
 Il faisoyt beau veoys la bonne grace du roy
 quant il planta son siege deuant tourney.
 (Book III: fo. ccc.lvi^V)

Since in general Palsgrave uses periphrastic *do*-forms rather sparingly, one may wonder whether for him one of the functions of this form is the expression of historical factuality.

By the time Palsgrave presented his vastly expansive *Lesclarissement de la langue françoise* to King Henry VIII he may well have long forgotten that his original charge had been to teach the king's young sister enough French to sport with the gout-afflicted Louis XII, but he has left extraordinary testimony of the originality and linguistic insights that the king's original request had unleashed.

Bibliography

- Anderson, J. M. - Jones, C. (edd.) (1974): *Historical linguistics ... vol. I: Syntax, morphology, internal and comparative reconstruction*. Amsterdam
- Carlon, K. et al. (edd.) (1994): *Perspectives on English. Studies in honour of Professor Emma Vorlat*. Leuven - Paris
- Carver, P. L. (1937): *The comedy of Acolastus. Translated from the Latin of Fullonius by John Palsgrave*, with an introduction and notes. London
- Denison, D. (1985): "The origins of periphrastic DO: Ellegård and Visser reconsidered", in Eaton, R. et al. (edd.): *Papers from the 4th international conference on English historical linguistics, Amsterdam, 10-13 April 1985*. Amsterdam, 45-60
- Eaton, R. et al. (edd.) (1985): *Papers from the 4th international conference on English historical linguistics, Amsterdam, 10-13 April 1985*. Amsterdam
- Ellegård, A. (1953): *The auxiliary DO. The establishment and regulation of its use in English*. Stockholm
- Engblom, V. (1938): *On the origin and early development of the auxiliary DO*. Lund
- Fasold, R. - Schiffarin, D. (edd.) (1994): *Language change and variation*. Amsterdam
- Hausmann, R. B. (1974): "The origin and development of modern English periphrastic DO", in Anderson, J. M. - Jones, C. (edd.): *Historical linguistics ... vol. I: Syntax, morphology, internal and comparative reconstruction*. Amsterdam, 159-189
- Hudson, R. A. (1997): "The rise of auxiliary DO: Verb-non-raising or category-strengthening", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 95,1, 41-72
- Ihalainen, O. (1976): "Periphrastic DO in affirmative sentences in the dialect of East Somerset", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 77, 608-622
- (1981): "A note on eliciting data in dialectology: the case of periphrastic 'DO'", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 82, 25-27
- Jespersen, O. (1930): *Novial lexike*. Paris - Heidelberg

- (1909-1949): *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. 7 vols. Copenhagen
- (1967): *How to teach a foreign language*. London (1904)
- Juul, A. - Nielsen, H. F. (edd.) (1989): *Otto Jespersen: Facets of his life and work*. Amsterdam - Philadelphia
- Kastovsky, D. (ed.) (1991): *Historical English syntax*. Berlin - New York
- Kroch, A. S. (1994): "Function and grammar in the history of English: Periphrastic DO", in Fasold, R. - Schiffarin, D. (edd.): *Language change and variation*. Amsterdam, 133-172
- Marchand, H. (1938-9): "Syntaktische Homonymie. Das umschreibende DO", *Englische Studien* 73, 227-252
- Nevalainen, T. (1991): "Motivated archaism: the use of affirmative periphrastic DO in Early Modern English liturgical prose", in Kastovsky, D. (ed.): *Historical English syntax*. Berlin - New York, 303-320
- Nevalainen, T. - Kahlas-Tarkka, L. (edd.) (1997): *To explain the present. Studies in the changing English language in honour of Matti Rissanen*. Helsinki
- Nevalainen, T. - Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (edd.) (1996): *Sociolinguistics and language history: Studies based on the corpus of early English correspondence*. Amsterdam - Atlanta
- Nurmi, A. (1996): "Periphrastic DO and BE + ING: Interconnected developments?", in Nevalainen, T. - Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (edd.): *Sociolinguistics and language history: Studies based on the corpus of early English correspondence*. Amsterdam - Atlanta, 151-165
- Palsgrave, J. (1530): *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse*. London (Slatkine reprint, Geneva, 1972)
- Raumolin-Brunberg, H. - Nurmi, A. (1997): "Dummies on the move: Prop - ONE and affirmative DO in the 17th century", in Nevalainen, T. - Kahlas-Tarkka, L. (edd.): *To explain the present. Studies in the changing English language in honour of Matti Rissanen*. Helsinki, 395-417
- Rissanen, M. (1985): "Periphrastic DO in affirmative statements in early American English", *Journal of English Linguistics* 18, 163-183
- (1991): "Spoken language and the history of DO-periphrasis", in Kastovsky, D. (ed.): *Historical English syntax*. Berlin - New York, 321-342
- Salmon, V. (1994): "John Hart and the beginnings of phonetics in sixteenth-century England", in Carlon, K. et al. (edd.): *Perspectives on English. Studies in honour of Professor Emma Vorlat*. Leuven-Paris, 1-20
- Samuels, M. L. (1972): *Linguistic evolution, with special reference to English*. Cambridge
- Stein, D. (1985a): "Discourse markers in Early Modern English", in Eaton, R. et al. (edd.): *Papers from the 4th international conference on English historical linguistics*. Amsterdam, 283-302
- (1985b): *Natürlicher syntaktischer Sprachwandel. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der englischen do-Periphrase in Fragen*. München
- (1985c): "Stylistic aspects of syntactic change", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 6, 153-178
- (1986): "Syntactic variation and change: The case of DO in questions in Early Modern English", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 7, 121-149
- (1990): *The semantics of syntactic change. Aspects of the evolution of DO in English*. Berlin - New York
- Stein, G. (1997): *John Palsgrave as Renaissance linguist*. Oxford
- Tieken-Boon van Ostade, I. (1985): "DO-support in the writings of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: A change in progress", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 6, 127-151
- (1987): *The auxiliary DO in eighteenth-century English, a sociolinguistic-linguistic approach*. Dordrecht
- Traugott, E. Closs (1972): *The history of English syntax*. New York
- Visser, F. T. (1969): *An historical syntax of the English language*. Vol. III, Leiden
- Wright, S. M. (1989): "Discourse, style, and the rise of periphrastic DO in English", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 10, 1-2, 93-115
- (1991): "On the stylistic basis of syntactic change", in Kastovsky, D. (ed.): *Historical English syntax*. Berlin - New York, 469-491

Ladislav Zgusta¹

Some Developments in Lexicography, Past and Present

1. Historicism

Lexicography entered the twentieth century under the sway of historicism, which prevailed during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Some of the voluminous dictionaries which had been started in the nineteenth century were finished only in the twentieth; this was the case with, e.g., Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1854 et seqq.), Murray's *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, usually called the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1884 et seqq.), and a number of others. Historicism prevailed, however, not only in lexicography. For instance, even a scholar not primarily interested in historical linguistics such as J.O.H. Jespersen conceived of his monumental English grammar (1909) as based on the historical development of English.

The dominant position of historicism was strengthened by the circumstance that where real historical knowledge was absent, either completely, because texts written in the older forms of the language in question were unknown or not yet interpreted, or partially, because some lexical units of the language had no known occurrence in old texts, there the lexicographers tried to present what the sense of logic suggested as the most probable development of the entryword's individual meanings. This method is used to this very day. No doubt John Locke's doctrine concerning the development of abstract senses from concrete ones added weight to this method; but it can be shown that the method itself, which we can call historico-logical, was used long before Locke, already by earlier lexicographers such as Henricus Stephanus in his *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (1572) and by others, and continues in use down to our times, particularly where a gap in textual attestations creates a silence that can be bridged over only by analytical reasoning and logical deliberations.

2. Structuralism

One would expect structuralism to have exercised an influence on lexicography: after all, the general notion that a language as a whole forms a system whose every component is connected to the whole system, and in particular the Saussurean notion of *valeur*, that is, the idea that every component of language (e.g., the word) is delimited by its next adjacent neighbors would be immediately recognized as something exceedingly useful to the lexicographer. (So, for instance, in a group of synonyms, the meaning and stylistic value of

¹ Dr. Dale Hartkemeyer, L.S.T., assisted in the preparation of this article, particularly in bibliographic searches.

each is delimited by the rest of them.) In reality, partial studies of synonyms from this point of view came only with the lexicological research of Jost Trier (1931, 1973).

One reason for this delay in the structuralist impact on lexicography is that compilation of important, original dictionaries is an undertaking that requires considerable time before its fruition. On the other hand, it is also true that de Saussure's *Cours* was published in 1916, when scholarly contacts were much hampered by World War I. There were some additional circumstances. It is well known that the linguistic school of Kazan developed ideas of a strongly structuralist character. For instance, one member of the Kazan school, Jean Baudouin de Courtenay, developed an understanding of what was later called by N.S. Trubetzkoy (1939) *phonology*, in such a way that he came very close to the notion of the *phoneme* in de Saussure's sense. In addition, this scholar was not just interested in lexicography, but indeed was a practicing lexicographer: he reworked the Russian dictionary (1903) of Dal' (1801-1872). Again, he undertook this project on the basis of principles that can be considered structuralist, such as his striving to present a description of the whole Russian lexicon, with all the stylistic and social variants. This brought him onto a collision course with the Russian authorities, because Russian dictionaries did not admit any words considered substandard. When at the end of World War I Baudouin de Courtenay, being of Polish origin, returned to reconstituted Poland, his lexicographic efforts met with the same objections as in Russia, along with a few additional ones (e.g., his intention to involve Yiddish in his lexicography was not welcome). (On this see Farina, forthcoming.)

De Courtenay's main trouble consisted, to put it bluntly, in his defying an important sector of the society of his time, which did not wish to have obscenities and vulgarities included in dictionaries, or foreign expressions and borrowings for that matter, even if they were frequently used in spoken language. This societal taboo has been broken and abandoned by now; indeed it can be expected that dictionaries that will contain most of the vocabulary present in the *belles-lettres* of the seventies and eighties will be more than saturated with highly descriptive sexual terms on all levels of style and emotionality, and with similar lexical material. However, a new societal taboo seems to be developing, namely the ban on ethnic and racial slurs. The parallel of the earlier sexual taboo seems to tell us that the reasonable thing to do is to include these expressions according to the frequency of their use, but to use suitable labels and comments to inform and warn the user of the dictionary. The problem of so-called politically correct language is broader; it will probably be reasonable to wait and see whether the mostly euphemistic expressions like *intellectually challenged* instead of 'retarded' or 'ungifted', *visually challenged* instead of 'blind', and *young lady/woman* instead of 'girl' will take root in general language.

Owing to the circumstances described above, Saussurean structuralism had some influence on lexicography only when the Prague School, mainly through the work of its then member R. Jakobson, succeeded in spreading a holistic or systemic view of language (unfavorable to a total ban on nonliterary words), accompanied by a weakening of the puristic attitudes. In Prague itself, these ideas were applied in concrete lexicographic projects only after World War II.

3. Danish structuralism

The second main branch of European structuralism met with similar difficulties: the English translation of the main work, *Prolegomena* (1961), of the founder of the school, Louis Hjelmslev, was published as late as the post-World War II era, so it was only with the works of Bernard Pottier (1978), Jean Dubois (1971), Alain Rey (1965), Josette Rey-Debove (1971) and Bernard Quemada (1968) that Hjelmslev's ideas took root and exercised a strong influence on lexicography in France. Since works concerning the theory of lexicography were considered to be of lexicological character, the first journal that systematically deals with lexicographic problems and allots most of its pages to them is called *Cahiers de lexicologie*.

4. Valences, collocations

Lucien Tesnière was a French linguist who was close to the Hjelmslevian ideas. He was not in the field of lexicography, but his theory of syntax (1953, 1959) was relevant to it. As is well known, his is the notion of *valences*, the obligatory and optional syntactic accompaniments of the verb in a sentence. An example of obligatory valences involves the verb *to put*:

- *He puts the book.
- *He puts on the table.
- *He puts the book every day.

These sentences are ungrammatical. However,

He puts the book on the table.

is grammatical. Hence, the verb *to put* requires the direct object and the *adverbiale loci* as obligatory accompaniments.

This type of study is, of course, the nucleus of the syntactic patterns as they are indicated in modern dictionaries, particularly those with pedagogical purposes, and of the contemporary study of what is called subcategorizations -- not to mention that it serves as direct inspiration to the harvest of German *Valenzwörterbücher*, the most recent of which is Sommerfeldt & Schreiber (1996). The type of lexicography inspired by I. Mel'chuk (1974), (Mel'chuk et al. 1984), and (Mel'chuk & Zhokovskij 1984) is to date the greatest refinement of the theory and praxis of valences.

J.R. Firth, a British linguist who was not attached to any contemporary school of thought, pursued a similar line of thinking. He called the syntactic relations obtaining among the individual components of a sentence *colligations*. While this idea and term had many competitors, his other term, *collocation*, became one of the main components of any theory of lexicography (1968).

5. Frequency of occurrence

If we cross the Atlantic to look for important lexicographic innovations, we probably have to stop first at the unabridged edition² of Funk & Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary of the English Language* (1928). The innovation introduced in this dictionary is that the sequence of senses in the entry is not of the historical and logical character mentioned above, but is based on the frequency of occurrences of the word in the respective senses. This is an important innovation, particularly for the bilingual dictionary, because the notion of the most frequently occurring sense of a word clearly overlaps with the notion of the dominant sense; in any case, it is these meanings the users of bilingual dictionaries are probably seeking most frequently. (*Probably*, we say, because there are no empirical quantitative data.) No wonder that Carla Marello's (1989) research has shown that during the 20th century, the proportion of dictionaries organized in this way has been on a constant increase.

Still, there are some aspects of this organizational principle that need to be considered. For instance, it must be noticed that there are nouns and verbs in various languages whose forms do not much differ from one another; in English, many such pairs have an identical form. In many English dictionaries, particularly the smaller ones, such pairs are treated in conflated entries. (The COBUILD dictionary (1987) is a particularly appropriate example of this procedure.) However, the dominant senses of the two members of the pair are sometimes different; e.g., *comfort* (noun) has the dominant sense of 'well-being', whereas the verb refers rather to consolation.

6. American structuralism

American structuralism did not have much interest in the lexicon, not to mention lexicography: like syntax, the lexicon is too unruly an area of language to be attractive to scholars who are mostly interested in regular patterns. This characterization pertains to the mainstream of American structuralism as represented by figures such as L. Bloomfield, B. Bloch, C.C. Fries, and Z. Harris. However, structuralism never was a unified body of thought, so it comes as no surprise that the disciples of K. Pike, mostly associated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (an institution attending to the linguistic education of future missionaries and Bible translators), went their own way and constantly published dictionaries of Amerindian and other languages. This divergence notwithstanding, the attitude

² The term *unabridged* in the titles of some American English dictionaries is frequently misconstrued as if it were the dictionary's aim to comprise all the words of the language. In reality, the term asserts that the edition thus described has not been produced by abridgement of a larger one. For instance, if we consider the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, and the *Pocket Oxford English Dictionary*, only the OED is 'unabridged' in this sense of the word, all the other editions having come into existence through abridgement, irrespective of inserted additions and supplements, sometimes quite extensive.