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Inhaltsverzeichnis

Varia

Lectiones praecursoriae

Besprechungen

Varia

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“*Gruß aus Saksa*”: Multilingual practices in a German expatriate online community in Finland

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Abstract This article investigates forms and functions of multilingual practices among German-speaking expatriates in Finland in an online community. It focuses on Finnish codeswitches in otherwise German forum messages in a material that consists of 179 discussion threads with a total of 616 Finnish codeswitches. The structural analysis of the Finnish codeswitches revealed that most of the Finnish codeswitches were intrasentential switches – most often common and proper nouns. Switches of other parts of speech such as verbs and adjectives occurred significantly less often. Almost half of the Finnish nouns were orthographically adapted into German through capitalisation of the initial letter. The functional analysis showed that codeswitches referring to Finnish culture and society were common. Other central functions included metalinguistic commentary, slips of the tongue, greetings and closings, reported speech, and reiteration. The forum members largely relied on their shared knowledge of Finnish and Finland, and only some codeswitches were translated into German. The findings of this study indicate that these Finnish codeswitches are an expression of the multicultural and multilingual lives and identities of the forum members. Codeswitching to Finnish serves both as a means of communicating their shared Finnish experience and as a signal of membership in the online community.

Keywords German, Finnish, codeswitching, online communities, expatriate communities, computer-mediated communication

1. Introduction[1]

Two recent German-language handbooks, *Handbuch der deutschen Sprachminderheiten in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (2008) and *Handbuch der deutschen Sprachminderheiten in Übersee* (2018), provide a comprehensive overview of research on German-speaking minorities and their language use in Central

1 This article is based on Henna Kortelainen's German-language master's thesis (2020, University of Turku). The theoretical framework, analysis and interpretation of the results have been further developed and revised for this article.

and Eastern Europe as well as outside Europe. Northern Europe, where the German-speaking minority is admittedly much smaller and its migration history is different, remains outside the scope of these handbooks. In the current article, the focus is on precisely this area, on the German-speaking minority in Finland and on its multilingual practices in an online discussion forum.

The Internet with its various platforms provides a fruitful environment for the investigation of multilingual practices in different communities – including codeswitching practices in online migrant communities (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Androutsopoulos & Hinnenkamp 2001; Paolillo 1996, 2011; Frick 2010). Investigation of these multilingual practices has the potential to shed light on how the members of the community employ their multilingual resources to convey social meanings, signal their membership in the community and construct identity through multilingual means. It also has the potential to reveal aspects of the linguistic situation in that community offline, such as an ongoing language shift.

The goal of this article is to describe the codeswitching practices of German-speaking expatriates, i.e. their alternating use of German and Finnish in the online discussion forum *Deutsche in Finnland* (‘Germans in Finland’), which is a networking platform for German-speaking migrants in Finland. The central research questions are, on the one hand, how Finnish elements are structurally embedded into an otherwise German syntactic frame in this online forum and on the other hand, what communicative functions the embedded Finnish codeswitches serve in the forum discussions. The analysis shows that the Finnish language is an important common resource through which the forum members convey their “Finnish” experiences drawing on their expected shared knowledge. Simultaneously, codeswitching functions as a way for the members to create a group identity as Germans in Finland and to negotiate and display their membership in the online community. Our viewpoint is new as previous research on German-speaking migrants in Finland and their codeswitching practices has mainly concerned other aspects.

This article is structured as follows: Section 2 situates our study in the broader framework of research on Finnish-German cultural encounters. Section 3 introduces the key theoretical aspects of codeswitching and core findings of previous research that are relevant for our analysis. Section 4 presents the data and the method. In Section 5 we analyse the forms, structural integration and the communicative functions of the Finnish codeswitches. The final Section 6 summarizes the findings and discusses their implications about multilingual practices in the German-speaking expatriate community.

2. Previous studies on German-Finnish cultural encounters

The cultural, economic, and scientific contacts between the German-speaking areas in Central Europe and the area corresponding to today's Finland are ancient and range from the Middle Ages to the present (see e.g. Saarinen 2006; Bentlin 2008: 35–45; Tuomi-Nikula 2008; Hietala 2017: 9–44). German-speaking migrants are one of the oldest language minorities in Finland, and the German language was taken into account as early as in the first language statistics published in the second half of the 19th century in Finland (see e.g. *Suomen virallinen tilasto* 1874). In previous studies, this south-to-north mobility has mainly been approached from the point of view of economically and culturally influential agents with an origin in the German-speaking area of Central Europe. Their influence at different times in history and in different contexts in Finland form one major line of previous research (see e.g. Tigerstedt 1940, 1952; Haggrén 1998; Tertti 1983; Schweizer 1991, 1993; von Witzleben 2009; Piilahti 2012; Ijäs 2015; Wolff 2020). The multilingual practices of these actors and the language contact between speakers of different languages have been studied in the history of the former Finnish city of Wyborg in particular (see e.g. Tandefelt 2002; Einonen 2013). Another key research area is the aftermath of Finnish-German co-operation during World War II. This research has, for example, touched upon the coexistence of the Finnish civilian population and German soldiers in northern Finland (see e.g. Junila 2000; Westerlund 2011; Kujamäki 2017).

In comparison to the historical perspectives mentioned above, contemporary mobility from the German-speaking area to Finland has been examined more rarely. Until the 1980s, mobility from Finland was more frequent than reverse migration, but since the 1990s, the volume of migration to Finland has changed. This increase, which is reflected in various statistics, applies to mobility from the German-speaking area to Finland as well. According to current statistics, in 1990, a total of 1,992 German, Swiss and Austrian citizens resided in Finland; in 2020 there were 5,549. Together, they formed the 14th largest group of foreign nationalities in Finland in 2020 (Statistics

Finland 1990–2020a)[2]. Current language statistics show, in turn, that there were 2,427 German speakers in 1990 in Finland. In 2020, their number was 6,841. In 2020, German was Finland's 17th most frequently spoken language (Statistics Finland 1990–2020b)[3].

The study of contemporary migrants from the German-speaking area to Finland has touched upon their cultural assimilation, the everyday intercultural encounters between Finns and Germans, and the maintenance of the German heritage language in Finland (see e.g. Hulkkonen 1997; Pöyhönen 2012; Tommila 2015; Luokkanen 2018). Worth mentioning as well are the edited works by Niedling (2006), Hiekkalahti (2007) and Schirrmann/Richter-Vapaatalo (2014), which document the biographies and migration histories of individuals with Austrian, German and Swiss background in Finland. These previous works provide various insights into the multicultural lives of contemporary German-speaking migrants in Finland. In the current article, we focus on the linguistic side of these intercultural encounters.

Our linguistic approach contributes to the broader framework of German-Finnish cultural encounters, which have been investigated from multiple perspectives. These include, among others, research on intercultural differences in business communication (see e.g. Tiittula 1993; Müntzel/Tiittula 1995) and in everyday life (Tuomi-Nikula 1989). In addition, previous studies have touched upon the representation of both the German-language culture in Finland (see e.g. Maijala's 2006 study on German-language textbooks) and Finland in Germany (e.g. Sorvisto-Santoro 2019 on the image of Finland in

2 The COVID-19 pandemic affected the stay of foreign citizens in Finland. In 2019, there were 6,841 Austrian, German and Swiss citizens in Finland, which is almost 1,300 more than in 2020.

3 In 2020, there were approx. 5.5 million inhabitants in Finland. In the language statistics for 2020, which entail 161 named languages, languages more common than German were (in this order): Finnish, Swedish, Russian, Estonian, Arabic, English, Somali, Kurdish, Persian/Farsi, Chinese, Albanian, Vietnamese, Thai, Turkish, Spanish and "other languages". "Other languages" is a label for a heterogeneous group of languages reported by speakers that are not included in the ISO 639-1 standard used by the statistics (for their analysis, see Karlsson 2017: 80). It is possible for a person to report only one language in the statistics. In the case of multilingual speakers, this method hides languages and does not provide a comprehensive account of the languages of the population (see also Latomaa 2012).

German-language media). One key area of research is German-Finnish literature exchange (e.g. Laukkanen/Parry eds. 2014; Körkkö 2017), the study of which includes the investigation of translations, translation history, translators and other influential literary agents (e.g. Kujamäki 1998, 2013; Lassila 2007; Tiittula 2013; Järventausta et al. eds. 2015). The linguistic effects of German-Finnish cultural contacts have been examined in etymological research in particular (e.g. Koivulehto 1999; Keinästö 2002; Bentlin 2008; Fonsén 2011). Another line of linguistic inquiry concerns the changing status of German as a foreign language and its learning and teaching in Finland (see e.g. Hyvärinen 2011; Keinästö 2014). In addition, there is research on the use of German as a lingua franca by Finnish scientists of different disciplines (Prinz/Korhonen eds. 2011; Ylönen 2015; Ylönen/Heimonen 2017; for the possible influence of German on Finnish academic genre conventions see Szurawitzki 2011). In the opposite direction, the study of Finnish migrants in the German-speaking areas in Central Europe has focused e.g. on patterns of migration (Ruokonen-Engler 2012), assimilation (Tuomi-Nikula 1989), L1 attrition (Baier 2007), language contact (Siitonen/Tuomi-Nikula 2003) and Finnish-language instruction (Imppola 2020; see also the articles in Järventausta/Pantermöller 2013).

3. Theoretical underpinnings: codeswitching

Codeswitching can be defined as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (Heller 1988: 1). The term can also be used to refer to the alternate use of different varieties of the same language (see e.g. Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4; Lappalainen 2009). The term has received slightly differing definitions over the course of time with researchers distinguishing between structurally and functionally different multilingual practices. For example, some researchers make a distinction between switching between sentences (codeswitching) and switching within a sentence (codemixing) (e.g. Sridhar/Sridhar 1980). As for functional differentiation, Auer (1999) reserves the term codeswitching for such alternate use of codes in which individual switches carry communicative meaning. However, despite the different definitions and competing terms that have arisen, codeswitching is still the most commonly used term to refer to the alternating use of different languages. In this article, we use codeswitching as an umbrella term for a variety of German-Finnish multilingual practices in the Internet forum *Deutsche in Finnland* regardless of form or function.

In codeswitching research, one major branch has focused on the syntactic properties and grammatical integration of elements in codeswitched discourse. Intersentential switching refers to codeswitching between sentences or clauses (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3–4; Romaine 1995: 122–123) while intrasentential codeswitching means switching within sentence or clause boundaries. The dominant language in codeswitched discourse is commonly known as the matrix language (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3). In intrasentential codeswitching, the matrix language – in our case German – provides the morphosyntactic frame into which elements from the other language, the embedded language, are inserted.

Of particular interest in structural considerations are intrasentential switches. While in intersentential switching the codes remain structurally separate, intrasentential switching involves the grammars of the two languages coming into contact. This raises the question of structural integration of the multilingual elements. In the case of the German language, this involves, for example, inflection, the formation of plurals as well as the question of gender assignment for nouns of foreign origin (e.g. Eisenberg 2011; Havermeier 2015, 2016). Furthermore, when the language of the inserted nouns does not have articles (as is the case for Finnish), the question of article use also arises.

In addition to structural integration, another key focus has been on the functions of codeswitching. Whereas sociolinguistically oriented theories aim to explain codeswitching by the social roles of and the symbolic value attached to the codes (Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1988), interactional and conversation-analytical approaches highlight the relevance of a situated analysis of codeswitches with regard to their sequential position within the discourse and the explanation of what interactional purpose they serve at that particular point in the discourse (Auer 1984; Wei 1998). The analysis in this study relies on both the microlevel and the macrolevel functions of the codes: the Finnish codeswitches are on the one hand analysed with regard to their position within forum messages and on the other hand with regard to Finnish as the language of the host country for the forum members.

Codeswitching has been shown widely to serve as a communicative resource for people to accomplish different communicative goals. Switching that carries interactional meaning has been termed *metaphorical* – or alternatively *conversational* – codeswitching by Gumperz (1982: 60–61) as opposed to *situational* codeswitching, where the language choice is conditioned by conversation-external factors such as setting, participants, and activity type. According to Gumperz, codeswitching functions as a *contextualization cue* through which interlocutors contextualize their actions in a communicative exchange. As a contextualization cue, codeswitching functions in a similar way as for example posture, intonation, tone of voice, or gestures to provide signals to other interlocutors regarding how the speaker intends what they say and how they wish their message to be understood (Gumerz 1982: 131; Auer 1995: 123). By switching to another code, the speaker can signal realignment and reposition themselves towards the other interlocutor or towards what is being said (e.g. Zentella 1997: 93–95). The different discourse functions identified in previous research include quotation/reported speech, reiteration, addressee specification, message qualification, and personalization vs. objectivisation signalling, for example, the speaker's distance or proximity towards the contents of the utterance, as listed in Gumperz's (1982: 75–84) original taxonomy.

In codeswitching research, the distinction between single-word codeswitches and borrowed lexical items inevitably arises. Some of the Finnish items in our analysis may have even become conventionalized in the use by the German-speaking community in Finland. This can be assumed in the case of cultural borrowings (Myers-Scotton 1993), i.e. items referring to objects and concepts specific to the Finnish culture without equivalents in German. Lexical items denoting objects and concepts linked to culture and society have the tendency of becoming conventionalized as actual loanwords in the migrant community (Riehl 2016: 30). In Backus's (2010) approach, the continuum between codeswitching and lexical borrowing is described in an illustrative way as a continuum between synchronic embedding and diachronic change. In our study, the data would not be sufficient for us to distinguish between established and non-established Finnish lexical items, and we would need other types of data to differentiate between codeswitched Finnish items and conventionalized, established ones in the German expatriate community in Finland. In previous research on codeswitching, carrying communicative meaning has been assumed to be a quality of longer codeswitches while the communicative value of single-word codeswitches has often been downplayed (Backus 2015). However, single-word switches – as well as borrowings – can and do convey stylistic and pragmatic effects that would be inexpressible by monolingual means (Backus 2015; Onysko/Winter-Froemel 2011). Regardless of whether the Finnish items are codeswitches or established cultural borrowings in the community, they are, in the context of this article, instances of German-Finnish multilingual practices and informative of German-Finnish cultural contact.

Codeswitching is also associated with identity presentation. This is often discussed in terms of *we-code* and *they-code*, terms introduced by Gumperz (1982). We-code is "the ethnically specific, minority language" which is "associated with in-group and informal activities" (Gumperz 1982: 66), while they-code is the language of the majority and is used in more formal, out-group interactions. However, the status of codes as we-code and they-code does not automatically remain stable (Sebba/Wootton 1998). Bailey (2007) states that identities and identity associations of codes – rather than being necessarily predetermined – are constructed in the course of an interaction. In a communicative exchange, different identities can be emphasized at different points of the same interaction. Consequently, the same code can assume the role of a we-code or a they-code in different contexts and even in the same interaction depending on the code's indexical values at different points of the interaction (see also Sebba/Wootton 1998). There is no one-to-one match between specific codeswitching functions and identity presentation but the interpretation of an individual switch as an enactment of identity is rather done on the basis of the entire discourse and its larger context.

Studies on codeswitching have investigated how linguistic resources are exploited to construct and negotiate identities and to signal membership (e.g. De Fina 2007; Leppänen et al. 2009; Leppänen 2012; Peuronen 2017) in different communities of practice (Eckert/McConnell-Ginet 1992). A community of practice can be characterized as a group with mutual engagement of participants, a joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire of resources for negotiation of meaning (Wenger 1998: 73). For example, De Fina (2007) shows how the Italian language is used in an Italian Briscola club of first-, second-, and third-generation Italian immigrants in the US to express Italianness and Italian ethnicity. The associations of the Italian language with Italian ethnicity and traditions are used as a common frame of reference and backdrop for the interpretation of the symbolic value of the use of Italian. According to De Fina, Italian occurs particularly in words and expressions for Italian cuisine, the Briscola game and, for example, greetings. In some other communities, such as Finnish fan communities investigated by Leppänen (2012), a mixed, heteroglossic writing style is the group norm, and the community members use it in their forum posts to show identification with the community.

Overall, multilingualism and codeswitching have been examined in migrant settings in a considerable amount of contact-linguistic research. In the German context, previous studies on migrants' multilingual practices describe, for example, Turkish-German codeswitching in terms of its discourse functions (Cindark 2013), its functions and use in identity construction (Kallmeyer/Keim 2003; Banaz 2002) and variation in codeswitching patterns (Treffers-Daller 1997). In addition, German migrant communities' multilingual practices have been addressed in the Eastern European context by Földes (2002, 2006), Knipf-Komlósi (2011) and Riehl (2019). Siitonen and Tuomi-Nikula's (2003) overview, in turn, summarizes research on the codeswitching practices of Finnish expatriates settled in the German-speaking countries. The use of German elements in the Finnish matrix frame forms one central topic of this research. An important study, published after Siitonen/Tuomi-Nikula (2003), is Baier's (2007) investigation of the attrition of Finnish migrants' L1, a process in which German-language codeswitching plays a significant role.

In the opposite direction, Martin (1973) goes into the multilingual practices of German migrants in Finland. His study is to our knowledge the only comprehensive previous study on the codeswitching of German migrants in Finland. By interviewing almost 60 individuals (born in 1881–1936 and settled in Finland in the 1920s and 1930s) who had lived in Finland for 15–20 years at the time of the study, Martin studies the grammatical influence of Finnish in spoken German interaction and the use of Finnish loanwords and codeswitches by German expatriates. Toivonen (2017), in turn, investigates the functions of German-Finnish codeswitching in bilingual German-Finnish families living in Finland. Her analysis is, however, based on the subjective reports of the respondents on their language use, not on authentic spoken data. Thematically completely different approaches are studies investigating German-Finnish codeswitching in the foreign-language classroom in Finland (Munukka 2006; Grasz 2012).

The traditional focus of codeswitching research has been on spontaneous spoken interaction. However, migrant communities’ written multilingual practices have also been investigated. This research involves different modes of computer-mediated communication (= CMC) such as diasporic web forums, e-mails, Facebook and WhatsApp. Research on multilingualism and codeswitching in online spaces of migrant communities in Germany include investigations of, for example, Persian and Greek diasporic web forums (Androutsopoulos 2006b); Indian, Persian, Greek, Asian, Moroccan, Turkish, and Russian diasporic websites (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2007); Turkish and Greek chats on IRC (Androutsopoulos/Hinnenkamp 2001); and Arabic-German WhatsApp communication (König 2021). These online practices can be informative of several aspects of language use in the expatriate community. The virtual online space can create a platform that enables the use of the minority language in the first place (Ivkovic/Lotherington 2009; Moshnikov 2016), and the preference for the heritage language in the online forum can reveal a tendency towards language maintenance. Conversely, preference for the language of the host country can be indicative of language shift in the community (Paolillo 1996).

It is unclear to what extent codeswitching practices in the spoken and the written medium are similar and to what extent they potentially differ. Written communication does have some significant differences in comparison with spoken interaction such as more time to plan and the possibility to edit. In CMC, codeswitching has been observed to be affected by technical aspects as well as features of the different modes of CMC such as synchronicity (Barasa 2016; San 2009). For example, according to Barasa (2016: 64–66) space limitations on CMC messages can lead the writer to codeswitch for a shorter word or phrase in the other language. Therefore, written online codeswitching practices cannot be directly generalized as representing practices offline.

3. Data and method

The present study describes the multilingual practices of German-speaking expatriates in the Internet forum *Deutsche in Finnland* (‘Germans in Finland’) (saksalaiset.fi). *Deutsche in Finnland* is an online platform that enables community members to share information and experiences, ask for advice or help, or discuss different topics which are often related to Finland, such as living and travelling in Finland or the Finnish language. The forum has approximately 2500 registered users (September 2021), which indicates that the forum is an important communication platform for German speakers in Finland (see the statistics in Section 1). Table 1 presents an overview of the data collected.

Table 1. Overview of the collected data.

Internet forum	Data collection date	Publication date of the analysed posts	Number of usernames of the analysed posts	Collected discussion threads	Number of Finnish codeswitches
Deutsche in Finnland saksalaiset.fi	February 1–4, 2018	2006–2018	222	179	616

Obviously, it is possible that some of the forum members are German speakers living in other countries than Finland or that some members are second-language speakers of German with, for example, Finnish as their native language. However, our comprehensive analysis of the messages, their contents and linguistic properties allows us to conclude that the majority of the messages are composed by German-speaking expatriates.

In this research, we focus on the public part of the forum where the messages are publicly accessible and available. Therefore, no research permission was required from either the community members themselves or administrators to use the messages as research material. In the examples to be cited in this study, we have anonymized the forum members by omitting their usernames. The examples provided in Section 4 to illustrate German-Finnish codeswitching practices are selected so that they are neutral in tone, not offensive, and that they do not embarrass anyone.

The forum is divided into ten topic categories[4]:

1) *Allgemeines* (‘General’)
2) *Leben und Alltag in Finnland* (‘Living and everyday life in Finland’)
3) *Kinder und Familie* (‘Children and family’)
4) *Umzug und unterwegs von und nach Finnland* (‘Moving and on the way to and from Finland’)
5) *Finnische Sprache* (‘Finnish language’)
6) *Kunst und Kultur* (‘Arts and culture’)
7) *Knödel, Kalakukko und Koskenkorva* (‘Culinary corner’)
8) *Natur und Tierwelt* (‘Nature and wildlife’)
9) *Tipps für Trips innerhalb Finnland* (‘Tips for trips within Finland’)
10) *Sport und Freizeit* (‘Sport and free time’).

The material was collected in the time period 1st–4th February 2018. The first 19 discussion threads from each above-mentioned topic category were collected – with the exception of *Kunst und Kultur* (‘Arts and culture’), which only contained eight discussion threads. In instances where an individual thread contained several pages of messages, up to four pages were collected. The number of discussion threads collected was altogether 179. The oldest forum posts in these discussion threads are from the year 2006, but most discussion threads date to the years 2010–2018. The messages are from 222 different usernames. Some of the usernames contributed more actively to the discussions while others only posted one or two messages.

The discussion threads were copied and saved as Word files, after which they were read through and manually searched for codeswitches into Finnish. The Finnish codeswitches were copied and saved into Excel files together with an extract of their surrounding textual context for analysis. Altogether 616 codeswitches into Finnish were found in the material. The codeswitches were analysed in the light of the findings of previous research with regard to both their structural and functional properties.

4 The discussion categories and the corresponding links to each category can be found at: http://saksalaiset.fi/forum/index.php?sid=294e5d121b3a78ecfb1a24ad46e9c86c.

As our focus is on multilingual practices in the forum discussions, other multilingual elements external to the discussion threads were excluded from the analysed data. These multilingual elements include, for example, usernames and life mottos in the users' profile information. This type of presence of several languages in a web page contributes to the overall multilingualism of the website but is not codeswitching per se – at least according to the definition adopted here. Excluded from the analysis are also instances where the codeswitch is part of a quoted post, i.e. a user has quoted another user's text in which codeswitching occurs. This prevents us from analysing duplicate instances of the same codeswitch.

4. Results and findings

4.1. Structural embedding of the Finnish codeswitches

The structural analysis of the Finnish codeswitches enables an overview of how German and Finnish are mixed in the forum messages. Table 2 summarizes the key properties of the Finnish switches.

Table 2. Overview of the structural properties of the Finnish codeswitches.

	Σ	%
Intrasentential codeswitches	506	82
Intersentential codeswitches	35	6
Metalinguistic commentaries	75	12
Total	616	100

Table 2 shows that in the forum *Deutsche in Finnland,* German-Finnish codeswitching involves predominantly intrasentential insertions of Finnish words and phrases into German sentences. Out of the 616 switches, only 6% were intersentential switches to Finnish involving complete Finnish sentences. The intersentential codeswitches were mostly quotations that were either excerpts of reported speech or text passages directly copy-pasted from other websites. The share of the third category, metalinguistic commentaries, was 12%. These switches are treated as a distinct category as they are morphosyntactically independent and do not thus provide information on the structural properties of German-Finnish codeswitching. We will return to them in Section 4.2.

Table 3 highlights the patterns of the dominating intrasentential codeswitching type. In the following discussion, we give examples for each category.

Table 3. Patterns of intrasentential codeswitching.

	Σ	%
Single common nouns	319	63
Proper nouns	87	17.2
Noun phrases	22	4.4
Interjections	21	4.2
Bilingual German-Finnish compounds	15	3
Single adjectives (14) and adjective phrases (1)	15	3
Verbs	5	1
Others	22	4.4
Total	506	100

4.1.1. Single common nouns

Table 3 shows that single nouns clearly dominate (63% of all intrasentential switches). Single nouns are often culture-specific items such as *mämmi* (’Finnish Easter pudding’) referring to objects and concepts specific to Finnish culture (for more examples see 4.2). The use of Finnish single nouns (as well as proper nouns, see below) in German sentences is facilitated by the fact that they may be accompanied by German articles and pronouns expressing grammatical relations. There is thus no need to inflect Finnish single nouns in German sentences (as compared to adjectives and verbs, see below) (see also Martin 1973: 56). In the following discussion, we analyse the ways in which Finnish single nouns are integrated orthographically (capitalization of nouns) and grammatically (gender, including the use of articles, and plural) into German sentences.

Written interaction in informal online forums in the digital space is often characterized by dialogic and colloquial features typical of oral communication. The continuum between conventional orality and literacy was described in the 1980s and 1990s by Koch & Oesterreicher (see e.g. 1985, 1994) in an influential model, which has been further developed in current approaches to interaction in digital media (see e.g. Storrer 2013; Dürscheid 2021). In the Internet forum investigated in this article, the "typed dialogues" (Dürscheid/Brommer 2009) display some conventional features of oral interaction, and as it is typical for informal digital communication (Dürscheid/Brommer 2009), the norms of conventional written language, including orthographic rules, are not always strictly followed. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to analyse the orthography of the Finnish codeswitches because the German and Finnish norms differ: In Finnish, only sentence-initial words and proper nouns are usually capitalized whereas in German, due to a historical development from a pragmatic function to a grammatical feature (see e.g. Nerius 2000), a capital letter marks the noun part of speech regardless of its position in the sentence. In other words, both proper and common nouns are capitalized in German. The members of the Internet forum *Deutsche in Finnland* thus have two different norms to choose from: the model of the matrix German and the model of the Finnish-language embedded items.

Altogether 276 Finnish single nouns could be analysed in terms of capitalization because sentence-initial nouns were left out. The results show rather equal "competition" between the norms: in 148 instances, the Finnish noun was capitalized while in 128 instances it was written with a lower-case letter. Similar variation in the navigation between the different orthographic norms of two languages has been attested in written codeswitching of other language pairs, e.g. between Russian and German (Yudytzka 2016). In multilingual communities in general, the orthographic conventions of the languages in contact have been found to influence each other (Schroeder 2007).

A further cross-linguistic difference relates to the assignment of gender indicated by articles and other grammatical devices in German; Finnish nouns, by contrast, lack both gender and articles. The investigation of the gender assignment of Finnish nouns shows that they often follow the general rule of semantic analogy (see e.g. Wegener 1995): they receive the gender of the equivalent German word. For example, in our data the semantically related nouns *letku* ('hose') and *putki* ('tube') were treated differently; the former appeared in the masculine gender and the latter in the neuter gender because the German counterparts are masculine (*der Schlauch* 'hose') and neuter (*das Rohr* 'tube') respectively. Variation does, however, exist (see also Fuller/Lehnert 2000). In our data this applies, for example, to the word *viili* ('soured whole milk'), the gender of which varied between masculine, neuter and feminine. Similar variation was also observed in Martin's (1973) study on spoken data. According to him, this variation can be explained – at least in some instances such as *viili* – by the absence of a suitable German equivalent for the Finnish lexical item, which leads to indecisiveness about the "correct" gender[5].

In addition to gender, the integration of Finnish single nouns in German sentences sometimes involved plural marking. When studying the use of English-language items in Finnish sentences uttered by Finnish migrants living in the US, Halmari (1997) observed variation in the plural marking of English nouns: sometimes the Finnish plural ending is used (*neighborit* 'neighbors'), sometimes the English plural suffix is retained (*librarians*), and sometimes a bilingual double marking occurs (*mountainseille* 'to mountains'). In Martin's study on oral data (1973), Finnish plural nouns most commonly received no plural ending. In a few instances, the plural was formed with the German plural ending -s or with a Finnish plural ending. Similar variation occurs in our data, in which, however, only 16 Finnish nouns were in plural. In three cases, the noun received the German plural ending -s (*Mökkis* 'summer cottages'). In one instance, the plural noun occurred without any plural ending (*K-kauppa* 'K-markets'). In the rest of the instances, the nouns received Finnish plural marking, for example *Suomalaiset* ('Finns'):

5 In the reverse direction, when German codeswitches are embedded in Finnish sentences, their gender characteristics disappear because it is not possible to express gender in the Finnish matrix language. Rakkolainen (2002) showed in her analysis on German codeswitches and loanwords embedded in Finnish that single German nouns conformed to the Finnish matrix through absence of gender assignment and articles. Siitonen and Tuomi-Nikula (2003) emphasize, however, that German nouns may be accompanied by the numeral *yksi* 'one' and demonstrative pronouns. These items have started to display features of grammaticalized indefinite and definite articles (see e.g. Nordlund et al. 2013).

1. Deine Aussage, dass evtl. nur ca. 5500 *Suomalaiset* wissen was sie da tun, vermutlich sehr zutreffend sei.
   [Your statement that maybe only about 5500 *Suomalaiset* know what they are doing there is probably very accurate.][6]

The gender assignment, use of articles, and plural marking of nouns are all features which may show differences between spontaneous oral data (such as Martin's 1973 study) and written data (such as this study); unlike in spontaneous speech, in written communication the writer has the opportunity to reflect on and edit their linguistic choices before posting the message. More data is obviously needed for a more thorough analysis.

4.1.2. Proper nouns

Proper nouns, which may be single nouns or noun phrases, were isolated in a separate group because they differ from common nouns: Proper names are expressions which are often transferred unchanged from one language to another (see e.g. Raukko 2017). After single nouns, proper names formed the second largest category in our data (17.2%). They included names of referents typical for the Finnish society in which the forum members live (for examples see Table 3 below).

An interesting group among the proper names were exonyms. They are toponyms such as *Saksa* (‘Germany’), i.e. special geographical names used by people outside that place:

2. Gab's nicht in *Saksa* mal eine – leider nicht ernst gemeinte – Diskussion, ob nicht doch ein ”Internetführerschein” eingerichtet werden soll und der für Menschen die Online gehen wollen verpflichtend sei.
   [Wasn't there a – unfortunately not serious – discussion in *Saksa* as to whether an “Internet driver's license” should be set up and which is mandatory for people who want to go on-line.]

6 In the examples, italics (added by us) highlight the Finnish codeswitches both in the original and in the English translations.

In contrast to other proper nouns such as *Helsingin Sanomat* (name of a newspaper), which do not have direct German equivalents, exonyms do have equivalents. The use of a Finnish exonym in a German sentence instead of the German toponym *Deutschland* 'Germany' is a signal that Finnish is – alongside the matrix language German – considered a common resource, the other we-code of the group.

4.1.3. Noun phrases, interjections, bilingual compounds, adjectives, and verbs

In contrast to single nouns and proper names, all other categories were less common in our data. The integration of syntactically complex noun phrases in German sentences was marginal. Their share was only 4.2%. This group includes, for example, terms referring to specific structures of Finnish society (*sairausvakuutuksen sairaanhoitomaksu* 'health insurance contribution for medical care').

The group of interjections was also small, in total 4.2%. In addition to interjections *per se*, i.e. the representatives of the part of speech of interjections (e.g. *kippis* 'cheers'), the group also covers syntactically more complex but structurally fixed routine expressions such as the exclamation *voi kauhea* ('how terrible').

Bilingual compounds, the following category in Table 2, refer to hybrid German-Finnish compound nouns, i.e. constructions in which one part comes from Finnish and the other one from German, for example *Mökkiurlaub* ('mökki holiday'), *Ruskawanderung* ('ruska hike') and *Juhannuswoche* ('Juhannus week')[7]. This type of codeswitching was not very common either (3%). In each instance, the Finnish part of the compound was a culture-specific item referring to Finnish culture.

Constituting 3% of intrasentential codeswitches, single adjectives and adjective phrases also formed a marginal group of Finnish codeswitches. The result corresponds to Martin's (1973) study on spoken data, where adjectives were also rare. According to Martin (1973: 56), German inflection makes it difficult to embed Finnish adjectives in German sentences. In his data, Finnish adjectives appeared in syntactic environments where they did not need

7 *mökki*= cottage, *juhannus* = Midsummer, *ruska* = autumn colours.

to be inflected, as predicatives and adverbials, but not as attributes. In our data, the circumstances are the same. Example (11) in Section 4.2. illustrates a case where inflection was not needed.

The category of verbs was even smaller, only 1%. This result is also in line with Martin's (1973) study. A direct transfer of Finnish verbs is difficult, as it is difficult to add German inflectional suffixes to Finnish verbs (see example (7) below).

4.1.4. Others

The final category “others” in Table 2 consists of other sentence-internal switches (4.4%) which did not fall into the above-mentioned parts of speech or phrase types. This category is an internally heterogeneous category consisting of, for example, syntactically different quotations which were integrated as such into the German sentences, such as *tahdotko sinä* (‘do you’) in (3).

3. Die Pastorin hat uns nach dem obligatorischen *“Tahdotko sinä...?”* (Antwort *“Tahdon”*) gefragt, ob wir auch ein freiwilliges Heiratsversprechen hinzufügen wollen, so eins zum Nachsprechen.
   [The pastor asked us after the obligatory *“do you…”* (the answer *“I do”*) if we want to add a voluntary wedding vow, one that is repeated.]

4.2. Functional analysis

In this section, we examine the functions of the Finnish codeswitches. In this analysis, which complements the structural picture of codeswitches outlined above, the codeswitches are analysed in terms of both their reference point and the function they served in the particular context. Since the functions of codeswitching tend to co-occur and intertwine, a systematic quantitative analysis has not been carried out in the functional analysis. For this reason, the quantitative estimations are based on rough tendencies observable in the data. With regard to their functions, the Finnish codeswitches correspond to the functions of codeswitching in general (see e.g. Gumperz 1982): cultural switches; quotations; greetings; reiteration; linguistic errors, slips of the tongue, and puns; and metalinguistic commentary are the central functions in our data.

Table 4 contains information on the distribution of the codeswitches across the discussion categories of the forum. The most codeswitches were found in the discussion category *Finnische Sprache* ('Finnish language'). The categories *Knödel, Kalakukko und Koskenkorva* ('Culinary corner') and *Leben und Alltag in Finnland* ('Living and everyday life in Finland') are other topics that "attracted" more codeswitching than the other topics. We return to these categories in the discussion below.

Table 4. Distribution of the codeswitches across the forum's predefined discussion categories.

Discussion category	Σ	%
Finnische Sprache ('Finnish language')	229	37.2
Knödel, Kalakukko und Koskenkorva ('Culinary corner')	155	25.2
Leben und Alltag in Finnland ('Living and everyday life in Finland')	78	12.7
Sport und Freizeit ('Sport and free time')	45	7.3
Natur und Tierwelt ('Nature and wildlife')	33	5.4
Tipps für Trips innerhalb Finnland ('Tips for trips within Finland')	25	4.1
Allgemeines ('General')	22	3.6
Umzug und unterwegs von und nach Finnland ('Moving and on the way to and from Finland')	15	2.4
Kinder und Familie ('Children and family')	12	2
Kunst und Kultur ('Arts and culture')	2	0.3
Total	616	100

4.2.1. Cultural switches

A great share of the Finnish codeswitches was culture-related. Items in this functional category belong to the structural categories of single nouns, proper nouns, bilingual compounds, and noun phrases discussed in Section 4.1. above. Cultural codeswitches are culture-specific lexical items denoting objects and concepts specific to the Finnish culture, traditions, and society or otherwise having associations with Finland and Finnish culture. The dominance of culture-specific items in German-Finnish codeswitching is consistent with the types of Finnish items reported by German speakers in Toivonen's study (2017). Although some Finnish items categorized as cultural, such as *lukio* ('high school'), are not particular to Finland only, their Finnish referents nevertheless differ clearly from the referents of the corresponding German-language items. These culture-specific codeswitches can be viewed as cues that contextualize the referent as Finnish, convey its link to Finnish culture or society, and express its Finnishness. For example, the use of *asumistuki* ('housing benefit') associates the benefit with the Finnish social security system with, for example, its specific criteria for receiving the benefit, the institution granting the benefit etc. To illustrate with another example, using the Finnish word *juhannus* for Midsummer immediately brings to mind how the holiday is traditionally celebrated in Finland. The use of certain culture-specific items can also be assumed to be motivated by the German speakers' frequent exposure to and use of these terms in their everyday life in Finland, such as *katsastus* ('car inspection') or *vero* ('tax'). In Table 5, a selected set of examples illustrates the different thematic categories that the Finnish cultural codeswitches represent.

Table 5. Selected examples for cultural codeswitches.

Thematic category	Examples
Proper names	*Helsingin Sanomat* (name of a newspaper), *Suomenlinna* (name of an island close to Helsinki), *Vain Elämää* (name of a TV program), *Stadi* (colloquial name for Helsinki), *Energia Areena* (name of a multifunctional indoor arena in Vantaa), *Itäkeskus* (name of a shopping centre in Helsinki), *Veikkaus* (name of a Finnish gaming company), *Suomi* (‘Finland’).
Finnish cuisine (food, drinks, delicacies)	*mämmi* (Finnish Easter pudding), *salmiakki* (salty liquorice), *viili* (soured whole milk), *piimä* (buttermilk), *koskenkorva* (Finnish vodka brand), *Geisha-konvehti* (chocolate brand), *kermaviili* (Finnish sour cream), *jogurtti* (yogurt)
Finnish society and social system	*Kela* (the social insurance institution of Finland), *verohallinto* (the Finnish tax administration), *lukio* (high school), *terveyskeskus* (health centre), *työterveys* (occupational health services), *sairauskassa* (health insurance fund), *asumistuki* (housing benefit), *kannustinloukku* (incentive trap), *henkilökortti* (identity card), *vero* (tax), *katsastus* (car inspection), *muskari* (music playschool), *matkakortti* (travel card), *vauvakahvila* (baby café), *perhekahvila* (family café)
Finnish traditions and customs	*mökki* (summer cottage), *juhannus* (Midsummer), *pikkujoulu* (pre-Christmas party)
Finland’s nature	*pohjavesialue* (groundwater area), *silkkiuikku* (great crested grebe), *siika* (common whitefish), *ympäristölupa* (environmental permit), *vesisuojelu* (water protection), *metsäpalovaroitus* (forest fire warning)

The largest thematic categories were “Proper names”, “Finnish cuisine”, and “Society and social system”. These thematic categories are not identical with but correspond largely to the distribution of the codeswitches across the forum’s topic categories. Some codeswitches such as *Suomi* (‘Finland’) and *mökki* (‘summer cottage’) occur in several topic categories.

In Table 5, the culture-specific proper names refer to objects, institutions, organisations, shops, newspapers, magazines, books, and places (etc.) that exist as such only in Finnish culture and society. The referents of the switches for food items and beverages belong to Finnish cuisine or are otherwise typically consumed as part of the Finnish diet. Switches related to “Finnish society and social system” refer to institutions, offices, social security, school system, and health care – or otherwise to everyday life in Finland in general. The other thematic categories, "Finnish traditions and customs" and "Finland's nature" were also common but clearly smaller categories in the data.

As the forum *Deutsche in Finnland* was created for information exchange about issues related to Finland, it is not surprising to find multiple culture-related switches. The use of culture-related Finnish words and expressions embedded in German is indicative of people's exposure to and contact with Finnish culture. The cultural codeswitches reflect experience with Finnish culture and, judging by the several different types of cultural switches, with a variety of different aspects of Finnish culture.

Most cultural switches are not translated or otherwise explained in German. This is the case for example in (4). This can be viewed as an indication of Finnish being treated as a we-code for the participants of the forum: the writers expect knowledge of both the Finnish language and Finnish culture from the other forum members and can rely on this shared knowledge when conveying cultural meanings.

4. Tipp: wenn man ausgerechnet in der *Juhannuswoche* ein *Mökki* mieten will, besser rechtzeitig bei den deutschen Anbietern nachschauen (z.B. Interchalet). Diese haben den gleichen Preis für jede Woche des Sommers. Die *Juhannus*woche ist dort ein Schnäppchen.
   [Tip: if you want to rent a *Mökki* during *Juhannus* week of all times, it is better to check with the German providers in good time {e.g. Interchalet}. These have the same price for every week of summer. *Juhannus* week is a bargain there.]

The few cultural switches which are translated are more specialised terms and their meanings are not assumed to be known by all the forum members:

5. Das Thema "*Kannustinloukku*", also Motivationsfalle, war ja auch bei den letzten Parlamentswahlen wieder ein Thema, so wie schon acht Jahre zuvor.
   [The topic of "*Kannustinloukku*", that is, motivation trap, was a topic again in the most recent parliamentary elections, just as it was eight years earlier.]

Overall, of the 616 Finnish codeswitches, 119 were accompanied by a German translation or explanation. Most of these translations or explanations (96) occurred in messages posted in the discussion category *“Finnische Sprache”* (‘Finnish language’). They appeared either in metalinguistic commentary or in explanation of linguistic errors (see below). Several strategies were employed to convey the meanings of the Finnish codeswitches in German: the translation could be either literal or slightly altered repetition of the Finnish expression; some translations followed the codeswitch in brackets, quotation marks or were surrounded by commas. The German translation was sometimes accompanied by explanatory metalinguistic expressions such as *also* (‘that is’, see [5] above), *auf Deutsch* (‘in German’), or *mit anderen Worten* (‘in other words’). Explanations of the Finnish items were in some cases also provided in a glossary at the end of the forum message.

4.2.2. Quotations

Codeswitching has been found to be very common when a speaker or a writer reports another spoken or written source (e.g. Gumperz 1982). In quotations, codeswitching serves as a contextualization cue marking “voices” in conversation or in writing (e.g. Frick/Riionheimo 2013). At the same time, codeswitching preserves the language of the original utterance. In our data, the quotations were of two types: a) copy-pasted quotations and b) reported speech. The former involved text extracts copied from other websites. In CMC, codeswitching practices are shaped by features and tools provided by computational technologies (e.g. Barasa 2016). Copy-pasted quotations illustrated in (6) below can be viewed as such CMC-specific codeswitching:

6. Sairauskassa ist nicht auf Gewinn ausgerichtet, Versicherungen wohl: *Kassan voittoa tavoittelemattomuus ja yhteisvastuullisuus takaavat hyvän korvaustason pienellä jäsenmaksulla.* http://www.vakuutuskassat.fi/index.php/ ... aineisto-4 In diesem Sinne wird also auch zukünftig die Versorgung fairer sein, als bei Versicherungen, die lieber nicht zahlen wollen.

[A sick fund is not oriented towards profit but insurances: *The non-profit nature and joint liability of the sick fund guarantee good compensation with a small membership fee*. http://www.vakuutuskassat.fi/index.php/ ... aineisto-4 In this way future care will be fairer than with insurances that would rather not pay.]

Reported speech encompasses quotations of speech and writing produced either by the writer themselves or another person at an earlier point in time. In reported speech, codeswitching can serve to retain the original language of the utterance (Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996; Lantto/Kolehmainen 2017). In our data, several of the instances of reported speech occurred in explanations of slips of the tongue, where the quoted utterance contained the linguistic error, i.e. the linguistic error was illustrated by using the quotation. This supports the analysis that willingness to retain the original language of the utterance was what motivated the switch to Finnish in these quotations. Example (7) contains an instance where the writer quotes what they themselves wrote in a text message. The quote further illustrates a typo that had happened to the writer: instead of *työskennellä* (‘to work’), they had written *teeskennellä* (‘to pretend’).

7. Am Freitagmorgen entschied ich mich kurzfristig einen etätyö-Tag (Arbeit von zu Hause) einzulegen, insbesondere da mein Chef dies auch tat. So eilte ich morgens in Büro und holte den Laptop nach Hause. Unterwegs schrieb ich meinem Chef ein SMS: *“Infoksi että hain äsken läppärin toimistolta voidaakseni teeskennellä etänä.”* Anstatt *työskennellä* (arbeiten) hatte ich versehentlich *teeskennellä* (vorgeben, vortäuschen, sich verstellen) benutzt, was mir glücklicherweise noch nach dem Versand auffiel. Hinterher schickte ich ein "Työskennellä siis..."
   [On Friday morning, I decided to work from home on short notice, especially because my boss also did the same. So I hurried to the office in the morning and fetched the laptop. On my way I wrote an SMS to my boss: *“For your information, I just fetched the laptop from the office in order to pretend from a distance.”* Instead of “to work” I accidentally used “to pretend” which I luckily noticed after sending the message. Afterwards I sent “I mean to work…”]

4.2.3. Greetings and related formulaic expressions

Discourse formulae such as greetings, farewells and other well-wishes are typical sites of codeswitching (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006a; Paolillo 1996). This is also the case in our data. Greetings are frequently occurring basic expressions in a language and they are likely to be learned first when one moves to new linguistic surroundings. In the forum discussions, codeswitching to Finnish was common in greetings both in the beginning and at the end of a comment. The use of Finnish greetings and closings in the forum messages signals a shared Finnish experience between the author and the forum members. In addition to one-word expressions such as *moi* ('hi'), *hei* ('hi'), and *terveiset* ('regards', see [8]), the category of greetings includes diverse other formulaic multi-word expressions such as *hei kaikille* ('hi everybody'), *terveisiä Saksasta* ('greetings from Germany') and *kiitos paljon avustasi* ('many thanks for your help'), the forms of which are more or less fixed:

8. Ich dachte mir, ich teile diese Information mit euch, und hoffe, es hilft euch genauso super wie mir! Viel Spaß und Erfolg! *Terveiset* [name].
   [I figured I would share this information with you, and hope it helps you as much as it does me! Have fun and good luck! *Regards* {name}]

4.2.4. Reiterations

Finnish codeswitches also occur in reiterations, i.e. in direct or somewhat modified repetitions of a message first expressed in German. Reiteration is a common function of codeswitching, which serves to emphasize, clarify, or elaborate on the message or its parts (Gumperz 1982). In our data, the Finnish reiterations of German items are clarifying codeswitches that specify the concept that is being referred to. (For the reverse, German translations of Finnish codeswitches, see the Section 4.2.1. *Cultural switches* above.) In (9), the Finnish term *verohallinto* ('tax administration') clarifies the reference and specifies the institution as a Finnish one. In (10), in turn, the discussion relates to the properties of the Finnish language; by providing the Finnish equivalent for the German term *Wortstamm* ('word stem'), the writer makes available a concept that the forum members are probably familiar with from their Finnish language courses.

9. Ab 1.1.2017 ist für die Einfuhrsteuer das Finanzamt (*verohallinto*) vero.fi zuständig.
   [From 1 January 2017 onwards, the tax office {*verohallinto*} vero.fi is responsible for the import tax.]

10. Bei Verben geht es bzgl. der letzten Silbe immer um den Wortstamm (*vartalo*).
    [When it comes to verbs, the last syllable is always the root of the word {*vartalo*}.]

In addition to the clarification of single terms, there were also longer repetitive codeswitches in Finnish, which belong to the group of intersentential codeswitching (see Table 1). They included, for example, an invitation to an event targeted at members of German-Finnish families. After the German-language invitation, the invitation was repeated in its entirety in Finnish. Such reiterations are situationally motivated and aim to take into account the varying German proficiency of the forum members and their family members.

4.2.5. Linguistic errors, slips of the tongue and puns

As Finnish is likely to be a foreign language for most forum members, linguistic errors, slips of the tongue, and puns form one of the key discussion topics in the forum. In these discussions, in which the forum members share their experiences with the Finnish language with others, the Finnish codeswitches play an important role as they are often the starting point for the whole story. Example (11) illustrates a typo that has given rise to an unintended funny meaning. At the same time, (11) exemplifies a rare instance in which the codeswitch involves an uninflected Finnish adjective (see 4.1. above). German translations clarify the meaning of the adjectives:

11. Ich wollte schreiben, dass die Sache *tärkeä* (wichtig) ist. Stattdessen habe ich das Ö erwischt und ein *törkeä* draus gemacht. Meine Angelegenheit war dann unverschämt und unanständig!

[I wanted to write that the thing is *tärkeä* {important}. Instead, I hit the Ö and made a *törkeä* out of it. My business was then outrageous and indecent!]

Example (12), in turn, illustrates an intentional creation of a pun in a bilingual context. The starting point of the pun are two Finnish words that sound the same: *porukat*, a colloquial word for 'parents' and *porkkanat* 'carrots', the latter of which has started to replace the former in the writer's in-group interactions:

12. Ein schon langjähriger Insiderwitz: mein Freund schrieb einmal per SMS von seinen "*porukat*". Ich habe das Wort nicht im Wörterbuch gefunden, vermutete aber, dass es sich um seine Eltern (seine Gruppe) handelt. Spasseshalber antwortete ich mit *"sun porkkanat???"* und seitdem heissen sämtliche Eltern im Freundeskreis nur noch *"Mohrrüben"*…
[A long-time inside joke: my friend once wrote by SMS about his *"porukat"*. I couldn't find the word in the dictionary, but I suspected it was his parents {his group}. Just for fun I replied with *"sun porkkanat???"* and since then all parents in our circle of friends are only called *"carrots"*...]

(12) illustrates that the German translation can occur separately from the Finnish codeswitch and follow at a later point in the text. The translation for "porukat" is provided later in brackets after *seine Eltern* ('his parents') where *seine Gruppe* ('his group') refers to "*porukat*". (Basically, *seine Eltern* would alone suffice but *seine Gruppe* conveys the more literal meaning of the word *porukat*). Similarly, the meaning of the second codeswitch *sun porkkanat* ('your carrots') comes later in the same sentence, where *Mohrrüben* ('carrots') – somewhat indirectly – reveals the meaning of *porkkanat*. In this example, the reiteration can be seen to have a twofold function: in addition to being an important part of the narrative, it can also be interpreted to have a facilitative function, ensuring understanding among forum members with more modest Finnish skills.

In addition to stories related to typos and puns, some Finnish codeswitches were different types of slips of the tongue. They involved the mixing up of similar-sounding words (*uskollinen* 'faithful' instead of *uskonnollinen* 'religious', *humalainen* 'a drunk' instead of *kimalainen* 'bumble-bee', *hirvimatto* 'moose mat' instead of *hiirimatto* 'mouse mat') and the creative formation of novel portmanteau words (*metsähäntäpeura* 'forest-tailed deer' < *metsäpeura* 'Finnish forest reindeer' + *valkohäntäpeura* 'white-tailed deer').

4.2.6. Metalinguistic commentaries

Metalinguistic commentaries were relatively frequent and accounted for 12% of all codeswitches. They involved discussions on Finnish lexical items and their meanings as well as Finnish grammatical rules. Codeswitches in metalinguistic commentaries were separated as a distinct category in the structural analysis because they were mostly morphosyntactically unintegrated and separate and not syntactically dependent on other sentence constituents. Thus, they are not really informative of the structural properties of German-Finnish codeswitching. In many instances, the Finnish items occurred in their uninflected forms. In example (13), the consonant gradation of Finnish words is exemplified with the Finnish word *katu* ('street') which is inflected in its different forms to illustrate consonant gradation in practice.

13. Die Konsonanten k, p und t unterliegen in der Deklination wie der Konjugation finnischer Wörter einem Stufenwechsel. Sie kommen in einer „starken" und einer „schwachen" Stufe vor. Die starke Stufe steht in offenen, also auf einen Vokal endenden, Silben (z. B. *katu* „die Straße") sowie vor langen Vokalen und Diphthongen (z. B. *katuun* „in die Straße"). Sonst steht die schwache Stufe (z. B. *kadun* „der Straße"). [The consonants k, p, and t are subject to consonant gradation in declination as well as conjugation of Finnish words. They appear in strong and weak grades. The strong grade stands in open syllables, that is syllables ending in a vowel {e.g. *katu* "the street"} as well as in front of long vowels and diphthongs {e.g. *katuun* "into the street"}. Otherwise the weak grade is chosen {e.g. *kadun* "of the street"}.]

Most of the metalinguistic commentaries were part of the forum’s discussion category “Finnische Sprache” (‘Finnish language’), and they accordingly occurred in discussions on the properties of Finnish language, for example on Finnish lexical items and their meaning, grammatical issues, and other linguistic features. As noted by Halmari (1997), metalinguistic commentaries automatically involve codeswitching to the other language. In fact, discussing language structures or word meanings would be quite cumbersome without illustrative examples from the language under discussion.

5. Conclusion

This article investigated the forms and functions of German-Finnish multilingual practices in the online community *Deutsche in Finland*, an online discussion forum for German-speaking expatriates in Finland. The main language of communication in the forum is German, into which many elements from the Finnish language, the language of the host country, are embedded.

The structural analysis showed that the embedding of Finnish items is congruent with the properties of German-Finnish codeswitching identified in the previous comprehensive study by Martin (1973) on spoken data. Like in his study, German-Finnish codeswitching was predominantly intrasentential in our data and mostly involved insertions of Finnish single and proper nouns into German syntax. Embedding nouns is easy because they do not need to be inflected. The integration of other parts of speech that require inflection is in turn more difficult and occurred less frequently in the data. The grammatical role of the Finnish nouns was signalled by German articles, the syntactic position of the items, and other means. The gender assigned to the Finnish noun tended to be the same as that of the equivalent German noun although in some instances variation in the gender assignment was observable. This was the case when the noun referring to a Finnish cultural phenomenon lacked a clear German equivalent.

However, as our data represent the written medium, our results also complement previous German-Finnish codeswitching studies based on spoken data. The orthographic analysis of the Finnish codeswitches revealed that the writers orient towards two norms: in almost half of the cases, the first letter of the embedded Finnish noun was capitalized following the German orthography while in the other half the Finnish noun retained the Finnish orthographic convention and was written with an initial lower-case letter. In addition, the written computer-mediated communication created special new possibilities for codeswitching. These included Finnish text passages directly copy-pasted from other websites.

The functional analysis, in turn, showed that the functions of the Finnish codeswitches correspond to the typical codeswitching functions identified in previous research. They included quotations, reiterations, greetings and other formulaic expressions. Worth mentioning are also codeswitches that referred to Finnish culture and society. These switches occurred frequently in the data. This result may be due to the nature of the online forum from which the data was collected, but it is also compatible with other migrant communities in which the use of "cultural borrowings" (Myers-Scotton 1993) is common (Riehl 2016). The prevalence of culture-related codeswitches is also congruent with the findings of a previous study dealing with German-Finnish multilingual practices (Toivonen 2017). In our data, it was also observable that while the use of Finnish cultural items was sometimes motivated by the genuine lack of a German equivalent, they also sometimes functioned as contextualization cues and defined an object or a concept as Finnish. In addition to cultural switches, codeswitching was common in metalinguistic commentaries and stories about linguistic errors in Finnish. This shared experience of learning Finnish as a foreign language was a source of humour among the forum members when discussing slips of the tongue. Furthermore, the common functions of codeswitching – switches related to culture and society as well as metalinguistic commentaries and linguistic errors – can be observed to be somewhat reflected in the distribution of the Finnish codeswitches across discussion categories. This shows a certain degree of dependency between the topic of discussion and the use of Finnish (see e.g. Androutsopoulos 2007).

An important result of our study relates to the ways in which Finnish, the language of the new host country, is utilized as a we-code among the forum members. In this respect, our study differs from previous studies on migrant communities in which it is the minority's heritage language which serves as a we-code signalling in-group identity (see. e.g. Paolillo 1996; De Fina 2007;

Androutsopoulos 2006a). Finnish is a common resource from which the members of the expatriate community draw in order to share their common "Finnish" experience, play with the language, and tell language-related stories that both educate and entertain other forum members. The Finnish language is used as a referential cue to Finland and the Finnish culture, and the Finnish codeswitched items are assumed to be understood by the other forum members. Finnish proper nouns, other culture-related items, greetings, closings, and other formulaic expressions together with toponyms such as *Saksa*, 'Germany', are expressions that create we-ness among the forum members. The we-code value of Finnish is also reflected in the fact that cultural switches were not translated or explained in the data. When translations did appear, they mostly concerned metalinguistic commentaries and narratives about the Finnish language, in which both the Finnish codeswitch and its translation played an important role.

The we-code value of Finnish relates our results to studies on different communities of practice in which codeswitching is an important part of the community's communicative style (see e.g. De Fina 2007; Leppänen 2012; Peuronen 2017). In the context of the investigated Finland-themed forum, the use of Finnish as a common communicative resource can be interpreted to function as a tool of creating a sense of an in-group identity. Through the Finnish codeswitches, which carry the expectation of shared multicultural and multilingual experience, the forum members both seek common ground with the other members and negotiate and signal their membership in the online community of German expatriates in Finland. In this analysis, we cannot – and we do not intend to – interpret what the codeswitching practices reveal about individual members' real-life identities.

In this article, the multilingual practices of the German-speaking expatriates were investigated in the written medium. The question arises whether the written codeswitching practices reflect the community's multilingual practices in spoken communication and to what extent they can be generalized to represent offline multilingual practices. To answer this question, comparative studies between the spoken and written medium in the community would be required. Furthermore, like for example San (2009) and Barasa (2016) show, CMC and its specific technologies affect codeswitching practices online. The copy-pasted quotations in our study were one example of this influence. However, our findings account for the German-Finnish multilingual practices in this particular online community. In order to map potential recurring tendencies as well as possible differing features in online codeswitching practices in the German-Finnish context, the multilingual practices of German-speaking expatriates in Finland would be worth studying on different online media platforms in the future. N

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Teutscher Virgilius oder geistloser Vielschreiber? Zur Beurteilung der Dichtung des Hans Sachs im Wandel der Zeit am Beispiel von *Das Schlaraffenland*

BENJAMIN VAN WELL

Abstract Hans Sachs gilt heute als kanonischer Autor der deutschsprachigen Literatur, seine Dichtung als Inspirationsquelle für Poeten und bildende Künstler verschiedener Jahrhunderte. Dabei ist wohl kaum ein Dichter der Literaturgeschichte derart umstritten gewesen wie der Nürnberger mit seinem Mammutwerk: Von Zeitgenossen noch als größter deutscher Poet seines Jahrhunderts verehrt, war er für die Barockdichter nur ein geistloser Vielschreiber, wurde zu einer Karikatur degradiert, noch Aufklärer Bodmer verspottete seine Knittelverse. Goethe, Wieland und Schlegel dagegen zeigten sich fasziniert von dem Meistersinger und rehabilitierten ihn. Wagner schließlich setzte Hans Sachs mit seinen *Meistersingern von Nürnberg* ein Denkmal. In dieser Studie sollen die Gründe für die ambivalente Einschätzung des Meistersingers im Wandel der Epochen exemplarisch an einem Werk diskutiert werden, das über die Jahrhunderte nichts an seiner Popularität eingebüßt hat: am *Schlaraffenland* von 1530.

Schlagworte Hans Sachs, Schlaraffenland, Frühe Neuzeit, Barock, Aufklärung, Sturm und Drang

1. Einleitung

Kaum ein literarisches Oeuvre ist über die Jahrhunderte derart kontrovers beurteilt worden wie das von Hans Sachs (1494–1576): Während der Nürnberger Rat ihn 1560 als „berühmteste[n] teutsche[n] Poet[en]“ ehrte (Grimm 1988: 336) und Jakob Schopper (1545–1616) den Meistersinger in seiner *Historie Teutscher Nation* von 1582 als „teutsche[n] Virgilius“ feierte (Schopper 1582: 254), der biblische wie weltliche literarische Stoffe in „schöne / zierliche und wollautende Verß oder Reimen gebracht“, war er – von wenigen Ausnahmen einmal abgesehen[1] – für die Generation der Barockpoeten nur noch ein Stümper. Martin Opitz (1597–1639) nennt ihn nicht einmal mehr namentlich.

1 Grimmelshausen zeigte sich, wie Meid (2009: 600) ausführt, als einer der wenigen Barockdichter „von der nun vorherrschenden Verachtung der Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts“ unbeeindruckt und ordnete Hans Sachs „den vom göttlichen Furor ergriffenen Dichtern zu[]“. Auch Wagenseil erwähnt Hans Sachs wertschützend in *Von der Meister-Singer Holdseligen Kunst* (1697).

Die Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts ist für den Autor des *Buchs von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624) insgesamt Inbegriff einer Krise der Sprache deutscher Poesie. In *Teutsche Poemata* heißt es:

> „was ins gemein von jetzigen Versen herumb getragen wirdt, weiß ich wahrlich nicht, ob es vnserer Sprache zu Ehren, als schanden angezogen werden könne“ (Opitz 1624: 5f.).

Für Kaspar von Stieler (1632–1707) ist Hans Sachs ein geistloser Vielschreiber. In seiner *Dichtkunst des Spaten* von 1685 schreibt er:

> „Hans Sachs ist stets Hans Sachs mit den sechstausend Stücken,
> die er in die Luft streut,
> Apollo kehrt den Rücken, ihm doch verächtlich zu.“
> (Kaspar von Stieler 1975: 127, Vv. 4585–87).

Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) macht in seinem *Peter Squentz* (1657/58) dichtende Handwerker lächerlich, wobei er *Meister-Sänger Hans Saxe* in diesem Zusammenhang mehrfach namentlich erwähnt (Gryphius 1957: 5), zudem auf zahlreiche Werke des Nürnbergers Bezug nimmt[2] und den Knittelvers, die „Art der alten Pritschmeister Reymen“ (ebd.: 17), verspottet.

Auf der Schwelle zwischen Barock und Aufklärung beginnen sich die Dichter gegenseitig den Hans Sachs zuzuschieben, wenn sie einander ihre Abneigung kund tun. So bezeichnet der streitlustige Christian Wernicke (1661–1725) seinen Dichterkollegen Christian Heinrich Postel (1658–1705), Epigone Hofmannswaldaus und Lohensteins, in seinem *Heldengedicht Hans Sachs* als „Hans Sachsens rechtmäßige[n] Nachfolger“ (Wernicke 1704: 402): Er siedelt den Meistersinger „in der Dummheit Reich‘“ (ebd. 405) an und daher müsse auch sein Nachfolger Postel „dumm“ sein (ebd. 406), müsse die Fähigkeit haben, das „Volck mit Versen […] als Scorpionen [zu] plagen“

2 Kaiser (1968: 217–218) stellt fest, dass neun der elf genannten Titel, die die Handwerker im *Peter Squentz* aufführen möchten, von Hans Sachs übernommen sind. Zu den zahlreichen satirischen Anspielungen auf die Meistersinger, den Knittelvers und v.a. auf den Nürnberger Hans Sachs vgl. ebd.

und die „Deutsche Sprach‘ im Grund‘ [zu] erschüttern“ (ebd. 411), müsse der „Todfeind“ des „Witz[es]“ (ebd. 417) sein. Der Nürnberger ist in einem Dichterstreit zur Karikatur geworden.

Auch Aufklärer Bodmer (1698–1783), der Wernickes Schriften neu herausgab, sah in dem Meistersinger einen beschränkten Versschmied: Hauptmerkmal seiner Dichtung sei der „aberwitzige[] und kahle[] Inhalt seines Reimgeklappers“ (Bodmer 1743, VII: 54).

Vereinzelt wird dem Meistersinger nun aber auch wieder eine gewisse Wertschätzung entgegengebracht, so etwa in Gottscheds *Geschichte der deutschen Dramatischen Dichtkunst* (Gottsched 1757: 56f.). Entscheidende Impulse zur Rehabilitierung des Nürnbergers gehen dann aber von Goethe aus, der in Hans Sachs „ein wahres Talent […], ein[en] schlichte[n] Bürger“ sah (Goethe 2000 [1981]: 122). In Goethes *Erklärung eines alten Holzschnittes* von 1776 wird *In Froschpfuhl all das Volk verbannt / Das seinen Meister je verkannt!* (Goethe 2010: 362, Vv. 183–184). 1777 führt Goethe sogar eines der Fastnachtspiele von Hans Sachs in Weimar auf: *Das Narren Schneyden* von 1536. Varnhagen von Ense (1837: 323) meinte sogar, Goethe sei von dem „derben und tüchtigen Hans Sachs“ „lebenslänglich“ inspiriert worden: Ein „wesentliches Element seines ächt-deutschen Karakters“ gehe auf den Meistersinger zurück.

Wieland (1983: 507) bezeichnete den Meistersinger in einem Brief auf dem Jahr 1776 an Lavater als einen „Dichter von der ersten Größe“. Häßlein (1781: III), der einige Werke von Hans Sachs 1781 herausgab, sprach, sich auf Goethe und Wieland berufend, dem Meistersinger „Dichtergenie“ zu. Schlegel (1841: 422) schließlich meinte, Hans Sachs sei „nicht bloß der fruchtbarste, sondern wohl auch der kraftvollste in seiner Art, besonders reich an Witz und von gesundem Verstande“.

Ein großes Denkmal wird ihm dann mit Richard Wagners Oper *Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1868) gesetzt. Hier wird Hans Sachs, wie Brunner (1994: 15) feststellt, „zu einer Art Traumgestalt des großen Künstlers wie das 19. Jahrhundert sie sich wünschte“. Beck (1895: 379) spricht Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bereits von dem „weltberümpten Hans Sachsen“. Noch Hofmannsthals Drama *Jedermann* (1911) ist durch die *Comedi von dem reichen sterbenden Mann, der Hecastus genannt* (1549) inspiriert.

Hans Sachs, so lässt sich wohl zusammenfassend sagen, blieb über das 16. Jh. hinaus wirkungsmächtig – bei seinen Fürsprechern wie Gegnern. Er faszinierte die literarische Nachwelt, war ihre Reiz- und Identifikationsfigur gleichermaßen, wurde bewundert und geschmäht, diente als Karikatur wie als Vorbild, seine zahlreichen Werke waren Inspirationsquelle für die Dichtung nachfolgender Generationen, sein Knittelvers wurde imitiert, hielt dabei aber auch oftmals als Zielscheibe für Spott her. Die Gründe für diese ambivalente Einschätzung, für diese eigentümliche Mischung aus Hochachtung und Ablehnung, aus Lob und Spott sollen im Folgenden exemplarisch an einem Werk des Meistersingers diskutiert werden, das über die Jahrhunderte nichts an seiner Popularität verloren hat: am *Schlaraffenland* von 1530 (der Text findet sich im Anhang).

2. Textvorlagen des Nürnbergers und Wirkungsgeschichte

Das Schlaraffenland (1530, älteste Überlieferung 1534), eine wilde Gattungsmischung aus moralisch-belehrendem Spruchgedicht (Wunderlich 1986: 59, Könnecker 1971: 48), grotesk-derbem Schwank (Poeschel 1878: 421), Märchen (ebd. 398) und Lügendichtung (Wunderlich 1986: 64), steht in der Tradition eines literarischen Stoffes, der sich bis in die griechische Antike zurückverfolgen lässt, Spuren in der Bibel und in koranischen Fragmenten hinterlassen hat und auf verschlungenen Wegen bis ins mittelalterliche Europa gelangte (einen ausführlichen Überblick über die Stoffgeschichte bieten u.a. Poeschel 1878: 389–427, vgl. auch Wunderlich 1986: 64–69). Erste Inspirationsquelle für die deutsche und niederländische *Schlaraffenland*-Dichtung war die französische *Fabilau*, die um 1250 entstanden sein dürfte (vgl. dazu Müller 1984: 48). Der Begriff *Schlaraffenland*, der auf das Nomen *schluraffe*, mhd. *slûr-affe* („Müßiggänger, Faulenzer"), zurückgeht, findet sich erstmals im *Narrenschiff* von Sebastian Brant (1494). Schon hier fliegen, wie später in der Dichtung von Hans Sachs, *von hymel […] / Eyn brotten tub / jn dynen mûndt* (Vv. 17–18). Die direkte Vorlage des Meistersingers dürfte aber *Ein kurtzweiligs vnd lächerlichs Lied Vom Schlauraffen Landt* eines anonymen Dichters gewesen sein, erhalten in einem Druck aus Basel aus dem Jahr 1611. Dieser Text geht vermutlich auf eine Vorlage zurück, die wohl bereits Ende des 15. oder Anfang des 16. Jhs. entstand (vgl. dazu Stiefel 1894: 37–52, zusammenfassend Wunderlich 1986: 66, vgl. auch Müller 1984: 48, der Text ist abgedruckt in der *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 1842: 564–569.) Diese Vorlage des Nürnbergers dürfte durch die *Fabilau* und das niederländische *Dit is van dat edele land van Cockaengen* (15. Jh.) inspiriert sein. Hieraus übernahm Hans Sachs zahlreiche Formulierungen, ergänzte weitere Textpassagen (v.a. Vv. 43–46 und Vv. 87–98) und sparte sexuell anzügliche Inhalte aus (zu den Gründen dafür vgl. ausführlich Wunderlich 1986: 66).

Der Text des Meistersingers ist, wie man heute sagen würde, weitestgehend ein Plagiat. Zu einer Zeit aber, in der Dichten noch nicht Innovation, Authentizität oder Originalität bedeutete, sondern, wie Hans Sachs es selbst beschreibt, *mit kurtzer glos (zurichten)* (Sachs 1976, V. 119), also einen Stoff aufgreifen und verarbeiten, den man in anderen Quellen vorfindet, ist das nicht ungewöhnlich (vgl. Willems 2012: 193).

Das Lob für das Schlaraffenland von Hans Sachs ist in der älteren und neueren Germanistik überschwänglich: Poeschel (1878: 421) spricht von einem „prächtigen Schwank[]“, Bolte (1910: 188) von einer „der allerbesten [Arbeiten] des Nürnbergers“, das „Märchenland des grenzenlosen Genusses“ habe „niemand eindrucksvoller geschildert“ als Hans Sachs (ebd. 187), Schmidt (1897: 253) spricht von einem „treffliche[n] Gedicht“ mit einer „kerngesunden Didaxis“, „ganz stilgerecht“, und Müller (1984: 57) meint, Hans Sachs sei hier ein „besonders buntes Gemälde“ gelungen, gestaltet „mit sicherer Hand“. Vor dem Hintergrund der Tatsache, dass der Nürnberger das Gedicht in weiten Teilen abgeschrieben hat, müssen diese Urteile sicherlich etwas relativiert werden.

Außer Frage steht aber, dass Hans Sachs den Stoff weit über Nürnberg und das 16. Jahrhundert hinaus populär machte, dass er Dichtung und bildende Kunst mit seiner Fassung inspirierte. Möglich war das, weil er seinerzeit der „meistgelesene deutschsprachige Autor neben Luther“ war (Willems 2012: 186). So nimmt Müller an, dass sein Lesepublikum

> „erheblich größer gewesen ist als dasjenige für umfangreichere fiktionale Texte oder doch Bücher, für das Kleinschmidt im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert etwa 20–25 % der erwachsenen Stadtbevölkerung annimmt“ (Müller 1985: 77).

Sein Mammutwerk[3] erschien erstmals 1558 in dicken Foliobänden und wurde, so Hahn (1992: VIII), noch „mehrfach, bis in das frühe 18. Jahrhundert hinein, nachgedruckt“ und „in verschiedenen Städten, vereinzelt auch an Höfen aufgeführt, u.a. in Dresden und Weimar“. Spätestens kurz nach seinem Tod habe sein Werk, so Müller (1985: 78), „nicht nur die lokalen, sondern auch die ständischen Schranken überwunden“.

Sein *Schlaraffenland* inspirierte nach Pleij (2000: 122ff.) das niederländische *Van't Luye lecker Landt* (um 1546, überliefert in einem Druck aus dem Jahr 1600), das seinerseits sehr wahrscheinlich Pieter Bruegel den Älteren zu seinem berühmten Gemälde anregte (vgl. Müller 1984: 66, Würtenberger 1952: 237). Das Bild zum *Lyoner Schlaraffenland* (1560/70) haben wohl Sachs und der über dem *Schlaraffenland*-Text abgedruckte berühmte Holzstich von Eberhard Schön zum Vorbild, der nach 1530 bei Wolff Strauch veröffentlicht wurde (vgl. Müller 1984: 73). Das Bild *Triumph des Schlaraffenkönigs* (Druck aus dem 18. Jh., nach einem Bildstock des 17. Jhs.) orientiert sich eng an Sachs (vgl. ebd.: 135). Goethe (1999: 317, Str. 83) ließ sich in einem seiner Sprüche durch den Meistersinger inspirieren: *Die Welt ist nicht aus Brei und Mus geschaffen / Deswegen haltet euch nicht wie Schlaraffen; / Harte Bissen gibt es zu kauen: / Wir müssen erwürgen und sie verdauen*.

Die Stoffwahl ist geschickt, sie fasziniert, regt zur Nachahmung an. Dabei ist die Erzählweise sehr simpel: Sie ist additiv, jeder der vier Abschnitte, in die sich das *Schlaraffenland* einteilen lässt, besteht weitestgehend aus Aufzählungen, in denen das Land, seine Bewohner und deren Sitten detailliert beschrieben werden. Hahn (1992: XXXIII) stellt fest, dass das *Schlaraffenland* „zu neun Zehnteln aus einer Aneinanderreihung“ besteht.

Zunächst wird das *Schlauraffenland* mit einer Nonsenseformel lokalisiert (zur Lokalisierung vgl. Wunderlich 1986: 69ff.), und es wird erklärt, wie man dorthin komme: Es liege *drei Meil hinter Weihnachten* (V. 3). Und wer es erreichen möchte, müsse sich durch einen *Berg mit Hirsbrei essen* (V. 6), der *wohl dreier Meilen dick* sei (V. 7).

3 Nach der Zählung von Holzberg/Brunner (2020: 1063) sind es „91 Lieder, 4286 bzw. 4284 (s.u.) Meisterlieder, 1609 Spruchgedichte, 85 Fastnachtspiele, 126 tragedi/comedi, 6 Prosadialoge“, das „ergibt insgesamt 6203 bzw. 6201 Werke, von denen 503 bzw. 501 verloren sind.“

Anschließend wird das Land selbst beschrieben: Die Häuser sind *deckt mit Fladen* (V. 11), mit *Leckkuchen die Haustür und Laden* (V. 12), die Wände und Dielen sind aus *Speckkuchen* (V. 13), die Balken aus *Schweinenbraten* gemacht (V. 14). Umgeben ist jedes Haus von einem *Zaun / Geflochten von Bratwürsten braun* (Vv. 15–16). In den Brunnen des Schlaraffenlandes ist statt Wasser *Malvasier* (V. 17). An den Tannen wachsen *Krapfen* statt *Tannzapfen* (V. 19). Durch das Land fließen *Bäch mit Millich* (V. 26). Die Fische in den Bächen sind bereits *Gsotten, braten, gsulzt* (V. 30). Auch die *Hühner, Gäns und Tauben* (V. 34) fliegen gebraten umher und den Schlaraffenlandbewohnern *selbs in das Maul* (V. 36), und die *Säu* (V. 35) haben das Messer schon *im Rück* (V. 39), damit ein *jeder schneidt ein Stück* (V. 40). Statt Steinen liegt *Kreuzkäs* umher (V. 42).

Dann werden die Bewohner mit ihren Sitten und Bräuchen beschrieben: Die Bauern im Schlaraffenland wachsen *auf den Baumen* und fallen, wenn sie reif sind, direkt in *ein Paar Stiefel 'rab* (Vv. 43–46). Pferde legen *ganz Körb voll Eier* (Vv. 47–48), die *Eseln Feign* (V. 49). Zudem ist das Schlaraffenland mit einem *Jungbrunn* ausgestattet, in dem sich die Alten immer wieder *verjungen* können (Vv. 52–53). *Im Laufen gwinnt der Letzt allein* (V. 57). Durch Faulheit können die Bewohner des Schlaraffenlandes Geld verdienen (V. 63), und wer Geld verspielt, bekommt es doppelt zurück (V. 68). Lügen wird belohnt (V. 76), Klugheit ist verpönt (V. 80), ebenso Fleiß: *Und wer gern arbeit mit der Hand, / Dem verbeut man's Schlauraffenland* (Vv. 81–82). Zu *großen Ehren* können nur die Faulen kommen (V. 86). Auch die Adels-Hierarchie hängt damit wesentlich zusammen: So wird derjenige, der als *Faulest wird erkannt*, König *in dem Land* (Vv. 87–88). Wer nur essen, trinken und schlafen kann, wird zu einem *Grafen* gemacht (Vv. 95–96), *wer tölpisch ist und nichtsen kann*, zu einem *Edelmann* (Vv. 97–98). Wüste, wilde und unsinnige Menschen werden zu *Fürstn* (V. 91).

Am Ende des Gedichts schließlich steht ein moralischer Lehrsatz, der das zuvor beschriebene Land in die Welt der Fiktion verbannt: Das Schlaraffenland sei *von den Alten* (V. 101) erdichtet worden, als *Straf der Jugend zugericht* (V. 102), die *gwöhnlich faul ist und gefräßig* (V. 103).

Die Bedeutung, die der Text produziert, ist in diesem Sinne leicht zu fassen: Das Schlaraffenland erscheint bei Hans Sachs bereits, anders als in Dichtungen früherer Jahrhunderte, nicht mehr als Sehnsuchtsort,[4] nicht mehr als Reaktion auf Mangelperioden des Mittelalters (vgl. dazu Pleij 2000: 145–148), sondern als ein Ort exzessiver Dekadenz, Faulheit und Verschwendung, als ein, wie Müller (1985: 231) ausführt, „moraldidaktische[s] Exempel wider Völlerei und Müßiggang". Es folgt damit dem Zeitgeist: Gegen Ende des Mittelalters wurde zunehmend Kritik an einer verschwenderischen Überflussgesellschaft geäußert. Die Verschwendung hatte v.a. an Adels- und Fürstenhöfen immer extremere Auswüchse angenommen (vgl. Pleij 2000: 427). So gab es hier beispielsweise, wie Pleij (2000: 186) darlegt, Attraktionen wie „öffentliche Fontänen, aus denen verschiedene Sorten Wein und manchmal auch Bier sprudelte" – ein Bild, das an den Malvasier-Brunnen (V. 17) im *Schlaraffenland* des Meistersingers erinnert.

Nicht unerwähnt bleibt dabei, wem dieser Wohlstand zu verdanken ist: *So wachsen Bauern auf den Baumen, / Gleich wie in unserm Land die Pflaumen. / Wenn's zeitig sind, so fallen s' ab, / Jeder in ein Paar Stiefel 'rab* (Vv. 43–46). Die Bauern wachsen im Schlaraffenland also an den Bäumen – offenkundig zu dem Zwecke, auch hier noch zu schuften (vgl. Müller 1985: 230). Womöglich ist diese Textpassage, ähnlich wie in *Der arm gemain esel* aus dem Jahr 1526 (Sachs 1964, Bd. 23: 12ff.), eine Reaktion auf die prekäre Situation der Bauern und die Bauernkriege (1524–26) – wobei Sachs die soziale Ordnung an sich, die er als gottgewollt ansah, nie in Frage stellte (vgl. Könneker 1971: 10).

Die Feudalkritik klingt nur am Rande des *Schlaraffenlandes* an. Eigentliche Zielgruppe ist die faule und gefräßige *Jugend* (Vv. 102–103) der städtischen Mittel- und Unterschicht (vgl. Müller 1985: 230–231). Kommuniziert wird mit dem Plädoyer gegen den Müßiggang ein Arbeitsethos, in dem sich nicht nur das oberste Gebot sowohl der Klöster als auch des Protestantismus figuriert (vgl. Poeschel 1878: 421, Pleij 2000: 126, Müller 1985: 227), sondern zugleich ein Wandel der Gesellschaft im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur frühen Neuzeit zum Ausdruck kommt: Mit dem Entstehen der Städte, dem aufstrebenden Bürgertum, der zunehmenden Relevanz des Handelswesens und der Entwick-

4 Sehnsuchtsort bleibt das Schlaraffenland, wohl auch für den Dichter selbst, allein im Bild des *Jungbrunn / Darin verjungen sich die Alten* (V. 52f.), ein Motiv, das Hans Sachs in seinem Gedicht *Der Jungkprunn* aus dem Jahr 1548 (Neufassung 1557) erneut aufgreift (Sachs 1893–1912, Bd. 4, Nr. 571).

lung des Handelskapitalismus ändert sich auch die Arbeitswelt. Es gilt, den Wettbewerb zu fördern (vgl. Pleij 2000: 125). So gehe es hier nach Pleij um die

> „Propagierung einer solchen Leistungsmoral […] ganz im Zeichen der schon früh einsetzenden Bekämpfung der *acedia* und positiven Neubewertung von Arbeit im Allgemeinen" (Pleij 2000: 437).

Zur Geltung kommt das Plädoyer gegen den Müßiggang in einem moralischen Lehrsatz, der als Pointe konzipiert ist – ein typisches Formelement in der Schwankdichtung (vgl. Willems 2012: 259): Ganz am Schluss erfährt der Rezipient, dass das Schlaraffenland *von den Alten ist erdicht* (V. 101). Der Schluss macht klar, so Boerma (2004: 41), „wie wir die Verse deuten sollten, falls die Ironie und Satire nicht gut verstanden wurde". Der moralische Lehrsatz steht noch ganz in der Tradition des antiken wie mittelalterlichen Anspruchs nach einer Poesie, die belehren solle (vgl. Marché 1982: 80). So weist Hahn (1992: VII) darauf hin, dass

> „diese Dichtung einer Epoche angehört, in der Belehrung und Unterhaltung, Information und Erziehung gleichermaßen legitime Anliegen der Literatur in Vers und Prosa waren".

So auch Grimm (1988: 334):

> „Dem Selbstverständnis der Meistersinger nach war ihre Kunst ‚ein christliches Werk' und eine ‚nützliche Kurzweil', eine Verbindung ethischer und unterhaltend¬-lehrreicher Beschäftigungen".

Der heterodiegetische Erzähler des *Schlaraffenlandes* hat in diesem Sinne einiges gemein mit dem empirischen Autor, mit Hans Sachs, der, nach Eigenaussage, seine Dichtung *Gott zu ehre, zu aufferbawung guter sitten und tugent und zu außreutung der laster* schrieb (Sachs 1964, Bd. 6: 10, 2–5).

3. Die Sprache des Hans Sachs

Mit seiner derben Darstellung einer verkehrten Welt (vgl. Müller 1985: 228, Boerma 2004: 41) ist das *Schlaraffenland* noch ganz im Sinne des mhd. Begriffs *swanc* ein ‚lustiger Einfall'. Wunderlich (1986: 66) stellt fest, dass unter dem

> „Einfluß des Sachs-Textes […] in den Schlaraffenlanddichtungen dieser Zeit das grobianische Element überhand [nimmt], mit dessen Hilfe unterhaltsam belehrt wird."

Das komisch-unterhaltsame Element des Grobianischen ist bereits in der Vorlage angelegt. Die Sprache von Hans Sachs ist schlicht, leicht verständlich, verzichtet auf jeden rhetorischen Schmuck, uneigentliches Sprechen findet man in seinen Werken generell kaum (vgl. Willems 2012: 198). Der Schuhmacher Hans Sachs war ein Dichter ohne humanistische Bildung, hatte keinerlei Vorstellung von Stilebenen, war nicht geschult in den freien Künsten, in Grammatik, Rhetorik und Dialektik und somit auch nicht in der Verwendung rhetorischer Mittel. Zudem schrieb er nach Eigenaussage für den *gutherzig gemeinen mann* (Sachs 1976: 10, V. 248), *einfältig nach (s) einem verstand* (Sachs 1976: 7, V. 122), kurz: Sachs schrieb, so Willems (2012: 189), „Popularliteratur". Der Wert seiner Dichtung bestand für ihn daher auch nicht in Sprachkunst, sondern allein in dem religiös-moralischen „Lehrgehalt", den seine Werke vermitteln (ebd.: 192).

Für einen humanistisch geschulten Poeten ist, wie Willems (2012: 198–199) darlegt, die Dichtung von Hans Sachs „eine Form des Versagens vor der Kunst." Denn es fehlt ihr alles, was die humanistisch geprägte Dichtkunst ausmacht: der *ornatus* wie die *oratio impropria* (vgl. ebd.: 198). Für die intellektuelle Elite der Barockpoeten musste ein Dichter zugleich ein Gelehrter, ein *Poeta doctus* sein – der Schuhmacher aus Nürnberg entsprach dieser barocken Vorstellung ganz und gar nicht.

Noch der Aufklärer Bodmer charakterisiert die Sprache des Meistersingers als „Reimgeklapper" (Bodmer 1743, VII: 54). Gemeint ist der Knittelvers, die Faktur, in die die Meistersingerprodukte wie das *Schlaraffenland* eingekleidet sind: die, im strengen Knittelvers, immer gleiche Abfolge von 8- bis 9-silbigen Reimpaarversen. Grimm (1988: 333) beschreibt den Knittelvers als „rigide, in der ‚Tabulatur' niedergelegte Gesetze […], über deren Einhaltung meist vier ‚Merker' wachten". Damit war wenig Freiraum für Innovation in der Verssprache gegeben. Da hier noch, anders als bei Opitz, nicht Hebungen gezählt wurden, sondern nur die Silben, kommt es zu oftmals skurril anmutenden Tonbeugungen.

Barockdichter Harsdörffer merkt hierzu 1644 an:

> „Sie [die Meistersinger] beobachten allein die Anzahl der Sylben und Reimen; daß aber eine Sylbe lang, die andere kurzlautend sei, das ist ihnen gleich viel" (Harsdörffer 2011 [1644]: 57).

Dadurch entstehen, wie Berger (1994: 109) ausführt, wahre „Versmonster[]", ein holpriger, ungelenker Duktus, den Opitz mit seiner *Poeterey* beseitigen wollte. Vermutlich wurden die Verse aber nicht genau so vorgelesen, wie sie geschrieben wurden. So meint Berger (ebd.), dass es kaum vorstellbar sei,

> „daß Hans Sachs seine Fastnachtsspiele und seine anderen dramatischen Produktionen in einem Metrum hätte aufführen können, das dem natürlichen Wortakzent so sehr zuwiderlief."

Marché (1982: 334) ist der Auffassung, dass metrische „Härten" etwa „durch den musikalischen Vortrag ausgeglichen werden [konnten]".

Dennoch klingt die Sprache dann immer noch an vielen Stellen sehr ungelenk, so lassen sich z.B. die folgenden zwei Verse aus dem *Schlaraffenland* nur schwerlich rhythmisch regelmäßig vortragen: *Das liegt drei Meilen hinter Weihnachten / Und welcher darein wölle trachten* (Vv. 3–4).

Häßlein (1781: V), der Werke von Hans Sachs herausgab, verteidigt den Meistersinger mit der Behauptung, dieser hätte „Neun und Neunzig" von „hundert modische[n] Schriftsteller[n]" heutiger Zeit „hinter sich gelassen […], wenn er in der letztern Hälfte unsers Jahrhunderts gelebt hätte". Das ist natürlich eine kontrafaktische These. Aber sie zielt auf einen Umstand ab, der die poetische Produktion des Meistersingers hinsichtlich ihrer versmetrischen Qualität deutlich einschränkte. So stand Hans Sachs zu Lebzeiten noch keine Regelpoetik zur Verfügung, an der er sich hätte orientieren können – indes: die Fähigkeit, eine eigene zu entwickeln, hatte er offenbar nicht. Jedenfalls kam Hans Sachs trotz einer jahrzehntelangen Tätigkeit als Dichter, trotz der Produktion von 6203 Werken und trotz seiner Lateinkenntnisse offenkundig nie auf die Idee, Hebungen statt Silben zu zählen. Und so blieb er sein Leben lang bei einer „prosodisch mißglückt[en]" Verssprache stehen (Berger 1994: 107). Vielleicht war auch der Freiraum für Innovation durch die rigiden Gesetze des Meistersangs, deren Hauptvertreter er zudem selbst war, einfach zu stark eingeschränkt, um zu einer neuen Verssprache zu gelangen.

Diese Sprache wurde zunächst zur Zielscheibe des Spottes. So lässt Gryphius dichtende Handwerker in seinem *Peter Squentz* im Knittelvers singen, um sie lächerlich zu machen. In Goethes Nachahmung des Knittelverses, in seiner *Erklärung eines alten Holzschnittes*, kommt dagegen Wertschätzung für diese Sprache zur Geltung.[5] Ihre Einfachheit, die von der Generation der Barockpoeten als schmucklos und ungelenk-holprig abgelehnt wurde, wird in Goethes Hans-Sachs-Gedicht positiv gewertet, ihre Klarheit hervorgehoben: *Nichts verzierlicht und nichts verkritzelt, / Nichts verlindert und nichts verwitzelt*. Die Welt stehe vor dem Meistersinger, *[w]ie Albrecht Dürer sie gesehn* (Goethe 2010: 358, Vv. 51–54).

Während in Barock und Aufklärung die Literatur der frühen Neuzeit v.a. negativ beurteilt wurde, erfolgte durch die Stürmer und Dränger ihre positive Um- und Neubewertung (vgl. Eibl 2010: 1060): Der Anregung Herders folgend hatte sich Goethe mit älteren Formen deutscher Literatur beschäftigt und in den Werken von Hans Sachs eine, so Trunz (1999: 551–552), „unmittelbare[] Ausdrucksweise" gesehen, eine Sprache, die er als farbig und volkstümlich empfand. Laut Eibl waren diese Werke für Goethe „Zeugnisse ursprünglicher Gestaltungskraft", ein „Gegenbild zur sterilen Dichtersprache des Rokoko". Boyle erklärt das Interesse Goethes an Hans Sachs

> „aus dem Wunsch nach Identifikation mit und Heimkehr zu einer bürgerlichen deutschen Kunsttradition, die unabhängig wäre

5 Eugen Wolff (1899: 272) verteidigt den von Hans Sachs verwendeten Knittelvers in seiner 1899 erschienen Abhandlung zu den *Gesetzen der Poesie* sogar gegen die Barockkritik: „Die Verachtung, welcher die ‚Knüttelverse' des Hans Sachs im 17. Jahrhundert anheimfielen, geht auf die regelgläubige Gewaltsamkeit zurück, mit der man diese frei beweglichen deutschen Maße in das Prokrustesbett der antiken Metra zu zwängen suchte."

> von höfischem Absolutismus und dessen geistigen Stützen, dem Pietismus und der Leibnizschen Aufklärung“ (Boyle 2004: 143).

Hans Sachs, als Stümper verspottet und in der Barockzeit zur Karikatur degradiert, erlebte damit seine literarische Renaissance.

4. Fazit

So war Hans Sachs für die einen ein Vorbild, für die anderen eine Reizfigur, die Barockpoeten machten ihn zur Karikatur. Seine einfache Sprache im ungelenken Knittelvers wurde zum Inbegriff verfehlter Verssprache und markierte den Ausgangspunkt eines Neubeginns, wie er von Opitz eingeleitet wurde. Für Goethe galt diese Sprache als Ausdruck von Natürlichkeit, von Klarheit und Unmittelbarkeit des schlichten Bürgers, von unabhängiger traditionell deutscher Kunsttradition. Bewunderung und Spott – beides hielt ihn für die Nachwelt gleichermaßen lebendig.

Das *Schlaraffenland* stellt natürlich nur einen kleinen Ausschnitt aus dem Mammutwerk des Meistersingers dar. Doch lässt sich an diesem Text exemplarisch zeigen, wie Hans Sachs zu faszinieren vermochte. Das *Schlaraffenland* ist weitestgehend ein Plagiat, doch war es Hans Sachs, durch den dieser Stoff große Popularität erfuhr. Der Nürnberger hatte einen Blick für reizvolle literarische Stoffe, er präsentiert seine fiktiven Welten in einer eingehend-plastischen bilderreichen Sprache.

Von einem moral-didaktischen Appell gegen den Müßiggang wandelte sich das *Schlaraffenland*-Motiv, das über die Jahrhunderte zur Nachahmung, zur Neudichtung anregte und die bildende Kunst inspirierte, seit der Aufklärung zu einem Kindermärchen. Bechsteins *Schlaraffenland* (1984: 240–245), das sich an der Vorlage von Hans Sachs orientiert, ist bereits als solches konzipiert: Das Anstößige vermeidend ist das Schlaraffenland hier die Darstellung einer Wunschwelt für Kinder. Die Zahl schlaraffischer Kindermärchen wächst mit dem Ende des 19. Jhs. weiter an. Seitdem ist es fester Bestandteil der Kinderbuchliteratur (vgl. Wunderlich 1986: 69). Kästners *Der 35. Mai oder Konrad reitet in die Südsee* (1931) oder Rheins *Mecki im Schlaraffenland* (2007 [1952]) sind nur einige Beispiele für die weitere literarische Verarbeitung des Motivs.

In der Feudalismuskritik des Meistersingers können heutige Rezipienten eine Kapitalismuskritik in das *Schlaraffenland* hineinlesen. In seiner Kritik an der frühneuzeitlichen Verschwendungsökonomie bewahrt es bis heute seine zeitlose Aktualität. So liest etwa Busch (2005) das *Schlaraffenland* – er hat dabei das Motiv in historischer Perspektive vor Augen – als „linke Utopie" und baut es ein in seine „Überlegungen zu einer Kritik des Konzepts eines bedingungslosen Grundeinkommens".

Seine Kritiker wie Fürsprecher haben aus Hans Sachs das gemacht, was er heute ist: ein kanonischer Autor – und auch sein *Schlaraffenland* gehört längst zu den kanonischen Werken deutschsprachiger Literatur (vgl. Reich-Ranicki 2005, Bd. 1). N

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Anhang

Hans Sachs: Das Schlaueraffenland

Ein Gegend heißt Schlauraffenland,
Den faulen Leuten wohlbekannt.
Das liegt drei Meil hinter Weihnachten.
Und welcher darein wölle trachten,
Der muß sich großer Ding vermessen
Und durch ein Berg mit Hirsbrei essen,
Der ist wohl dreier Meilen dick.
Alsdann ist er im Augenblick
In denselbing Schlaueraffenland,
Da aller Reichtum ist bekannt.
Da sind die Häuser deckt mit Fladen,
Leckkuchen die Haustür und Laden,
Von Speckkuchen Dielen und Wänd,
Die Tröm von Schweinenbraten send.
Um jedes Haus so ist ein Zaun
Geflochten von Bratwürsten braun.
Von Malvasier so sind die Brunnen,
Kommen eim selbs ins Maul gerunnen.
Auf den Tannen wachsen Krapfen,
Wie hie zu Land die Tannzapfen.
Auf Fichten wachsen bachen Schnitten.
Eirplätz tut man von Birken schitten.
Wie Pfifferling wachsen die Flecken,
Die Weintrauben in Dorenhecken.
Auf Weidenkoppen Semmel stehn,
Darunter Bäch mit Millich gehn,
Die fallen dann in Bach herab,
Daß jedermann zu essen hab.
Auch gehn die Fisch in den Lachen
Gsotten, braten, gsulzt und bachen
Und gehn bei dem Gestad gar nahen,

Lassen sich mit den Händen fahen.
Auch fliegen um (möget ihr glauben)
Gebraten Hühner, Gäns und Tauben.
Wer sie nicht faht und ist so faul,
Dem fliegen sie selbs in das Maul.
Die Säu all Jahr gar wohl geraten,
Laufen im Land um, sind gebraten.
Jede ein Messer hat im Rück,
Darmit ein jeder schneidt ein Stück
Und steckt das Messer wieder drein.
Die Kreuzkäs wachsen wie die Stein.
So wachsen Bauern auf den Baumen,
Gleich wie in unserm Land die Pflaumen.
Wenn s' zeitig sind, so fallen s' ab,
Jeder in ein Paar Stiefel 'rab.
Wer Pferd hat, wird ein reicher Meier,
Wann sie legen ganz Körb voll Eier.
So schütt man aus den Eseln Feigen.
Nicht hoch darf man nach Kersen steign,
Wie die Schwarzbeer sie wachsen tun.
Auch ist in dem Land ein Jungbrunn,
Darin verjungen sich die Alten.
Viel Kürzweil man im Land ist halten:
So zu dem Ziel schießen die Gäst,
Der Weitst vom Blatt gewinnt das Best.
Im Laufen gwinnt der Letzt allein.
Das Polsterschlafen ist gemein.
Ihr Weidwerk ist mit Flöh und Läusen,
Mit Wanzen, Ratzen und mit Mäusen.
Auch ist im Land gut Geld gewinnen.
Wer sehr faul ist und schläft darinnen,
Dem gibt man von der Stund zween Pfennig,
Er schlaf ihr' gleich viel oder wenig.
Ein Furz gilt einen Binger Haller,
Drei Grölzer einen Jochimstaler.

Und welcher da sein Geld verspielt,
Zwiefach man ihm das widergilt.
Und welcher auch nicht geren zahlt,
Wenn die Schuld wird eins Jahres alt,
So muß ihm jener darzu geben.
Und welcher gern wohl ist lebn,
Dem gibt man von dem Trunk ein Batzen.
Und welcher wohl die Leut kann fatzen,
Dem gibt man ein Plappert zu Lohn.
Für ein groß Lüg gibt man ein Kron.
Doch muß sich da hüten ein Mann,
Aller Vernunft ganz müßig stahn.
Wer Sinn und Witz gebrauchen wollt,
Dem wurd kein Mensch im Lande hold,
Und wer gern arbeit' mit der Hand,
Dem verbeut man 's Schlaraffenland.
Wer Zucht und Ehrbarkeit hätt lieb,
Denselben man des Lands vertrieb.
Wer unnütz ist, will nichts nit lehren,
Der kommt im Land zu großen Ehren,
Wann wer der Faulest wird erkannt,
Derselb ist König in dem Land.
Wer wüst, wild und unsinnig ist,
Grob, unverstanden alle Frist,
Aus dem macht man im Land ein Fürsten.
Wer geren ficht mit Leberwürsten,
Aus dem ein Ritter wird gemacht.
Wer schlüchtisch ist und nichtsen acht,
Dann essen, trinken und viel schlafen,
Aus dem macht man im Land ein Grafen.
Wer tölpisch ist und nichtsen kann,
Der ist im Land ein Edelmann.
Wer also lebt wie obgenannt,
Der ist gut ins Schlaraffenland,
Das von den Alten ist erdicht,

Zu Straf der Jugend zugericht,
Die gwöhnlich faul ist und gefräßig,
Ungeschickt, heillos und nachlässig,
Daß man s' weis ins Land zu Schlauraffn,
Damit ihr schlüchtisch Weis zu strafen,
Daß sie haben auf Arbeit acht,
Weil faule Weis' nie Gutes bracht.

SACHS, Hans 1992. *Werke in zwei Bänden* 1. *Spruchgedichte und Lieder, Prosadialoge*, hrsg. von Reinhard Hahn. *Bibliothek Deutscher Klassiker*. Aufbau-Verlag: Berlin/Weimar. 77–80.

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A Lexical Comparison of Four *Prick of Conscience* Group-IV Manuscripts[1]

EDURNE GARRIDO-ANES

1 I am grateful to María José Carrillo-Linares and Keith Williamson for their generous readings and comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and to Keith Williamson also for the map design.

Abstract Dublin, Trinity College, 157 (D.4.11) (MV 21), London, Lambeth Palace, 492 (MV 48), London, Sion College, Arc. L. 40. 2/E. 25 (MV 49) – from line 2,850 – and Shrewsbury, School, III (Mus. III. 39) (MV 95) were recently grouped together as the TLS_1S_2 subset within the *Prick of Conscience* Group-IV manuscripts. Apart from often showing identical – or closely related – deviant readings, these copies also display a fairly consistent shared pattern of significant textual omissions (Garrido-Anes 2022). However, lexical variants – whether inherited or idiolectal, intentional or inadvertent, and stylistically or geographically conditioned – are by no means unusual across these four manuscripts. By providing a lexical comparison and analysis of the said copies, this paper aims to shed some light on individual scribal habits towards their presumed exemplar(s), thereby giving further insight into the TLS_1S_2 subgroup textual relations. The present analysis contributes to refining the history of this particular Group-IV branch through the identification of up to six different lexical layers.

Keywords Prick of Conscience, manuscripts, lexicon, stemma

1. Previous Studies on the *Prick of Conscience*: Groups, Subgroups, and the TLS_1S_2 texts

The 115 known manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience (PoC)* suggest that this long religious poem – almost 10,000 lines – was one of the most widely read in England in the late Middle Ages. Hanna & Wood's updated list shows 97 manuscripts of the Main Version (MV), 19 of the Southern Recension (SR), and 49 copies of fragments (2013: 378–383). Unfortunately, the scholarly attention that this work has received so far cannot yet compare with that given to, for instance, *Piers Plowman* or Chaucer's writings. As Johnston (2020: 743) observes:

> In many ways, this text has been the victim of its own success. Partly, such neglect seems due to the huge number of manuscripts that survive, marked by a bewildering codicological, dialectal, and textual variation between copies, meaning no one has yet figured out how to characterize its overall manuscript context. What little scholarship

> on this poem exists has thus understandably tended toward the literary-critical, and away from the textual and codicological.

Deeper research efforts are still undoubtedly needed to advance our understanding of the poem's transmission, whose picture continues to be far from complete. Johnston (2020: 744) regrets that:

> Scholarship on Middle English manuscripts has, by and large, tended to avoid characterizing large manuscript corpora, like *PoC*, preferring instead the individual case study of a codex or small group of codices. But proceeding by isolated case studies has prohibited the field from making larger, more universal claims about book production and the circulation of manuscripts.

Even though progress may seem slow when confronting the massive amount of extant material, every small puzzle solved through individual or collaborative work can yield benefits in the long run. Within the textual approach, the initial classification of the *POC* manuscripts (Andreae 1888) was based on eighteen British Library copies. Later, Bülbring (1891a, 1891b, 1897), D'Evelyn (1930), Humphreys & Lightbown (1952), and McIntosh (1976 [1989]), among others, contributed studies on further copies. Our current knowledge of the work derives mainly from Britton's research into the Yorkshire manuscripts (1979), Lewis & McIntosh's comprehensive *Guide* (1982), Morris (1863), and – more recently – Morey (2012), Hanna & Wood's (2013) corrected and amplified text of Morris's edition, and Johnson (2020).

The MV copies were assigned by Lewis & McIntosh (1982) to one of four groups:[2] Group I consists of 19 manuscripts – including those deemed closer to the original – and five subgroups;[3] Group II includes 26 copies and three

2 See the list of MV manuscripts in the Primary Sources section.

3 MV 44 and MV 96 (Subgroup 1); MV 27, MV 34, and MV 83 (Subgroup 2). Other related manuscripts are: MV 20, MV 60, and the conflated MV 5 (Subgroup 3); MV 5 is also related to MV 46 and the conflated MV 49 (Subgroup 4); MV 3, MV 9, MV 10, MV 86, and the conflated MV 90 and MV 24 (Subgroup 5); MV 13 and MV 52 are unsubclassified.

identified subgroups;[4] Group III is made of 15 texts and two tentative small subgroups;[5] and Group-IV comprises 45 manuscripts. Lewis & McIntosh (1982) assigned eight of these copies to the so-called Vernon-Simeon subgroup;[6] seven to the related Lichfield subset;[7] and another four to an additional subcategory of Vernon-derived texts.[8] Their *Guide* (1982: 8–9) emphasized the fact that the remaining 26 Group-IV witnesses demanded further research. Carrillo-Linares (2016: 61) examined seven of these manuscripts (MV 28, MV 29, MV 43, MV 62, MV 93, MV 94, and the conflated MV 35) and referred to them as the 'Northern subgroup'. She also redefined MV 12 – formerly assigned to Group II by Lewis & McIntosh (1982: 45) – as an essentially Group-IV text, except in Book V.[9] More recently, Garrido-Anes (2022) explored the associations between another series of Group-IV manuscripts: Dublin, Trinity College, 157 (D.4.11) (MV 21), London, Sion College, Arc. L. 40. 2/E. 25 (MV 49),[10] and Shrewsbury, School, III (Mus. III. 39) (MV 95). This study claimed that the previously unsubcategorized London, Lambeth Palace, 492 (MV 48) was a further addition to the subset, named TLS_1S_2 after the initials of its four known members.

MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 display a significant repeated pattern of couplet omissions, deviant readings, and paraphrases that set them apart from the other manuscripts of the larger Group-IV family. At times, though, the four copies differ in their renderings of certain words, lines, or couplets, thereby showing either sporadic individual scribal behaviour or

4 MV 7, MV 19, MV 22, MV 53, and MV 85 (Subgroup 1); MV 8, MV 41, MV 58, MV 64, MV 86, and the conflated MV 12 and MV 33 (the Key of Knowing Subgroup); MV 51, MV 56, MV 61, MV 73, and the conflated MV 35 (the Lollard Subgroup); MV 42 and MV 92 share features with the Lollard and the Key of Knowing manuscripts; MV 69 and the conflated MV 5, MV 13, MV 24 , MV 32, and MV 78 are unsubclassified.

5 MV 26 and the conflated MV 32 (subgroup 1); MV 17 and MV 38 (subgroup 2); MV 15, MV 16, MV 55, MV 66, MV 67, MV 74, MV 75, MV 91 and the conflated MV 1, MV 76, and MV 78 are unsubclassified.

6 MV 18, MV 31, MV 36, MV 40, MV 59, MV 70, MV 77, and MV 82.

7 MV 23, MV 45, MV 54, MV 57, MV 68, MV 88, and MV 89.

8 MV 4, part of MV 24, MV 63, and MV 72.

9 For further information about the different versions, groups, manuscripts, and the numeric nomenclature here adopted, see Lewis & McIntosh (1982).

10 MV 49 is a Group-I copy to the beginning of Book IV (line 2,850), where it becomes Group IV (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 83).

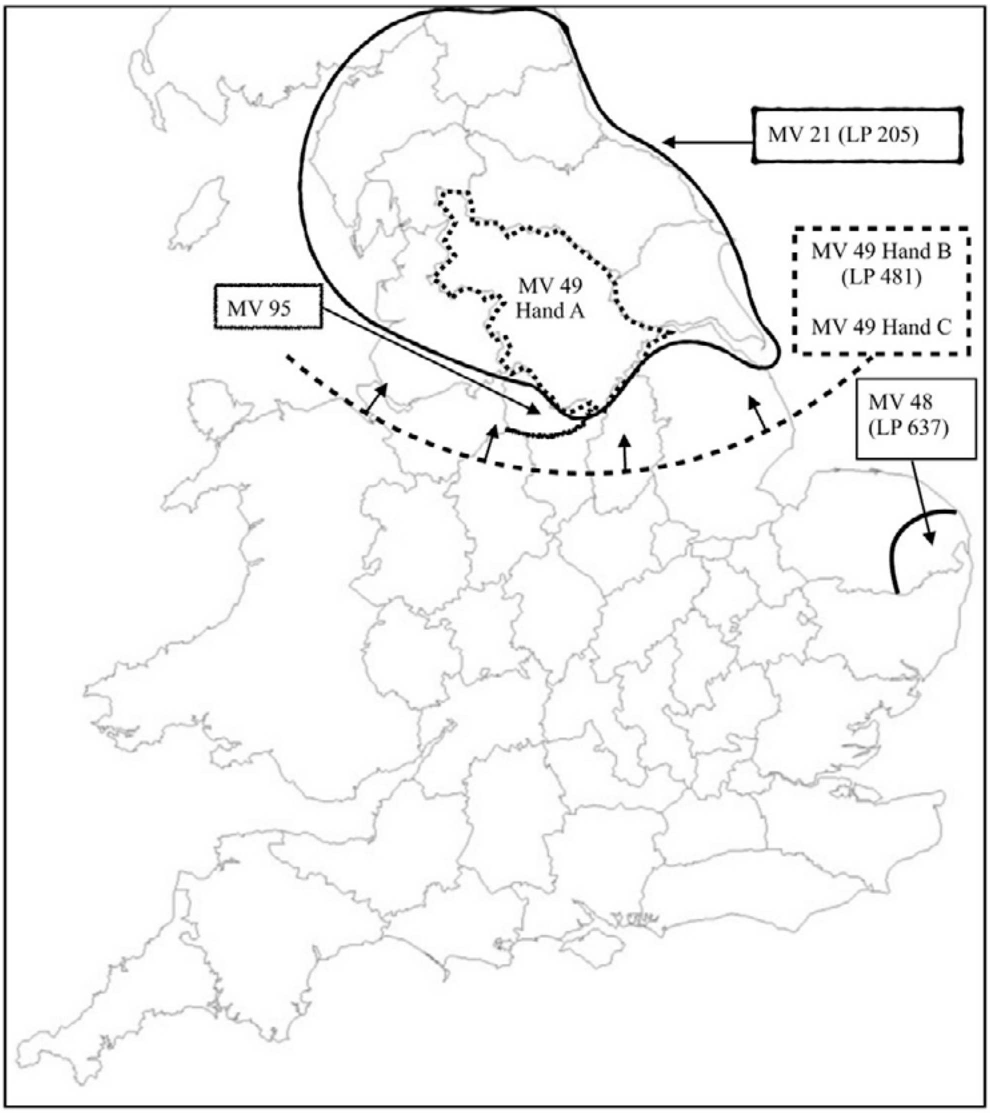
the occasional reflex of some additional unshared source. Textual collation has shown that a predecessor (henceforth S_2) of MV 95 and a presumed common exemplar (henceforth TLS_1) to MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49 must have derived from the same TLS_1S_2 node (Garrido-Anes 2022). The four manuscripts erratically disagree on some independently eyeskipped parts and also display disparate degrees of textual condensation, especially by their respective endings. Furthermore, they predictably diverge in their spelling and morphological systems due to temporal and geographical distance (see Map 1 below).

MV 21 is an early fifteenth-century manuscript in the language of Northern England (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos & Williamson 2013: LP 205). It is written on parchment and in anglicana formata, and its *PoC* text is "considerably reduced [...] with many lines omittted, much condensation and some paraphrase" (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 52–53). Two lyrics scribbled by a later hand on the bottom margins of the two final leaves seem to point to some Northern owner (Johnston 2020: 783).

MV 48 was written in the late fourteenth century in the dialect of South East Norfolk (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos & Williamson 2013: LP 637). The manuscript is on parchment and the script is anglicana formata, although bastard anglicana is used for titles and Latin quotations. Its *PoC* text is also abridged (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 81–82). This copy seems to have connections with the Dioceses of Norwich and Lincoln (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 82; Johnston 2020: 789).

MV 49 dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Its three scribes used varieties of Northern English and wrote in anglicana and bastard anglicana scripts. The manuscript is a conflated paper copy showing considerable text condensation. Hand A has been associated with West Riding Yorkshire (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos & Williamson 2013: no LP provided); Hand B is labelled as Northern Middle English (Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos & Williamson 2013: LP 481); and Hand C is also considered to be northern (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 83). Johnston (2020: 789) shows ownership connections with Westminster and Yorkshire.

Lastly, MV 95 is a paper manuscript dated to the late fifteenth century. The script of the *PoC* text is anglicana with some secretary features. The content is often abridged and revised, with many lines omitted or reversed, and its language has been localized to Northwestern Derbyshire (Lewis & McIntosh 1982: 128; Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos & Williamson 2013: no LP provided).



Map 1: Localizations of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49 (hands A, B and C) and MV 95.

Map 1. Localizations of the TLS_1S_2 Manuscripts.

2. Lexical layers through lexical comparison: goal, method, and background

This paper offers a lexical comparison of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 as a method for discriminating between the variants carried over from shared predecessors and those more likely to have been added by later scribal initiative. The tranches of text aligned for the present study are determined by factors such as the physical state of the different copies, the conflated nature of MV 49, and dissimilar textual omissions or non-parallel condensation of content. Thus, MV 48 stands on its own up to line 446, where MV 21 begins; MV 49 is incorporated into the analysis from line 2,850, where its Group-I constitution ends and its Group-IV constitution starts; MV 95's first legible line is 4,917, and it ends defectively at around 7,539; in turn, MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49's respective abrupt endings occur at lines 9,470, 5,868, and 9,217.[11] This analysis extends to line 7,539, after which, only MV 21 and MV 49 can be compared. The vocabulary they present hardly differs after that line, and their degree of condensation is often asymmetrical by the end of their texts.

The current parallel analysis of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 doubtlessly benefits from previous and ongoing studies on the *PoC*. Although this research focuses on the vocabulary in the TLS_1S_2 manuscripts, it does not lose sight of their broader linguistic, textual, and intertextual contexts.[12] The majority of the items used for the comparison are included in the University of Huelva Middle English lexical database.[13] This work in progress by Carrillo-Linares and Garrido-Anes includes 120 lexical items that present variation in about 60 works preserved in multiple manuscripts with different dialectal origins. The study of the recorded occurrences, replacements, and omissions in the parallel extant copies of those works helps to describe patterns of word rejection and replacement, some of which are likely to have been dialectally motivated. In the case of the *PoC*, occurrences, omissions, lexical equivalents, and paraphrases have been retrieved for 110 lexical items[14] in – so far – 54 out of the 90 manuscripts

11 Line numbers correspond to Hanna and Wood (2013).

12 Special thanks are due to the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the libraries of Dublin Trinity College, Lambeth Palace, Oxford University College, and Edinburgh University for providing me access to the digitized or microfilmed copies of the Main Version manuscripts.

13 The database, not publicly available, is held at http://phpmyadmin.uhu.es.

14 From the 120 database items, the 110 occuring in the *Prick of Conscience* are the following: ALKIN, AND (HAND), ANHEDE, ASSETHE, AY, BANEN, BIGGEN, BIHING, BILIFE, BISEN, BLINEN, BRAIDEN, CASTEN, CLOMSEN, CLOT, COMLY, CRAG, CRIBBE, CUNNING, DALE, DALK, DASED, DEREN, DIGHT, DIN, DINGEN, DINTEN, DOLE, DOTEN, DREGHEN, DROVEN, EGGEN, EKEN, ERR, FEL, FELE, FELLE, FELLY, FERLY, FLAIEN, FLITEN, FON, FORLUKEN, FORSAKEN, FRAISTEN, FRETT, FROUNT, GILERY, GLOWEN, GOULEN, GRETEN, GRISELY, HELDEN, HENTEN, HIDE, HOUSIL, ILL, IRKEN, KENEN, KIRK, LAIKEN, LAINEN, LAITEN, LAKEN, LETTEN, LIFTE, LITHE, LITHER, LOPER, MERRRYNG, MIRK, MISTER, NEVEN, QUAINTISE, RAIKEN, ROGGEN, of the poem's Main Version. The central purpose of the database is to discover dialectological patterns in the lexis, but – as shown below – the study of lexical variation can also be a helpful tool in the study of textual relations.[15]

For reasons of space and the limited scope of this study, apart from MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95, only readings in MV 27/34 (Group I) and three other Group-IV manuscripts of the Northern (MV 29), the Vernon-Simeon (MV 49), and the Lichfield subgroups (MV 57) are here provided for reference.[16] This study contributes to the database with the addition of the realizations of the 110 items retrieved from the previously unstudied MV 48. The present analysis has also brought to light some additional instances of lexical variation not included in the *PoC* database. Therefore, the possible dialectal nature of some of them has not yet been studied.

In medieval manuscript transmission, the reasons underlying the presence or absence of particular words and expressions in the multiple copies of a particular work are rarely linear and straightforward; rather, they are complex and dependent on multiple intervening factors. The dialectal origin of the change is merely one among many other possibilities. Stenroos (2020: 175) suggests that 'land documents' are likely to constitute a more objective – although more semantically restricted – source of lexical information than the usually non-localized and creative literary texts. In her recapitulation of previous Middle English lexical studies, she observes that:

ROSYNG, ROUKEN, SAGHTEL, SAMEN, SANDE, SCULKEN, SELCOUTHE, SERE, SLAKEN, SLAVEREN, SLEGHT, SMORED, SONDEREN, SOUCHEN, STEDE, SWELTEN, SWINKEN, THARNEN, THOLEN, THRALLEN, THREPEN, TITE, TROWEN, UGLY, UNDERLOUT, WARN, WARNEN, WATHE, WERE, WLATSOME, WONEN, WONYNGE-STEDE, YEMEN, YERNEN. The remaining 10 items are: BILOUKEN, DELVEN, FORHOUEN, FOSTREN, GEREN, HANKEN, METHE, SUNDREN, THEWE, WISSEN.

15 For more on lexical variation and word geography and methodological applications, see Carrillo-Linares (2005–2006, 2010, 2016), Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes (2007, 2008, 2009, 2012), and Garrido-Anes (2019).

16 Group I is here represented by MV 27 and MV 34, two virtually identical copies thought to be "close to the author but of quite local diffusion" (Hanna & Wood 2013: lxvi). The readings from MV 27/34 have been double-checked against Morris (1863) and Hanna & Wood's revision (2013). MV 34 supplies the readings for some missing lines in MV 27 (1,538–1,579; 6,923–9,210). The readings from MV 57 are supplied by Morey (2012). On copying and reading the *PoC*, see Johnston (2020).

> The effects of scribal transmission on vocabulary appear to be unpredictable (Benskin & Laing 1981: 96–97; Black Stenroos 2002: *passim*). Studies of word geography have mostly focussed on texts that survive in several scribal copies clearly representing different dialects; such studies include Kaiser (1937) and Carrillo-Linares (2005–2006), Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes (2007, 2008) on the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes (2009, 2012; Carrillo-Linares 2010, 2016), as well as Horobin (2004) on the *Prick of Conscience*, Scahill (2005) on *Ancrene Wisse* and […] Black Stenroos (2002) on *Piers Plowman*. Together, studies such as these, may throw much light on the dialectal patterning of Middle English vocabulary; however, as specific localizations are for the most part unavailable for this kind of texts, the geographical interpretation of the findings is necessarily tentative.

The provisional nature of the interpretation of lexical change may still prevail in these manuscripts even when their dialectal provenance is known. As shown by Carrillo-Linares (2005–2006, 2010, 2016), Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes (2007, 2008, 2009, 2012), and Garrido-Anes (2019), the analysis of scribal attitudes regarding the lexicon in the source texts requires deep research into the stemmatological relations among the copies. McIntosh's description of the three types of copying (1973: 60) should also be born in mind. As is the case with the treatment of spelling and morphology, Middle English scribes could also adopt one of the following strategies when dealing with vocabulary: (1) the *literatim* approach, aiming to retain the lexical items found in the exemplar; (2) *translatio*, which involves rendering words of the copy-text into the scribe's own dialect or set of personal preferences; (3) or a combination of both, in varying degrees, depending on circumstances. These are often challenging to assess since they may include the copyists' intentions, their capacity for concentration, the legibility of their source, the number of copies of the work they had to hand, or the nature of the potential audience. Text type, whether prose or verse, and stylistic choices also play their part when retaining, omitting, or altering words from the exemplar.

For the above reasons, variants departing from others within the same group or subgroup should never be assumed to be attributable directly to the scribe(s) and dialect(s) of the copy where they occur. Even though that might well have been the case, the unknown number of lost exemplars prevents certainty that an anomalous change or unique variant was not inherited from a non-shared, not yet analysed – and most probably now missing – source. However, side-by-side analysis of as many copies as possible enables tracking down variants to previous stages of the transmission (Robinson 2013: 13; Bordalejo & Robinson 2018: 37). Cumulative evidence of untraceable lexical changes in one particular manuscript together with previous studies leading to the same or adjacent geographical areas should provide safer indications of – respectively – new scribal attributions and likely dialectal motivation. Independently of whether the 'altering scribe' was that of the extant copy or a predecessor – and whether dialectal factors were involved or not – the identification of different layers of lexical change can certainly enhance understanding of medieval scribal reception.

3. Lexical profiles: a contextual analysis of the TLS_1S_2 subgroup

The collation and comparative analysis of the selected lexical items in MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 provide the different scribes' lexical profiles. Common and diverging elements lead to the identification of traces of previous stages of the transmission chain.

3.1. The reflex of the Group I archetype

The survival of a substantial part of the presumably original lexicon in the TLS_1S_2 texts supports Lewis & McIntosh's assertion that the fourth large manuscript family of the *PoC* ultimately derives from Group I (1982: 7). These occurrences remain relatively stable in the dissemination of the Group-IV texts, and especially within the TLS_1S_2 subgroup. The lexical invariance in MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 – often shared with MV 29, MV 40, and MV 57, from the Northern, Vernon-Simeon, and Lichfield Group-IV subsets – is sometimes suspended within these three subgroups. Since the poem was probably composed in Yorkshire,[17] the subsequent expansion of the copies further south

17 See more about the likely dialect of composition in Hanna and Wood (2013: xxxiv–xlvii).

might have brought about some of the occasional lexical replacements within the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield subgroups.

The earliest and most extensive layer of *literatim* lexical copying is shown in Table 1.[18] However, as can also be observed, there are occasional cases of ‘euere’ for ‘ay’ (line 12);[19] ‘wikkednesse’ for ‘ille’ (line 97); ‘derknes’ for ‘myrknes’ (line 194); ‘reueþ’ for ‘letten’ (line 253); ‘leeue’ for ‘trow’ (line 296); [20]‘breþ’ for ‘(h)and’ (line 775); ‘draveleth’ or ‘sauereþ’ for ‘slavers’ (line 784); ‘desyr’ for ‘yernen’ (line 1,136); ‘wylned’ for ‘yherned’ (line 2,188); ‘fele’ or ‘dyuerse’ for ‘sere’ (lines 1,518, 3,436, 4,294); ‘wepyng’ for ‘gretyng’ (lines 496, 502, 6,106, 6,571, 7,093); ‘eche’ for ‘(h)eke’ (line 3,256), ‘churche’ for ‘kyrk’ (lines 3,779, 3,790, 4,452, 4,472, 4,646); ‘ȝif ne’ for ‘warn’ (line 7,260); ‘sone’ for ‘tyte’ (line 7,260); ‘greue’ for ‘dere’ (line 7,307); or ‘alle maner’ for ‘alkyn’ (line 7,323).[21] The altering scribes were not necessarily the copyists of the manuscripts analysed; the variants – or at least some of them – could have also been carried over from some intermediate, and probably less northerly, exemplar. The deviant readings are fewer in MV 29 – a manuscript from the Northern Subgroup – and more frequent in the Vernon-Simeon-Lichfield subgroups, whose circulation was wider across the Midlands, especially in the south and west.[22]

3.2. The reflex of the Group-IV archetype

A second lexical layer in the TLS_1S_2 subgroup is composed of an additional set of items copied *literatim* by the TLS_1S_2 scribes, albeit – in this case – they retain variants already present in some shared predecessor with the other Group-IV subfamilies. It is certainly possible that a few of the changes such as certain omissions (e.g. ‘ay’) or typical replacements (e.g. ‘diuerse’, ‘foul’, ‘euere’, ‘duelle’, ‘when’, ‘wolde’, or ‘grete’ for ‘sere’, ‘wlatsom’, ‘ay’, ‘wone’, ‘als-tite’, ‘yherned’, or ‘mykel’) may have been accidentally common in the TLS_1S_2 and the other three subgroups. Identical variation could have been independently

18 See the Appendix for Tables 1–10.
19 See also lines: 15; 21; 31; 32; 717; 1,861; 3,293; 3,706; 6,348; 6,362; 6,364; 7,290; 7,388.
20 See also lines: 301; 303; 313; 320; 788; 4,275.
21 For the sake of brevity, only one spelling form is provided.
22 For specific locations, see Lewis & McIntosh (1982) & Benskin, Laing, Karaiskos & Williamson (2013).

produced as a result, for instance, of individual eyeskip, but also due to the altering scribes' possible near provenance or resembling personal choices.

Notwithstanding these facts, the repeated and often predictable parallel pattern of omission, deviation, and less ordinary replacements in the same contexts (see Table 2) firmly suggest derivation from a common Group-IV source. That seems to be the case of the agreements of the six manuscripts on: 'rore' for 'goule' (line 477); 'yan' for 'tite' (line 1,914); '@say' for '@ay' (line 2,852);[23] 'sume' for 'sere' (line 2,877); 'forsooth' for 'me thynk' (line 3,296); 'haue sorow' for 'thole' (line 3,517); 'suffyr' for 'drighe' (line 3,540); 'sydes' for partes' (line 4,500); 'turn' for 'trowe' (line 4,567); 'blowen' for 'strewed and skaterd' (line 4,996); and '@fulle ille' for '@ille' (6,746). Given that scribes would not have generally wished to ruin the poem's rhyme, line final-position items were more unlikely to be changed. At times, though, non-disturbing and still rhyming alternatives were provided at the end of lines, even if that occasionally involved some non-exact synonyms and deviations from the 'word-for-word' and 'meaning-for meaning' type of replacement. Some instances are: '@fulfille' for '@ille' (line 292); '@wepyng/wepande' for '@gretyng/gretand' (lines 496, 502, 7,093); '@chyrche' for '@kyrk' (lines 3,779, 3,790); '@affraieþ for '@flays' (line 2,549); '@nemene' for '@neuen' (line 2,896); '@þere' or '@here' for '@sere' (lines 6,582, 6,628). Paraphrases of larger segments and other strategies, such as the inversion of the couplet lines, were sometimes used and the scribes would always manage a new fitting rhyme as in (1) 1,864–1,865 and (2) 3,901–3,902:

1. MV 27: "Þis twynnyng may be cald þe dede /
   Þat fleyghes about fra sted til *stede*"
   MV 57: "This partyng may be calde the deth /
   that flutteth abouten as hit *geth*"

2. MV 27: "A party for veniel syns *sere*, /
   A party for syns þat er forgeten *here*;"

23 Line final position is indicated by the use of the symbol @ before the word.

MV 57: "Som for synnes here *forgeten*, /
Som for venyal synnes *meten*;"

Omissions or lexical alternatives emerging at different points in the transmission may have been dialectally motivated. However, a damaged exemplar, manuscript contamination, occasional misreadings, and scribal errors, together with individual resourcefulness, could also play their part in bringing about changes. Such may be the cases of 'love' for 'trow' (line 296) and 'slouþe' and 'glory' for 'sleghtes' (line 1,181). These unique readings may have originated in, respectively, MV 57 and MV 40, but they could have also been carried over from some unknown and unshared exemplars.

3.3. The TLS_1S_2 node

The third layer of lexical choices must have been inherited from a closer exemplar shared by the TLS_1S_2 subgroup. As a distinctive branch within Group IV, MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 unequivocally diverge from the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield texts (see Table 3). Whereas the TLS_1S_2 copies read 'schall', 'threpe', 'dyntes', 'ye same', 'pyne', 'grauyng', 'vgly', 'dolefully', and 'saules', the rest of the Group-IV texts give, instead, 'aght' (line 5,382), 'trete' (line 5,407), a word omission (line 5,418), 'sere/diuerse/many' (line 5,583), 'angre' (line 6,039), 'goulyng' (line 6,106), 'grysly' (line 6,564), 'ful deolful' (line 6,873), and 'synfulle' (line 7,343). Furthermore, MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95 – MV 48 ended much earlier – seem to have inherited 'dolefull' (line 7,344) from their exemplar. The same applies to MV 21 and MV 49's 'sorowe' (line 7,082). The TLS_1S_2 reading and the counterpart forms in MV 29 and MV 40 are identical in both cases. On the one hand, 'sorowe' for 'helle' does not look like a coincidental dialectal replacement; it is not likely that such a common word was alien to the altering scribe(s); rather, it may have been the result of an intentional change introduced in some shared ancestor within Group IV. On the other hand, 'dolefull' for 'noyse and' is an inherited scribal error that consisted in copying the final part of a line – slightly above this one – which also ends in 'dyn' (line 7,328), specifically, 'dolefull dyn'. Several words are simultaneously omitted in the TLS_1S_2 copies (line 6,058).[24] As previously explained, the establishment of textual relations should not initially rely on isolated omissions that could have been accidental lapses or coincidences; however, the absence of certain words may eventually become significant when they form part of a shared recurrent scheme of deviant behaviour.

3.4. The TLS_1 and the S_2 nodes

MV 95 must have derived from a node different from the one shared by MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49 (hence, TLS_1). It lacks some of the other three copies' line omissions (e.g. lines 5,002, 5,199, 5,200, 6,322),[25] which places this manuscript in a separate transmission line within the TLS_1S_2 branch. The fourth lexical layer is, then, represented by forms carried over from the TLS_1 and the S_2 nodes. As illustrated in Table 4, from among the MV 95 readings that differ from the TLS_1 set, some might be distantly related to one or more of the other Group-IV manuscripts,[26] while others are peculiar to MV 95 alone.[27] The implications are that some realizations could have been drawn from an unshared exemplar (S_2), while others may have been introduced by the scribe of this particular copy or some intermediate source (S_{2A}).

3.5. The TL, the S_1, and the S_2 nodes

The comparative analysis of the lexicon in the TLS_1S_2 copies evinces that both MV 21 and MV 48 derive from the same additional unknown source within the TLS_1 branch. Whereas MV 49 tends to remain faithful to the TLS_1 archetype, MV 21 and MV 48's shared exemplar (henceforth TL) must have contained several additional lexical translations, either express avoidances of northerly terms or stylistic preferences that were passed on to these two descendants. As shown in Table 5, the reflex of this fifth layer manifests itself through MV 21 and MV 48's shared variants, such as 'euyll' for 'ille' (lines

24 See also: lines 6,390; 6,693; 7,089; 7,155; 7,342.
25 For further detail on line or couplet omissions and related paraphrases in the TLS_1S_2 subgroup, see Garrido-Anes (2022).
26 See lines 5,002; 5,033; 5,199; 5,200; 5,216; 6,109; 6,322; 6,384; 6,643; 6,721; 7,262; 7,531.
27 See lines 6,111; 6,184; 6,456; 6,628; 7,066; 7,265; 7,323.

5,734, 5,746) and ‘few/fewer’ for ‘fonne/foner’ (lines 3,731, 3,732, 4,576, 7,531). MV 21 and MV 48 also read ‘euell saules’ for ‘ille’ (line 2,857), an unusual rendering not likely to have been sheer coincidence. MV 21’s deviations from MV 49 after the sudden end of MV 48 at line 5,868 are also given in Table 5. These readings are ‘euyl’ for ‘ille’ (lines 6,136, 6,138, 6,384), ‘ȝolke’ for ‘dalk’ (line 6,443), ‘ȝernyng’ or ‘wantyng’ for ‘tharnyng’ (lines 7,296, 7,304), and the omissions of ‘ay’ (line 6,537 and 7,039), ‘sere’ (line 7,308), and ‘ill’ (line 7,327). In the absence of the MV 48 text for comparison in this part, the attribution of these changes to the TL source should be cautious. However, considering that MV 21 is a northern text, its lexical alternatives (where MV 49 – also northern – retains the archetypal term) could probably be assumed to have originated in the seemingly less northerly source shared with MV 48. Regarding MV 95 and its S_2 node and their connections with MV 49 or its source (S_1), lines 6,136 (‘ille/yll)’, 6,384 (‘ille/yll’), 6,443 (‘dalk, dalke’), and 7,327 (‘ille/yll’) can be traced back to their common TLS_1S_2 ancestor.

3.6. The TL[S_1][S_2] node

Further confirmation of the close relationship between MV 21 and MV 48 is presented in Table 6. The absolute lack of evidence for MV 49 and MV 95 in the lines shown prevents a confident attribution of these shared distinctive readings to the TL node, the earlier TLS_1, or TLS_1S_2. Several alternative lexical renderings suggest derivation from exemplars produced in a less northerly dialect than the original poem; in fact, a few of them are identical to variants found in the non-northern manuscripts of the other Group-IV subgroups. Coincidences do not necessarily imply a shared source for the changes, especially when those particular alternatives tend to be expected in manuscripts circulating outside the work’s original northern area. The omission of ‘won’ (line 1,046) and the occurrence of ‘euell’ instead of ‘ill’ (lines 1,615, 2,154, 2,157, 2,162, 2,385) could be such cases. Other coincidental readings such as ‘yis’ for ‘sere’ (line 1,654) and ‘wit’ for ‘trowe’ (line 1,784) – not exact synonyms but more atypical renderings – might have originated in some distant exemplar common to three of the subgroups.

The rest of the omissions and, especially, the lexical changes featured in Table 6 are idiosyncratic to the TLS_1S_2 subgroup. The available evidence makes it impossible to determine whether these variants stem from the TS, the TLS_1, or an older node, but they interestingly illustrate typical geographical variation, as in ‘duellyng’ for ‘wonnyng’ (line 1,372), ‘witten’ for ‘knawen’ (line 1,572), ‘place’ for ‘stede’ (line 1,757), and ‘hatte’ for ‘calle’ (line 2,813). Some of the alternatives given are renderings that go beyond the literal translation and often involve word order changes or paraphrases: ‘myght & strenthe’ for ‘swinken and sorrow’ (line 738); ‘subtile’ or ‘many sotel’ for ‘vayn’ (line 1,181); ‘frenship’ for ‘saghtel’ (line 1,470); ‘was’ for ‘held’ (1,528); ‘lastande’ for ‘lifand’ (1,753); ‘wastes’ for ‘sculkes’ (line 1,788); ‘haste’ for ‘mast’ (line 2,185); ‘here’ for ‘were’ (line 2,296); ‘manere’ for ‘were’ (line 2,510); ‘@here’ for ‘sere’ (line 2,726).

Except for ‘swinken and sorrow’ (line 755), ‘vayn’ (line 1,181), and ‘@lifand’ (line 1,753), the rest of the items in Table 6 tend to be avoided in non-northern areas, especially, though not only, in medial position.[28] However, once a word was dropped or changed in a non-northern manuscript, succeeding copies – even if northern – are less likely to restore the original word. A non-northern exemplar would explain the presence of a large number of lexical translations of supposedly northern words in a northern copy like MV 21. When variation was exceptionally introduced at the end of a line, the original couplet rhyme would be transformed into another suitable one, and efforts were made to sustain it with the new word or a paraphrasis. The couplet below (lines 762–763) illustrates how the different versions deal with the original ‘fon’ and ‘@sere’.

1. MV 27: “Now, he says, ‘my *fon* days *sere* /
   Sal enden with[yn] a short tyme *here*’.”
   MV 29: “Now, he says, ‘my *fo* dayes *sere* /
   Salle ende wyth a schorte tyme *here*’.”
   MV 40: “Now, he seiþ, ‘my *fewe* sayes *sere* /
   Schul ende in schort tyme *here*’.”
   MV 57: “He seyth, ‘my *fewe* dayes *sere* /
   Shul ende nowe in shorte tyme *here*’.”

28 On lexical variation, word geography, and works surviving in multiple manuscripts, see Carrillo-Linares (2005–2006, 2016); Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes (2007, 2008, 2009, 2012); and Garrido-Anes (2019).

MV 21: "He says now 'sall my *fewe* dayes sone *wende* /
And within schort tyme *brought to ende*'."
MV 48: "He seyth 'my dayes son will *wende* /
And with schorte tyme *here mak an ende*'."

Whereas the northern MV 29 retains both words, the versions of widespread distribution in the south and west of the Midlands read 'fewe'. The manuscripts in the TL node inherited an additional paraphrasis affecting the entire couplet, omitting '@sere', and requiring a different rhyme. They additionally show slight variation between them: MV 48 omits 'fewe', and their last parts of the second couplet line differ in the verb.

3.7. The T and the L nodes

Further dissimilar readings in MV 21 and MV 48 are given in Table 7. In most of the lines shown, the damaged or incomplete MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95 copies unfortunately preclude any inference about whether the deviation from the reading in their common exemplar occurred in both MV 21 and MV 48 or only one of them. Where comparison with MV 49 and/or MV 95 is possible (lines 4,291, 5,243, 5,259, 5,743), MV 21 and MV 48 offer contrasting alternative readings. The implication is the presence of a sixth lexical layer. However, it is not discernible whether some words in the lexical pairs may have been retained from the TL exemplar or introduced by MV 21 (or a predecessor in an unshared T node) or MV 48 (or an exemplar in a separate L node). Thus, MV 21 gives 'euyll', 'synful', 'ilka', 'yvill', and 'pertenly' (lines 4,291, 5,243, 5259, 5,743) where MV 48 reads 'wykkid', 'euel', 'synfful', an omission, and 'open'.

3.8. MV 48 or the L node

Although some of the divergent cases above cannot be traced back to earlier stages of the transmission due to the absence of surviving evidence, the lines included in Table 8 evince that the northern MV 21 tends more readily to accept the vocabulary in the TL source than the East Anglian MV 48. The 'translating' scribe of the Norfolk copy – or its exemplar under the L node – provides a substantial list of alternatives to the TL lexicon. Dialectal motivation may underlie most of the replacements in MV 48, which remain unchanged in the othewise closely related MV 21. Previous and ongoing research suggests that variants for 'als-tite', 'wlatsome', 'ay', 'sere', 'won/wonnyng', 'myrk/myrknes', 'besynes', 'dale', 'flay', 'selcouthe', 'yhernyng', 'stede', 'grisely', 'kyrk', 'warne', 'tite', 'wgly, wglines', 'hent', 'dole', 'myster', 'ban', 'flitte', 'thole', 'frount', 'wathe', 'sonder', 'fon', 'lyfte', 'gretyng', among other items, are commonly found in manuscripts traceable to exemplars of non-northern descent.[29]

Furthermore, MV 48 reads 'theynke' when MV 21 omits 'fares' (line 1,343) and 'partynge, clepyd, drede' instead of 'twynnyng', 'called', 'deede' (line 1,864). MV 48 also gives 'scharply' for 'titte' (line 1,915), 'betten' for 'dongen' (line 3,256), 'cleped' for 'gadird' (line 3,833), 'wyse' for 'maners' (line 4,385), 'harme' for 'wathe' (line 4,558), 'powder' for 'askes' (line 4,996), 'dyed' for 'swelt' (line 5,212), and 'parte' for 'chede out' (line 5,641). Substituting 'wonyng' for 'dwellynge' (line 1,009), for example, is a likely dialectal rendering of an original word that remained unchanged in the TL source in this line but was replaced in others, as previously shown. However, '@ wyrkand' for '@wonnande' (line 1,032) or 'peynes' as a further replacement for 'euelles' – the TL alternative to 'maledys' (line 3,003) – may have had a different type of motivation. MV 48 also shows unshared word additions, such as 'many' (line 1,181), and unshared word omissions, such as those of 'besynes' (line 1,027), and of 'servand' (MV 21) for 'minister' (MV 27) in line 3,684. Other idiosyncratic readings like '@maye' for '@flay' (line 1,268) or '@I wysse' for '@stede' (line 2,193) are part of paraphrases rather than word-for-word translations. This evidence indicates a sixth layer of innovation in the L branch. The MV 48 scribe could have introduced these apparently unique readings, but they could have also been – maybe partially – copied from an exemplar not shared with MV 21.

3.9. MV 21 or the T node

A handful of currently untraceable variants to any known or textually inferred sources beyond their respective T, S_1, and S_2 nodes are shown in

29 Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes's database includes these items in multiple localized manuscripts of Middle English works. See also Carrillo-Linares (2005–2006, 2010).

Tables 9, 10, and 11. The sixth lexical layer in MV 21 is represented by an assemblage of alternative words or expressions originating either in this copy or a predecessor in the T node. Only in MV 21 (see Table 9) is ‘bale’ given as a synonym for ‘paynes’ (line 1,746) and ‘full of vices’ for ‘ille’ (line 3,671). In line 1,752, ‘@sighande’ might have been a misreading of the initial <d> in ‘@dyȝeande’. Another possible error is ‘werke’ instead of ‘chirch/kyrk’ (line 4,072). The use of ‘3olke’ for ‘dalk’ (line 6,443) has few chances of being a stylistic choice; the word appears to have been wrongly repeated, as an ‘egg yolk’ is also mentioned in the line above. MV 21 additionally paraphrases the last part of the 2,132–2,133 couplet, where the rhyme was adjusted to ‘@here/bere’ replacing ‘@chesse/pesse’.

1. MV 27: “Es Haly Kyrk þat God first *ches*, /
   Thurgh whilk men commes to the sight of *pes*.”
   MV 29: “Haly Kyrk yat godde fyrste *ches*, /
   Thurgh wylk men comes to ye syght if *pees*.”
   MV 40: “Is Holy Chirche þat god furst *ches*, /
   Bi whuche meN come to þe si3t of *pes*.”
   MV 57: “Is Holy Writte that God fyrste *chees*, /
   By whiche men comen to syght of *pees*.”
   MV 21: “Yat is Haly Kirke yat god firste *here*, /
   Thurghe whilke men commes to ou[r] *bere*.”
   MV 48: “Yat is Holy Chirch yAt godd ffirste *chesse* /
   Th[ro]w which men cumen to ye *land* of *pesse*.”

The textually related MV 48, however, retains the TL distinctive reading partially preserved in MV 21 (‘Yat is’…). No evidence is available, though, to trace further back the origin of MV 48’s ‘land’ for ‘sight’. In line 5,589, it becomes apparent that the TLS_1 exemplar must have provided the framework for the ‘tholed’ shared readings in MV 48 and MV 49, whereas the lexical variant ‘soffred’ is attributable to either MV 21 or a predecessor in the T node. By contrast, the reading in MV 95 – similar to that in MV 29, except for the synonym for ‘thole’ – must have already been present in the S_2 node from which it derives; the lexical alternative ‘soffret’ in MV 95 appears to be a later innovation, textually unrelated to the form in MV 21.

1. MV 27: “Þat he tholed for mans salvacioun,”
   MV 29: “Yat he tholed for oure saluacioune,”
   MV 57: “That weren for oure salvacyoun,”
   MV 21: “Yat he soffred for mannes saluacion,”
   MV 48: “Yat he tholede ffor manes saluacioune,”
   MV 49: “Yat he tholed for mans saluacioune,”
   MV 95: “Yat he sofrett for awre saluacion,”

3.10. MV 49 or the S_{1A} node; MV 95 or the S_{2A} node

MV 49 displays an extraordinarily reliable reproduction of the lexicon in the TLS_1 exemplar (see Tables 1–9). However, several exceptions emerged in the collation of the vocabulary representing the items used for this study. The only instances of variation apparently unique to MV 49 or an unshared antecedent (S_{1A}) are provided in Table 10. Thus, ‘euermore’ for ‘ay’ (line 5,220), ‘gaf’ for ‘egged’ (line 5,483), and ‘@grete’ for ‘@plente’ (line 7,327) do not match either of the other copies in the subgroup. In line 7,327, the shared rephrasing (‘Yare sall be…’) carried over from the TLS_1S_2 exemplar and the context of the entire line present three slightly differing readings in MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95:

1. MV 34: “And of all þat *ill* es *gret plente*.”
   MV 29: “And of alle yat *ille* es *grete plente*.”
   MV 40: “And of al þat *euel* is *gret plente*.”
   MV 57: “And of alle his *badde greet plenté*.”
   MV 21: “Yare sall be of *all thyng plente*.”
   MV 49: “Yare sal be al *`ille´ thyng grete*.”
   MV 95: “There shall be all *yll thyng plente*.”

It should be highlighted that a significant number of cases of lexical divergence in MV 95 are currently untraceable beyond this copy within the subgroup. They may be attributed to the MV 95 scribe, but they could have also been drawn from some intermediate exemplar (S_{2A}) between MV 95 and the S_2 node (see Table 11). The non-northern origin of this divergence can be inferred from the fact that words such as ‘alkyn’, ‘tholede’, ‘yhernynges’, ‘ay’, ‘Ʒerne’, ‘warne’, and ‘tharnyng’ in the TLS$_1$ manuscripts are here found as ‘and all’ (line 4,948); ‘sofrett’ (line 5,589), ‘couetus’ (line 6,628), ‘euer’ (lines 6,643, 7,265), ‘dissyre’ (line 6,721), ‘yff no’ (line 7,262) and ‘graitt sowrow’ (line 7,296). Variants such as ‘doluen’ for ‘beryed’ (line 5,216) and ‘feryng’ for ‘flayng’ (line 6,109) are similar in other Group-IV manuscripts. The fact that MV 95 is a late manuscript that offers an abridged revision of the *PoC* suggests that scribal preferences could probably account for the changes that have no apparent geographical connection: ‘yit’ for ‘ill’ (line 5,407), ‘@chrying owtt’ for ‘myrknes’ (line 6,111), ‘@trespass’ for ‘@dight’ (line 6,184), ‘lykewysse’ for ‘sone’ (line 6,456), ‘pompe’ for ‘ruse’ (line 7,066), ‘peynes’ for ‘sorow’ (line 7,296) and ‘@wates’ for ‘@laytes’ (line 7,531). The addition of intensifiers such as ‘graytt’ (lines 6,106 and 7,296) also points in that direction.

The lexical relations among the TLS$_1$S$_2$ copies are less evident in five cases that deserve attention. From line 7,342 (see Table 9) it can be inferred that MV 21, MV 49, and MV 95’s shared omissions of ‘þe devils’ and ‘sall’ were already present in the TLS$_1$S$_2$ exemplar. The T node reads ‘ay’, but MV 49 and MV 95 give ‘euer’. Since this is a very frequent rendering of the word, its occurrence in these two copies might not be textually related. If related, the TLS$_1$S$_2$ exemplar would have read ‘euel’ and ‘ay’ would be attributable to the T (or TL) node. With the current evidence, although replacement from ‘euer’ to ‘ay’ is less common than from ‘ay’ to ‘euer’, this northernizing move cannot be discarded in the northern MV 21.[30]

1. MV 34: “*þe devils ay* omang on þam *sall* stryke,”
   MV 21: “And *ay* emange apon yaim strike,”
   MV 49: “And *euer* omang opon yam strike,”
   MV 95: “And *euer* among on them stryke,”

In line 5,801 (see Table 9), MV 21 also reads ‘ay’ where MV 48 and MV 49 have ‘euer’ and MV 95 omits the line. The word ‘euer’ could have been present in the TLS$_1$S$_2$ exemplar given that the northern MV 49 tends to faithfully copy

30 For more on northern scribes, see Hudson (1983).

whatever readings were found in the source. Line 6,382 is not available for MV 48, so it is impossible to infer whether 'dwell' (MV 21) was also the form in the TL, the T, or the TLS_1S_2 exemplar. 'Be' in the TLS_1S_2 predecessor could explain the agreement with MV 95 on this uncommon alternative for 'dwelle'. MV 49's 'yhelde' (line 5,894) and 'fune' (line 7,531) may have been the original forms in the subgroup exemplar (see Table 10). However, since both MV 21 and MV 95 read 'giffe' and 'few', there is also a chance that these were TLS_1S_2 forms and MV 49 exceptionally deviated from it. In the absence of MV 48 for comparison, the attribution of these changes should be cautious. Considering that MV 21 is a northern text, its lexical alternatives (where MV 49 – also northern – shows the presumably original term) could have also originated in the seemingly less northerly source shared with MV 48, but then, the MV 95 readings would not be textually related. Whether a specific occurrence should be considered a variant or not depends on whether that particular reading is believed to be the one in the archetypal manuscript. More evidence is needed to define these five cases.

4. Conclusions

The present analysis uses lexical collation to describe and interpret vocabulary transmission within the TLS_1S_2 copies of the *PoC*. It also considers the relations of these copies within the wider context of the stemma by showing parallelisms and divergences between this and the other three Group-IV main subsets: the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield subgroups. The Group-I version is the starting point of reference for a comparison that reveals the lexical profiles of the copies, which results in the identification of up to six distinct lexical layers in each of the TLS_1S_2 manuscripts.

This research evinces that in dealing with a poem of religious and spiritual teaching, the scribes of the TLS_1S_2 manuscripts would have generally attempted to be faithful to the contents, the form, and the poetic and rhyming nature of their exemplars. Most of the lexicon in the TLS_1S_2 copies can be traced back to the presumably original vocabulary, forming the oldest and best represented lexical stratum. The second lexical layer is composed of vocabulary relics of a primitive Group-IV ancestor that deviated from the earliest versions by introducing some geographically conditioned word changes and omissions and others that must have been the stylistic or personal preference of some scribe. Several northern terms were replaced with others of a more widespread distribution, which points to a less northerly provenance of this Group-IV exemplar.

Due to occasional missing leaves and the currently damaged parts of some manuscripts, not much has survived from the third lexical layer identified. However, a substantial number of word omissions and some atypical readings set MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 apart from the Northern, the Vernon-Simeon, and the Lichfield subgroups. The TLS_1S_2 subset splits into two well-defined branches that represent the fourth layer in their respective manuscripts. One is the TLS_1 set, which includes MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49; the other is S_2, from which MV 95 derives. The key to this subdivision is provided by some lines which MV 95 retains from the TLS_1S_2 exemplar, but which are omitted in MV 21, MV 48, and MV 49's shared predecessor. In turn, words from TLS_1S_2 preserved in the TLS copies are substituted in the S_2 branch. Apart from a variety of additional lexical replacements or rejections suggesting that the languages of TLS_1S_2, TLS_1, and S_2 were not northern, some stylistic creativity was also at play.

Within the TLS_1 copies, the fifth layer is also twofold. On the one hand, the S_1 node leading to MV 49 presents, quite consistently, an accurate reproduction of the vocabulary from the exemplar. On the other hand, MV 21 and MV 48 share a significant number of deviant readings that denote derivation from a common line of descent. This TL source must have also been produced in a non-northern dialect since various lexical changes and omissions carried over to MV 21 – a northern manuscript – and MV 48 – from Norfolk – affect words of well-known northern distribution.

Layer number 6 includes different sets of lexical variants gathered from MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95, which are not traceable to any other known source. Unique or rare variants can only start to be tentatively considered actual innovations by the scribes of those particular copies when those readings are absent from other manuscripts to which they are textually related. In addition, variants that at first sight seem to be shared may have actually emerged independently. Scribal patterns of vocabulary usage must always be described and understood in light of the broader tradition. Underlying the sixth layer, an intermediate and now lost source from which those readings were inherited cannot be discarded. MV 48 – or, at least partially, an exemplar in the L node – stands out as the most active copy of the four in terms of scribal innovation. It seems to be followed by MV 95 and MV 21, or their sources, in their respective S_2 and T nodes; by contrast, MV 49 generally shows fidelity to its predecessor. As was the case with the Vernon-Simeon and Lichfield manuscripts, the TLS_1S_2 subgroup clearly displays several degrees of southernization inherited from their unknown exemplars and carried over through an indefinite number of copies beginning in Group IV. The dialectally and stylistically dynamic nature of the copying process is especially significant in MV 48, from Norfolk. Even though the northern MV 49 and MV 21 barely change the northern vocabulary still preserved in their exemplars, both reflect the southernized stages and the stylistic rewordings that precede them in the transmission chain. MV 95 also reflects some degree of dialectal translation. However, most of the lexical variants in this late North Derbyshire text suggest an intentional revision.

This study is based chiefly on words of a potentially dialectal character, but not all the lexical replacements attested can be assumed to be dialectally conditioned unless accumulated evidence of rejection in localized manuscripts can be traced to a particular area. Some replacements may have emerged from individual stylistic initiative. Manuscript contamination and scribal errors are other factors that could trigger lexical change. The history of the lexicon in the TLS_1S_2 subgroup can be schematized as follows (see Figure 1 below):

Figure 1. Manuscript Relations in the TLS_1S_2 Group.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Group I</td><td>Layer 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Group IV</td><td>Layer 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Group TLS_1S_2</td><td>Layer 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">TLS_1</td><td>S_2</td><td>Layer 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">TL</td><td rowspan="2">S1A
(MV 49)</td><td rowspan="2">S2A
(MV 95)</td><td>Layer 5</td></tr>
<tr><td>T
(MV 21)</td><td>L
(MV 48)</td><td>Layer 6</td></tr>
</table>

Lexical collation has helped to understand the dissemination of some vocabulary items across the primary Group-IV families of the *PoC*, and more specifically, within the TLS_1S_2 subgroup. It has also uncovered a part of the history of MV 21, MV 48, MV 49, and MV 95 through the identification of their main lexical strata and has further refined the textual relations between the manuscripts of the TLS_1S_2 subgroup. The analysis of the lexicon in these copies has not only confirmed Garrido-Anes (2022)'s findings that the previously unsubclassified MV 48 is closely related to MV 21 and MV 49 – and slightly more distantly – to MV 95; it has also revealed a tighter relationship between MV 21 and MV 48. This study has shown that both copies derive from a TL node unshared with MV 49 or MV 95. The comparative analysis of the lexicon in the extant manuscripts of this subset has contributed to disentangling the now superimposed distinct stages of scribal intervention. Dialectal and stylistic choices, both original and inherited, have additionally disclosed different scribal attitudes towards the vocabulary found in the exemplars.

Previous, current, and future studies into word geography are indispensable to better understand vocabulary reception and distribution in Middle English works. In 1973 McIntosh claimed that "what would be needed in order to carry out a more systematic investigation is the collaborative effort of a sizable number of scholars, together with financial support for the establishment of the necessary corpus of texts" (Hoad 1994: 199). Although progress is being made, the field is so vast and challenging that this statetement recovered by Hoad in the 1990s is still valid today. Apart from some early 21st-century incursions in several works preserved in multiple manuscripts such as *Piers Plowman*, *Cursor Mundi*, or the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, ongoing studies such as the *PoC* and the 'land documents' projects may help to continue to connect the numerous remaining dots. In this sense, smaller and larger contributions and any upcoming contextualized pieces of evidence need to be welcome, as all together they will become increasingly meaningful for the field. N

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Appendix[31]

Table 1: Lexical Layer 1 (The Reflex of the Group I archetype).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS$_1$S$_2$)				
MV 27/34	**MV 29**	**MV 40**	**MV 57**	**MV 21**	**MV 48**	**MV 49**	**MV 95**	**11**
@TROW	∅	@om.	@TROW	∅	@TROWEN	N/A	∅	12
AY		euere	AY		AY			13
WONED		WONEDE	WONED		WONED			13
@ANHEDE		@on godhede	@ANHEDE		@ONEHEDE			14
AY		euere	AY		AY			15
@WON		@WONE	@WON		@WONE			16
AY		euere	AY		AY			21
AY		om.	AY		AY			31
AY		euere	AY		AY			32
@AY		@ay	@ay		@ay			37
@ILLE		@ILLE	@ILLE		@ILLE			77
@ILLE		@ILLE	O		@ILLE			92
ILLE		wikkednesse	O		@ILLE			97
@SERE		@SERE	@SERE		@SERE			146
@ILLE		@ILLE	@ILLE		@ILLE			174
@ILLE		@ILLE	@ILLE		@ILLE			182
MYRKNES		derknes	derkenes		MYRKNES			194
@ILLE		@IL	@ILLE		@ILLE			204
@LETTYNG		@LETTYNG	@LETTYNG		@LETTYNG			237
LETTEN		reueþ	reven		LETT			253
@ILLE		@fulfille	@fulfille		@ILLE			292
TROW		leeue	love		TROW			296
TROWED		leeuede	leveden		TROWED			301
TROWES		leue	leveden		TROWES			303
TROWES		leeueþ	leven		TROWE			313
TROWED		TROUWE	leved		TROWID			320
@TROW		@TROUWE	@TROWE		@TROW			332
@SERE		@SERE	@om.		@SERE			346
@SERE		@SERE	@SEERE		@SERE			352
@AY		@AY	@AY		@AY			403
@GRETYNG		@wepyng	@wepyng	@GRETYNG	[...]			496
@GRETAND		@wepande	@wepand	@GRETANDE	@GRETAND			502
@WLATSOM		@WLATSOME	@WLATSOME	@WLATSOME	@WLATSOM			520
WLATSOM		WLATSUM	WLATSOME	WLATSOME	[...]			583
@WLATSOM	@WHALSOME	@WLATSOME	@WLATHSOOME	WLATSOME	[...]			610
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE			651

31 The symbols used in the tables are the following: om = word omitted; O = line omitted; P= paraphrasis; Ø = missing text; N/A = not applicable; @= final position; [...] = blurred.

AY	AY	euer	0	AY	AY			717
HAND	ANDE	breþ	breth	AENDE	[...]			775
SLAVERS	SLAUERS	sauereþ	draveleth	SLAVERS	SLAUERITH			784
@DOTES	@DOTES	@DOTEÞ	@DOTETH	@DOTES	[...]			785
TROWES	TROWES	leeueþ	leveth	TROWE	TROWE			788
@TROWYNG	@TROWYNG	@TROWYNG	@TROWYNG	@TROWYNG	@TROWYNGE			789
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	0	@STEDE	@STEDE			858
GRYSLY	GRYSLY	GRISLY	GRISLY	GRISELY	GRYSSELY			911
DALE	DALE	DALE	DALE	DALE	DALE			1,044
@THRALLEN	@THRALLES	@ÞRALLE	@THRAL	@THRALL	@YRALLE			1,064
@KEN	@KENNE	@KEN	@KEN	@KEN	@KENE			1,074
YERNEN	ȜERNYNG	desyr	desyre	ȜERNYNG	ȜERNYNG			1,136
DALE	@DALE	@DALE	@DAALE	@DALE	0			1,166
DOLEFUL	DOLEFULE	DEOLFUL	DEOLFUL	DOLEFULL	0			1,166
STEDE	STEDE	STUDE	STUDE	STEDDE	STEDE			1,168
GILERY	GYLERY	GILERIE	GYLORYE	GILLERYE	GILERIE			1,176
SLEGHTES	glory	slouþe	SLEYGHTE	SLEGHTES	SLEYTHES			1,181
@QWAYNTYSE	@QUAYNTYSE	@QUEYNTISE	@QUEYNTYSE	@QUAYNTYSE	@QWAYNTYSE			1,181
@CAST	@CASTE	@CASTE	@CAASTE	CASTEN	CASTEN			1,193
CASTES	CASTES	CASTEÞ	CASTETH	CASTES	CASTEYȜT			1,221
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE			1,327
@ILL	@ILL	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE			1,615
AY	AY	AY	AY	AY	AY			1,373
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE			1,428
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE			1,448
SERE	SERE	fele	SERE	SERE	SERE			1,518
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE			1,705
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE			1,744
@BLYN	@BLYNNE	@BLYNNE	@BLYN	@BLYN	@BLYNNE			1,746
@BRAYDE	@BRAYDE	@BREIDE	@BRAYDE	@BRAYDE	@BREYDE			1,750
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AYE			1,755
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STUDE	@STEEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE			1,818
AY	AY	euer	AY	AY	AY			1,861
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@geth	@STEDE	@STEDE			1,865
@LITH	@LYTH	@LIÞ	@LYTH	@LITH	@LYTHE			1,917
@CAST	@CASTE	@CASTE	@CAST	@CASTE	@KESTE			1,918
@CAST	@CASTE	@CASTE	@CASTE	@CASTE	@KESTE			1,976
@DRIGHE	@DRY	@DRYȜEN	@DRYE	@DRYE	@DREYE			2,044
AY	AY	@AY	@AY	AY	AYE			2,086
@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILL	@ILLE			2,146
YHERNED	ȜERNEDE	ȜEORNED	yeerned	ȜERNED	ȜERNYD			2,176
YHERNED	ȜERNYD	ȜEORNEDE	wylned	ȜERNED	ȜERNED			2,188
@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@IL	@ILL	@ILLE			2,165
@DERE	@DERE	@DER	@DERE	@DER	@DERE			2,290
TROW	TROWE	TROWE	TROW	TROWE	TROWE			2,510
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY			2,536
@FLAYS	@FLAYS	@affraieþ	@affrayeth	@FLAYES	@FFLEYETHE			2,549
@DERES	@DERES	@DEREÞ	@DERETH	@DERES	@DERYTH			2,552
@HENTES	0	0	0	@HYNTES	@HENTE			2,722

STEDE	STEDE	STUDE	O	STEDE	STEDE			2,790
STEDE	STEDE	STUDE	O	STEDDE	STEDE			2,806
@MYRKNES	@MYRKENES	@MERKNIS	O	@MYRKNES	@MERKNES			2,815
STEDES	STEDYS	STUDES	O	STEDDES	STEDYS			2,816
STEDES	STEDYS	STUDES	STEDES	STEDDES	STEDES	STEDES		2,850
STEDES	STEDYS	STUDES	STEDES	STEDDES	[...ys]	STEEDES		2,873
STEDES	STEDYS	STUDES	STUDES	STEDDES	[...]	STEDES		2,880
STEDES	STEDE	STUDE	STED	STEDDES	STEDE	STEDE		2,885
@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@nemene	@NEVENE	@NEUEN	@NEUEN	@NEUEN		2,896
GRYSLY	GRYSLY	GRISLI	GRYSLY	GRISELY	GRYSSELYCH	GRYSELY		2,907
GRISLY	GRYSLY	GRISLY	GRYSLY	GRISELY	GRYSSELY	GRYSLY		2,925
SERE	sare	sor	sore	SERE	SERE	SERE		2,982
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SEERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE		2,984
@STEDE	O	O	O	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE		3,025
@FELLE	@FELLER	@FELLE	@FELLE	@FELL	@FFELLE	@FELLE		3,077
@WON	@WONE	@WONNE	@WONNE	@WONNE	@WONE	@WONE		3,096
AY	om.	om.	om.	AY	[...]	AY		3,173
DOLE	DOLE	DEL	DEOL	DOLE	DOLE	DOLE		3,218
ALKYN	alle	alle	alle	ALKYN	ALKYNS	ALKYNS		3,248
EKE	EKE	eche	eche	EKE	EKEN	EKE		3,256
YHERNYNG	ȜERNYNG	ȜEORNYNGE	YERNYNG	YHERNYNG	O	ȜERNYNG		3,267
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEED	@STEDDE	@STEDE	@STEDE		3,286
AY	AY	euere	ever	AY	AY	AY		3,293
@FERLY	@FERLY	@FERLY	@FERLYE	@FERLY	@FFERLY	@FERLY		3,296
@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE		3,324
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE	@STEDE	[...]	@STEEDE		3,317
HOUSIL	HOUSYLLE	HOUSEL	HOUSUL	HOUSILL	HOWSSELL	HOUSEL		3,402
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SEERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE		3,412
SERE	SERE	diuerse	dyverse	SERE	SERE	SERE		3,436
THOLE	THOLE	suffre	suffre	thole	[...]	THOYLE		3,515
THOLE	thole	þole	thole	thole	[...]	THOYLL		3,524
@SANDE	@sande	@sonde	@sonde	@sande	O	@SANDE		3,535
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SEERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE		3,538
STEDE	STEDE	STUDE	om.	STEDE	[...]	STEEDE		3,543
@HEKE	@EKE	@EKE	@EKE	@EKE	@EKE	@EKE		3,546
ASSETHE	ASETHE	ASEEÞ	ASSEETH	ASETHE	[...]	ASETHE		3,610
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STED	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE		3,679
@AY	@euere	@euere	@AY	@AY	@AYE	@AY		3,706
@STEDES	@STEDES	@STUDES	@STEDES	@STEDE	@STEDDYS	@STEEDE		3,723
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AYE	@AY		3,776
TROW	TROWE	TROWE	TROWEN	TROWE	TROWE	TROW		3,776
@KYRK	@KYRKE	@churche	@chyrche	@KIRKE	[...]	@KYRK		3,779
@KYRK	@KYRKE	@churche	@chirche	@KIRKE	@KYRKE	@KYRKE		3,790
@STEDE	O	O	O	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE		3,811
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@meten	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE		3,902
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE		3,972
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE		3,980
@TROW	∅	@trowe	@om.	@TROWE	@TROWE	@TROWE		4,004
@WERE		@WERE	@WEERE	@WERE	@WERE	@WERE		4,088

@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILL	@ILLE	∅		4,111
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AYE	@AY	@AYE			4,140
@KEN	@KENNE	@KEN	@KEN	@KEN	@KENE			4,215
STEDES	STEDYS	STUDES	om.	STEDDES	STEDE	STEDES		4,247
TROW	TROW	TROUWE	leve	TROW	TROW	TROW		4,275
SERE	SERE	feole	dyverse	SERE	SERE	SERE		4,294
@QUAYNTIS	@QUAYNTYSE	@QUEYNTISE	@QUEYNTYSE	@QUAYNTYS	@QWAYNTEYS	@QUAYNTYSE		4,327
THOLE	THOLE	ÞOLE	THOLE	THOLE	THOLE	THOYLE		4,380
@CONNYNG	@CONNYNGE	@CUNNYNG	@CONYNG	@CONNYNG	@CONNYNG	∅		4,435
TROW	TROWE	TROWE	leve	TROWE	TROW			4,440
@FELLY	@FELLY	@FELLY	@FELLEY	@FELLY	@FELLY			4,449
@KIRK	@KYRK	@churche	@chirche	@KIRKE	@KYRKE			4,452
@KYRKE	@KYRKE	@chirche	@chyrch	@KIRKE	@KYRK			4,472
@KEN	@KEN	@KEN	@KEN	@KEN	@KENE			4,520
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE		4,607
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE		4,614
KIRK	KYRK	chirche	CHIRCHE	@KIRKE	@KYRKE	∅		4,646
@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@NEUENE	@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@NEUEN			4,649
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AYE	@AYE	@AYE			4,678
@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@NEUENE	@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@NEUEN			4,688
@SERE	@SERE	O	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE			4,689
@KEN	@KENNE	@KEN	@KEN	@KEN	@KENNE			4,703
@DYN	@DYNE	@DIN	@DYN	@DYN	@DYNE			4,707
@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE	@SERE			4,724
@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@nemene	@NEVENE	@NEUEN	@NEUEN			4,757
@CAST	@CASTE	@CASTE	@CASTE	@CASTE	@CASTE			4,786
@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@NEUENE	@NEVEN	@NEUEN	@NEUENN			4,794
BYGGED	BYGGYD	BUGGED	om.	BYGGED	BYGGEDD	BYGGED		4,850
@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILL	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	4,931
@FELLE	@FELLE	@FELLE	@FEL	@FELL	@FFELL	@FELLE	@FELL	4,967
CRAGGES	CRAGGYS	CRAGGES	CRAGGES	CRAGGES	CRAGGED	CRAGGES	[…]	5,077
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEED	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE	@STED	5,216
TROWE	TROWE	TROUWE	TROWE	TROWE	TROW	TROW	TROW	5,287
@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	∅	@DEYRE	5,413
DYNTES	om.	om.	om.	DYNTES	DYNTES		om.	5,418
@KEN	@KENNE	@KEN	@KENNE	@KEN	@KENNE		@KENNE	5,430
@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILL	@YLLE	@ILLE	O	5,641
@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@YLLE	@ILL	@ILLE	@ILLE	O	5,802
SERE	O	heore	here	SERE	∅	SERE	O	5,883
@SERE	@SERE	@þere	@SERE	@SERE		@SERE	@SERE	5,894
@ILLE	@ILLE	@IL	O	@ill		@ILLE	@YLL	5,905
@KEN	@KENNE	@KEN	@KEN	@KEN		@KEN	O	5,946
TROW	do	do	doon	TROWE		TROWEE	O	6,030
TROWED	TROWEDE	leeueþ	leved	TROWED		TROWED	O	6,030
THOLE	THOLEDE	ÞOLEDE	THOLED	THOLED		THOLED	O	6,039
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY		@AY	@AYE	6,095
GRETYNG	GRETYNG	wepyng	wepyng	gretyng		GRETYNG	GRETYNG	6,106
@DYN	@DYNNE	@dyn	@dyn	@dyn		@DYN	@DYNNE	6,107
DULEFUL	DOLEFULLE	DEOLFUL	DEOLFUL	DOLEFULL		DULEFUL	DELEFULL	6,107

MERRYNG	MERRYNG	MARRYNG	MERRYNG	MERUYNG		MERRYNG	om.	6,111
@BLYN	@BLYNE	@BLYN	@BLYN	@BLYN		@BLYN	@BLYNNE	6,108
@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILL		@JLLE	@YLL	6,130
@DIGHT	@DYGHT	@DIHT	@DYGHT	@DIGHT		@DIGHT	@DYGHT	6,146
@SLAKE	@SLAKE	@SLAKE	@SLAKE	@SLAKE		@SLAKE	@SLAKE	6,221
@TITE	@TYTE	@TYT	@TYTE	@TYTE		@TITE	@TITE	6,229
EKE	EKE	ECHE	ECHE	EKE		EKE	EYKE	6,236
AY	euer	euere	ever	AY		AY	om.	6,348
AY	AY	euer	ever	AY		AY	ay	6,362
AY	AY	euere	ever	AY		AY	ay	6,364
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY		@AY	@ay	6,382
@DIGHT	@DYGHT	@DIHT	@DYGHT	@DIGHT		@DIGHT	@dyght	6,451
MYRKE	MYRKE	MERK	MERKE	MIRKE		MYRK	MARKE	6,453
ay	om.	om.	om.	om.		AY	AY	6,457
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY		@AY	O	6,473
@DRYGHE	@DRY	@DRYE	@DRYGHE	@DRE		@DREGHE	O	6,519
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE		@STEDE	O	6,544
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY		@AY	@EYE	6,549
@MYRKNES	@MYRKENES	@MERKNES	@MERKENES	@MYRKENES		@MYRKENES	@om	6,561
@DIGHT	@DYGHT	@DIHT	@DYGHT	@DYGHT		@DIGHT	@DYGHT	6,564
@GLOWAND	@GLOWANDE	@GLOWANDE	@GLOWAND	@GLOWANDE		@GLOWANDE	@GL[O]AND	6,568
@GRETYNG	@GRETYNG	@WEPYNG	@WEPYNG	@GRETYNG		@GRETYNG	@GRETYNG	6,571
@BLYN	@BLYNNE	@BLYNNE	@BLYN	@BLYN		@BLYNNE	@BLYN	6,574
@SERE	@SERE	@ÞERE	@SERE	@SERE		@SERE	@SERE	6,582
SERE	om.	om.	om.	@SERE		SERE	SERE	6,590
AY	om.	om.	om.	AY		AY	HEY	6,603
AY	om.	om.	om.	AY		AY	EY	6,627
@SERE	@SERE	@HERE	@SEERE	@SERE		@SERE	@SERE	6,628
CAST	CASTE	CASTEN	CASTE	CASTE		CAST	CAST	6,648
EKE	om.	om.	eche	EKE		EKE	EKE	6,649
@GLOWAND	@GLOWAND	@GLOWAND	@GLOWYNG	@GLOWAND		@GLOWAND	@GLOWAND	6,665
@THOLE	@THOLE	@ÞOLE	@THOLE	@THOLE		@THOLE	@THOLE	6,680
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY		@AY	@HEY	6,696
@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEDE	@STEEDE	@STEDE		@STEDE	O	6,705
DOLEFULY	DULFULLY	DEOLFOLICHE	DEOLFULLY	DOLEFULLY		DULFULLY	DULFELY	6,710
@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILLE	@ILL		Ø	@YLL	6,746
DULEFUL	DOLEFULLE	DELFUL	DEOLFUL	DOLEFULLY			DULFULL	6,873
@BLYN	@BLYNNE	@BLYNNE	@BLYNNE	@BLYN		@BLYN	O	7,046
@TROW	@TROWE	@TROWE	@TROW	@TROWE		@TROW		7,055
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY		@AY		7,082
@GRETYNG	@GRETYNG	@WEPYNG	@WEPYNG	@GRETYNG		@GRETYNG		7,093
GRETE	GRETE	wepe	wepe	GRETE		GRETE		7,095
WARN	WERE	ȝif ne	yif ne	WARNE		WARNE		7,260
TYTE	SONE	sone	sone	TITE		TITE		7,260
@STEDE	@STEDE	O	@stede	@STEDE		@STEDE		7,267
AY	EUERE	euere	ever	AY		AY		7,290
@DYGHT	@DYGHTE	@DIHT	@DYGHT	@DIGHT		@DIGHT	@DYGHT	7,305
DERE	DERE	greue	greve	DERE		DERE	DEYRE	7,307
ALKYN	ALKYNS	alle maner	alle maner	ALKYN		ALKYN	ALL KYNNES	7,323

DOLEFULL	DOLEFULLE	DELFUL	DEOLFUL	DOLEFULL		DULFULLE	DULFULL	7,328
@DYN	@DYNE	@DINNE	@DYN	@DYN		@DYN	@DYN	7,328
@DYN	@DYNE	@DIN	@DYN	@DYN		@DYN	@DYN	7,344
AY	AY	euer	ever	AY		AY	EY	7,388
@BAN	@BAN	@BAN	@BAN	@BAN		@BAN	@BANNE	7,391
@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE	@DERE		@DERE	@DEYRE	7,402
@SONDER	@SONDYR	@SUNDER	@SONDRE	@SONDIR		@SONDER	@SUNDUR	7,408
@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY	@AY		@AY	@EY	7,410
AY	AY	AY	om.	AY		AY	om.	7,413
@DYN	@DYNNE	@DUNNE	P	@DYN		@DYN	@DYNNE	7,423

Table 2: Lexical layer 2 (The Reflex of the Group-IV archetype).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS$_1$S$_2$)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
sere	∅	DIUERSE	DIUERSE	∅	DIUERS	N/A	∅	365
wlatsom		FOUL	FOULE	[...]	FFOULE			459
goule		RORE	RORE	@rare	[...]			477
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.			825
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.			1,011
@wonen	@DUELLE	@DWELLE	@DWELLE	@DUELL	@DWELLE			1,044
ay	EUERE	EUERE	EVER	EUER	EUER			1,343
tite	YAN	ÞEN	THEN	YAN	OM.			1,914
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.			2,342
@ay	@SAY	@SAY	@SAY	@SAY	@SEYE	@SAY		2,852
stede	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		2,855
sere	SUME	SUM	SOME	SOM	SUM	SOM		2,877
als-tite	WHEN	WHEN	O	WHEN	WHENE	WHEN		3,244
me thynk	FORSOTH	FORSOÞE	forsothe	FORSOTHE	FFORSOTHE	FORSOTHE		3,296
thole	HAUE SOROW	HAÞ SERWE	HAVE SOROWE	HAS SOROW	[...]	HAS SOROW		3,517
drighe	SUFFYR	SUFFRE	suffre	SUFFRE	[...]	SUFFER		3,540
yherned	∅	WOLDE	WOLDE	WALDE	WOLDE	WALD		4,010
partes	SYDES	SYDES	STUDES	SYDES	SYDES	∅		4,500
tyte	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		4,559
trow	TURNE	TURNE	TURNED	TURNE	TIRNE	@TURNE		4,567
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	4,946
ille	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	4,967
strew[d] and skaterd	BLAWEN AWAY	BLOWEN INTO	BLOWEN IN	BLAWEN AWAY	BLO AWEYE	BLAWEN OWAY	BLOUD AWAY	4,996
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	5,033
dole	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	∅	OM.	5,382
first	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.	6,130

mykel	GRETE	GRET	GREET	GRETE	∅	GREETE	OM.	6,561
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,578
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,642
cast	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,650
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,669
ugly	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,679
yherne	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,701
@ille	@FULLE ILLE	@FUL ILLE	@FUL ILLE	@FULL ILL		∅	@FULL YLL	6,746
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	7,258
ay	OM.	OM.	OM.	OM.		OM.	OM.	7,343

Table 3: Lexical Layer 3 (The TLS1S2 Node).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
aght	aght	ou3te	aught	SALL	SCHALL	∅	shall	5,382
threp	trete	trete	tret	THREPE	OM.		threpe	5,407
dyntes	om.	om.	om.	DYNTES	DYNTES		om.	5,418
sere	sere	diuerse	many	YE SAME	YE SAM	YE SAME	O	5,583
angre	angyrs	anger	angur	PYNE	∅	PYNE	O	6,039
ay	ay	om.	om.	O		OM.	OM.	6,058
@goulyng	@goulyng	@goulyng	@goulyng	@GRAUYNG		@GRAUYNG	@GRAYTT GROUYNG	6,106
cragges	hyls	hulles	mounteynes	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,390
roches	montayns	mountaynes	hulles	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,390
hydusly	grysly	grisli	grysly	VGLY		VGLY	VGLY	6,564
ay	euer	euer	ever	OM.		OM.	OM.	6,693
duleful	+ffulle	+fful	+ful	DOLEFULLY		∅	DULFULL	6,873
helle	sorow	serwe	helle	SOROWE		SOROW	O	7,082
ay	ay	euere	ever	OM.		OM.	O	7,089
ay	om.	om.	ay	OM.		OM.	OM.	7,155
devils	deuylls	deueles	fendes	OM.		OM.	OM.	7,342
synfulle	synfulle	synful	synful	SAULES		SAULES	SOWLE	7,343
noyse and	dolefulle	delful	noyse and	DOLEFULL		DULEFUL	DOLEFULL	7,344

Table 4: Lexical Layer 4 (The TLS1 and the S2 nodes).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
neuend	neuend	seid	seyd	SAIDE	SEYDE	SAYDE	Ø	2,850
last	last	lasteN	laste	BE	OM.	BE		2,857
vengeaunce	vengaunce	venge	vengeaunce	HELL	HELLE	HELLE		2,857
sere	sere	diuerse	diuerse	SOM	SUME	SOME		2,880
tite	sone	sone	sone	WHEN	WHEN	WHEN		2,901
@raumpande	@rampande	@raumpande	raumpande	GRYNNANDE	GRENANDE	GRYNNANDE		2,907
ay	ay	euer	om.	om.	HEUER	EUER		3,205
sere	grete	O	grettest	OM.	OM.	OM.		3,261
thole	thole	þole	take	SUFFRE	[...]	SUFFRE		3,519
thole	thole	þole	thole	BE	[...]	BE		3,542
thole	thole	þole	thole	OM.	[...]	OM.		3,547
@titter	@tyttere	@sannere	@titter	OM.	OM.	OM.		3,727
@stede	@stede	@stede	@stede	O	O	O	@stede	5,002
be	be	beo	be	DUELL	DWELL	DUELLE	be	5,033
clotes	cloutes	cloutes	cloutes	O	O	O	clothes	5,199
cribbe	krybbe	cribbe	crubbe	O	O	O	[...]bbe	5,200
beryd	deluede	buried	buryed	BERIED	BERYED	BYRED	doluen	5,216
flaiyng	ferdenes	fere	@affray	FLEYNG	Ø	FLAYNG	feryng	6,109
@myrk[n]es	myrkenes	@merknes	@merknes	@ MYRKNESSE		@MYRKNES	@chrying owtt	6,111
@dight	@dyghte	@diht	@dyght	@DYGHT		@DIGHT	@trespas	6,184
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	O		O	@sere	6,322
payne	payne	peyne	pyne	SOROWE		SOROW	peyne	6,384
tyte	sone	sone	sone	SONE		SONE	lykewysse	6,456
yhernyngs	ʒernynge	ʒernynges	desyres	ʒERNYNG		YHERNYNGES	couetus	6,628
ay	ay	euere	ever	AY		AY	euer	6,643
yherne	ʒerne	desyren	desire	ʒerne		Ø	dissyre	6,721
rosyng	rosyng	bost	bostyng	ROESE		RUSE	pompe	7,066
warn	were	ʒif nere	yif nere	WARNE		WARNE	yff no	7,262
ay	om.	om.	ay	AY		AY	euer	7,265
sorow	sorow	serwe	sorow	SOROW		SOROW	peynes	7,323
@laytes	@laytes	@leiten	wayte	@LAYTES		@LAYTES	@wates	7,531

Table 5: Lexical Layer 5 (The TL, the S1, and the S2 nodes).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
om.	om.	om.	om.	EUELL SAULES	EUELLE SAULES	ille	∅	2,857
foner	foere	fewor	foner	FEWER	FFEWER	foner		3,731
foner	foere	fewor	foner	FEWER	FFEWER	foner		3,732
fone	ffo	ffewe	fewe	FFEWE	FEW	ffone		4,576
ille	ille + (‘be it’ om.)	O	evel + (‘be it’ om.)	EUYLL + (‘BE IT’ OM.)	EUELL + (‘BE IT’ OM.)	ille + (‘be it’ om.)	O	5,734
ille	ille	euel	yvel	EUYLL	EUEL	ille	O	5,746
ille	ille	euel	yvel	EUYLL	∅	ille	@yll	6,012
ille	ille	euel	evele	EUYL		ille	yl	6,136
ille	ille	euele	evel	EUYLL		ille	O	6,138
ille	ille	euele	yvel	EUELL		ille	yll	6,384
dalk	dale	dale	dalke	ȜOLKE		dalk	dalke	6,443
ay	om.	om.	om.	OM.		ay	euermore	6,537
ay	ay	euer	ay	OM.		ay	O	7,039
tharnyng	tharnyng	ȝernyng	wantyng	ȜERNYNG		tharnyng	graitt sowrow	7,296
tharnyng	tharnyng	wontyng	wantyng	WANTYNG		tharnyng	losyng	7,304
sere	om.	om.	om.	OM.		sere	om.	7,308
ill	ille	euel	badde	OM.		ille	yll	7,327

Table 6: Lexical Layer 5 (The $TL[S_1][S_2]$ node).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
ay	ay	euere	ay	OM.	OM.	N/A	∅	738
swinken and sorrow	swynk and yair + om.	swynk and serwe	swinke is more and sorow	MYGHT & STRENTHE	MYTH AND STRENTH			755
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@OM.	@OM.			762
souchen	shouches	soucheþ	spieth	OM.	OM.			788
ugly	vgly	grysli	ugly	OM.	OM.			870
@neven	@neuenes	@nempnes	@neveneth	@OM.	@OM.			969
@wonand	@wonand	@wonande	@wonyng	OM.	OM.			997
won	wone	wonen	wone	OM.	OM.			1,011
won	wone	om.	om.	OM.	OM.			1,046
lither	lychery	euel	evel	OM.	OM.			1,059
vayn	vayne	veyn	veyn	SUBTILE	many SOTEL			1,181
castes	castes	casteþ	casteth	OM.	OM.			1,219

rogg	tuge	drawe	drawe	OM.	OM.			1,230
sonder	sundur	om.	om.	OM.	OM.			1,230
ay	ay	euere	euer	OM.	OM.			1,243
ay	ay	om.	om.	OM.	OM.			1,290
wonnyng	wonyng	wonynge	wonyng	DUELLYNG	@DWELL[YNG]			1,372
saghtel	saghtellyng	sauhtnyng	saughtenyng	FRENSCHIP	FFRENCHI[P]PE			1,470
held	holde	heolden	heelde	WAS	WAS			1,528
sere	sere	diuerse	dyuerse	OM.	OM.			1,533
knawen	knawen	knowe	knowen	WITTEN	WYTE			1,572
ill	ille	eu[el]	yvel	EUELL	EUELLE			1,615
sere	ser	þis	this	YIS	YIS			1,654
@lifand	@lyfande	@liuande	@lyvyng	@LASTANDE	@LASTANDE			1,753
sted	stede	stude	stud	PLACE	PLACE			1,757
trow	om.	wite	wete	WIT	WYTE			1,784
sculkes	sculkys	sculkeþ	sheweth	WASTES	WASTEȜT			1,788
ille	ille	euel	evel	EUELL	EUELL			2,154
ille	ille	euel	evel	EUELL	EUELL			2,157
ille	ille	euel	evel	EUELL	EUEL			2,162
yhernyng	ȝernyng	ȝeornede	yeerned	OM.	OM.			2,185
@mast	@maste	@mast	@fast	@HASTE	@HASTE			2,185
@were	@were	@weere	@were	@HERE	@HERE			2,296
ille	ille	euel	evel	EUELL	EUELL			2,385
@were	@where	@were	@were	@MANERE	@MANERE			2,510
@felle	@felle	@felle	@felle	@OM.	@OM.			2,571
@sere	@sere	@sere	0	@HERE	@HERE			2,726
@ille	@ille	@ille	0	@OM	@OM			2,747
@hent	@sent	@sent	0	@ENDE	@HENT			2,803
calles	caled	cald	0	HATTE	HYTHE			2,813

Table 7: Lexical Layer 6 (The T and the L nodes).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
ay	∅	euere	ay	∅	EUERE	N/A	∅	20
ay		om.	om.		EUERE			41
ille		euel	0		EUELLE			94
@ille		@om.	0		@TILL			98
ille		euel	evel		EUEL			100
lettes		þat no	that they no		WHI YT YEI			238
ay		euer	ever		EUER			270

tyte		soone	soone		SON				322
ay		om.	om.		EUER				324
sere		diuerse	diuerse		DIUERS				365
sere		feole	sere		DIUERS				337
@als-tyte		@tit	@so-tyte		@BRIȜTE				377
@dight		@diht	dyght	DAYES	[...]				448
myrk		foul	om.	OM.	[...]				456
wlatsom		foul	foule	[...]	FFOULE				459
fon		fewe	fewe	OM.	FFEW				530
wlatsom	ille	euel	evel	FOULE	STENKE				657
ille	ilk	euel	evel	OM.	[...]				660
ay	ay	om.	om.	OM.	[...]				773
comly of shap	om.+ of face	om. + of face	om. + of face	IF HE HAUE FORCE	SEMLY OF SCHAPE				690
fone	ffo	ffewe	fewe	FEWE	[...]				764
foner	fewere	fewor	fewer	OM.	[...]				765
als tyte	tyte	sone	sone	SONE	[...]				766
fon	fo	fewe	fewe	FEWE	OM.				762
ay	ay	om.	om.	OM.	[...]				773
full late	late	loþ	looth	ILLE	HARD				789
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@OPPENLY	@ARE SEN VERELY				828
wgly	vgly	grisly	uglye	FOULE	OM.				907
calde es	wyttenesse	called is	called es	HALDEN IS	CLEPID ES				1,046
sere	sere	vre	oure	OURE	OM.				1,250
ay	ay	om.	ofte	O	FUL OFTEN TYME				1,275
ay	ay	euere	ay	NOGHT	NEUERE				1,341
flese	check	check	fleen	FELES	THENEKE				1,341
fares	[...]th	Om.	om.	OM.	THEYNKE				1,343
lyfte	@lyth	briȝt	bryght	LYGHT	O				1,444
@gretyng	@gretyng	@wepyng	@wepyng	@LYKYNG	@GRETYNGE				1,451
sere	yis	diuerse	dyverse	MANY	DYUERS				1,572
gyse	wyse	gyse	gyses	WAYES	TOKENS				1,572
fleyghes	flyttes	fihteþ	flutteth	STRAYES	WALKEYTH				1,864
ay	om.	om.	om.	OM.	EUER				2,484
ille	ille	euel	yvel	EUYLL	WYKKID	ille			4,291
ille	ille	euel	wicked	SYNFUL	EUEL	ille	ylle		5,243
ille	ille	euele	wykked	ILKA	SYNFFUL	ylle	[i]ll		5,259
ille	ille	euel	evel	YVILL	OM.	ille	O		5,743
apert	aperte	part	open	PERTENLY	OPEN	aperte	O		5,743

Table 8: Lexical Layer 6 (MV 48 or the L node).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS$_1$S$_2$)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
als-tite	∅	om.	sone	als-tite	SONE	N/A	∅	471
wlatsom		wlatsum	wlathsome	wlatsome	FFILTHE			564
ay	ay	euer	ay	ay	EUER			827
sere	sere	diuerse	dyverse	sere	OM.			997
@wonnyng	@wonynge	@wonyng	@wonyng	@wonnyng	@DWELLYNGE			1,009
sustayns	susteyns	sosteyneþ	norysshen	sustenys	P			1,019
@won	@wone	@wonne	@won	@wonne	P			1,019
myrk	myrke	merk	merk	myrke	DERKE			1,025
bisens	kindely	ensaunple	ensaumple	besynes	OM.			1,027
@wonnand	@wonande	@wonande	@wonande	@wonnande	@WYRKAND			1,032
dale	dale	dale	dale	dale	VALE			1,046
ay	ay	om.	om.	ai	IN			1,169
vayn	vayne	veyn	veyn	subtile	MANY SOTEL			1,181
@flay	@flay	@fray	@afray	@flay	@MAYE			1,268
ay	ay	euere	euer	ay	ALL			1,285
ay	om.	euer	ay	ay	EUER			1,288
fares	[...]th	om.	om.	om.	THEYNKE			1,343
ay	ay	ay	Om.	ay	EUER			1,365
myrk	myrke	derk	derk	myrke	DERKE			1,435
selcouthe	selcouth	selcouþ	selcouthe	selcouthe	DYUERS			1,518
yhernynges	ȝernyng	disir	wilnyng	ȝernynges	DESYRE			1,579
won	wone	wone	wone	wonne	DWELLE			1,645
yhernes	ȝernes	kepeþ	kepeth	ȝernys	COUEYTHEȜTH			1,649
stede	stede	stude	stude	stede	PLACE			1,701
ay	Om.	euer	ever	ay	EUER			1,751
ay	ay	euer	ever	ay	EUER			1,752
grisely	grysly	grisli	grisly	grisely	DREDEFFUL			1,757
myrknes	myrkenes	merknes	merkenes	murkiness	DERKNES			1,809
ay	check	check	om.	ay	EUER			1,853
twynnyng	Om.	partyng	partyng	twynnyng	PARTYNGE			1,864
cald	callede	called	calde	called	CLEPYD			1,864
@dede	@dede	@dede	@deth	@deede	@DREDE			1,864
titte	ones	ones	ones	titte	SCHARPLY			1,915
ay	ay	euer	ay	ay	EUER			1,970
ay	om.	om.	om.	ay	OM.			2,051
ay	om.	om.	om.	ay	EUER			2,106
ille	euele	euel	ille	ill	WYKED			2,120

ay	ay	euer	ay	ay	EUER			2,121
kyrk	kyrk	chirche	writte	kirke	CHIRCH			2,132
@kyrk	@kyrke	@chirche	@chirch	@kirke	@CHIRCHE			2,139
yhern	wolde	wolde	wolde	ȝerne	WOLDE			2,182
@ay	@ay	@ay	@ay	@ay	@OM.			2,183
@stede	@stede	@stede	@steed	@stede	@I WYSSE			2,193
grisly	grysly	grisly	grysly	grisely	FFERDFFUL			2,218
grisly	grysly	grisly	grysly	grisely	FFOULE			2,233
warne	haued noght	hadde not	ne had	warne	YIFF YEI HADD NOUȜT			2,342
titter	titter	sannore	sonner	titer	SUNNER			2,354
@wglines	@vglynes	@foulnes	@foulnesse	@vgglynes	@[WI]CKNES			2,364
grysely	foule	om.	om.	grisely	FFOULE			2,387
ille	ille	euel	ille	ill	EUEL			2,498
stedes	stede	studes	0	stedde	OM.			2,800
stede	stede	stude	0	stede	PLACE			2,813
kyrk	kyrk	chirche	0	kirk	CHIRCH			2,820
ay	ay	euere	ay	ay	@WITHOUTEN ENDE	ay		2,857
@syn	@synne	@synne	@syn	@syn	@OM.	@syn		2,857
ay	ay	om.	om.	aye	EUER	ay		2,869
dole	dole	deol	deol	dole	SOROW	dole		2,922
sere	sere	diuerse	dyuerse	sere	HERE	sere		2,985
sere	sere	dyuerse	dyuerse	sere	DYUERS	sere		3,003
sere	sere	om.	mony	sere	SWYCH	sere		3,003
maledys	euylles	eueles	evels	euelles	PEYNES	yuels		3,003
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	YERE	@sere		3,046
dungen	dongoun	beten	beten	dongen	BETTEN	dongend		3,256
tite	sone	sone	sone	sone	ANONE	sone		3,287
@kyrk	@kyrk	@chirche	@chirche	@kirke	@CHIRCH	@kyrk		3,321
ay	ay	ay	ay	ay	EUER	ay		3,360
@sere	@sere	@sere	@seere	@sere	@CLERE	@sere		3,398
myster	mystere	mester	mystur	myster	NEDE	myster		3,447
mister	mystere	nede	myster	0	NED	myster		3,477
kirk	kyrke	chirche	chirche	kirke	CHIRCH	kyrk		3,478
bannes	banes	bannest	bannoeste	bannys	CURSEYȜT	bannes		3,484
@ban	@bane	@ban	@upon	@ban	@HAUE	@ban		3,485
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	DYUERSE	@sere		3,633
@kirkes	@kyrkes	@chirches	@kirkes	@kirkes	OM.	@kyrkes		3,684
minister	mynystere	ministre	minister	servand	OM.	servand		3,684
ille	ille	euel	ille	ill	DEDLY SYNNE	ille		3,699
ay	om.	om.	ay	ay	OM.	ay		3,734

@flitte	@flyt	@flite	@flytte	@flitt	OM.	@flyte		3,762
@als-tite	@tyte	@tyd	@tyte	@als-tite	@ALS-WYTHE	@als-tyte		3,767
@kirke	@kyrk	@churche	@chyrche	@kirke	@CHIRCH	@kyrk		3,819
ay	here	here	here	ay	HERE	ay		3,829
haly	in yaire lyfe	Þat in heore lyf	in her lyf	haly	MEKE	haly		3,829
kirk	kyrke	chi[r]che	chirches	kirke	CHIRCH	kyrke		3,830
kirkes	kyrkes	chirches	chirches	kirke	CHIRCH	om.		3,833
gadird	gadyrde	gederet	gedered	gedrede	CLEPED	gedrede		3,833
sere	sere	mony	sere	sere	MANY	sere		3,899
sere	om.	om.	om.	sere	MANY	cere		3,994
kyrk	O	churche	chirche	kirke	CHIRCHE	kyrk		4,084
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@HERE	@sere		4,284
@tite	@styte	@tyd	@tite	@tite	WYHTE	@tyte		4,292
@sere	@sere	@sere	@seere	@sere	@HERE	O		4,322
thole	lat	lete	suffre	lat	[...]	lat		4,352
sere	sere	mony	dyuersely	sere	MANY	sere		4,385
maners	maners	maners	om.	maners	WYSE	maners		4,385
frount	frount	frount	forhede	fronte	FFORHEUENED	fronte		4,410
sere	sere	diuerse	dyverse	sere	MANY	Ø		4,500
@wathe	@wathe	@scaye	@lothe	@wathe	@HARME	@wathe		4,558
yherne	Ȝernr	coueyte	wylne	Ȝerne	COUEYTTEN	Ø		4,663
@mirknes	@myrkenes	@merknes	@merkenes	@myrknes	@D[A]RKNES			4,728
sonder	sondryd	be broken	be parted	sonder	[...]			4,789
sere	sere	diuerse	dyuerse	sere	MANY	sere		4,866
sere	sere	diuerse	diuerse	sere	MANY	sere	[...]	4,919
alkyn	alle	al	alle	alkyn	ALLE MANER	alkyn	and all	4,948
sere	sere	diuerse	diverse	sere	MANY	sere	sere	4,996
askes	askys	askes	askes	askes	POWDER	askes	askes	4,996
wgly	vgly	lodly	ogly	vgly	LOTHELY	vgly	O	5,024
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@DYUERSE LANDE	@sere	@sere	5,072
swelt	om.	om.	om.	swelte	DYED	swelt	om.	5,212
trowes	O	seyn	say	trowes	SEY	trowes	trowes	5,291
ille	ille	euele	wicked	ill	EUELL	Ø	yit	5,407
@sere	@sere	@þere	@seere	@sere	@YERE		@sere	5,425
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	HERE		om.	5,432
tholed	tholede	þoled	tholed	tholed	OM.		om.	5,433
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@DERE		O	5,437
ay	euermore	euere	ever	ay	EUER	ay	O	5,456
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@YERE	@sere	@sere	5,472
tholed	tholed	þoled	tholed	tholed	SUFF[E]RD	tholed	O	5,540

sere	sere	eny	any	sere	MANY	sere	0	5,541
ille	om.	om.	om.	ill diff	REKELES	ille	om.	5,553
chede out	departe	departe	departe	sched	PARTE	sched	0	5,641
@ken	@kenne	@be	@ken	@ken	KNOW	@ken	0	5,685
@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@sere	@YERE	@sere	0	5,720
ille	ille	euel	yvel	ill	YDELL	ille	0	5,744

Table 9: Lexical Layer 6 (MV 21 or the T node).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	**MV 29**	**MV 40**	**MV 57**	**MV 21**	**MV 48**	**MV 49**	**MV 95**	
paynes	payne	peyne	peyn	BALE	paynes	N/A	Ø	1,746
@dyand	@dyande	@diande	@dyghyng	@SIGHANDE	@dyȝeande			1,752
@ches	@ches	@ches	@chees	@HERE	@chesse			2,132
ille	om.	om.	om.	FULL OF VICES	om.	om.		3,671
kirk	Ø	chirche	chirche	WERKE	chirch	kyrk		4,072
tholed	tholed	0	weren	SOFFRED	tholede	tholed	sofrett	5,589
ay	euere	0	ay	AY	euere	euer	0	5,801
duelle	duelle	dwellen	byde	DWELL	Ø	be	be	6,382
dalk	dale	dale	dalke	ȜOLKE		dalk	dalke	6,443
ay	om.	om.	ay	AY		euer	euer	7,342

Table 10: Lexical Layer 5 (MV 49 or the S1A node).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	**MV 29**	**MV 40**	**MV 57**	**MV 21**	**MV 48**	**MV 49**	**MV 95**	
ay	om.	om.	om.	ay	ay	EUERMORE	om.	5,220
egged	eggyde	tysede	tysed	egged	[...]	GAF	egged	5,483
yhelde	ȝelde	ȝelde	yeelde	giffe	Ø	YHELDE	gyff	5,894
plente	plente	plente	plente	plenté		GRETE	plente	7,327
fone	fo	fewe	few	few		FUNE	few	7,531

Table 11: Lexical Layer 5 (MV 95 or the S2A node).

GROUP I	GROUP IV							LINE
	(N)	(VS)	(LICH)	(TLS_1S_2)				
MV 27/34	MV 29	MV 40	MV 57	MV 21	MV 48	MV 49	MV 95	
alkyn	alle	al	alle	alkyn	alle maner	alkyn	AND ALL	4,948
beryd	deluede	buried	buryed	beried	beryed	byred	DOLUEN	5,216
ay	om.	om.	om.	ay	ay	euermore	OM.	5,220
ille	ille	euele	wicked	ill	euell	Ø	YIT	5,407
tholed	tholed	O	weren	soffred	tholede	tholed	SOFRETT	5,589
@goulyng	@goulyng	@goulyng	@goulyng	@grauyng	Ø	@grauyng	@GRAYTT grouyng	6,106
flaiyng	ferdenes	fere	@affray	fleyng		flayng	FERYNG	6,109
@myrk[n]es	myrkenes	@merknes	@merknes	@myrknesse		@myrknes	@CHRYING OWTT	6,111
@dight	@dyghte	@diht	@dyght	@dyght		@dight	@TRESPAS	6,184
tyte	sone	sone	sone	sone		sone	LYKEWYSSE	6,456
yhernyngs	ȝernynge	ȝernynges	desyres	ȝernyng		yhernynges	COUETUS	6,628
ay	ay	euere	ever	ay		ay	EUER	6,643
yherne	ȝerne	desyren	desire	ȝerne		Ø	DISSYRE	6,721
rosyng	rosyng	bost	bostyng	roese		ruse	POMPE	7,066
warn	were	ȝif nere	yif nere	warne		warne	YFF NO	7,262
ay	om.	om.	ay	ay		ay	EUER	7,265
tharnyng	tharnyng	ȝernyng	wantyng	ȝernyng		tharnyng	GRAITT SOWROW	7,296
sorow	sorow	serwe	sorow	sorow		sorow	PEYNES	7,323
@laytes	@laytes	@leiten	wayte	@laytes		@laytes	@WATES	7,531

Primary Sources[32]

MV 1: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Porkington 20
MV 2: Arundel Castle, Sussex, Library of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, E. M.
MV 3: Beeleigh Abbey, Maldon, Essex, Foyle MS
MV 4 (DB): Brussels, Bibliotèque Royal Albert I, IV 998
MV 5: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McCLean 131
MV 6 (DB): Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 386
MV 7 (DB): Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.18 (18)
MV 8 (DB): Cambridge, St. John's College, 80 (D.5)
MV 9 (DB): Cambridge, St. John's College, 137 (E.34)
MV 10 (DB): Cambridge, University Library, Dd.11.89
MV 11: Cambridge, University Library, Dd.12.69
MV 12 (DB): Cambridge, University Library, Ll.2.17
MV 13: Cambridge, University Library, Additional 6693
MV 14: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Library, English 515
MV 15 (DB): Canterbury Cathedral, Lit. D. 13 (66)
MV 16 (DB): Charlottesville, Virginia, University of Virginia Library, Hench 10
MV 17: Chicago, Illinois, Newberry Library, 32.9
MV 18 (DB): Chicago, Illinois, Newberry Library, 33 (C. 19169)
MV 19 (DB): Douai Abbey, Woolhampton, Berkshire, 7
MV 20: Dublin, Trinity College, 156 (D.4.8)
MV 21 (DB): Dublin, Trinity College, 157 (D.4.11)
MV 22 (DB): Dublin, Trinity College, 158 (D.4.15)
MV 23: Holkham Hall, Wells, Norfolk, Library of the Earl of Leicester, 668
MV 24 (DB): Leeds, University Library, Brotherton 500
MV 25: Leeds, University Library, Brotherton 501
MV 26: London, British Library, Arundel 140
MV 27 (DB) London, British Library, Cotton Galba E. IX
MV 28 (DB): London, British Library, Cotton Appendix VII
MV 29 (DB): London, British Library, Egerton 657
MV 30: London, British Library, Egerton 3245
MV 31 (DB): London, British Library, Harley 1205
MV 32: London, British Library, Harley 2377
MV 33 (DB): London, British Library, Harley 2394
MV 34 London British Library, Harley 4196
MV 35 (DB): London, British Library, Harley 6923
MV 36 (DB): MV 40 London, British Library, Additional 22283
MV 37: London, British Library, Sloane 1044, item 235
MV 38: London, British Library, Sloane 2275
MV 39: London, British Library, Additional 11304
MV 40: London, British Library, Additional 22283
MV 41 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 24203

32 The manuscripts used for this study are in bold. (DB) appears next to the manuscripts so far included in Carrillo-Linares & Garrido-Anes's Middle English lexical database.

MV 42 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 25013
MV 43 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 32578
MV 44 (DB): London, British Library, Additional 33995
MV 45: London, College of Arms, LVII
MV 46: London, Lambeth Palace, 260
MV 47 (DB): London, Lambeth Palace, 491
MV 48 (DB): London, Lambeth Palace, 492
MV 49 (DB): London, Sion College, Arc. L. 40. 2/E. 25
MV 50: London, Society of Antiquaries, 288
MV 51: London, Society of Antiquaries, 687
MV 52 (DB): London, Longleat, Wiltshire, Library of the Marquis of Bath, 31
MV 53 (DB): Manchester, Chetham's Library, Mun. A.4.103 (8008)
MV 54: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English 50
MV 55: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English 51
MV 56: Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English 90
MV 57: New Haven, Yale University Library, Osborn a 13
MV 58 (DB): New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Bühler 13
MV 59 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 41
MV 60 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 52
MV 61 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 60
MV 62 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 99
MV 63 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 14
MV 64 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 87
MV 65: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 99
MV 66 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 126
MV 67: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 141
MV 68: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 156
MV 69: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 157
MV 70 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, English Poetry a. 1
MV 71 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 56
MV 72 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneous 486
MV 73: Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Musaeo 76
MV 74: Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Musaeo 88
MV 75: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A.366
MV 76 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.35
MV 77 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.319
MV 78: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.891
MV 79 & MV 80: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.913
MV 81: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetry 138
MV 82 (DB): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetry 139
MV 83: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetry 175
MV 84: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 102
MV 85 (DB): Oxford, St. John's College, 57
MV 86 (DB): Oxford, St. John's College, 138
MV 87 (DB): Oxford, Trinity College, 15 (E. 15)
MV 88 (DB): Oxford, Trinity College, 16A (D. 16A)

MV 89 (DB): Oxford, Trinity College, 16B (D. 16B)
MV 90 (DB): Oxford, University College, 142 (D. 142)
MV 91: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Library, English 1
MV 92 (DB): Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Library, English 8
MV 93: Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library, Taylor MS
MV 94 (DB): San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 139
MV 95 (DB): Shrewsbury, School, III (Mus. III. 39)
MV 96: Wellesley, Massachusetts, Wellesley College Library, 8
MV 97: Harfield House, Hertfordshire, Library of the Marquis of Salisbury, Deeds 59/1, covers.

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Testing a New Spelling Database Created from *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*

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Abstract This paper presents a new tool designed to facilitate linguistic analyses of texts from the early Middle English period, focusing primarily on spelling and its variation. The core of the application is a database which maps correspondences between segments of the numerous spelling variants available in *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME). The interface is suitable for analyses of spelling systems of individual texts and their comparison, as well as analyses with a wider scope such as spelling variants potentially associated with a specific sound change etc. The article is based on a short sample study designed to test various features of the tool. The goal of the study is to describe the distribution of equivalents of ‘h’, ‘ʒ’ across multiple copies of three short lyrics. A basic description of the tool is complemented with practical examples of its use taken from the study. The article also relates the results of the study to previous findings in order to check for potential errors in the database, and to assess its advantages or disadvantages in comparison with more traditional research methods.

Keywords Middle English, spelling, *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, research tool

1. Introduction

One of the most remarkable things about research into early Middle English (eME) is the change in attitude towards the orthographical and dialectal diversity found in early Middle English texts. Scholars have moved from the (perfectly understandable) dismissal of many early Middle English witnesses as “ill-spelled text” (Dobson, 1979 as cited in Laing & Lass, 2013) to careful examination of the spelling systems. The variation and apparent irregularity of the spelling systems have proved to be a valuable source, which can reveal rather than obscure the developments under way.

The crucial requirement for research into early Middle English texts – to examine each writing system separately – is a very challenging task. Each individual writing system develops in contact with others and copies of texts often contain elements taken from their exemplars. As a result, analyses generate rather long checklists of questions and pieces of evidence to be examined and other arduous tasks, such as looking for regional patterns of distribution, looking for identical or related spelling variant in other texts, checking a variant against its equivalents in copies of the same text, etc. The questions sometimes lead to a path worth pursuing and sometimes to a dead end, but whatever the case, it is often impossible to explore all the paths within the scope of a single analysis.

New research possibilities have opened with the publication of *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME), which is essentially a corpus of texts from the period 1150–1325. Among other things, LAEME allows the researcher to complement close reading of texts with linguistic and other data obtained from the corpus and to construct maps.

The objective of this study is to present and test a new spelling database created from LAEME data, designed to provide faster access thereto, including data quantification, and easier construction of maps.

The article demonstrates the use of the tool on a series of practical examples, which are accompanied by a commentary on typical problems encountered in research into eME texts. All the examples have been taken from a sample "pilot" study based on multiple versions of selected Middle English lyrics found in several source texts in LAEME. As the development of the tool is at the testing stage, it was considered preferable to choose well researched texts and check the results against previously published findings. The objective of the study was to test what kind of observations about the texts can be made using different functions and features available in the tool.

The first part of the paper briefly outlines the main challenges and problems of research into eME and explains how the tool seeks to respond to them. It also presents the most important findings concerning the examined manuscripts and explains the concept of *litteral substitution* set developed by the authors of LAEME (Laing & Lass, 2013). Litteral substitution provides

a useful framework for analysis of eME witnesses. The second part introduces the new tool and describes specific methods of analysis used in the sample study. The final part presents the results and discusses them in the context of previous research. It also comments on the efficiency and limitations of the adopted method and the tool in general.

2. Theoretical background

One of the most prominent characteristics of Middle English, which is highly challenging to researchers, is the seemingly chaotic and variable spelling. The fact that ME spelling appears less regular in comparison with Old English is a consequence of the rupture in the writing tradition, which occurred after the Norman Conquest (Upward & Davidson, 2011). The loss of official support for writing in English resulted in a level of variation in the spelling systems unparalleled by any other period. It is assumed that Middle English is a stage of relatively "close correlation between spoken and written language" (Horobin & Smith 1999: 362). This means that the extant texts allow us to draw inferences regarding phonological developments and dialectal differences which would be obscured by more "standardized" and uniform writing systems. However, drawing such inferences can be very difficult, especially in the case of early Middle English, because surviving material from the period is relatively sparse compared to the later period. As a result, even analyses with a primarily narrow focus, such as the writing system of a single text, a specific sound change or the development of a specific word, need to be carried out in the context of a vast network of possibly relevant pieces of evidence. For instance, the interpretation of the sound value of a single form should ideally take into account our knowledge of sound changes, the spelling system of the given text, spelling systems of related texts (e.g. text copied by the same scribe, if available) or representations of the same word in other texts, etc. Gathering all this evidence may take a very long time.

2.1. *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*

LAEME is a tool which significantly facilitates access to the possibly relevant pieces of data. For instance, a complete list of all forms of a given word or a list of all texts in which a given form appears can be retrieved in a single search.

The core of LAEME data is a corpus of tagged texts. It covers all the available texts in eME, however, some of the longer texts were not transcribed in full. The basic unit of LAEME is the tag which consists of *lexel* (usually corresponding to lemma), *grammel* (grammatical tag) and *form* (actual word in the MS). There are separate tags for individual words as well as its morphemes. Basic queries like listing all the forms of a specific *lexel* can be combined with metadata on the dating and localisation of the texts. As a result, it is possible to formulate queries like "list all the forms of FIRE/N and sort them by county". The distribution of different spelling variants can furthermore be plotted on a map. A weak point of LAEME is its online interface, which is not very easy to use and obtaining the desired data sometimes requires more work than it could, as well as a good knowledge of *lexels* and *grammels*.

The purpose of the tool presented here is to take another step towards better accessibility of data, offering relatively simple ways of completing tasks which would require multiple queries in the LAEME search tools.

The main difference between LAEME and the new database on the level of data is that the database maps correspondences between individual segments in a group of spelling variants, which is not available in LAEME. Segments are usually single letters or a digraphs. The online interface designed to access the data in this structure offers a number of clickable links which can lead the user from one piece of data to another without the need to write a separate query. For example, a list of words which contain a given letter is always displayed with links to lists of the actual forms and each form is in turn displayed with a link to Key Word in Context view etc. As a result, the interface invites more of an exploratory approach to data and it can also prompt relevant questions. The functions available in the tool are going to be discussed later on.

The new spelling database owes a good deal not only to the exceptionally rich data but also to the *Introduction* to LAEME, which includes a discussion of some theoretical and methodological aspects of research into Middle English. The most relevant concepts, *littera* and *litteral substitution sets*, are going to be explained in the first part of this section. The second part introduces the texts and manuscripts examined within the sample analysis presented here, and the relations between them.

2.2. The Littera and Litteral Substitution Sets (LSS)[1]

In the *Introduction to LAEME*, Laing & Lass (2013) propose using the model of *litterae* as a framework for dealing with ME spelling systems rather than the more widely known structuralist concepts of *grapheme*, *phoneme* and related terminology. The use of this framework was first advocated by Michael Benskin (1997) and his colleagues responsible for the creation of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (LALME). The main reason for rejecting the structuralist terminology as expressed by Laing & Lass (2013) is that "such concepts do not always characterise what our scribes appear to be doing", which is why the authors prefer "to use a theoretical framework and notation that cohere more closely with what scribes would have experienced in their education" (Laing & Lass, 2013: 2.3.1). In this framework, *littera* is an abstract object, quite simply a letter, which may be materialized as one of the possible *figurae* (which are a matter of palaeography rather than orthography) and each *littera* may have one *potestas*, literally 'power' or pronunciation, according to the original medieval model, but more *potestates* are allowed in the proposed framework. *Potestas* here essentially refers to the represented sound. For instance, <a> and capital <A> are two different *figurae* of the same *littera* which can have a few possible *potestates*. The term *littera* in the context of the spelling database is applied also to digraphs regarded as relatively fixed (e.g. 'sh', 'sch', 'hw'), etc.

In order to create space for the treatment of variation in eME spelling, Laing and Lass (2013) extended the model, enriching it with two new concepts. *A Litteral Substitution Set* (LSS) is a set of *litterae* which may be used to represent a given potestas. A *Potestatic Substitution Set* is a set of *potestates* which may be assigned to a given *littera*.

Spelling systems may be characterised as *economical* or *prodigal*. *Economical* systems are relatively close to a biunique representation (one *littera*, one *potestas*), while *prodigal* systems have a number of "unnecessary"

1 Litterae as abstract units of a spelling system are written in inverted commas in this article, e.g. 'f', 'v'. Actual word forms or figurae are written in angle brackets or italics, depending on length. Lexels (lexical units) are written in small capital letters, e.g. "final -st in RIGHT/N". These conventions mostly conform to the notation proposed by Benskin (Benskin, 1997, 2001 as cited in Laing & Lass, 2009: 1, note 2).

correspondences (one *littera* for several *potestates* and vice versa (Laing & Lass 2013: 2.3.2). Despite the fact that such systems may appear chaotic due to the multiple non-biunique relations between *litterae* and *potestates*, it is important to bear in mind that the variation is not completely random (Laing & Lass, 2009: 30). "Prodigal" spelling systems in particular can be products of intricate interactions between the scribe's interpretation of the symbols in his exemplar, or other texts he has read, and his approach to copying. Assumed "meanings" of *litterae* can shift in similar ways as the meaning of words, and multiple relations between sound and spelling develop. Such developments were explored by Laing & Lass (2009), who proposed several scenarios from which multiple relations between sound and spelling originate.

The fact that there can be multiple representations of a single sound, and the sound value of a given littera may change from text to text, implies that analyses focusing on sound changes may need to take a range of spellings into account. Furthermore, sound values, as a rule, need to be inferred in the context of the particular spelling system.

2.3. The manuscripts

It has been highlighted that data from the early Middle period is scarce and there is a high level of orthographic variation. One of the things which facilitates our understanding of this material is our knowledge of extralinguistic relations between the texts. The value of ME manuscripts for research increases if there are multiple extant versions of the same text, and also if there are multiple texts in a number of linguistic varieties but written in the same hand (Laing, 1992). The texts to be used in this sample analysis were deliberately chosen to include both of these configurations.

The analysis covers multiple versions of three short ME lyrics – The *Latemest Da*y (henceforth LD), *Doomsday* (henceforth DMD) and *Orison to Our Lady* (henceforth OL).

These lyrics belong to a larger group of texts found in four Middle English miscellanies (Laing, 2000: 525), all of which have been tagged for the LAEME corpus. The manuscripts in question are: Oxford, Jesus College 29 (LAEME text #1100, henceforth Jesus), London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A ix

(LAEME #2, #3, #238-#244, henceforth Cotton), Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.39 (LAEME #246-#249, henceforth Trinity) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86 (LAEME #2002, #214-#222, henceforth Digby). Jesus, Cotton and Trinity contain all the three lyrics and Digby contains only DMD and LD. OL in Trinity is written in a different hand (hand D) than DMD and LD (hand A). The study also takes into account a version of OL found in London, British Library, Royal 2 F viii (henceforth Royal). The table below presents an overview of the analysed versions, including IDs of LAEME files.

Table 1: Manuscripts overview (numbers refer to IDs of LAEME files).

	Jesus	Cotton	Trinity	Digby	Royal
An Orison to Our Lady	1100	239	249 (hand D)	x	263
Doomsday	1100	241	246 (hand A)	2002	x
The Latemest Day	1100	242	246 (hand A)	2002	x

The individual versions are going to be referred to by manuscript rather than text ID and the distinction between individual texts (e.g. the two hands in Trinity) is going to be explicitly pointed out only where relevant.

According to what is known about textual history, the manuscripts containing the earliest written versions of the texts did not survive (Laing, 2000: 527). There are marked differences between the versions of *The Latemest Day* found in Jesus and Cotton as opposed to Digby and Trinity. Both Jesus and Cotton begin with a short passage which is missing from Digby and Trinity. Digby and Trinity are similar in that *Doomsday* and *The Latemest Day* are copied "without a break". However, Trinity is the version which deviates the most from the other three and Digby is "textually closer" to Jesus and Cotton (Laing, 2000: 528).

The following overview summarizes selected information about the four main manuscripts presented in previous studies, and sometimes also quotes more specific findings to which reference will be made later.

2.3.1. MS Jesus College 29

MS Jesus College 29 contains two longer poems, *The Poema Morale* and *The Owl and the Nightingale* plus a number of shorter pieces. Most of the texts have been tagged for LAEME. The MS is the work of a single scribe in a homogenous language. This is why all the tagged texts are found in a single LAEME 'scribal text' or profile.[2]

A common exemplar (traditionally called X) has been proposed for several texts in Jesus and the corresponding texts in Cotton (see below). Previous research suggests that the scribe of Jesus was a translator, which means that he converted the forms from his exemplar into his own idiolect.

2.3.2. MS Cotton Caligula A.ix

MS Cotton Caligula A ix has two parts, and part II shares a number of texts with Jesus including *The Owl and the Nightingale*. The MS also contains pieces in French. All the texts in part II were copied by the same scribe but their text languages vary from text to text. Accordingly, part II was split into several files in LAEME. *The Owl and the Nightingale* copied in two distinct kinds of language (C1 and C2) is found as scribal texts #2 and #3 and both are placed in Worcesterhire. The remaining texts have a separate file each and all remain unlocalised. The explanation proposed for the varying types of language is that the scribe was a *literatim* copyist (McIntosh as cited in Laing, 2004: 52), i.e. wrote more or less exactly what he found in the exemplar and the differences between the individual texts testify to the fact that the exemplar X (shared with Jesus) was copied by several different scribes, possibly as many as six, according to Cartlidge (1997). His analysis of the text follows the assumption that it should be possible to identify features of the two "languages" C1 and C2 of *The Owl and the Nightingale* in the remaining texts presumably copied from the same source.

The table below presents an overview of the distinctive characteristics of the two types of language adduced by Cartlidge (1997: 254), which are going to be mentioned in connection with results of the present analysis.

2 *Poema Morale* was separated from the other texts in the spelling database to enable more precise comparison with the other six extant versions.

Table 2: Features of languages C1 and C2 of *The Owl and the Nightingale* according to Cartlidge (1997: 254).

	C1	C2
the letter ‘ð’	absent	in use
historical initial ‘f’	‘u’, ‘v’, ‘f’	only occasional ‘u’, ‘v’
‘eo’	‘o’ over ‘eo’	‘eo’ over ‘o’
historical initial ‘hƿ’	‘ƿ’ over ‘hƿ’	‘hƿ’ over ‘ƿ’
historical initial ‘cƿ’	‘qu’ over ‘cƿ’, ‘cu’, ‘cw’	‘cƿ’ over ‘qu’
‘h’/’ʒ’	‘ʒ’ over ‘h’	‘h’ over ‘ʒ’

Cartlidge (1997) compared the four texts examined here plus *A Lutel Soth Sermun* and *The Ten Abuses*. He first divided them into two groups based on the proportion of ‘w’ and ‘ƿ’ (*wynn*). *The Latemest Day* and *Doomsday* are distinguished from the other texts by a clear preference for ‘ƿ’, which was the runic symbol for /w/ adopted into Old English. A similar pattern is found with ‘cƿ’/’qu’. This might indicate that the two lyrics were copied into X from a relatively older exemplar (Cartlidge, 1997: 254), which would be in accordance with Laing’s (1999) claim that C2 in particular is “traditional and conservative in nature” (Laing, 1999: 253).

Both LD and DMD deviate from C2 very slightly, which led Cartlidge to the conclusion that the versions in X might have been copied by the same scribe (Cartlidge, 1997: 256). As for characteristics distinguishing LD from DMD, the following examples are found in the article: the ratio of ‘ð’ to ‘þ’ is about 1 : 1 in LD but 1 : 4 in DMD, ‘h’ clearly prevails over ‘ʒ’ in the final position and before ‘t’ in LD, LD has unetymological ‘h’ (*ibrouhit* (BRING), *forspolehen* (FORWSALLOW), *dihsches* (DISH)). Cartlidge (1997) further claims that all of these features “must have been introduced in X, since they do not appear in MS Trinity 323 or Digby 86” (Cartlidge, 1997: 255-256).

The scribe uses a cline of shapes for <þ> and <ƿ>, which means that they had to be transcribed by context in LAEME (Laing, 2013).

2.3.3. MS Trinity College B.14.39 (323)

The tagged sample of MS Trinity College B.14.39 is in four kinds of language corresponding to four different copyists (A–D). *The Latemest Day* as well as *Doomsday* were copied by hand A and *Orison to Our Lady* was copied by hand D (Laing, 2013).

LAEME description comments on the letter shapes for <y> and <þ>. The two have distinct shapes in the MS but “thorn quite often appears for (consonantal) ‘y’ = [j], and for vocalic ‘y’ (especially in diphthongs), but ‘y’ does not appear for consonantal thorn” (Laing, 2013). In other words, there is a litteral substitution set {*y*, *þ*} based on the similarity of letter shapes, which enables the use of <þ> in ‘y’ contexts (Laing & Lass, 2009: 7).

Another important point is that <þ> is identical in shape to <p>, which appears from fol. 29r onwards according to LAEME description. Yogh is very rare in this manuscript. The confusion of letter shapes concerns scribe A as well as D (Laing, 2013).

The works of scribes A and D are examples par excellence of *profligate* writing systems. Laing (2003) mentions two factors which might have contributed to their extreme level of complexity: (a) the systems of the exemplars themselves were complex and (b) the scribes intended to “represent as closely as possible the (perhaps also variable) sound values of the spoken language” (Laing, 2003: 254).

2.3.4 MS Digby 86

As with the other manuscripts, MS Digby 86 is a miscellany and also contains texts in Latin and French. All the English texts were copied by the same scribe but their text languages differ slightly. The tagged sample containing *The Latemest Day* and *Doomsday* was placed in NW Gloucestershire based on extralinguistic evidence. Exceptionally generous information in the marginalia also enabled dating of the MS to “the last quarter of the thirteenth and, perhaps, the earliest years of the fourteenth century” (Laing, 2000: 523).

A detailed analysis of the texts copied by scribe A was carried out by Laing (2000), who concluded that the text language represents

> a dialect that is homogeneous and which plausibly belongs to an individual scribe – Scribe A, with the proviso that some of the variants displayed may belong to his passive repertoire of forms rather than to his active repertoire. The degree of internal variation is comparatively slight by Middle English (especially early Middle English) standards (Laing, 2000: 551).

The system of the Digby scribe differs from Jesus and Cotton in being more prodigal and also further removed from "traditional English orthography", which is partly due to the employment of typically French spellings, mainly 'ou' for [u:] and 'o' for [u] (Laing, 2003: 253).

Laing (2000) identified likely examples of forms taken from the scribe's exemplar(s), distinguishing between so-called *constrained selection* and *relict usage*.[3] She examined individual cases of internal variation in the text and determined (a) whether the variation appears across all texts written by scribe A or whether some of the forms are restricted to a specific text and (b) whether similar variation is found in texts localised in the vicinity of Digby 86, i.e. the SW Midlands (Laing, 2000: 532).

2.3.5. Summary

The four manuscripts provide very interesting material because there is a number of possible perspectives and directions which their analyses may take. Multiple levels of copying and the fact that language sometimes varies from text to text in the same MS invite studies focused on stratigraphy.[4] Textual comparison may be combined with analyses of the spelling systems. Furthermore, the scribes employ the full range of previously described copying strategies (Laing, 1999: 252).

The papers referenced in this chapter provide a considerable amount of information, which can be compared with the data obtained from the pilot study. The most extensive and detailed analyses presented here are

3 *Constrained selection* refers to the situation when the scribe chooses not to translate a familiar form although it is not in his active repertoire. *Relict usage* refers to untranslated forms alien to the scribe's system (Laing, 2000: 529).

4 Identification of layers of copying in a text.

Laing's (2000) stratification of features in MS Digby 86 and Cartlidge's (1997) orthographical analysis of the lyrics in MS Cotton Caligula A.ix., i.e. studies focusing primarily on the text language of one or two of the manuscripts and discussing multiple litterae and spelling features. Findings concerning comparison of different versions of the same text appear either as general observations or occasional remarks mentioning a single feature, and rarely concern all the four manuscripts.

The perspective adopted in the present study is a comparison focusing on a single group of features – 'h', 'ȝ' and related spellings – in all the extant versions introduced above. Both 'h' and 'ȝ' have been repeatedly discussed in connection with litteral substitution, mainly in Trinity (see Laing & Lass, 2009).

3. Method

The sample analysis was conducted in three stages. First of all, the inventories of litterae from selected texts were compared. The objectives at this stage were to obtain a global picture of the distribution of litterae in the texts, which could be refined at subsequent stages. Comparison of inventories in the tool displays statistical data on frequencies and compares relative frequencies in different texts. It can also list alternatives of a selected littera found in other texts and visualise the data as a network.

The second stage focused only on a comparison of representations of the sounds written as 'h' or 'ȝ' in selected texts from MS Cotton Caligula A.ix with corresponding representations found in other manuscripts available in the LAEME corpus. These specific litterae were chosen because certain words in which they are used are good examples of variation on the level of sound as well as writing. This part of the analysis was structured around "item lists". The concept of an item list is a familiar one in historical dialectology. The usual method is to define a list of units based on a criterion, such as shared historical sound value, e.g. [f] in the initial position, and compare the occurrences of the items in a single text or multiple texts. As yet, the tool does not include data about OE source forms or presumed sound values, which would enable construction of item lists of this sort. It does, however, enable compilation of item lists based on shared littera or a combination of litterae, which can be further filtered by context of the littera, its position or occurrence in a manuscript or manuscript metadata. For instance, it is possible to define a list of “all items containing initial ‘sch’ in text #242” or “all items with ‘h’ followed by ‘t’”. Item lists can be stored and used to search for the items in the manuscripts or to construct maps.

The goal of the second stage of the analysis was to compare instances of items on the item lists found for different versions of the lyrics under examination, and identify patterns of distribution of the variants across texts or possibly related unusual spellings. This was done using a feature of the tool which allows the user to display multiple texts side by side and highlight items from item lists.

The results obtained with item lists served as input for the final stage of the analysis. The objective here was to complement the results with relevant maps and other additional data retrieved from the database.

The next section briefly explains the structure of the spelling database and describes the functionalities which were especially relevant for the completion of the tasks outlined above.

3.1. Spelling database

The purpose of the spelling database discussed here is to contribute an additional layer of data to the LAEME corpus, which would facilitate research into early Middle English texts and dialects. This means that all the data available in the database is originally from LAEME, however, the structure of the database opens up new possibilities for searching and quantifying data. The processing of data from LAEME consisted in “alignment” of the different spelling variants of a word, indicating which segments correspond to one another, as illustrated by the example of selected forms of FIRE/N below:

f | ie | r | e
f | uy | r | e
v | e | r | _
u | u | r | _

The underscores in this notation represent an empty position (slot). The technique is very close to the so-called *grapho-phonological parsing* employed in other projects, notably *From Inglis to Scots* (FITS)[5], except no explicit sound value is assigned to the individual segments. The alignment is based predominantly on the comparison of the individual forms in the group. Basic queries exploiting this data structure can be formulated in the following manner:

- List all the litterae used interchangeably with 'h' (in text #246).
- List all the slots (and associated items) in which 'g' is used interchangeably with 'ʒ'.
- List all alternatives of 'h' in positions where it alternates with 'ȝ'.

Such queries can instantly return data which would otherwise require reading through a text or running multiple queries in LAEME. Their application in the context of specific tasks will be demonstrated later on.

Efficient querying and use of the segmented data required the construction of an interface tailored to the new data structure. In addition to simple database queries, the interface offers more complex features, namely mapping, network visualisation and so-called *text profiles*, which can be displayed side by side and compared. The presentation of the application in this section is limited to the *text profile* component, because it served as the main tool for the sample analysis and it includes some elements found also elsewhere in the application. A full description of the tool is going to be published along with its electronic version.

3.1.1. Text profile[6]

The purpose of the screen text *profile* is to offer tools for a comprehensive analysis of a text language, but it can also be used as a brief overview of the spelling features of a manuscript. It can serve as a good starting point for analyses, because it can suggest what to focus on and prompt features of the text which require explanation.

5 FITS is a project of the Angus McIntosh Centre in Edinburgh, which consisted in the construction of a spelling database from the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (LAOS), which means that FITS builds on LAOS data in similar ways as the present project builds on LAEME data.

6 The term is derived from linguistic profile developed for LALME (Laing & Lass 2013: 2.5).

The screen combines the inventory of litterae, sets of alternating litterae, and the complete text of the MS. The picture below shows the text profile of the Cotton version of *The Latemest Day* (LAEME #242):

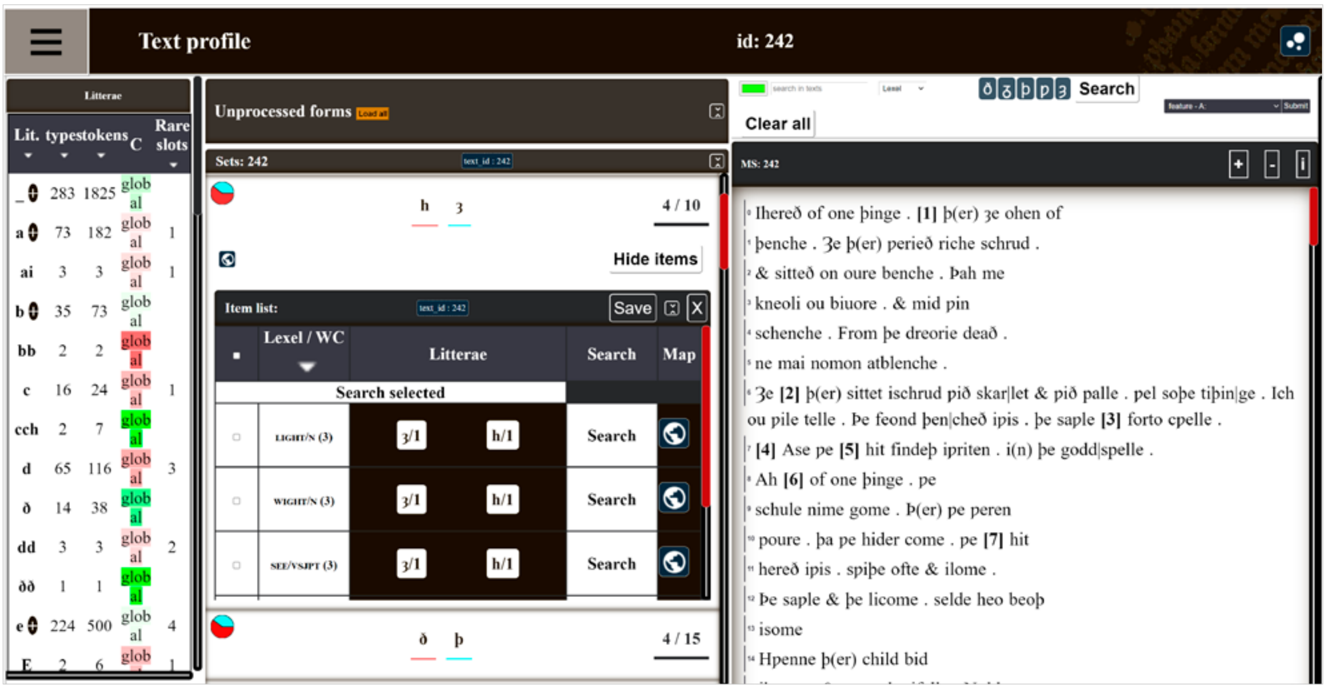

Figure 1: Text profile of the Cotton text of *The Latemest Day*.

The inventory of litterae is found on the left, the middle section “sets” displays sets of litterae used interchangeably (i.e. in the same positions) by the scribe and the right section displays the full text of the MS. The components can interact with each other.

Observations which can be made straight from the inventory and sets of alternating litterae, sometimes correspond to editor’s notes on spelling such as “the scribe prefers *wyyn* to ‘w’, the scribe does not use ‘th’”. The interactivity of *text profile* makes it possible to relate such observations to specific places in manuscript texts as well as data from other texts in the database.

3.1.1.1. Litterae inventory[7]

The inventory of litterae employed in the given manuscript is displayed in tabular form. The first column gives the littera, and the subsequent two columns indicate its type/token frequencies.[8] The colour of the rectangle in the third column ("C(omparison)") reflects the relative frequency of the littera compared to its average relative frequency in the remaining texts in LAEME.[9] As such, it points to litterae which are either conspicuously rare in the text (marked with red colour) or, contrarily, comparatively more frequent (marked with green colour) and therefore likely to deserve the researcher's attention. For instance, 'p' is relatively frequent in text #242 and therefore it is displayed with a green rectangle, while the relative frequency of 'w' (2 instances only) is clearly below average and is hence displayed with a red rectangle.

Two of the columns in the inventory of litteare are interactive. The first column (littera) can be used to filter the list of sets and show only those containing the littera. For instance, 'sch' in text #242 is found in two sets – {*sch*} and {*sch, sc*}, i.e. it alternates with 'sc'. The column "Rare slots" points straight to a list of items in which the littera rarely appears, but this feature is not relevant here.

3.1.1.2. Sets

Sets show which litterae sometimes alternate with one another in the same slot, i.e. the same position in the same word. One such alternation in text #242, visible in the picture, is the alternation of 'h' and 'ȝ'. The complete list of items relevant for each set can be loaded straight into the *text profile* screen. The picture shows the list for the set {h, ȝ}, which comprises four items – WIGHT/N, LIGHT/VPT, SEE/VSJPT and BRING/VPP. Instances of the individual items can be highlighted in the manuscript text using the link "search" dis-

7 The article does not include a full description of this component because not all the functions are relevant for the present analysis.

8 A position (slot) in a specific item (e.g. the initial position in FIRE/N) is counted as one type and a single instance of a littera is counted as one token. For instance, type/token frequency 2/4 for 'f' could correspond to 2 occurrences of 'f' in FIRE/N plus two occurrences in LOVE/N.

9 The word "global" indicates that the frequency used as a reference is calculated from the whole database as opposed to from a specific text or subset of texts.

played with each item. The blue icons serve as links to maps. Any list of items or selected items from the list can be labelled and stored for future use. This feature is especially relevant for the sample study.

3.1.1.3. Manuscript text

The third component of the *text profile* screen is manuscript text displayed along with basic information about the text taken from LAEME (not visible in the picture). Words in the text can be highlighted in different colours either by selecting items or by searching the text by *lexel*, *grammel*, *form* (or a combination thereof). Regular expressions[10] can be used in these searches.

Moreover, it is possible to highlight all items present on a previously stored lists of items (see above). For instance, after storing a list of all items having the alternation of {*h*, *ȝ*} the user can highlight all the items present in any text or group of texts displayed in the application, and examine their realisations. In the case of *The Latemest Day*, items lists taken from the Cotton version of the lyric were used to search the other versions of the text (see below).

3.1.2. Text comparison

Text profiles can be displayed side-by-side. The picture below shows the text profiles of the four manuscripts (Cotton, Trinity, Jesus and Digby):

10 Strings or sequences of characters representing search patterns to match text results. The patterns may involve, among other things, the use of "wildcard" characters, e.g. the pattern "[fvu]a" matches "fa", "va" or "ua".

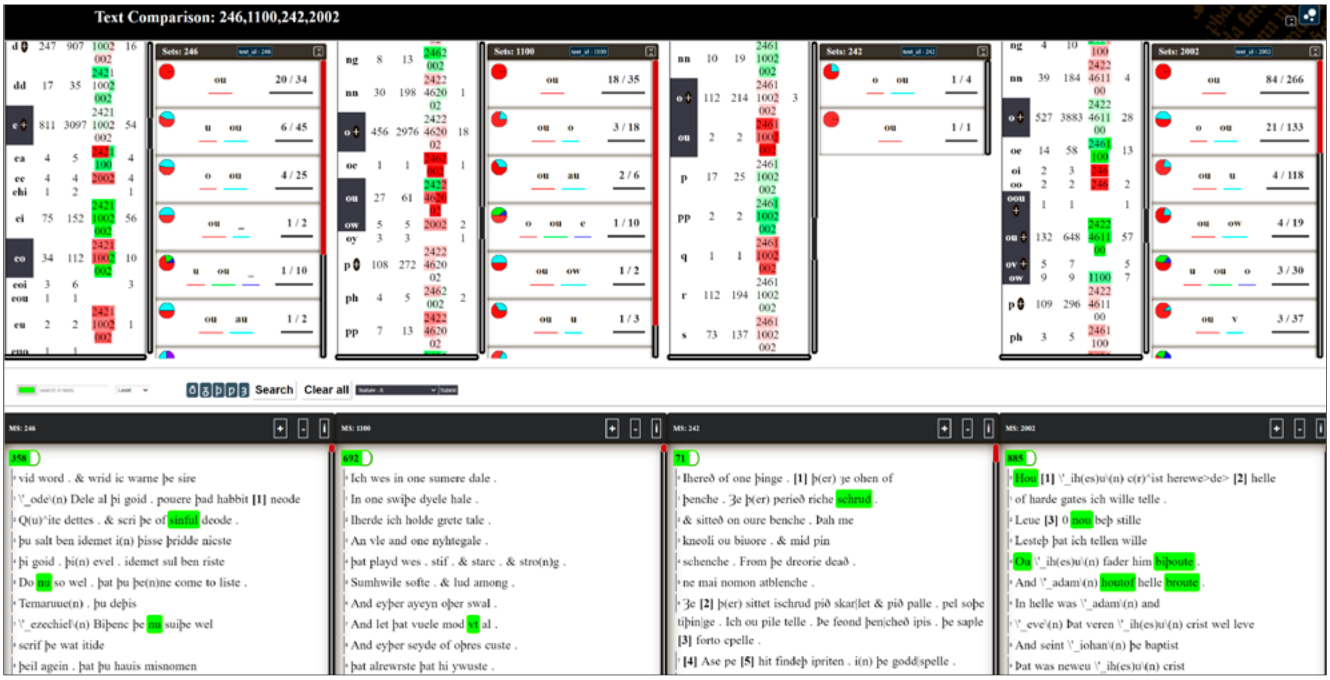

Figure 2: Interface screenshot – text comparison.

The functionalities are very similar to those of the *text profile* of a single text, except any actions (such as queries in the text or filtering of sets) affect all the displayed profiles. Whenever a littera in an inventory is clicked, the corresponding litterae in the other inventories are highlighted. The screenshot above was taken after clicking ‘ou’ in text Digby (#2002) and it can be seen from the picture (among other things) that Jesus sometimes has ‘ow’ or ‘o’ at positions where Digby uses ‘ou’.

The visualisation (red-green rectangle) of littera relative frequency is based on relative frequencies in the compared texts instead of the average values for LAEME as a whole, and a separate rectangle is displayed for each of the compared texts. For instance, the data for ‘eo’ in Trinity (text #246) suggest that ‘eo’ is relatively less frequent in this text compared to Cotton and Jesus (#242 and #1100) but relatively more frequent compared to Digby (#2002).

3.2. The analysis of {*h*, *ȝ*}

This section specifies which pieces of data were analysed at the individual stages of the sample analysis.

3.2.1. Inventories

The inventory of litterae in the Cotton version of *The Latemest Day* was compared with inventories of Trinity (scribe A), Jesus and Digby. This comparison has to be treated with caution because the Cotton version of the *Latemest Day* is the only one which is tagged as a separate file in LAEME. This means that the inventory was in fact compared with inventories compiled for multiple lyrics in a single hand, e.g. all the texts copied by the Jesus scribe. The results were inserted in a table showing the litterae from Cotton, and their alternatives in the other texts.

3.2.2. Item lists

The next step was to retrieve item lists for 'h' and 'ʒ' from each of the texts found in Cotton. These item lists could be further combined with item lists from other manuscripts, but this was not done within the present analysis.

Initially, *The Latemest Day* from Cotton was compared with Trinity, Jesus and Digby and the same was done for *Doomsday*. *Orison to Our Lady* is missing from Digby and it was copied by a different scribe in Trinity, so it was compared with these versions plus the version in Royal.

The previously stored item lists were used to find and highlight all the relevant variants in the compared texts. Next, correspondences between different realisations of a single item were identified, categorized and inserted into a table.

3.2.3. Additional searches

Searches performed at the third stage of the analysis included highlighting in the manuscripts, searches for items and sets of alternating litterae in the database, and mapping. Practical examples presented in this paper also cover the use of item lists. The following tasks will be described:

a) Compilation of an item list from Cotton, plus a search for the items in the compared MSS.
b) Using regular expressions in combination with item lists to examine the distribution of forms with <ii> in Digby.

c) Looking at alternation of litterae in *text profile*, in order to better understand the use of ‘s’ in the spelling system of Trinity scribe A.
d) Searching the database for more items with <st> for historical <ht>.
e) Searching the database for spelling variants (litterae) possibly related to <þt> for historical <ht>.
f) Generating a map from an item list.

4. Results

The presentation of results is partly structured according to the stages of analysis defined in the previous section. The first part discusses the comparison of inventories. The second part merges the results obtained using item lists with additional queries performed at the final stage of the analysis. It first summarizes the patterns of distribution of variants and the most interesting deviations from the patterns. Then it explains how selected tasks were completed using the tool.

4.1. Comparison of inventories

Correspondences between litterae visible in the comparison of inventories are presented in tabular form below. The first column gives the littera in the Cotton version of *The Latemest Day*, which is followed by a bracketed list of litterae which appear at the same positions as the first littera in Cotton. The remaining columns list the litterae from manuscripts Trinity, Jesus and Digby used at the same positions as the littera from Cotton. Although the pilot study focuses on ‘h’ and ‘ȝ’, the table covers also other litterae mentioned in previous research in order to better illustrate the possibilities of comparison.

Table 3: Comparison of inventories – version of *The Latemest Day* from Cotton and Trinity, Jesus and Digby; grey background indicates that the littera was marked as relatively more frequent in the tool; black border indicates that it was marked as less frequent.

Cotton	Trinity, scribe A	Jesus	Digby
‘ʒ’ (‘h’)	‘ʒ’, ‘þ’, ‘u’, ‘th’, ‘s’, ‘c’, ‘g’	‘y’, ‘h’	‘ʒ’, ‘u’, ‘h’
‘ƿ’ (‘þ’, ‘v’, ‘u’)	‘v’, ‘u’, ‘w’, ‘þ’, ‘ƿ’	‘w’, ‘u’, ‘v’, ‘þ’, ‘ƿ’, ‘y’	‘w’, ‘v’, ‘uu’, ‘þ’, ‘y’, ‘i’
‘ð’ (‘þ’, ‘t’, ‘d’)	‘þ’, ‘t’, ‘d’, ‘z’	‘st’, ‘þ’, ‘t’	‘þ’, ‘t’, ‘d’, ‘ð’
‘w’ (‘ƿ’)	‘w’	‘w’	‘w’
‘v’ (‘u’)	‘ou’, ‘v’, ‘u’	‘v’, ‘u’	‘ou’, ‘oou’, ‘v’
‘sch’ (‘sc’)	‘s’, ‘ch’	‘sch’, ‘sc’, ‘ch’	‘sh’, ‘s’, ‘ch’
‘sc’ (‘sch’)	‘sc’	‘sch’	‘sh’, ‘s’
‘q’	‘q’	‘q’	‘q’
‘ou’	‘ou’, ‘o’	‘ou’, ‘o’	‘ou’, ‘o’
‘hƿ’	‘ƿ’, ‘w’, ‘v’	‘hw’, ‘w’	‘v’, ‘vu’, ‘uu’, ‘u’
‘h’ (‘ʒ’)	‘c’, ‘w’, ‘u’, ‘þ’, ‘s’, ‘h’, ‘sc’, ‘ch’, ‘c’	‘w’, ‘t’, ‘h’, ‘hw’, ‘c’, _	‘ʒ’, ‘þ’, ‘y’, ‘w’, ‘u’, ‘h’, _
‘g’	‘k’, ‘h’, ‘gk’, ‘g’, ‘ck’, ‘cg’, ‘c’	‘g’, _	‘gg’, ‘g’, _
‘ff’	‘ff’	‘ff’	‘ff’
‘f’	‘v’, ‘w’, ‘u’, ‘f’, ‘ff’	‘v’, ‘w’, ‘u’, ‘f’	‘w’, ‘v’, ‘f’
‘eo’	‘u’, ‘eoi’, ‘eo’, ‘ee’, ‘ei’, ‘e’	‘u’, ‘o’, ‘i’, ‘eo’, ‘e’, ‘a’	‘u’, ‘oe’, ‘o’, ‘i’, ‘e’, ‘ee’, ‘a’

The table reflects some of the observations quoted in the theoretical part of this article. The most salient finding is probably the clear division between ‘ƿ’ in Cotton and ‘w’ in the other texts. The near absence of ‘w’ and ‘q’ from Cotton is paralleled by ‘v’ (3) and ‘sc’ (1). ‘Sc’ differs from the other two litterae in that it is an obscolescent variant and its frequency is markedly higher in Trinity than in the other texts. Another rare spelling in Cotton is ‘ea’ (10 instances in 5 types). ‘Ea’ in NEVER (*neauer*) has also been quoted among the distinctive features of language C2 (Cartlidge, 1997: 254). Despite the low number of occurrences Cotton has the highest relative frequency of this digraph of all the texts. The instances of ‘ea’ in Trinity and Jesus are found in different words, which is why ‘ea’ is not among the alternatives in these two MSS.

On a more general level, the table illustrates the diversity of eME spelling. Trinity appears to be slightly more prodigal than Digby and Jesus, which also agrees with previous findings. The variation may be indicative of sound changes. For instance, Trinity has ‘u’, ‘w’ alongside ‘h’ as the alternatives of ‘h’ in Cotton, which could reflect the change of [ɣ] > [w] (Minkova 2014: 83). Observations of this kind can suggest possible directions of further analysis. The table can serve as a reference for the compilation of item lists. The present study covers only ‘ȝ’ and ‘h’ for illustration, but the same method could be applied to other litterae within a more comprehensive study.

4.2. Item lists

The results discussed here are limited to items spelled with ‘h’ and ‘ȝ’ in Cotton. First of all, the patterns of correspondences between spelling variants are presented. The patterns are primarily based on LD and they were mostly present also in DMD. The commentary on each pattern mentions deviations from the pattern, or interesting forms which required closer examination. The next part gives several practical examples of the application of the tool in searches for answers to some of the questions which emerged during the analysis.

4.2.1. The patterns

Five patterns of correspondences between the texts were identified. The first three patterns concern instances of ‘h’ (‘ȝ’) before final ‘-t(e)’ and the other two concern instances of intervocalic ‘h’ (‘ȝ’) and initial ‘ȝ’. Both ‘h’ and ‘ȝ’ are examined together because the patterns of correspondences partially overlap. Items which had ‘h’ in all of the texts are not discussed.

The first pattern reveals that -*oht* (or -*aht*) (-*oȝt*) in the Cotton version corresponds to -*ouht* in version Jesus and -*out* in versions Digby and Trinity. The table below illustrates this distribution.

Table 4: Distribution of forms, pattern I – selected examples.

I	Cotton	Trinity	Jesus	Digby
THOUGHT/N	þoht	þoutt	þouht	þout
WORK/VPP	iþroht	wrout	iwouht	iwrout
BRING/VPP	ibroȝt	ibrout	ibrouht	ibrout
SEEK/VPP	isoȝt	isout	isouht	isohut

A distribution of forms similar to pattern I is found in items ending with *-aht(e)* in Cotton:

Table 5: Distribution of forms, pattern II – selected examples.

II	Cotton	Trinity	Jesus	Digby
SEHTAN/VPP-PL	isahte	isaiste	Isauhte	isaute
BETAÉCAN/VPT13	bitahte	bitaiste	bitauhte	bitaute
ǼHT	ahte	haiste	Ayhte	haute
ǼHT	x	x	Ayhte	hayte

The forms in Jesus and Digby are analogical to the first group, except for *hayte* (ǼHT) in Digby, which has y instead of the usual *u*. This makes *hayte* closer to the forms in Jesus and Trinity, which differ from the first group. Final *-hte* in Cotton corresponds to *-ste* in Trinity if preceded by ‘a’. The same spelling in Trinity is found after ‘i’:

Table 6: Distribution of forms, pattern III – selected examples.

III	Cotton	Trinity	Jesus	Digby
LIGHT/N	liȝte	liste	lyhte	Liȝtte
RIGHT/N	riȝte	riste	ryhte	Riȝtte
SIGHT/N	siht	siste	syhte	siiþe

A possible explanation given by Laing & Lass (2003) points out that “<s> here does not imply [s], but is apparently an inverse spelling based on the Old French sound change [st] > [xt~çt~ht]” (Laing & Lass, 2003: 263). The only form deviating from the pattern is *siiþe* from Digby. As for variants in texts other than LD, Trinity scribe D, who writes *Orison*, sometimes ends the items of this type in simple <-t>, <-d> rather than <-st¬>. The Royal version of OL has several forms with <-þt> and others in <-td>.

Intervocalic ‘h’ in Cotton mostly corresponds to ‘w’,’ ‘u’, or ‘uw’ (Trinity), ‘uu’ (Digby) in the other texts (pattern IV).

Table 7: Distribution of forms, pattern IV – selected examples.

IV	Cotton	Trinity	Jesus	Digby
ÁGAN	x	x	owen	x
LOW/AV	lohe	louwe	lowe	(stille)
FORSWALLOW/VI	forsƿolehen	firsuoleuen	forswolewe	forsuoleuen
MAY/VPS21	mohe (ƿe)	mou (we)	muwe (we)	we mouuen

These spellings are likely reflections of the well-known change of [ɣ] > [w] (Minkova 2014: 83) mentioned above. Although OE source forms of these items had mostly ‘g’, and the items from group I above had mostly ‘h’, the two patterns look very similar in eME.

The last group is somewhat less orderly. ‘ȝ’ in Cotton regularly corresponds to ‘y’ in Jesus. Digby preserves ‘ȝ’ initially but it has ‘i’ in the intervocalic position.[11]

Table 8: Distribution of forms, pattern V – selected examples.

V	Cotton	Trinity	Jesus	Digby
SEE/VSJPT13	iseȝe	loke	iseye	iseie
YAWN/VPS13	ȝeoneþ	gonet	yoneþ	ȝeneþ
GIVE/VI	ȝeuen	þewen	yeuen	ȝeuen
EYE/N	eȝe	eþen (npl)	Eye	eie
SEE/VSJPT13	isehe	seiþe	iseye	iseie

Trinity has initial ‘g’ in YAWN/VPS13 but initial ‘þ’ in GIVE/VI. The second occurrence of SEE/VSJPT13 (in the last row) is especially interesting. Firstly, the ‘h’ / ‘ȝ’ alternation in Cotton is found intervocalically and not before ‘t’, which would be the usual context in this text language. Secondly, the form in Trinity also has <þ> but this time it is preceded by <i>. If the <þ> stood simply for ‘i/y’, which the <þ>/<y> confusion postulated for the scribe suggests, the “intended” spelling would have to be *seiie/seiye*, which is not absolutely inconceivable. However, there is only one token of -*eiye*- and two for -*eii*- in

11 All the instances of ‘ȝ’ in Digby are either in the initial position or before ‘t’.

LAEME.[12] It is at least tempting to read *seiþe* as a hybrid form between *isehe* and *iseie*, where the <i> roughly corresponds to the <i> in *iseie* and <þ> to the <h> in *isehe*. Spellings of the type "*iseihe*" (*ei*+*h*) are more widely attested.[13] The latter interpretation would imply a different sequence of literal substitutions leading to the use of <þ> in this position.

Orison to Our Lady

As OL is missing from MS Digby 86, the versions in Cotton, Jesus and Trinity were compared with Royal localised in Wiltshire. Also, the version in Trinity was copied by a different scribe (scribe D).

The items in Cotton and Jesus mostly conform to patterns I and III, but corresponding forms in Trinity and especially in Royal are markedly different. All the relevant forms from these two manuscripts are included in the table below.

Table 9: Unusual forms in *Orison to Our Lady* (MSs Trinity and Royal).

	Trinity (scribe D)	Royal
BRING/VPT	brut	brout
GIVE/VSJPS	þef	x
LIGHT/N	licte	lyzt
DIHTAN/VPP	idiit	ydyyt
BRING/VPT12	brutis	brovtest
BRING/VPT	brout	x
NIGHT/N	nitf	nyhyt (rhyming)
BRIGHT/AJ	brit	brytd
MAY/VPS12	mit	mytd
RIGHT/N	rid	ryhyt (rhyming)

12 *Greiyed* (GREIÐA) in #1700, *neiiȝ* (NIGH) in #1600 and *leiid* (lay) in #2002. Only the first two examples were retrieved from the spelling DB because it is unable to perform searches crossing the morpheme boundary in *leii*+*d*.

13 A search in the DB returned e.g. *eiȝe*, *eihen* (EYE), *dreihen* (DRAW), *sleih* (SLAY), *deih* (DUGAN).

The form *brout* in Trinity (D) is the only one which perfectly agrees with the forms from text copied by scribe A. *þef* (give) is similar in the use of <þ> for expected <ȝ>. *Brit*, *mit*, *rid* and *nitf* do not have A's typical <st> at the end. The most interesting form by far is *idiit* with its direct correspondence to *ydyyt* in R. The fact that both are uncommon and found at the exact same place in the text is strongly suggestive of a shared source. Moreover, the <ii> spelling is reminiscent of *siiþe* (SIGHT/N) found in the Digby version of LD. The same is true of *heyte* (ǼHT), similar to *hayte* in Digby.

The forms *ryhyt* (RIGHT) and *nyhyt* (NIGHT) are probably related to *dyyt* and all of them represent an unusual yet systematic spelling practice. Besides <þ> for historical 'h', the Royal scribe also uses 'h' as the initial littera in give (*hyef*, *hyf*).[14]

4.2.2. Sample tasks

The next part of this section demonstrates the use of the tool on several short tasks associated mainly with the previously mentioned forms in <st> and also the forms with <ii>. The first example demonstrates the generation of an item list and its subsequent use. The following examples focus on searches for additional data in the examined texts within *text profile*, specifically the distribution of forms with <ii> in Digby and alternations involving 's' in Trinity, scribe A. The remaining tasks deal with searches for additional data on the alternatives of <-st> in the database, including the construction of maps.

4.2.2.1. The use of item lists

The patterns of distribution presented above were identified using item lists. This example shows how to generate and use the list of items which are spelled with 'h' in the Cotton version of *The Latemest Day*. First of all, the text was displayed within text profile screen. 'H' in the inventory of litterae was clicked to display sets of litterae alternating with 'h'. The items under the set {*h*} (which also covers all the alternations) were selected and saved under the label "H in #242".

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14 The confusion of <h> and <þ> is discussed by Laing & Lass (2009).

The four LAEME files containing LD were displayed side by side. The item list was selected from the blue drop-down menu at the top of the screen and submitted. As a result, all the items from the list were highlighted in the texts, as shown in the picture below.

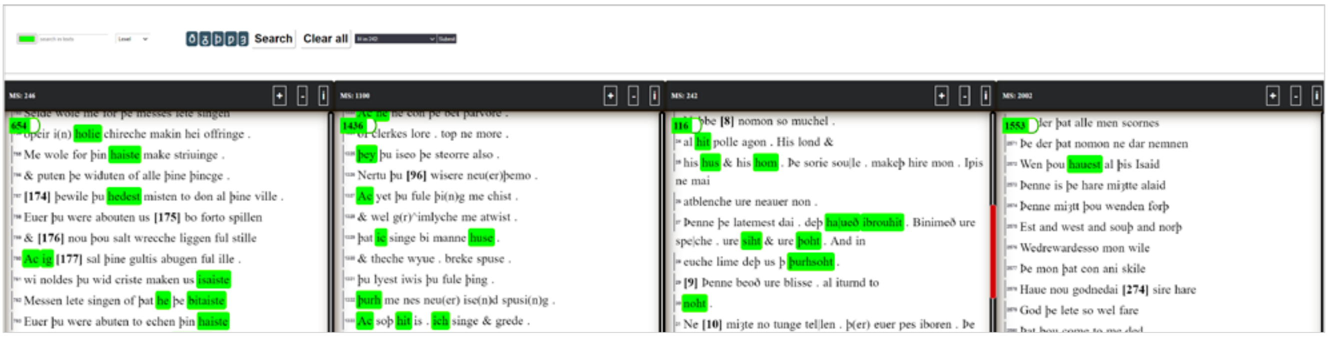

Figure 3: Interface screenshot – applying item list to texts.

This method is very close to simple reading. The main virtue of item lists is that they are easy to compile and manage, which simplifies and speeds up the comparison of multiple texts.

4.2.2.2. Regular expression search in manuscripts

The next task is similar to the first one in that it also involves highlighting in the text. Its objective was to examine forms possibly related to *siiþe* (SIGHT/N) found in Digby, which deviate from pattern III. In order to take a closer look at <ii> in Digby, the relevant words in the text were highlighted and examined. First, <ii> was selected from the inventory of litterae to highlight all the items which sometimes have <ii> in green (light grey). Next, all the *forms* with actual <ii> were highlighted in blue (dark grey) using a regular expression. The picture below shows how the regular expression search was set up, and also some of the highlighted forms in the manuscript.

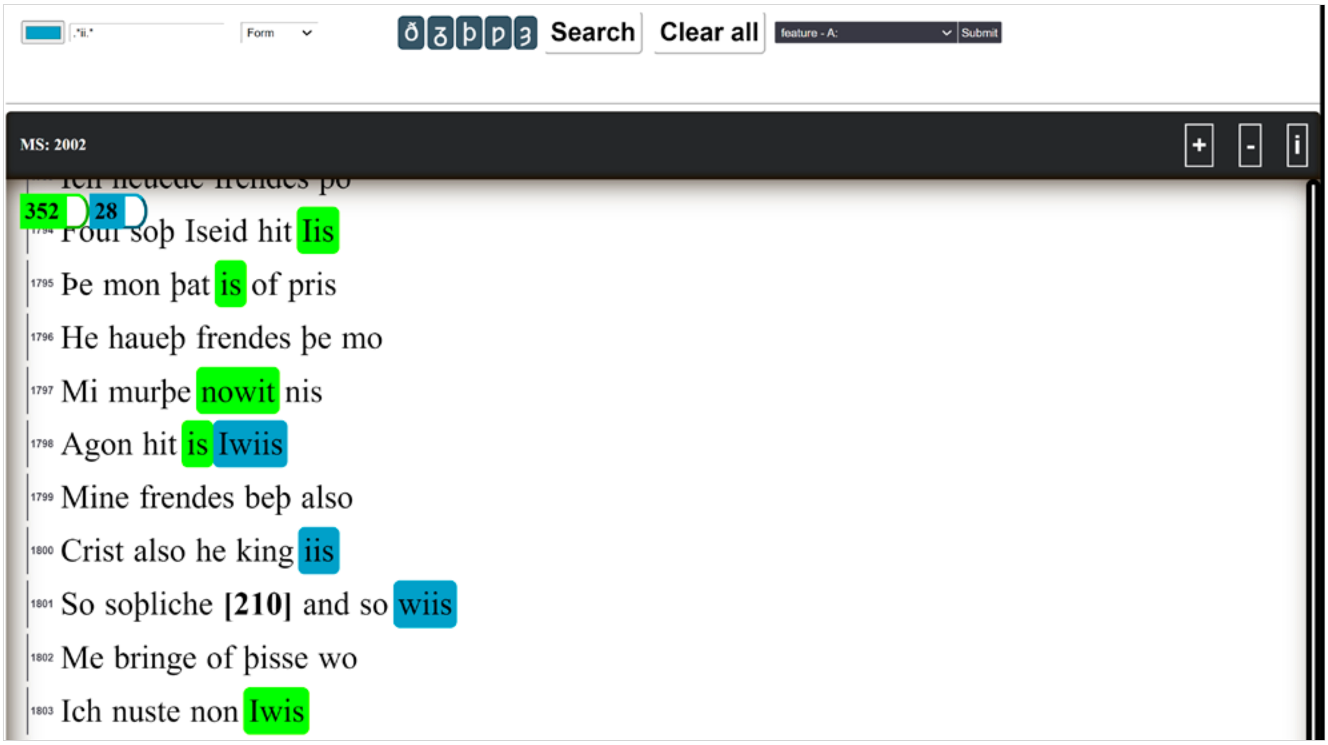

Figure 4: Screenshot – highlighting in text.

This technique allows the researcher to observe the spellings of the examined items as well as the distribution of variants in the manuscript. Highlighting in two colours ensures that instances of the concerned items which have spellings other than <ii> are also noted. If just the forms in <ii> were highlighted it would not be immediately obvious whether their absence from a specific passage in the text is in fact due to the absence of the items in which the spelling appears.

A number of similar forms with double <ii> are found in Digby in the second half of the text. The most conspicuous concentration of such forms appears between lines 2713–2733[15] and the other forms are scattered across the rest of the text. A possible explanation may be that the scribe learned the spelling from his exemplar and either began to use it occasionally or sometimes left the exemplar forms unchanged. This explanation would support Laing's (2000) claim that the scribe of Digby sometimes preserved spellings found in his exemplar.

15 Line numbers correspond to the text as displayed within the tool.

4.2.2.3. Alternation within a single text

The next example concerns the analysis of the spelling system. One of the sources which can help us understand the use of a certain littera in a given text is the list of litterae alternating with it. In order to better understand scribe A's use of 's' in <-st>, the list of sets involving 's' was examined. The list can be displayed within *text profile*. The picture below shows the inventory of litterae with alternatives highlighted in grey, a part of the corresponding sets, and also the only item having the alternation {*s*, *c*, *sc*}- FLESH/N.

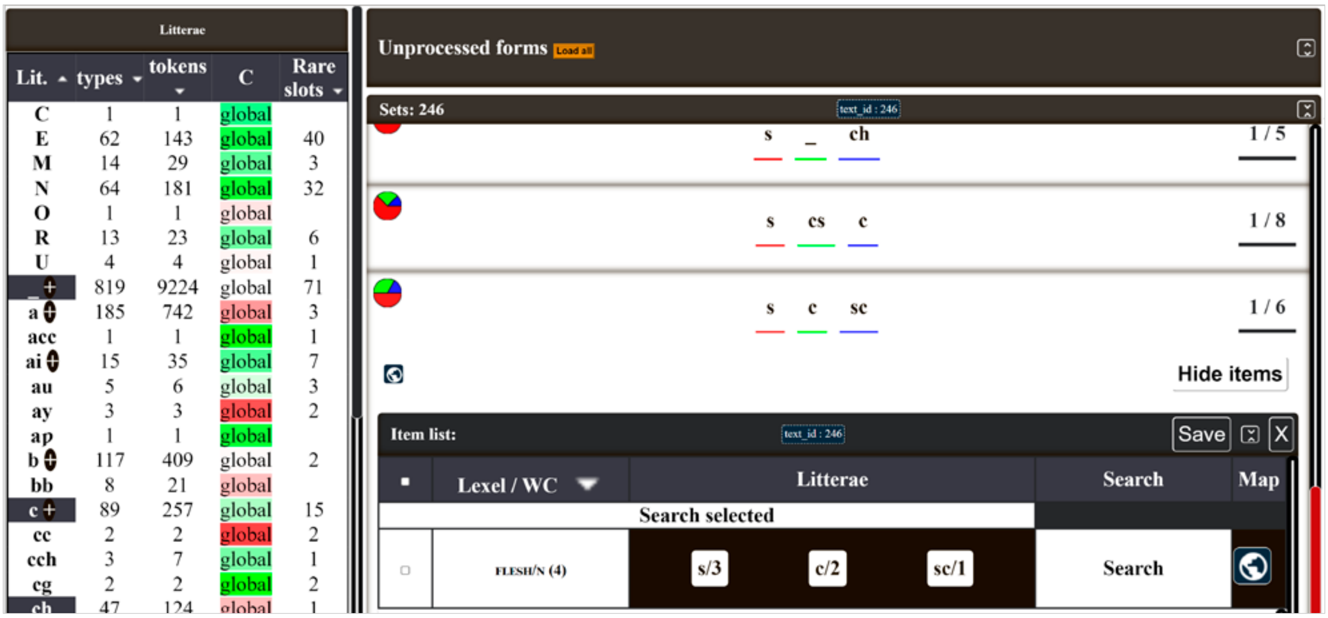

Figure 5: Screenshot – litterae alternations in a system.

The results revealed that, among other litterae, 's' in scribe A's system very occasionally alternates with 'th' (in two different words), 'þ' (1 word) and also 'f' (6 words). The last, however, is probably connected with the similarity of letter shapes for <f> and <s>. Unlike with the previous examples, the tool provides much faster access to data, compared to reading. Unfortunately, there is no straightforward way to check whether the alternations are common or rare in other texts, although the required data is in theory retrievable from the database. Adding such functionality is mainly a matter of extra programming and it is included among possible future upgrades of the tool.

4.2.2.4. Search for alternations of litterae

This example demonstrates how to search for additional items with a certain spelling, in this case <-st> spellings for historical <-ht>, originally found in Trinity (scribe A). The advantage of the tool is that it is possible to search for a specific alternation of litterae (in a specific context). In this particular case, the query was formulated as follows "list all the items in which 's' alternates with 'h' before 't'". The screenshot below shows this query in the tool along with its output.

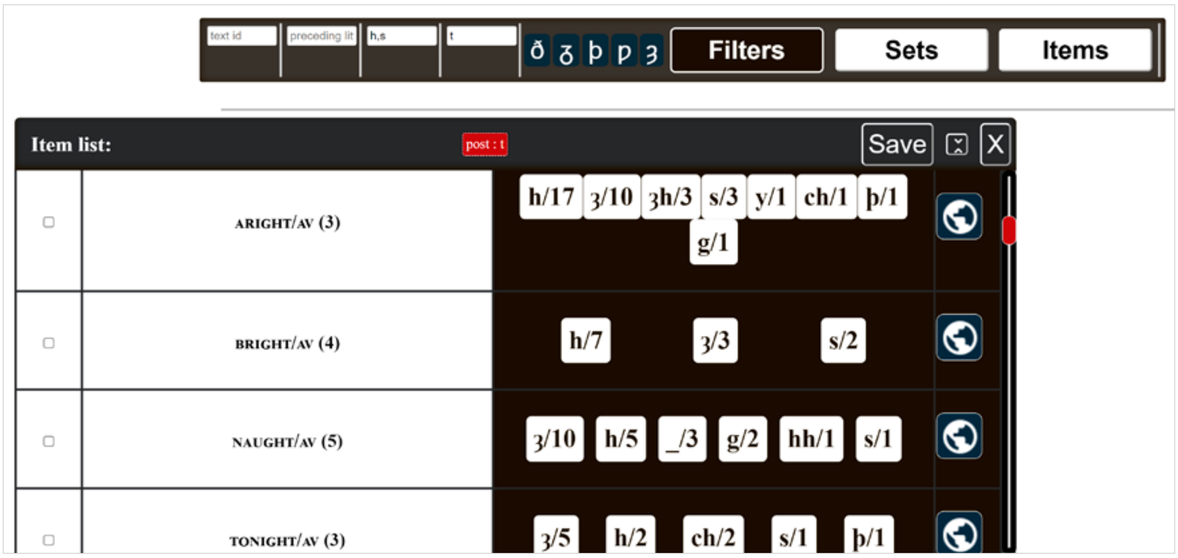

Figure 6: Screenshot – query for the s/h alternation before t.

The input for the query is found in the topmost part of the picture. Only two fields needed to be filled. "*s*, *h*" was entered into the field "main" and "*t*" was given as the "following littera". The result is a table with all the items in which 's' and 'h' alternate before 't'. The individual variants are listed in the third column. The blue "globe" icons serve as quick links to maps.

A drawback of the tool is that the scope of searches is restricted to single morphemes, i.e. the query above does not return examples of {*s*, *h*} in morpheme-final position which are followed by the ending -*t*(*e*), e.g. *sous*+*t*, *soh*+*t* (SEEK/VPP).[16] It can, however, target morpheme-final position in searches.

16 A solution to this issue would be to extract the sequences of litterae at morpheme boundaries and insert them to a special table, however, this procedure is not completely straightforward.

The query for "*s, h*" in this position returned a list of items comprising almost exclusively preterites and participles. Both of the item lists were stored and used to construct maps, which showed that the <-st> variants are found mainly in the Trinity MS, scribes A, B and D.

4.2.2.5. Search for sets

The next example deals with a way of exploring potential connections between spelling variants using queries for *sets*, i.e. lists of litterae appearing at the same position.

The texts in Royal have the forms *bryþt* (BRIGHT), *soþte* (SEEK) and *ariþt* (ARIGHT). It is questionable whether these forms should be interpreted as related to the type *briht*, **bryyt* (analogical to *dyyt*), in which case the second <y> could be a *thorn*, or rather *brytd* (also in Royal). All the forms with <-þt> appear in the second half of the text, while *ryhyt*, *nyhyt* and *dyyt* are found in the first half.

In order to search for similar forms, as well as more variants elsewhere in the database, the following query was used "find all the alternatives in positions where 'þ' alternates with 'h' before 't'".

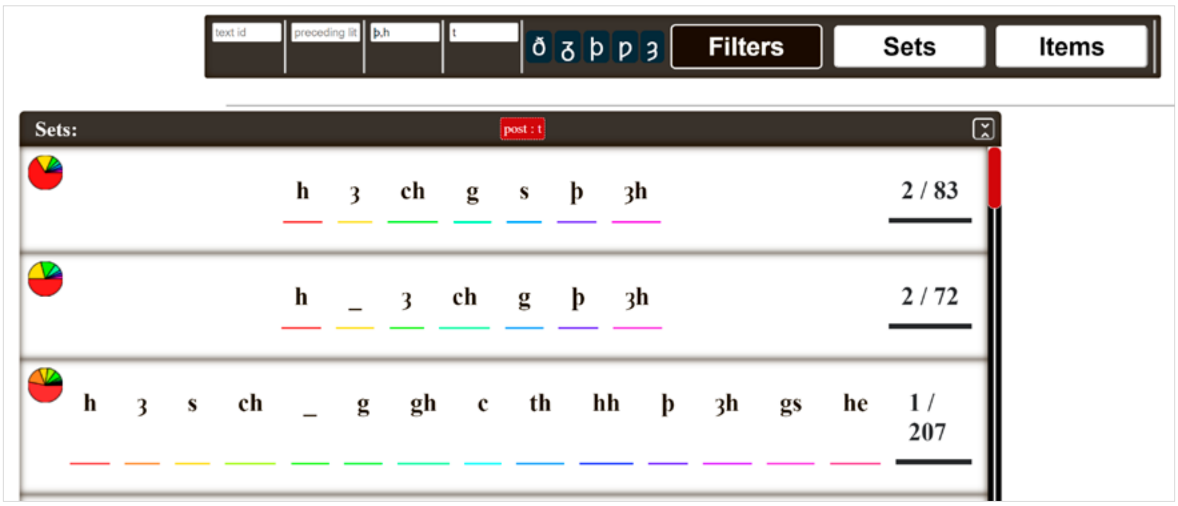

Figure 7: Screenshot – alternatives of þ/h before t.

The results are presented as a list of all possible sets of litterae found along with 'þ', 'h' before 't'. The numbers on the right give the number of slots (types) at which the exact combination of litterae appears / the number of tokens. For instance, the second set {*h*, _, *ȝ*, *ch*, *g*, *þ*, *ȝh*} occurs at two different positions and the total number of tokens is 72. Only the first three sets are visible in the picture. There were in fact many more combinations, but the only littera which is not found in the sets in the picture was ‘ʒ’. The litterae potentially closest to ‘þ’ are ‘th’ and ‘y’. The next step was to identify the texts in which these variants occur. This task is still relatively time consuming as there is currently no direct link leading from *sets* to *texts*.

The forms in <-þt> were found also in the text of *Laȝamon B* (LAEME #280) localised near Royal in Wiltshire, which very frequently uses <-þt> (alongside <-ht>) for historical <-ht>. There might be a further possible connection with the forms in *-tht* (*lithte, mithte*), as <-th> is the canonical replacement for *thorn*. The forms with ‘th’ are very rare and found mostly as marginal variants.[17] The forms with *y*, e.g. *fleyt* (FLIGHT/N), *areyt* (ARIGHT/AV), which are also very rare, appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional E.6, entry 2 (LAEME #161). This manuscript shares the text *The XV signs before Doomsday* with Digby but no instance of a direct correspondence between <y> and <þ> in Digby was found. It needs to be pointed out that *y* is a notoriously problematic *littera* as it has vocalic as well as consonantal uses and it can be very difficult to tell the two apart.

4.2.2.6. Mapping tool

The final example demonstrates the construction of maps. It has been stated that ‘s’ before ‘t’ sometimes alternates with an empty position in forms like *rid* (RIGHT), *mit* (MAY) used by Trinity scribe D. The relevant items were stored as a separate item list, and their variants were plotted on the map. The map generated in this way is displayed below.

17 The text with the highest number of such forms is MS Cambridge University Library Ff.II.33 (*Bury documents*, LAEME #1400).

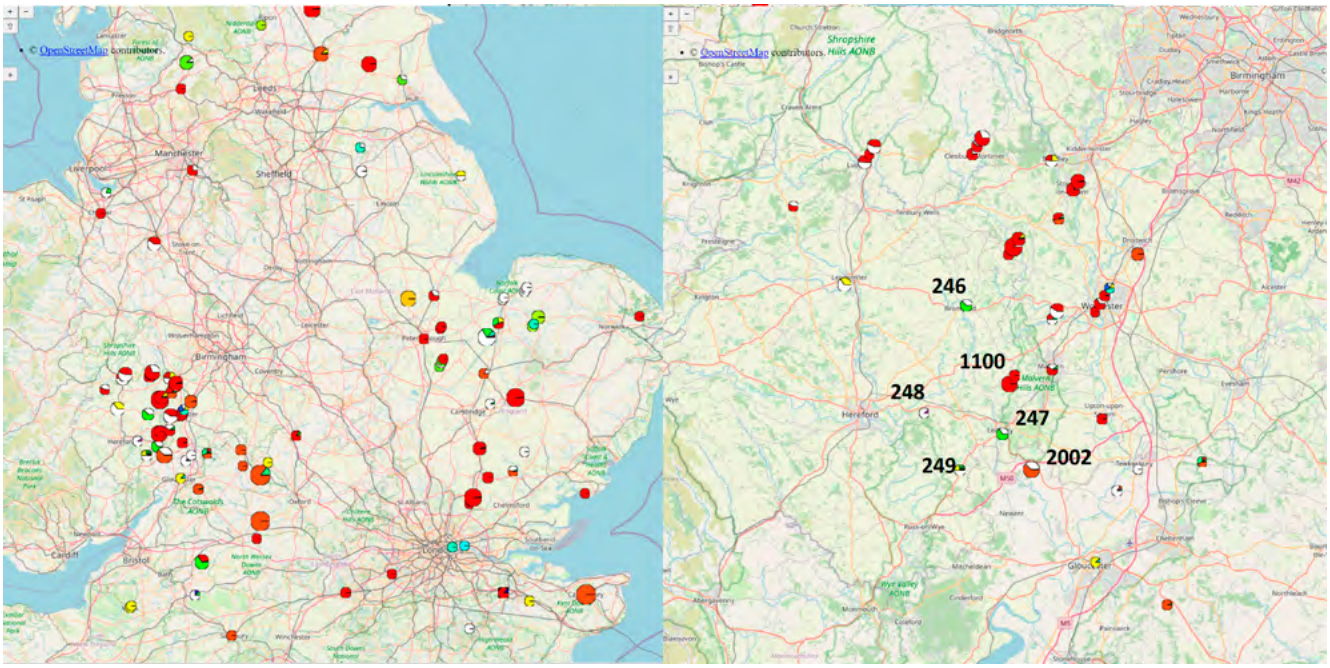

Figure 8: Map – items with <h> dropping before <t>.

Each pie chart on the map represents one LAEME file, and the colours correspond to different litterae found at the position before the final ‘t’ in the selected items. The forms of the type *rid* have the position empty, which is displayed in white on the map. The map shows that such forms appear in the North-East, the East as well as the West Midlands. The second picture is zoomed in on South West Midlands (SWM), showing the location of the texts from Trinity (#246-#249), Jesus (#1100) and Digby (#2002). The map shows that multiple texts in the area including all the Trinity texts as well as Digby contain instances of an empty slot before ‘t’ but only #248 (Trinity scribe C) uses this variant exclusively. The black colour in #246, #247 and #249 represents ‘s’, blue in Digby represents ‘ȝ’ and red represents ‘h’. Jesus (#1100) has consistent ‘h’, which makes it stand out a little. The likely explanation seems to be that the scribe of Jesus systematically replaced the forms in his exemplar with ‘h’ whether or not the corresponding sound was pronounced while the scribes of Trinity and Digby probably relied more on their actual pronunciations. The tool can also generate separate maps for the individual items on the list, which may reveal marked differences between them. For instance, the texts in SWM almost universally drop the segment before ‘t’ in NOT but never in LIGHT/VPT.

4.3. Summary

The five patterns of the distribution of variants agree with previous findings concerning copying strategies. The analysis identified several possible connections between similar forms found in multiple manuscripts, related by content or localisation. The most prominent of these groups comprises spellings for historical *-ht(e)*, which include <-ȝt>, <-th>, <-þt>, <-td>, <-st>.

The forms with <-þt> are the dominant variants in the text of *Laȝamon B* (where they alternate with <-ht>) and very rare in other texts. The Royal version of OL has the highest frequency of such forms and they appear alongside forms in <-y(h)y->. The <-yy-> spellings are the likely source of <ii> in Trinity and probably also Digby. These connections are very intricate and there are multiple plausible ways in which one of the forms might have been “translated” into another, For example. <-iþt> could become <-yyt> in a system which does not distinguish <y> from <þ>, <-ȝt> might become <-yt> if the scribe read ‘ȝ’ as [j] etc. Further analysis would be needed to clarify the nature of the connections.

5. Conclusions

The article presents a research tool which seeks to provide new ways of accessing and exploring the data available in LAEME. It is built around an additional layer of data which maps correspondences between segments in a group of spelling variants. Practical application of the tool has been demonstrated on a pilot study dealing with the use of ‘ȝ’, ‘h’ in a group of ME texts related by content. The results were discussed in the context of previous research in order to point out the connections between searches in the tool and established methodology and to assess its strong and weak points.

The comparison of inventories undertaken in the pilot study reflected mostly, but not exclusively, spelling features, which have already been pointed out in previous studies. The main advantage of inventories is that they instantly quantify data, which could otherwise take a long time to collect. The comparison of relative frequencies and alternatives would be more precise, if copies of only the same text sharing roughly the same items were compared.

The results obtained with item lists also partly overlap with previous findings in that they mention similar or identical features (the alternation of ‘þ’ / ‘ȝ’, the range of representations of historical -*ht*, possible relations between <y> and <þ> etc.).

The fact that multiple copies of the texts were included in the analysis somewhat broadened its scope. As a result, previous findings could be complemented with specific observations on possible connections between the copies. The main findings concern the distribution of spelling variants with <ii> (<yy>), the <-st(e)> spellings for expected -*ht(e)* plus several isolated forms which seem to stand out, e.g. *hayte* (ÆHT, LD in Digby) and possibly related *þey* (THOUGH, Royal), *bryth* and *bryþt* (BRIGHT/AJ, Royal).

Dynamic item lists are fast and easy to use. As the present analysis focused primarily on comparable items in specific texts, item lists were generated only from the Cotton manuscript. More extensive analyses should ideally combine item lists from different texts or item lists generated from the whole database, e.g. item lists of all items in which ‘h’ ever alternates with ‘ȝ’ etc.

As for the main weaknesses of the tool, it is still relatively difficult to access certain useful pieces of data, especially a complete list of texts in which a given variant (e.g. GIVE with initial <þ>) appears. The case of *-th/-tht/-þt/-td* stressed the need to analyse larger segments, like sequences of a few letters, rather than single letters or digraphs, which is yet underdeveloped in the tool, and queries are limited to single morphemes. The analysis also revealed several cases of incorrectly aligned segments in the spelling variants.

The most useful queries, whose output is difficult to match without the tool, are searches for “sets” of similar spelling variants found at a specific position, e.g. ‘th’, ‘s’, ‘þ’ before ‘t’ in words like LIGHT or BRIGHT. Instead of searching for the forms of individual items with historical -*ht* it is possible to retrieve all items in which two or more spellings alternate in a single query. Searches for “sets” are compatible with the reasoning behind *litteral substitution sets*. The mapping tool may display the full range of spelling variants in a single image, which makes it easier to think about the likely sound values represented by different spellings in neighbouring witnesses.

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Lexical Doublets (Binomials) in Sermons from Late Medieval England

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Abstract The article examines the use of synonymous binomials in sermons produced in England in the fifteenth century. It discusses sermons in English, Latin, and macaronic. English and macaronic sermons use such binomials for rhetorical ornamentation; Latin ones do so too, though to a lesser extent.

Keywords sermons, bilingual, doublets

The frequency and variety of such phrases as "last will and testament" or "to have and to hold" has in recent decades attracted a good deal of scholarly attention. Scholars of English language and literature have analyzed binomials in prose and poetry ranging from *Beowulf* to the twenty-first century, and late-medieval works have received special attention, especially in translations from the French, such as Caxton or Hoccleve.[1] What has been lacking is attention to *sermons* produced in England during the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, a gap which the present essay will attempt to fill. It will not discuss the large variety of binomials – synonymous (as above), antonymous ("night and day"), and other kinds – but be limited to synonymous binomials or "tautological word pairs," which I will call "lexical doublets." These are syntactic structures in which two (or occasionally more) synonyms, usually of the same word class (nouns, adjectives, or verbs), are linked by such connectives as *and* or *or* (in English) or corresponding words in Latin (*et*, *vel*, *nec*, *sive*, or *aut*). I will, therefore, deal only with such phrases as "last will and testament," "safe and sound," or "to have and to hold."

Sermons made and preached in fifteenth-century England have been preserved either in Latin, or in English, or in a macaronic mixture; and in a very few instances the same sermon is extant in both languages. In the following I will deal with these different environments separately and consider where such lexical doublets appear, to what extent, and for what purpose. I begin with sermons whose text is preserved in English only. A recently edited fif-

1 See the bibliography in Hans Sauer 2017: 77–78, to which should be added Inna Koskenniemi 1968). – Sesterhenn 2016 deals with such "doublets" as "pig/pork". I am grateful to Prof. Sauer for several pointers and offprints.

teenth-century text on *Inimici mei* is typical in this respect.[2] It asks for Christ's help to "*spede and forþer* vs" and continues that "experiens *schewit and teches* us." God's word is "*more perthyng and scharpur*" than any sword. When it comes to the seven deadly sins, it speaks repeatedly of "*slewth and ydylnes*" and of "*auarise and couatis*," and so forth. Its approximately 4000 words contain at least 31 lexical doublets appearing in 37 instances.[3] A similar case is the "Nunnery Sermon" studied and edited by O'Mara; its 2424 words contain 20 doublets appearing in 22 instances.[4] Yet another text of this kind is a sermon by the Benedictine Hugh Legat, edited by D. M. Grisdale.[5] In its 660 lines I find over 50 doublets in 66 instances.

Such use of lexical doublets appears not only in individually preserved sermons as those just mentioned but also in entire sermon cycles. For instance, in the dominical cycle edited by Stephen Morrison, sermon 42 (on *Caritas perfecta est*) contains, in about 2250 words, eight lexical doublets in 11 instances,[6] and sermon 59 (on Luke 14:1–11) likewise, in its 2294 words, contains a dozen (with one doublet occurring twice).[7] Similarly, in *The Adent and Nativity Sermons from a Fifteenth-Century Revision of John Mirk's Festial* edited by Susan Powell, Sermon 1, in 1828 words, contains at least eight lexical doublets.[8]

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2 Wenzel 2021a.

3 By "instances" I refer to the actual appearances of a doublet; a given doublet may appear more than once. Different word forms are counted as separate items (here: *auarise* and *auerus*).

4 V. M. O'Mara 1994: 197–221. I have counted several instances that contain different word forms (such as singular vs. plural) separately.

5 Grisdale 1939: 1–21. See also the entry on "Legat, Hugh" by James Tait, revised by James G. Clark, in the electronic *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

6 Morrison 2012: 237–244. The doublets are: *lufe and charite* (occurring twice, lines 23 and 160–161); *souereyne and principall* (73), *lord and quene* (88), *vertu and myȝte* (96), *debate and stryfe* (or the reverse, three times, 126, 140, 147); *lordschipe and powere* (149); *sey and commende* (161); *rotid and growndid* (192).

7 Morrison 2012: 348–354. They are: *norisschiþe and fedythe* (twice, in lines 35 and 36); *procedythe and commyþe frome* (41); *ȝiftis or presentis* (57–58); *vsed and ocupyed* (62); *rehersithe and seythe* (65); *pite and compassion* (98); *necessite and nede* (99); *his neyȝbor or his evencristen* (110–111); *miseri and wrechednesse* (111); *nurture and gentilnes* (134); *tolde and nomberd* (152).

8 Powell 2009: 3–7. The doublets are: *so cruel and so yrus* (line 13); *pride and hyghnes of hert* (30–31); *ydulnes and slowth* (33–34); *confusyon and schame* (47); *stones and roches* (64); *hullus and mowntayns* (68); *playne and euen* (69); *ȝonyng and galpyng* (107).

The same phenonomen occurs also in fully macaronic sermons, that is, texts that frequently change from Latin to English and back.[9] Thus, a Passion Sunday sermon (W-154)[10] of about 6000 words contains nearly 30 doublets, in Latin (e.g., *statu vel gradu, ciuitas seu villa*), English (e.g., *shame and vylenye, care and sorow*), and macaronic (e.g., *miseriam et myschef, wylus et subtilitatibus*).[11] Similarly, a Good Friday sermon edited by Holly Johnson peppers its nearly 7500 words with almost 60 doublets in nearly 70 instances.[12]

Before turning to Latin sermons a few words must be said about the difficulty in deciding whether a given binomial structure is in fact a lexical doublet whose components are complete synonyms. Clearly, the phrase *uva et botros* is a lexical doublet in this sense since both terms mean "grape(s)." But what about *iudicio et iusticia*? Separately the two terms, "judgment" and "justice," are not synonymous; but in this context the writer or speaker seemingly took them as such. There are a number of features that can help to decide the question. Often the conjunctions *sive* and *vel* that unite the two terms may indicate that the second term is in some fashion synonymous with the first, as for instance in n*ovum testamentum sive nova lex* or (*in*) *apice vel summitate*, though this alone is not a foolproof sign. Then there are doublets that derive from Scripture, such as *honor et gloria* or *montes et colles* or *pauperes et egenos*; or are reminiscent of prayer: *regunt et gubernant*. Next, for the medieval writer the two terms may indeed have been synonymous whereas for us they are not necessarily so. A good example is *natura et complexio* (*hominis*): for us, a person's temperament or humoral makeup is not necessarily the same as his or her nature or character. And finally, the two terms linked may not be synonymous in isolation, but their context makes them nearly so. Examples are: *predicare aut dicere, principes et capitanei, secant et amputant*, or *secta aut religio ficta*.

Keeping all this in mind and allowing that there will be borderline cases, it is clear that Latin sermons of the period do contain lexical doublets. Thus, a sermon by John Felton (died 1434; sermon FE-37) holds in about 2400 words

9 By "fully macaronic sermons" I refer to those discussed and classified as "Type C sermons" in Wenzel 1994: 28–30 and *passim*.

10 The sigla used here and in the following (W-, FE-, M-, etc.) refer to sermon collections discussed in Wenzel 2005.

11 *Quem teipsum facis* (W–154), edited and translated in Wenzel 1994: 308–345.

12 Johnson 2012: 144–238. Again, doublets occur in Latin, English, and macaronic.

half a dozen possible doublets, such as love made Christ "*incarnari et nasci*,"[13] and his much longer sermon, on *Amice, ascende superius* (Luce 14:10), contains, in over 4200 words, about 14 doublets. The same proportions can be found in some other sermons by Felton, but there are others that hold a much smaller number of lexical doublets, often no more than one or two. The same is true of other Latin sermon collections of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. In the partial cycle of Sunday sermons that are derived from Philip Repingdon's sermon commentary (*Sermones super evangelia dominicalia*)[14] a Latin sermon of about 2800 words (M-37) holds only three doublets (in five instances), of which one is taken over from Repingdon.[15] In another sermon (M-9) of about the same length, seven phrases may be considered to be doublets (in eight instances), of which two come from Repingdon.[16]

A somewhat richer yield can be found in a manuscript from much later in the century (A=Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.3.8).[17] In a sermon directed to the clergy (A-42), of about 3700 words, I count 17 doublets appearing in over 20 instances.[18] What is remarkable in this case is that the

13 I have also counted the following as lexical doublets: *tepidi et infirmi in fide, in prosperitate et deliciis, ligat pedes anime et involvit, via puritatis et castitatis, misericordie et pietatis, pene et tribulacionis*; the synonymity of some of them may be open to discussion. The sermon has been edited by Fletcher 1991: 164–171, with the cited doublets at lines 15, 20-21, 58, 193, 207, and 229; reprinted with translation in Fletcher 1998: 100–113.

14 Collection M in Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Latin 367; see Wenzel 2004: 199–202; and Wenzel 2021b: 68–83.

15 The five instances are: *practicacionem et exercitacionem, practicauit et se exercitauit* (both in Repingdon), *confortati et corroborati, corroborati et confortati*, and *domus et mansio*. The sermon has been edited in Wenzel 2021b: 171–179, with translation at 73–83.

16 They are: *lauabant et purificabant, laudare et honorare, zelo et amore, iusticia et iudicium, iusticiam et iudicium, misericordia et miseracionem, compuccio siue contricio* (Repingdon), *sciente et vidente* (Repingdon).

17 See Wenzel 2005: 175–181 and 409–414.

18 The instances are: *distinxionem et diuersitatem, missi et ordinati, ministrorum et discipulorum, cure et solicitudinis ecclesiastice, facti estis et positi, segacem* [sic] *et discretam, sagacem et discretam, oculos et speculatores, deficiunt et debilitantur, prelatus uel sacerdos, exemplum et spectaculum, inspectis et consideratis, viri spirituales et ecclesiastici, socerdotes* [sic] *et clerici, prelato et predicatori, intercedant et orent, pastores et sacerdotes, sacerdotum et ministrorum Ecclesie, sacerdotes et pastores animarum, sacerdotis et pastoris, pastores uel sacerdotes*. The sermon has been translated in Wenzel 2008: 255–269.

preacher should almost regularly employ a lexical doublet when referring to *pastores* or *sacerdotes*. Thus even in the last instance cited in the footnote, he writes *pastores uel sacerdotes* where his quoted source, Gregory to Great, has only *pastores*.

Worcester Cathedral Library MS F.10 is a fifteenth-century codex into which a large number of scribes have entered 167 sermons.[19] Many of them are in Latin only, a good number macaronic, and three in English (edited by Grisdale). Again, the Latin sermons have some lexical doublets, though not many. Thus, a sermon for monastic visitation (W-130) has in its approximately 2800 words no more than eight possible doublets.[20] Similarly, a sermon for St Patrick (W-62) has in approximately 1400 words but five doublets.[21]

Other collections of the period show the same: that writers of Latin sermons used lexical doublets, but less so than did writers of English or macaronic texts. This usage can, finally, be found as well in a few sermons that have been preserved in both Latin and English. A good example is *Dic ut lapides ist1 panes fiant* ("Command that these stones be made bread," Matthew 4:3).[22] The English text, probably written near the end of the fifteenth century, translates part of a Latin sermon on the same thema written by Robert Holcot, OP (died probably in 1349).[23] It speaks of the moral decay of mankind from the golden age through the ages of silver, bronze, and iron, and finally to the current age of stone. Of the second and third ages the sermon declares:

19 See Wenzel 2005: 151–158 and 607–625.

20 They are: *reuocet et reducat; facundus et eloquens; infirmitatis et insufficiencie; transtulit et transduxit; precipitanter et premature; circumspectis et prouidis; diligens et sollicitus; ferrum vel gladius*. The sermon can be found edited in Wenzel 2015: 89–101, and translated in Wenzel 2008: 270–282.

21 They are: *magni et magnifici; mira et inaudita; contigere vel tangere; ymnis et canticis; signum et miraculum*.

22 Bennett 2011: 282.

23 See Wenzel 2017. The quoted text, taken from MS F, is at 84–85.

Holcot	English version
Secundum seculum quod successit fuit argenteum. Tunc incepit cupiditas **pulular**i in terra, *fraus et calliditas* crescere. Tunc inceperunt homines vendere et mercari. Tunc excogitauerunt pondera et mensuras.	The secund tyme folowyde þat he cawlyd syluer tyme. Þan began covetyse to **burge and sprynge** yn euery contrey. Þen they began to sell and to bye and wyn and made weytys and mesures.
Tunc prostrauerunt arbores et fecerunt naues, nec aliquis fuit **contentus** in propria terra morari sed vltra mare oportuit extranea comparare quibus posset domi compatriotas decipere. Tunc inceperunt homines rimare, sepire, fossare, et quilibet incepit se diuidere ab alio et claudere et murare se.	Also, they ffellyd downe grete trees and made schyppus, all for ther was no man than **content or plesyd** to reste yn hys own countrey but ‘yend’ þe sey, merchaundyse to make.
Et tunc inceperunt primo meum et tuum, et ante illud tempus ista duo verba non fuerunt. Sed istis duobus verbis surgit totum **bellum** quod est in mundo. Et illud fuit seculum argenteum peius quam aureum quod precessit. Post illud adhuc sequebatur peius seculum, quia sicud peius est es quam argentum, sic tercium seculum quam duo alia.	Than began þese to pronownse of *meus et tuus*, þat ys to sey ‘thys ys myn’ and ‘þys ys thyne’, of the whiche too wordys rysyth all dyuysion, **bateil and stryfte** yn all þe world. And þerfor that tyme myȝt wele be cawled the syluer worlde þat was wers than þe goldyn tyme beforne.

Holcot	English version
Et istud tercium seculum vocabatur ereum, nam tunc ingenium crescere cepit in malo, *calliditas et dolus* creuerunt in habundancia in tantum quod homines non timuerunt iniurias et doles **committere**, immo ausi sunt facinora deffendere per cautelas et subtilitates loquele, videlicet tunc inceperunt **placitatores** et cetera.	But aftur that folowyde a wers tyme þat he cawlyd brasyn tyme, for, lyke as brase ys wors þan syluer, þan mannus wytt begane to growe ynto evyll sotylte and malyse and encresyd ynto boldnesse yn so myche þat men fferyd not to **commyt or doo** inguryese, wrongys and hurtus but the were bold to defend ther evyll deedys be grete wysdom and sotell eloquens and feire speche. Þen began **pletyngys and cawsys** yn lawe.
Tunc cogitauerunt homines per eloquenciam defendere *iniustum et iniusticiam*, et per ingeniosa verba iusticiam **expugnare**.	Also they began to defend vnryghtwysnes and ryȝtwysnes to **oppougne and opprese** be witty wordys.
Et ideo bene potuit vocari seculum ereum. Es inter metalla magne est firmitatis et *strepitum et sonitum causans*, qui iam resonat et pululat vbique. Et videte per quem modum malicia creuit primo in seculo argenteo et iniquitas cerpsit et latuit, quia clam fiebant et verecundabantur homines iniusticias publice facere, sed iam in seculo ereo, quod est tempus tercium, facere publice non verentur....	And þerfore yt myȝt wel be cawled brasyn tyme, for amonge all maner metalle ys of gret sownde whiche sygnyfyth þe **clamor and noyse** of pleters of cawsys þat nowe spredyn yn eure countre of þe world, and þerfor that myȝt wele be cawld þe brasyn world.

The lexical doublets in the English text, here bold-faced, all translate single words in the Latin source, also bold-faced. The exception is “**clamor and noyse**,” which translates a doublet in the Latin text, “*strepitum et sonitum*.” The Latin text contains some further doublets, here printed in italics (“*fraus et calliditas*,” etc.), which are not reproduced in the English translation. The quoted English text of 261 words therefore contains seven English lexical doublets.[24]

Another English sermon with a Latin version is Richard Alkerton's (incomplete) *Sermon for Easter Week*, preached in 1406.[25] In it, again, several single terms in the Latin yield doublets in the English text:

sacculus	a bagge or a scrippe (line 90)
ingurgitacio	engruttynge eþer vnmesurable filling (109)
mouent	meeuen or steren (130)
priuacio luminis	priuacion of liȝt or putting awey of liȝt (134)
continue	contynuely eþer wiþoute ceessinge (207)
debilem	feeble eþer leþi (219)
ignoranciam	ignoraunce or vnkunnyng (226)
sacietatem	plentee and fulnesse (231)
delectacionibus	þe lustis and þe lykyngis (274)
regnum	a revme or a kyngdome (285)

At the same time, the Latin version also contains a few doublets of its own, such as "*daungeriis et periculis*"[26] and perhaps two or three others.

It would therefore seem – not astonishingly – that using doublets, while not entirely unpracticed by Latin sermon writers, was predominantly practiced by authors who wrote, or at least thought, in their vernacular.[27]

Why did they do so? One can think of several specific purposes, such as to create a sense of totality: *arando et colendo* or *montes et colles*. Or else – and this much more frequently – to explain or illustrate one term with another: *advocatus vel consolator* or *allidet eas et frangit eas*. The latter would have been true of many macaronic doublets in which the English amounts to a

24 I have excluded two borderline cases: "sotylte and malyse" and "sotell eloquens and feire speche." The entire text of the translation contains 33 possible doublets in about 2470 words.
25 Edited and discussed in O'Mara 1994: 21–80.
26 At the beginning of the sermon, which is not preserved in the English version.
27 A curious case is the Latin translation of Wimbledon's (English) Sermon: The Latin has about 70 lexical doublets while the English has none. See the discussion in Wenzel 2019: 178–181.

translation of the Latin: *malicia and wickidnesse* or *dust et pulueres*.[28] But more generally lexical doublets surely serve as devices to enrich and decorate the writer's message rhetorically. They are thus part of the florid style characteristic of some fifteenth-century writings in England.[29] But here again, in contrast to English texts Latin sermons are more restrained. A fine example is a monastic sermon for the Assumption, which begins with a high flourish:

> The most pious ruler of the heavenly empire, seeing that human nature which, with the lamp of its reason as it were extinguished, was foully blackened with the stain of manifold sin, was, in the Egypt of our wretched habitation, frequently wandering from the straight path of truth off through the desert and trackless regions of heresies and errors – like a good shepherd planned to bring back his sheep that he had redeemed to the fold of the Catholic truth.[30]

But the entire sermon, of 1900 words, contains at best only half a dozen lexical doublets.[31]

The desire for rhetorical effectiveness brings us to the question: what about Wyclif and his followers? Their professed soberness in theological discourse would prevent them from decorating their words with gaudy colors. A few of the *English Wycliffite Sermons* I have checked have, indeed, no genuine lexical doublets at all.[32] On the other hand, Wyclif's own early

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28 For further discussion of macaronic doublets see Wenzel, 1994: 86–87.

29 For a discussion of this style especially in sermons see Wenzel 1999: 80 ff.; reprinted Wenzel 2015b: 219 ff. For the "aureate diction" of English poetry see John Norton–Smith 1966: 192–195. For Lydgate's use of doublets see Hans Sauer 2019.

30 "Celestis imperii piissimus imperator humanam nuper cernens naturam, extincta quasi sue racionis lampade, sorde multipliciter peccatorum turpiter denigratam in miserabili nostri incolatus Egipto, a recto tramite ueritatis per deserta et inuia heresum et errorum sepius delirare, tamquam bonus pastor suas oues quas redemit ad catholice veritatis ouile reducere disponebat." Sermon *Ascendit aurora* ("Daybreak has arisen," W–4), translated in Wenzel 2008: 182–190.

31 They are: *deserta et inuia*; *heresum et errorum*; *inscius et ignorans*; *mutus pariter et elinguis*; *sapiencie et sciencie*; *solamen et subsidium*.

32 I have examined the Gospel sermons for 17 Trinity (to compare with Morrison's sermon 59, see above, note 7), and for 1 Advent (to compare with Powell's sermon 1, see above, note 8), in Hudson 1983: 287–290 and 326-–329.

Latin sermon on "*Distribuit discumbentibus*" (John 6:11) contains such doublets as *nox et tenebre, amarum et abiectum, dampnificacio et miseria*, and others. Similarly, his later sermon on "*Misereor super turbam*" (Mark 8:2) contains such phrases as *prompte et provide* (*dare egentibus*), *servi et ministri, equivocando et extensive loquendo*, and others. The English writings of some his fifteenth-century followers show a mixed picture: Whereas William Taylor's Sermon on 1406 has no genuine synonymous doublets,[33] the (very long) "Egerton Sermon" on *Omnis plantatio* (Mathew 15:13) has, in its first 500 lines alone, some 20 of them.[34]

One may ask what the practice of earlier writers of Latin sermons was. Spot-checking reveals that Latin sermons of the 1330s and 1340s do have occasional lexical doublets, and often the same as those found in later works. Thus, Holcot's long sermon on *Dic ut lapides* mentioned above, written in the 1330s, of approximately 4900 words, contains seven doublets.[35] Richard FitzRalph's sermons, as far as we can tell, hold an even smaller percentage.[36] However, the carefully wrought sermon for St Katherine that he gave in 1338 to the Franciscans at Avignon is very different.[37] In over 7000 words the Latin text holds over 20 doublets, several of them repeated and yielding over 30 instances.[38] Perhaps the difference between the two sermons in this respect is due to FitzRalph's mode of writing: a shorter report vs. the actual sermon written out. On the other hand, we could here see the effect that different audiences (secular clergy vs. Franciscans) and purposes (exhortation vs. praise) had on the preacher's style. In any case, there is evidence that preach-

33 Hudson 1993: 3–23.

34 For instance: *þe stat of clergie or of presthod* (line 22); *greuouse or heuy* (106); *clene and purid* (134); *hoore or harlot* (337); etc.; in Hudson 2001: 2–143.

35 Shorter sermons by Holcot, of roughly 1400 words, that I have examined contain two to five doublets.

36 See for example the sermon he preached in Latin at the provincial council at Drogheda in 1351, edited in Gwynn 1949. The text appears to hold only one doublet, *fur et latro*, repeated several times and in different forms. It is biblical: John 10:1. The doublets in the opening paragraph: (*hortamur*) *ad pugnam et palmam*, *ad cursum et bravium* I would not consider synonymous.

37 The sermon (FI–78) has been translated in Wenzel 2008: 195–219.

38 They include such unquestionably synonymous ones as *debilius siue infirmius*, *scindere seu sectare*, *voluntarie et libere*, etc.

ers decorated some of their Latin sermons with lexical doublets significantly already in the middle of the fourteenth century.

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Sull'uso del passato remoto e prossimo nei rinvii anaforici dei testi scientifici, giuridici e tecnici

ILPO KEMPAS

Abstract L'articolo esamina la scelta tra il passato remoto (PR) e il passato prossimo (PP) nei rinvii anaforici dei testi scientifici, giuridici e tecnici tra il 1500 e il 2000. L'italiano standard a base toscana si caratterizza per la grammaticalizzazione del PP come tempo aoristico e per la sua espansione nel campo semantico occupato prima dal PR. L'uso di questi due tempi nei rinvii anaforici è stato indagato empiricamente, raccogliendo tutti gli esempi di PR (N=146; più tardi ancora 24, cioè 170 in totale) usati in otto predeterminate frasi fatte (con *dire* e *vedere*) disponibili tramite Google nel momento di osservazione e un numero identico di esempi di PP, per scoprire le possibili differenze tra i due tempi in rapporto agli anni di pubblicazione dei documenti. Inoltre, sono stati osservati i numeri totali degli esempi di PP per confrontarli con quelli di PR. I risultati rivelano che i cambiamenti avvenuti nella lingua in genere si riflettono anche nell'uso di entrambi i tempi, benché con ritardo. Il periodo ≤1800, soprattutto proprio l'Ottocento, si profila come "l'età dell'oro" del PR, mentre il Novecento conosce un'espansione sostanziale del PP. In totale, il PP risulta predominante nei rinvii anaforici studiati (N=857, 85,4%).

Parole chiave lingua italiana, grammatica, tempi verbali, passato remoto, passato prossimo, rinvii anaforici, testo scientifico, giuridico e tecnico

1. Introduzione

Il tema del presente articolo è la scelta tra il passato remoto (PR) e il passato prossimo (PP) nei rinvii anaforici dei testi scientifico-giuridico-tecnici (in seguito 'SGT'), come articoli scientifici e opere di riferimento. Il denominatore comune di questi generi, classificati da Sabatini, Camodeca e De Santis (2011) come rappresentativi del discorso molto vincolante, è l'uso del *metatesto dell'autore* costituito da rinvii anaforici a quello che l'autore ha scritto in precedenza nel medesimo testo. Il genere in questione può classificarsi come testi argomentativi ed istruttivi-prescrittivi (Mortara Garavelli 1988: 164–165). Sabatini, Camodeca e De Santis (2011: 656–657) suddividono i testi in tre categorie fondamentali sulla base della loro *vincolatività*.[1] Secondo gli autori, i testi con discorso molto vincolante sono costituiti da testi SGT. Tra gli otto tratti caratterizzanti di questi tre tipi di testi menzionati dagli autori figura anche l’uso di legamenti semantici del tipo *ripetizioni* (oltre a sostituenti e iperonimi), che interpretiamo anche come riferito all’uso di rinvii anaforici: Sabatini *et al.* non includono, però, esplicitamente il metatesto dell’autore (né i rinvii anaforici) negli otto tratti.

In quei contesti, si usano spesso i *verba dicendi* (come *dire*) e i *verba perceptionis* (come *vedere*), p. es. *come si è detto / visto nel paragrafo precedente*, ecc. Questi due verbi costituiscono anche l’oggetto dello studio empirico realizzato per il presente articolo. Nei rinvii anaforici, appaiono anche l’imperfetto (*si diceva*) e il presente (*si dice*), ma nel presente articolo focalizziamo l’attenzione sulle due forme verbali aspettualmente perfettive dell’italiano, il PR e il PP. Lo scopo è indagare le frequenze di entrambi i tempi nel genere testuale in questione, tenendo conto dell’epoca di apparizione degli esempi analizzati, per attestare possibili cambiamenti avvenuti nel corso del tempo.

Il punto di partenza è la grammaticalizzazione avvenuta in italiano (le varietà settentrionali e centrali), in cui il PR è stato sostituito dal PP, che ha cominciato a esprimere il valore perfettivo *aoristo*, cioè un evento compiuto considerato nella globalità (p. es. Salvi & Vanelli 2004: 109–110; Sornicola 1988: 176). Il fatto che la divisione funzionale tra i due tempi abbia subito un cambiamento nel corso dei secoli può verificarsi nel toscano medievale: secondo Heinemann (2017: 145), il PR predominava chiaramente in questa varietà come tempo di valore aoristo, mentre il PP esprimeva normalmente *l’aspetto compiuto*, nel quale gli effetti di un evento anteriore persistono al momento dell’enunciazione (Bertinetto 1995: 56; Salvi & Vanelli 2004: 114). Dunque, in quell’epoca, non aveva ancora avuto inizio l’evoluzione che portò dopo all’espansione dei valori del PP, in maniera tale da includere anche l’aoristo. Infatti, sembra che attualmente non esista nessuno studio dettagliato sul processo di grammaticalizzazione del PP come tempo perfettivo di valore aoristo in toscano, che indichi cioè quando e per quali fasi si sia prodotto. In rapporto al toscano medievale, nella lingua attuale il PP ha

1 Infatti, la suddivisione è identica a quella proposta originalmente in Sabatini (1990; prima edizione 1984).

subito una *rianalisi*, un cambiamento semantico (cfr. p. es. Hopper e Traugott 1993: 32), in cui ha conseguito quel nuovo valore. La rianalisi è stata seguita dall’espansione del nuovo uso a nuovi contesti per *analogia morfologica* (p. es. Blevins & Blevins 2009: 5). Nel toscano, dunque, il campo semantico del PP ha subito un’espansione: si è cominciato a usare il PP anche per esprimere eventi puntuali che costituiscono un insieme temporalmente limitato, con inizio e fine. Secondo Lindstedt (2000: 371), un importante criterio per fare distinzione tra aspetto aoristo e compiuto (*Perfect*) è che il secondo non può esprimere eventi consecutivi.

L’aspetto compiuto, chiamato (in inglese) *Perfect* (oppure *Anterior*, p. es. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994), è definito graficamente da Klein (1992) nell’esempio (1), più avanti. Infatti, sia l’aspetto aoristico che l’aspetto compiuto sono perfettivi: l’aspetto perfettivo si suddivide in *aoristico, compiuto e ingressivo* (Bertinetto 1995; Grandi 2010). Cioè, l’aspetto perfettivo presenta l’azione come *completata*, sebbene tra le sottospecie esistano delle differenze notevoli[2]. Di conseguenza, l’aspetto perfettivo si distingue dall’aspetto *imperfettivo*, che presenta l’azione come senza limiti temporali.

Il modello di Klein è stato spesso applicato allo studio sul verbo spagnolo (p. es. García Fernández 2000b; Carrasco Gutiérrez 2000), e qui lo applicheremo all’italiano. Nel modello di Klein, l’aspetto è la relazione tra il Tempo della Situazione (*Situation Time*) e il Tempo del Fuoco (*Topic Time*). Nella presentazione grafica, il Tempo della Situazione è illustrato con il segno –, il Tempo anteriore o posteriore al Tempo della Situazione con il segno + e il Tempo del Fuoco tra parentesi quadre [ ].

(1) -------++++++[+++++]++++ (p. es.) Lo zio ha cambiato macchina.

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2 Bisogna osservare che il carattere completato dell’azione si può rimettere in discussione quando si tratta di un’azione cominciata nel passato che si estende fino al momento presente, come in *ultimamente, sono stato stanco*. García Fernández (2000a) discute questa sottospecie dell’aspetto perfettivo compiuto spagnolo (*aspecto Perfecto*), che differisce chiaramente dalle sue altre sottospecie, e presenta affinità con l’aspetto imperfettivo. La differenza rispetto a quest’ultima è, però, che nei casi illustrati dal suddetto esempio l’azione è temporalmente delimitata a sinistra, cioè ha un inizio ben marcato.

Il Tempo della Situazione è anteriore al Tempo del Fuoco. Nel caso del PP di questo valore, il Tempo del Fuoco coincide con il momento dell’enunciazione, quello che dà luogo alla rilevanza attuale, attribuita spesso al PP[3].

Per quanto riguarda l’aspetto perfettivo aoristo (*Aorist*), è illustrato da Klein nel modo seguente:

(2) ++++++[+------+]++++++ (p. es.) Dante nacque a Firenze.

Si focalizza l’evento nel complesso, visto come un insieme intero. Comunque, per quanto riguarda il PP di valore aoristo, si osserva un problema nell’applicare all’italiano il modello di Klein (1992), originariamente concepito dalla prospettiva della lingua inglese. Benché l’illustrazione grafica di (2) sia applicabile a un esempio come *non ho sentito quello che hai detto*, l’uso del PP esige che l’enunciato si riferisca al momento presente (si veda sotto, paragrafo 2). Tradizionalmente, l’aspetto viene considerato come una categoria non deittica (si veda p. es. Comrie 1976: 3). Poiché il “nuovo” PP, di valore aoristo, è intimamente collegato al momento dell’enunciazione, si vede che è inconciliabile con questa interpretazione stretta del concetto di aspetto. D’altro lato, anche la stessa definizione dell’aspetto compiuto (1) riveste una situazione deittica: nel modello di Klein, il Tempo del Fuoco si definisce sulla base della sua posizione in rapporto a un altro punto d’appoggio nella linea temporale. Questo mostra che l’esigenza di fare una distinzione categorica tra il tempo e l’aspetto talvolta non è giustificata, non almeno nelle lingue romanze: esistono aree in cui queste due categorie sono fortemente intrecciate.

Il presente articolo costituisce una continuazione degli studi anteriori sui rinvii anaforici dei testi saggistici in spagnolo (Kempas 2016 e 2017). Lo spagnolo presenta un’analogia interessante, perché, come l’italiano, ha conosciuto la grammaticalizzazione del perfetto composto come tempo aoristico, sebbene in misura minore. Una delle principali differenze tra le due lingue è che, in spagnolo, il perfetto semplice (cioè, la forma *canté*) si è mantenuto un tempo vivo, che appare tanto nei registri letterari quanto nella lingua orale di tutte le zone.

3 L’aspetto compiuto può apparire, dipendendo dal caso, anche nel trapassato prossimo (…*aveva cambiato*…).

L’uso dei due tempi in questione nei rinvii anaforici dei testi saggistici è interessante, perché, teoricamente, il tipo di discorso studiato offre argomenti per la scelta dell’uno o dell’altro. In questo genere, l’autore dirige le sue parole al lettore, e può supporsi che questo favorisca l’apparizione del PP. D’altro lato, i testi saggistici, soprattutto quelli scientifici, rappresentano uno stile impersonale che tende all’oggettività. Questo, invece, potrebbe porre un freno alla sostituzione del PR con il PP.

2. Sulla grammaticalizzazione del PP in italiano e la variazione tra l’uso del PP/PR relativa al registro

L’evoluzione della perifrasi latina <HABERE + participio>[4] è stata ampiamente documentata nella bibliografia, e le lingue e varietà romanze presentano fasi ben distinte di questo processo di grammaticalizzazione. La classificazione delle diverse fasi evolutive di <HABERE + part.> e le ricerche ulteriori si fondano su Harris (1982). Per esempio, il tema è stato trattato da Squartini e Bertinetto (1995). Anche nella Penisola esistono delle importanti differenze regionali nella distribuzione del PP e PR. Nelle varietà settentrionali predomina nella lingua orale il PP (p. es. Lepschy & Lepschy 2016: 118), mentre nelle varietà meridionali appare il PR (p. es. Sobrero 1988: 735; Telmon 2016: 310; si veda anche Bach, Brunet & Mastrelli 2008: 299). Comunque, la lingua letteraria basata sul toscano, cioè l’oggetto di questo studio, presenta una distribuzione uniforme (Lepschy & Lepschy 2016: 118). Nella lingua parlata, la distinzione funzionale qui descritta appare soltanto nell’Italia centrale e nelle aree nord dell’Italia meridionale, come anche in Corsica (varietà extraterritoriale) (Ledgeway 2016: 224). D’altro lato, come dice Giannelli (1988: 601), anche nella Toscana di oggi il PR *è variamente sostituibile con il PP*.

Nella lingua standard basata sulla tradizione letteraria, in primo luogo, il PR esprime il valore *perfettivo aoristo*, cioè l’evento è puntuale, e costituisce un insieme temporalmente limitato, con inizio e fine (cfr. es. 1). Inoltre, nel caso del PR, l’evento si visualizza come sconnesso dal momento dell’enunciazione. L’esempio seguente illustra l’uso del PR con questo valore:

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4 L’evoluzione della perifrasi concerne anche i casi in cui l’ausiliario è *essere*; HABERE è usato qui perché è più comune e appare in tutte le lingue e varietà romanze.

(3) Dante *morì* nel 1321.

Il PP, al contrario, esprime due valori aspettuali distinti, dipendendo dal caso. Quando il PP esprime l'aspetto *perfettivo compiuto*, gli effetti dell'evento passato si presentano come persistenti o rilevanti nel momento dell'enunciazione (Salvi & Vanelli 2004: 109–110). Un esempio dell'uso del PP con il valore perfettivo compiuto potrebbe essere, ad esempio:

(4) *Ho cambiato* macchina.

dove il risultato dell'azione anteriore in questione persiste vivo nel momento dell'enunciazione.

Il secondo valore del PP è il perfettivo aoristo predetto, con una differenza: l'evento si presenta come temporalmente (o psicologicamente) vicino al momento dell'enunciazione, come in:

(5) Giovanni *mi ha detto* un momento fa che…

Comunque, siccome l'uso del PP è completamente grammaticale per fare riferimento a eventi avvenuti molto tempo prima, sorge un problema di classificazione, che non permette di definire obiettivamente se un evento come il seguente rappresenta l'aspetto aoristo o compiuto:

(6) *Ho comprato* questa macchina vent'anni fa. (Salvi & Vanelli 2004: 115)

Secondo questi autori, in (6) si tratta dell'aspetto compiuto. L'affermazione degli autori, cioè "si può usare il perfetto composto se il parlante è ancora in possesso della macchina", è una spiegazione logica che appoggia l'interpretazione dell'esempio come rappresentativo dell'aspetto compiuto. Tuttavia, si possono mettere in evidenza alcuni contro-argomenti. Siccome il PP già viene usato anche nella lingua letteraria/standard con il valore perfettivo aoristo (es. 5), come si può essere sicuri che questo non sia il caso in (6)? Sosteniamo che in (6) sia possibile anche la lettura aoristica: il parlante può presentare l'azione passata in questione anche con legami meno stretti con il momento presente. La lettura aoristica diventa ancor più probabile quando si aggiunge alla frase un secondo complemento circostanziale di tempo (*Ho comprato questa macchina vent'anni fa, nel 2002*), il che sposta il focus dal risultato presente e concreto dell'azione passata e mette invece in evidenza la propria azione. Inoltre, malgrado la grande distanza temporale (*vent'anni fa*), il PP è la scelta naturale in (6), anche per esprimere il passato perfettivo aoristico, perché si tratta della *narrazione personale*. Squartini e Bertinetto (1995: 425) hanno constatato che, in genere, il PP (invece del PR) è molto frequente nella narrazione personale, dove appare spesso *la prima persona* come elemento deittico, il che favorisce l'apparizione del PP, come esattamente in (4). Gli autori (p. 424, 433) concludono che la prima persona mette in luce la possibile pertinenza dell'evento narrato per il momento dell'enunciazione, mentre la terza persona marca la distanza dell'autore dal suo tema. Tuttavia, questo non significa affatto che le occorrenze del PP che appaiono nella prima persona nella narrazione personale rappresentino automaticamente l'aspetto compiuto, ma piuttosto che, per ragioni associative, il PP appare frequentemente nella prima persona. Per questo, l'uso del PR (*comprai questa macchina…*) sarebbe perfino pragmaticamente anomalo in questo caso. Infine, bisogna ricordare inoltre che i confini esatti del "modello a base toscana" sono un po' vaghi, e la lingua contemporanea è in evoluzione continua (si veda il paragrafo 4).

I risultati empirici di Squartini e Bertinetto (1995: 425) confermano l'uso generalizzato del PP tra i parlanti settentrionali. Allo stesso tempo, per quanto riguarda le funzioni narrative, si constatano in tutte le zone geografiche le frequenze di uso più elevate del PP – e quelle più basse del PR – nella narrazione personale, come già si è detto, mentre nella narrazione impersonale le frequenze sono inferiori. Infine, le frequenze misurate per la narrazione storica sono chiaramente più basse dei tipi predetti. Sulla base di questi risultati, ci si attenderebbe che, malgrado la grammaticalizzazione avanzata del PP in italiano, anche il PR sia presente nei rinvii anaforici dei testi saggistici. Comunque, secondo Treccani (2012), nel corso dei secoli, il PP ha mostrato "una certa tendenza" a sostituire il PR anche nei registri formali.

Nasce un quesito sulle caratteristiche deittiche di un testo saggistico che *possono* favorire l'apparizione del PP. È risaputo che il PP è il tempo di fatto esclusivo per fare riferimento a eventi avvenuti durante il giorno della comunicazione. Ad esempio, Lepschy e Lepschy (1992: 82) menzionano un test realizzato durante un seminario alla Scuola Normale di Pisa nel 1976, anche con partecipanti toscani, in cui si rivelò difficile ottenere delle frasi al PR che si riferissero a eventi avvenuti durante il giorno della comunicazione. Tuttavia, secondo Bertinetto (1986: 428), l'uso odierno del PR non sarebbe escluso tra i parlanti che usano correntemente sia il PR, sia il PP, dunque tra parlanti non toscani. È interessante che in un'altra fonte, Lepschy e Lepschy (2016: 229) considerino possibile il caso come *"lo vidi passare"* benché si riferisca a un evento avvenuto poco prima.

In ogni caso, il PP è strettamente legato al momento comunicativo, ma Lepschy e Lepschy (2016: 228–229) escludono come criterio per la scelta del PP la famosa "regola delle 24 ore", cioè l'evento passato riferito è avvenuto nel corso delle 24 ore precedenti, e sottolineano invece il ruolo dell'associazione mentale dell'evento con il momento presente. Quest'associazione è menzionata anche da Proudfoot e Cardo (2013: 149) e da Bertinetto (1995: 90). Per quanto riguarda il PR, Proudfoot e Cardo (p. 150–151) definiscono due tipi di contesti di uso in cui appare in tutte le zone italiane, cioè i contesti storici e i narrativi. I rinvii anaforici dei testi SGT non sono direttamente includibili in queste categorie. Infine, lo scopo di un rinvio anaforico è esattamente creare un'associazione tra quello che si è detto prima ed il momento dell'enunciazione; dunque, *a priori*, potrebbe considerarsi come un fattore che favorirebbe la scelta del PP.

I testi saggistici presentano un'interessante analogia tra la localizzazione temporale degli eventi nella linea temporale e la situazione dell'enunciazione. Questa questione si ricollega anche a uno dei problemi fondamentali della linguistica cognitiva, cioè la relazione tra il tempo e lo spazio (p. es. Evans & Green 2006: 515). Per il lettore, il momento dell'enunciazione corrisponde al momento della lettura, e il testo ha una struttura comparabile con una giornata o un altro periodo di tempo; i paragrafi ed i capitoli precedenti del testo, sebbene infatti siano spazi fisici, corrispondono ai momenti anteriori alla situazione dell'enunciazione, a cui si riferiscono i complementi di tempo come *un'ora fa, ieri*, ecc. Su questo punto, sorge la domanda se una cosa menzionata in un paragrafo anteriore si percepisce come psicologicamente vicina o lontana. Secondo questa logica, la prima alternativa implicherebbe la scelta del PP, la seconda quella del PR.

Koch (1988a: 200) ricorda che l'uso del PR e PP è stato studiato dalla prospettiva storica in certa misura anche nei registri scientifico-giuridico-tecnici (p. es. Ernst 1966; Marcheschi 1983, per quanto riguarda il Trecento e il Quattrocento). Viale (2010: 213) offre dei risultati sulle frequenze del PR e PP nei testi scientifici, basate su un corpus diacronico. Nei suoi risultati, quelle del PR sono le seguenti: Seicento: 17,8%, Settecento 11,5% e Ottocento 15,6%. Le frequenze del PP sono: Seicento: 7,3%, Settecento 7,8% e Ottocento 6,7%. Questi valori rappresentano le frequenze del PR e PP di tutte le forme verbali del corpus. Per questo, sarebbe un errore concludere che la frequenza del PP sia diminuita e che quella del PR sia cresciuta nel corso del tempo, perché durante lo stesso periodo si è prodotto un notevole incremento della frequenza del presente (24,4% > 33,0% > 41,4%), che ha dovuto influire sulle frequenze del PR e PP.

3. Metodo e materiali

La scelta tra il passato remoto e prossimo è stata indagata raccogliendo tutte le occorrenze di questi due tempi (N=407) attraverso Google nello stesso periodo (dal 11 fino al 16 aprile 2020). La raccolta è stata effettuata raccogliendo tutte le occorrenze delle seguenti frase esatte:

1. si disse nel paragrafo / si è detto nel paragrafo
2. si disse nel capitolo / si è detto nel capitolo
3. si vide nel paragrafo / si è visto nel paragrafo
4. si vide nel capitolo / si è visto nel capitolo
5. dicemmo nel paragrafo / abbiamo detto nel paragrafo
6. dicemmo nel capitolo / abbiamo detto nel capitolo
7. vedemmo nel paragrafo / abbiamo visto nel paragrafo
8. vedemmo nel capitolo / abbiamo visto nel capitolo

Si sono raccolti prima (l'11 aprile 2020) tutti gli esempi di PR (N=146; numeri 1–8 sopra). Dopo, l'analisi si è estesa agli esempi di PP, e si sono raccolte tutte le occorrenze dell'esempio 1, cioè <*si è detto del paragrafo*> (n=130). In quest'occasione, si sono riconosciute alcune tendenze così chiare (si veda infra) che si è deciso di continuare la raccolta di esempi di PP con un campionamento sistematico, costituito dall'inclusione nel campione di un numero identico di esempi del PR, dalla prima occorrenza in poi. (L'unica eccezione è la frase <*si vide nel paragrafo*>, che appare una sola volta.)

Nel primo campione, si sono eliminate tutte le occorrenze multiple di una medesima pagina web – fenomeno abbastanza comune –, e si sono escluse le pagine dove la frase ricercata facesse parte di un metatesto, come le diverse pagine relative alla traduzione di esempi di una lingua all'altra (come *Reverso Context*). Inoltre, per ogni esempio, si è verificato che l'espressione in questione si riferisse allo stesso documento, e non al paragrafo o capitolo di qualcun altro. Dopo questa operazione, il numero totale degli esempi di PP inclusi nel campione è diminuito del 31,2 per cento (cioè, da 189 a 130). Questo valore si è applicato più tardi all'analisi delle frequenze totali del PP indicate da Google per ogni caso (i suddetti casi 2 e 4 a 8) nel momento di osservazione. Di conseguenza, siccome è risaputo che il PP è oggi il tempo predominante nei rinvii anaforici dei testi SGT, l'inclusione di tutti quegli esempi nel corpus in maniera sistematica non avrebbe fornito nessun valore aggiunto al presente studio.

Più tardi, il 14 giugno 2020 i risultati sono stati completati con un nuovo campione, costituito da tutti gli esempi disponibili di <*fu detto nel capitolo*> (N=24) e di uno stesso numero di esempi di <*è stato detto nel capitolo*>.

In base alle esperienze precedenti dell'autore, era da aspettare che il corpus raccolto attraverso ricerche con Google fornisse risultati incomparabili con i corpus tradizionali. Comunque, i dati basati sul corpus così raccolto sono stati completati con il corpus diacronico *DiaCORIS*. Si vedrà (capitolo 4) che la congettura precedente si è rivelata vera. Nell'uso di corpus tradizionali, un problema comune è che spesso non includono un numero sufficiente esempi se il caso esaminato è costituito da varie parole.

Per quanto riguarda la suddivisione degli esempi raccolti per genere, essi rappresentano, in conformità con Sabatini et al. (2011), testi di quattro tipi principali, cioè scientifici, giuridici, tecnici, e altri. I *testi scientifici* includono articoli scientifici e non solo, che sono scritti osservando le convenzioni della redazione accademica (come l'uso di rinvii alla letteratura) ma non producono, però, nuova informazione scientifica. Nella nostra classificazione, i testi *giuridici* sono costituiti da documenti giuridici di livello pratico, mentre p. es. le tesi accademiche relative alla giurisprudenza sono state considerate come testi scientifici. Lo stesso vale per i *testi tecnici*. Infine, i testi classificati come "altri" presentano quattro sottotipi: 1) testi di inspirazione religiosa, 2) testi destinati al grande pubblico, 3) testi amministrativi e 4) testi esoterici. Il primo tipo include relazioni sulla vita di personaggi religiosi; il secondo è costituito da testi pubblicitari e testi di divulgazione; il terzo include spesso testi ufficiali che non sono giuridici e il quarto, rispettivamente, testi su fenomeni considerati come esoterici, ecc. Illustriamo questi quattro sottotipi con i seguenti esempi:

1. Testi di ispirazione religiosa: si vide nel Capitolo Generale che fu tenuto in Natbona l'anno 1260 (1728, *Le vite de' Santi per tutti i giorni dell'anno*)
2. Testi destinati al grande pubblico:
   a. Testi pubblicitari: Le formiche come si è detto nel paragrafo precedente (*Disinfestazione formiche Roma*; contemporaneo)
   b. Testi di divulgazione: come si disse nel capitolo del maiz scritto avanti a questo (1550–1559, *Navigazioni e Viaggi nella parte del mondo nuovo*)
3. Testi amministrativi: Come già si è detto nel paragrafo relativo alla Performance organizzativa (2014, *relazione funzionamento 2014 def – Miur*)
4. Testi esoterici: come dicemmo nel capitolo precedente, e (2019, *La luce adamantina – insegnamenti esoterici per la nuova era*)

Su questa base, 239 (58,2%) dei testi rappresentano il genere scientifico, 34 (8,4%) il genere giuridico, e 22 (5,4%) il genere tecnico, mentre 112 (27,5%) sono classificati come "altri". In questo ultimo gruppo, 68 (60,7%) sono testi destinati al grande pubblico, 26 (23,2%) sono testi d'inspirazione religiosa, 14 (12,5%) testi amministrativi, e 4 (3,6%) esoterici.

I documenti più antichi sono per lo più testi disponibili sulla piattaforma Google Books (in totale 74). Questi ultimi anni, molte opere antiche (e poco conosciute) sono diventate liberamente e gratuitamente accessibili sulla piattaforma Google Books.

4. Risultati

Nella tabella 1 vengono riportate tutte le occorrenze di <*si disse nel paragrafo*> e di <*si è detto nel paragrafo*> per periodi (N= 145). Per quanto riguarda gli esempi di PP, secondo Google il loro numero totale era di 189; quindi, il numero totale degli esempi inclusi nel corpus dopo la "pulizia" dei risultati (v. paragrafo 3) è inferiore di 31,2 per cento (N=130).

Tabella 1. Tutte le occorrenze di *si disse nel paragrafo* (PR) / *si è detto nel paragrafo* (PP) per periodi (N=145).

Periodo	PR	PP
1500		
1600	1	
1700	1	
1800	**8**	2
1900–1949	4	2
1950–1999	1	7
2000		**119**
Totale	**15 (10,3%)**	**130 (89,7%)**

Vediamo in primo luogo che le occorrenze di PP sono assolutamente prevalenti (89,7%). Allo stesso tempo, si osserva un'evidente differenza diacronica: il PR appare già nel Seicento e la sua ultima occorrenza è del periodo 1950–1999. Al contrario, il PP appare per la prima volta nell'Ottocento, ma, come si vede, l'assoluta maggioranza dei casi proviene dal XXI secolo. Le occorrenze di PR arrivano all'apice nell'Ottocento, dopo cui cominciano a diminuire. Occorre notare che il numero totale dei documenti è cresciuto considerevolmente nel XXI secolo. Il corpus *DiaCORIS* non include nessun esempio dell'espressione in questione.

Nella seguente tabella (2) si illustrano gli esempi della tabella 1. Un numero identico di esempi di entrambi i tempi permette visualizzare meglio le differenze diacroniche fra loro. Nella tabella 1 sono incluse tutte le occorrenze di PR e PP, ma nelle seguenti tabelle si mostrano tutte le occorrenze soltanto del PR e un numero identico di quelle del PP. Sulla base della tabella 1, è evidente che la frequenza totale del PP è molto superiore a quella del PR, e si può supporre che lo stesso risultato si ripeterà negli altri casi. Tuttavia, le frequenze totali stimate del PP per ogni caso, basate sui risultati di ricerca di Google, si presentano più sotto, nella tabella 10.

Tabella 2. Esempi di PP della tabella 1 in proporzione al numero degli esempi di PP per periodi.

Periodo	PR	PP
1500		
1600	1	
1700	1	
1800	**8**	
1900–1949	4	
1950–1999	1	
2000		**15**
Totale	**15**	**15**

Vediamo che gli 11 esempi di PP anteriori al XXI secolo non figurano tra i primi 15 casi.

La tabella seguente (3) include i risultati per <*si disse / è detto nel capitolo*>:

Tabella 3. Tutte le occorrenze di *si disse nel capitolo* (PR) e le prime 30 di *si è detto nel capitolo* (PP) per periodi.

Periodo	PR	PP
1500	4	
1600	5	1
1700	5	1
1800	**7**	2
1900–1949	5	
1950–1999	1	
2000	3	**26**
Totale	**30**	**30**

Si osserva che la presenta una certa similitudine con quella delle tabelle 1 e 2. Di nuovo, l'Ottocento costituisce "il culmine" dell'uso del PR; tuttavia, gli esempi dei secoli precedenti sono talmente ridotti che ancora non possono essere presi in considerazione, ma i dati delle tabelle seguenti permettono di confermare o escludere la tendenza osservata. Dopo l'Ottocento, le frequenze del PR cominciano a diminuire. Sulla base della tabella 1, già pare evidente che si tratta della sua simultanea sostituzione con il PP. Comunque, i primi esempi di PR sono già del Cinquecento. Inoltre, il primo esempio di PP è già del Seicento:

(7) come **si è detto** nel capitolo decimonono dicono che lasciasse in testamento solamente a due vedove? due tuniche (1610; *Vita della beatiss. ma Vergine Madre di Dio*)

Questo testo fu scritto dal gesuita Ludovico Maselli, che nacque a Prota, nella provincia di Massa-Carrara, in Toscana, nel 1539 (Testa 2002: 76).

D'altro lato, come vediamo, il PR appare in una certa misura anche nei documenti contemporanei, come in:

(8) come **si disse** nel capitolo precedente (2014; *Il patto di famiglia: un contratto "poliedrico" a ratio speciale*)

L'esempio è stato scritto da Alberto Casazza, nato nel 1990 a La Spezia (Liguria). In conseguenza, l'autore non è di origine meridionale, cioè, almeno in questo caso, l'uso del PR non è spiegabile dall'origine geografica.

Il corpus *DiaCORIS* include un esempio di <*si è detto nel capitolo*>, dell'anno 1914.

I risultati relativi al secondo caso, con il *si* passivante e il verbo *vedere*, sono i seguenti:

Tabella 4. Tutte le occorrenze di *si vide nel capitolo* (PR) e le prime 8 di *si è visto nel capitolo* (PP) per periodi.

Periodo	PR	PP
1500		
1600		
1700	1	
1800	**5**	
1900–1949	1	
1950–1999	1	1
2000		**7**
Totale	**8**	**8**

Come si vede, i risultati sono di nuovo molto simili: l'Ottocento si profila come il periodo preferito del PR e il XXI secolo del PP. Il corpus *DiaCORIS* non include nessun esempio dell'espressione in questione con il PR né il PP.

Dopo, si illustrano i risultati relativi alle forme attive dei medesimi verbi, cioè alla prima persona del plurale; prima per il verbo *dire*.

Tabella 5. Tutte le occorrenze di *dicemmo nel paragrafo* (PR) e le prime 16 di *abbiamo detto nel paragrafo* (PP) per periodi.

Periodo	PR	PP
1500		
1600	1	
1700	3	1
1800	**5**	3
1900–1949	2	
1950–1999	2	1
2000	3	**11**
Totale	**16**	**16**

Sebbene i due principali risultati siano gli stessi – il PR appare maggioritariamente nell'Ottocento e il PP nel XXI secolo – si ottiene l'impressione che la riduzione del PR – usato in questo caso nella prima persona plurale – non si sarebbe prodotta allo stesso ritmo che nelle tabelle precedenti. In effetti, dopo l’Ottocento si registrano più esempi (n=7) di prima dell’Ottocento (n=4).

Quest’ultima osservazione trova appoggio anche nella tabella seguente, in cui *paragrafo* è stato sostituito da *capitolo*:

Tabella 6. Tutte le occorrenze di *dicemmo nel capitolo* (PR) e le prime 26 di *abbiamo detto nel capitolo* (PP) per periodi.

Periodo	PR	PP
1500		
1600	3	
1700	5	2
1800	**4**	2
1900–1949	7	1
1950–1999	3	2
2000	4	**19**
Totale	**26**	**26**

Stavolta il periodo con il maggior numero di esempi di PR (n=7) è la prima metà del Novecento, invece dell’Ottocento (n=4). Di nuovo, per il periodo dopo l’Ottocento si registrano più esempi (n=14) di prima dell’Ottocento (n=8). Dunque, questo risultato suggerisce che la forma personale possa aver un ruolo conservatore per il PR. Tuttavia, *DiaCORIS* non include nessun esempio del verbo *dire* al PR; invece, ce n’è uno al PP (del 1904).

La seguente tabella 7, con *vedere*, però non appoggia l’ipotesi precedente. Comunque, il piccolo numero totale di esempi (n=6) non permette di trarre conclusioni, ma vediamo che la concentrazione cronologica di esempi segue il modello ricorrente (PR: 1800, PP: 2000).

Tabella 7. Tutte le occorrenze di *vedemmo nel paragrafo* (PR) e le prime 6 di *abbiamo visto nel paragrafo* (PP) per periodi.

Periodo	PR	PP
1500		
1600		
1700	1	
1800	**4**	
1900–1949		
1950–1999		1
2000	1	**5**
Totale	**6**	**6**

La seconda tabella 8 con lo stesso verbo *vedere*, però, appoggia l'ipotesi sulla maggior conservazione della forma di prima persona plurale nel PR.

Tabella 8. Tutte le occorrenze di *vedemmo nel capitolo* (PR) e le prime 45 di *abbiamo visto nel capitolo* (PP) per periodi.

Periodo	PR	PP
1500		
1600		
1700	1	
1800	**18**	
1900–1949	11	
1950–1999	5	3
2000	10	**42**
Totale	**45**	**45**

Si osserva che la maggioranza degli esempi di PR (n=26) sono posteriori all'Ottocento. Comunque, se tutti gli esempi del Novecento si esaminano come totalità, sono 16. Il loro numero totale diminuisce ancora nel XXI secolo, nella situazione in cui il numero totale dei siti web e dei documenti ha subito un aumento notevole. *DiaCORIS* include un esempio dell'uso del PR nella prima persona plurale (da 1920) (con il sostantivo *capitolo*) e due del PP (1915 e 1993).

La tabella seguente (9) sintetizza l’informazione inclusa nelle tabelle precedenti.

Tabella 9. Tutti gli esempi delle tabelle 2–8 per periodi (n=292).

Periodo	PR (%)	PP (%)
1500	4 (8,7)	
1600	10 (6,8)	1 (0,7)
1700	17 (11,6)	4 (2,7)
1800	**51 (34,9)**	7 (4,8)
1900–1949	30 (20,5)	1 (0,7)
1950–1999	13 (8,9)	8 (5,5)
2000	21 (14,4)	**125 (85,6)**
Totale	146	146

La tabella conferma ancora una volta le osservazioni fatte nell’esaminare le tabelle anteriori. I principali risultati sono, in primo luogo, che l’Ottocento presenta il culmine degli esempi di PR. Dopo questo periodo, gli esempi incominciano a diminuire. Nella tabella questo cambiamento è regolare: 1800 (n=51), 1900 (n=43) e 2000 (n=21). Il secondo risultato di rilievo è che gli esempi di PP si concentrano nel XXI secolo. Sebbene si tratti sicuramente della sostituzione del PR con il PP, richiama l’attenzione l’improvvisa crescita dell’uso del PP nel XXI secolo. Il fatto che le tabelle 2–8 includano solamente il medesimo numero di esempi di PP e di PR non è un fattore decisivo qui: la stessa tendenza è presente anche nella tabella 1, che include tutti gli esempi disponibili di PP nel momento di osservazione.

Si è menzionato sopra (paragrafo 2) il risultato di Viale (2010: 213), secondo cui la frequenza del presente nei testi scientifici sarebbe cresciuta molto con il tempo, arrivando al 41,4% nell’Ottocento. Comunque, pare che la frequenza anteriore includa anche i casi in cui l’oggetto del riferimento si trova più avanti nel testo, o in un altro testo. In effetti, i rinvii anaforici in presente – almeno con le strutture qui esaminate – sono pochissimi; ad esempio, in internet (consultazione del 24 maggio 2020) soltanto è possibile trovarne un esempio con <*si dice nel paragrafo*> e due con <*si vede nel paragrafo*>:

(9) e quindi ricercare quei fondamenti di cui **si dice nel paragrafo** 1 (*Fondazione Rui. Incontro di Docenti universitari "Il senso comune fondamento di ogni scienza"* 1994)

(10a) Giallo se è solo idoneo (come **si vede nel paragrafo** 2.8) (*Caleidoscopio*, contemporaneo)

(10b) Altra breve domanda: come **si vede nel paragrafo** precedente (*Wikipedia: Pareri su Wikipedia*/, contemporaneo)

Di conseguenza, si può concludere che l'introduzione del presente nei testi scientifici non si è prodotta nei rinvii anaforici a scapito del PR e del PP. Invece, una spiegazione più plausibile è che il numero di siti internet si è moltiplicato durante gli ultimi anni (*Total number of websites* [26-5-2020]). Ne consegue che la frequenza della forma più comune è cresciuta tanto. Questo si riflette anche sul leggero aumento della frequenza del PR nel XXI secolo in confronto alla seconda metà del Novecento (13 > 21 esempi) nella tabella 9.

Infine, la tabella 10 presenta i numeri totali degli esempi di PR in proporzione a quelli di PP indicati da Google, ma con la sottrazione del 31,2% degli esempi (per quanto riguarda le tabelle 3 a 8), valore basato sulla differenza tra la frequenza indicata da Google e quella risultante dall'analisi di tutti gli esempi della tabella 1.

Tabella 10. Numero totale delle occorrenze del PR e PP nel momento di osservazione (N=1003). (dati sul PP per le tabelle 3–8 basati sulla sottrazione del 31,2% degli esempi dal totale indicato da Google).

Tabella	PR (%)	PP (%)	Totale
1	15 (10,3)	130 (89,7)	145
3	30 (22,7)	102 (77,3)	132
4	8 (6,5)	115 (93,5)	123
5	16 (11,1)	138 (95,8)	154
6	26 (17,3)	124 (82,7)	150
7	6 (4,5)	128 (95,5)	134
8	45 (27,3)	120 (72,7)	165
Totale	**146 (14,6)**	**857 (85,4)**	**1003**

In primo luogo, vediamo che le frequenze del PP sono regolari e consistentemente elevate (72,7–95,8%). Per quanto riguarda il PR, il suo numero più elevato nella tabella 8 (n=45), cioè, <vedemmo nel capitolo> in confronto alle altre tabelle richiama l’attenzione. Inoltre, l’applicazione del test del chi quadro presenta una differenza statistica in rapporto alle altre tabelle (χ^2=25,7; p=0; df=1), con il livello di significatività di $p < 0{,}05$. La frequenza del PR è statisticamente superiore a quelle delle altre tabelle. Inoltre, la seconda differenza statistica si registra nella distribuzione dei casi tra il periodo anteriore all’Ottocento o l’Ottocento e dopo l’Ottocento (1900–), illustrata nella seguente tabella, in cui si riassume l’informazione della tabella 9:

Tabella 11. Distribuzione degli esempi delle tabelle 2–8 tra i due periodi confrontati (n=292).

Tabella	Periodo	PR	PP
2	≤1800	**10**	
	1900–	5	**15**
3	≤1800	**21**	4
	1900–	9	**26**
4	≤1800	**6**	
	1900–	2	**8**
5	≤1800	**9**	4
	1900–	7	**12**
6	≤1800	**12**	4
	1900–	14	**22**
7	≤1800	**5**	
	1900–	1	**6**
8	≤1800	18	
	1900–	**27**	**45**
		146	146

Come ci si può aspettare sulla base della tabella precedente, la tabella 8 differisce statisticamente delle altre per presentare la maggior concentrazione di esempi nel Novecento e nel XXI secolo (χ^2=6,3; p=0,01; df=1). Come si spiega la maggior presenza della forma *vedemmo* nei documenti moderni? In primo luogo, nella tabella 8 si vede che, come nella maggioranza dei casi, l’Ottocento è il periodo focale del PR, come in:

(11) Lo **vedemmo** nel Capitolo settimo del primo volume (*Il progresso e il secolo decimonono capitolo primo di* […] 1844)

D'altro lato, 11 esempi provengono del XXI secolo:

(12a) Noi **vedemmo** nel capitolo 1 che. tentando di definire che cosa l'inglese è in una base puramente linguistica può essere problematico (*Un'introduzione alla sociolinguistica inglese* 2017)

(12b) **Vedemmo** nel capitolo precedente come il papa Clemente VI ponesse […] (*Storia di Milano* 2011)

(12c) quanto già **vedemmo** nel capitolo II (*Riflessioni su stato di eccezione* […] 2008)

Vedemmo appare anche nella tabella 7, ma con un altro sostantivo (*paragrafo*). Tuttavia, questa tabella non è conforme alla tabella 8: gli esempi (pochi) di PR appaiono nel Settecento e nell'Ottocento. Si può osservare, però, un denominatore comune: in entrambi i casi, i primi esempi di <*abbiamo visto*> appaiono tardi, nella seconda metà del Novecento, mentre in quattro delle tabelle 1–8 il PP può documentarsi prima, nei periodi precedenti. Per questo, non può escludersi la possibilità che l'espressione *vedemmo* sia un uso idiomatico, che, dunque, si sia conservato più a lungo e abbia resistito alla sua sostituzione con il PP. Una rapida ricerca con Google (31 maggio 2020) appoggia questa ipotesi: un'altra espressione dello stesso tipo, <*già vedemmo che*> appare 93 volte, mentre <*già abbiamo visto che*> 80. Di nuovo, richiama l'attenzione la frequenza elevata del PR, come in:

(13a) **Già vedemmo che** fin dal 1842 a Gesso esisteva un piccolo corpo musicale composto di (*Sotto le 2 Torri* 2010)

(13b) **Già vedemmo che** nel 1781 Giuseppe II decretò la separazione della provincia di Lombardia dal corpo vivente dell'intera Congregazione (*I Barnabiti* 2012)

(13c) **già vedemmo** che quella ordinaria da avanzamento-arretramento risultava probabilmente assai libera (*Glossèma chorea*, contemporaneo)

Infine, la tabella seguente riassume la distribuzione di tutti gli esempi delle tabelle 2–8 tra i due periodi.

Tabella 12. Distribuzione dell'insieme degli esempi delle tabelle 2–8 tra i due periodi confrontati (n=292).

	PR (%)	PP (%)
≤1800	**81 (55,5)**	12 (8,2)
1900–	65 (44,5)	**134 (91,8)**
	146	146

La tabella illustra in una maniera molto concreta la polarizzazione nell'uso dei due tempi: il PR è prevalente fino all'Ottocento e durante questo secolo, mentre il PP appare maggiormente a partire del Novecento (91,8%). Comunque, si vede che il PR non scompare neanche in questo ultimo periodo; infatti, come illustra la tabella 9, la sua frequenza non ha mai subito un crollo, ma piuttosto una diminuzione graduale (55,5% > 44,5%).

A questo punto, occorre interpretare l'insieme dei risultati ottenuti. In primo luogo, la spiegazione logica della concentrazione degli esempi di PR nell'Ottocento, registrata nella maggioranza delle tabelle, è la notevole regressione del latino come lingua della scienza nella seconda metà del Settecento, in particolare nel periodo 1770–1790 (Koch 1988b: 355). Dunque, è possibile che riflettano, almeno in una certa misura, le usanze latine nella scelta del tempo verbale: in latino si usa soltanto il perfetto semplice nelle forme attive, p. es.:

(14a) **Vidimus** supra § 36 quod jam Emericus 1197. (1790, *Operum omnium tomus III*)

(14b) Tantas varietates mutationesque Euricus cermens, ut **diximus** superius, (1735, *Histoire critique de l'etablissement de la monarchie françoise dans les Gaules*)

Invece, le forme passive esigono l'uso di una forma composta, come in:

(15a) cujus electricitas eadem omnino erat, ut **dictum est** superius , tam comparate ad metalla (1828, *In electricitatem salivae* […])

(15b) Res venditoris fiat ipsius emptoris, ut **visum est** superius (1325–1397, *Tractatus bipartitus de contractibus*)

Tuttavia, i risultati del presente studio non dimostrano nessuna correlazione tra la voce passiva in latino e l'uso del PP, piuttosto al contrario: nelle tabelle 1–4 si ne registrano soltanto 6 esempi di PP del periodo ≤1800, ma 37 di PR. Naturalmente, anche la differenza morfosintattica tra la costruzione latina e quella italiana è importante; inoltre, in latino appare soltanto l'ausiliario *esse* in questi casi.

Sopra, il passivo è stato rappresentato dal *si* passivante. Nel discorso scientifico si usa naturalmente anche il passivo proprio, cioè con *essere e venire* + participio passato. Per verificare se la tendenza constatata appare anche con questo tipo di passivo, si sono analizzati gli esempi <*fu detto nel capitolo*> e <*è stato detto nel capitolo*> dal punto di vista del loro periodo di apparizione, con la metodologia applicata ai casi esaminati sopra. I risultati sono illustrati nella tabella seguente:

Tabella 13. Distribuzione degli esempi <*fu detto nel capitolo*> e <*è stato detto nel capitolo*> tra i due periodi confrontati (n=48).

	PR (%)	PP (%)
≤1800	14 (58,3)	2 (8,3)
1900–	10 (41,7)	22 (91,7)
	24	24

Vediamo che le distribuzioni nella tabella 13 sono considerevolmente uguali a quella della tabella 12. Dunque, questi risultati confermano la tendenza osservata. *DiaCoris* include un esempio di PR (1907) e uno di PP (1910).

Ci si può domandare in quale rapporto siano i risultati ottenuti con il processo di grammaticalizzazione del PP in italiano, discusso nel paragrafo 2.

Infatti, i risultati riflettono direttamente il cambiamento generale, in cui il PR è stato sostituito dal PP. In primo luogo, nonostante l'assoluta maggioranza degli esempi di PP siano posteriori all'Ottocento, abbiamo visto (es. 7) che la sua prima (sebbene unica) occorrenza data già del Seicento (1610). Inoltre, i due esempi di PP della tabella 13 anteriori al Novecento risalgono proprio al Seicento:

(16a) com'**è stato detto** nel Capitolo passato (1603, *Nuova somma de' casi di coscienza e delle communi opinioni e risolutioni de…*)

(16b) come già **è stato detto** nel capitolo di far morire i vermi (1618, *Li Meravigliosi Secreti di Medicina*)

Per questo, si può essere sicuri che la rianalisi, il cambiamento semantico, si è prodotta molto tempo fa e che l'espansione del PP registrata nel Novecento e nel XXI secolo rappresenti l'analogia, o, ad essere precisi, piuttosto l'estensione ulteriore dell'uso del PP ai contesti di uso esaminati.

L'osservazione seguente di D'Achille (2016: 171) può aiutare a capire il processo meglio. L'autore menziona come proprio del linguaggio attuale l'influenza del parlato sullo scritto e l'accoglimento di tratti propri dell'oralità. Menziona anche (*loc. cit.*) che, ormai, il tradizionale modello tosco-fiorentino sarebbe stato pressoché abbandonato. Proprio questi fattori spiegherebbero l'introduzione del PP. A ciò si aggiunge il commento di De Mauro (2017), che fa menzione dell'espansione del PP a spese del PR dopo l'unificazione dell'Italia (1861–). Anche Berruto (2017: 13) attribuisce l'uso frequente del PP invece del PR come una delle caratteristiche del neostandard, concetto introdotto da questo autore (Berruto 2012 [1987]). Koch (2014: 91–92) interpreta la ristandardizzazione come una transizione dalla lingua di *distanza* alla quella di *immediatezza*, dunque verso una maggior accettazione delle caratteristiche della lengua orale. I risultati di un test relativo ai giudizi di accettabilità di certi tratti tipici del neostandard (Grandi 2019) rivelano che, per quanto riguarda il registro formale (p. 65), 108 (73,5%) intervistati accettano l'uso del PP invece del PR. Questo risultato è in linea con i risultati rapportati nel presente articolo.

Quanto sopra esposto rappresenta cambiamenti nella lingua scritta, ma, allo stesso tempo, si sono registrati cambiamenti abbastanza recenti anche nel parlato, che presentano tratti del processo di grammaticalizzazione descritta nel paragrafo 2. Nel suo studio sul linguaggio di due generazioni dell'anno 1968, Socrate (2018: 39) ha scoperto che, dell'insieme dei casi in cui il PP era usato nella prima persona, il 25,5 per cento provenivano dalla prima generazione e il 74,5 per cento della seconda (si veda anche Socrate s. d.). In modo corrispondente, le frequenze del PR erano del 79,3 e 20,7 per cento. Dunque, l'espansione del PP e il corrispondente regresso del PR è un processo esteso vicino ai nostri tempi. Serianni e Antonelli (2011: 106), però, danno a intendere, in riferimento al parlato italiano contemporaneo, che il processo in questione continuerebbe ancora attualmente: "*il passato remoto cede terreno al passato prossimo*".

5. Conclusioni e discussione

Nel presente articolo, si è messa in evidenza la sostituzione del PR con il PP nei rinvii anaforici dei testi SGT nel corso dei secoli e la quasi dicotomia cronologica che si presenta tra entrambi i tempi. Il processo corrisponde alla grammaticalizzazione del PP (paragrafo 2), ma, come si è visto nel paragrafo 4, le prime occorrenze dell'uso del PP nei casi esaminati risalgono già al Seicento (7, 16a, 16b); per questo, si tratta assolutamente di un'evoluzione analogica, della generalizzazione ulteriore di questo uso, il quale si espande a nuovi contesti. Tuttavia, benché il PR si profili come la variante meno usata oggi, non è inesistente, sebbene possa forse essere considerata pragmaticamente anomala. D'altra parte, è anche possibile che alcuni dei documenti in cui figura il PR in questi casi siano scritti da parlanti meridionali. Ad esempio, nel corpus figura il seguente esempio, in cui il PR appare in un testo scritto nel 2003–2004 da Giacomo Fonte, un professore della Università di Catania:

(17) Ricordando quanto **dicemmo** nel Paragrafo 6.4… (2003–2004, *Metodi matematici della fisica*)

Tuttavia, l’origine geografico non è un fattore che spieghi con certezza le eccezioni alla norma statistica: abbiamo visto che in (8) il PR viene usato da un settentrionale.

Su questo punto, occorre notare che anche i testi più antichi possono essere stati scritti da settentrionali, come il seguente, del 1684,

(18) Tomo, e qnanto **si disse** nel Capitolo X (1648, *Glosa sopra Raimundo Lullo e sopra la Turba Filosofica per prodursi oro et argento mediante la natura e l'arte*)

il cui autore è Federico di S. Antonio, lombardo. L’origine settentrionale dell’autore (o, meglio, “non meridionale”) è presente anche nell’esempio seguente, scritto da Giorgio Vasari, nato ad Arezzo, nel Cinquecento:

(19) come **si disse** nel capitolo avanti a questo (1550, *Le vite*)

Di conseguenza, i casi come questi devono essere considerati nel quadro generale dei cambiamenti nell’uso dei due tempi in testi scientifici, in riflesso del processo di grammaticalizzazione del PP e in assenza del “fattore meridionale”.

Nel paragrafo 2, si sono discussi i fattori presumibili della scelta tra PR e PP nel momento di riferimento a quello che l’autore ha detto prima nello stesso testo. Si è presentata un’allegoria con una giornata: così, se l’evento passato presentato si percepisce come psicologicamente lontano, apparirebbe il PR, se psicologicamente vicino, il PP, rispettivamente. Naturalmente, la propria situazione in questione può *a priori* interpretarsi come favorevole al tempo verbale della vicinanza psicologica: si tratta di stabilire una relazione con qualcosa di rilevante per il momento attuale, “l’adesso” dell’autore. D’altro lato, tradizionalmente, il PR è il tempo della narrazione e usato per esprimere eventi passati di valore aoristo (cfr. paragrafo 1, es. 2), soprattutto nel registro letterario. Da questa prospettiva, siccome la scelta del tempo dipende tanto dalla cronologia, i risultati ottenuti non sono affatto omogenei. Si può supporre che i documenti più vecchi siano più fedeli alle tradizioni letterarie, cioè all’uso del PR, e che i documenti più recenti si conformino al neostandard, e alla susseguente applicazione dei principi che governano la lingua orale alla lingua scritta (uso del PP per riferirsi agli eventi passati percepiti come psicologicamente vicini).

Per quanto riguarda il metodo usato, abbiamo visto il vantaggio presentato dalla creazione del corpus sulla base di ricerche con Google. Un corpus tradizionale, come *DiaCORIS*, come c'era da attendersi, non offre un numero sufficiente di esempi, se il caso studiato è un insieme costituito da varie parole.

Per terminare, questo studio ci ha permesso di rispondere al problema di ricerca in maniera soddisfacente. Come tema per future indagini sull'uso dei tempi verbali in testi SGT potrebbe menzionarsi p. es. la loro realizzazione in casi in cui l'evento passato riferito è completamente sconnesso dal momento presente dell'autore/lettore, in confronto ai casi esaminati nel presente studio.

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Lectiones praecursoriae

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Alchemy in the Vernacular: An Edition and Study of Early English Witnesses of *The Mirror of Alchemy*

SARA NORJA

The author defended her doctoral dissertation *Alchemy in the Vernacular: An Edition and Study of Early English Witnesses of* The Mirror of Alchemy at the University of Turku, Faculty of Humanities, on 27 May 2021. Professor Peter J. Grund (University of Kansas) acted as the opponent and Professor Matti Peikola (University of Turku) acted as the Custos. The dissertation is available at https://www.utupub.fi/handle/10024/151694

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1. Alchemical texts as research material

Gold has fascinated people through the ages. The main goal of medieval and early modern alchemy was to transmute lead or other lesser metals into gold. Nowadays, gold can be created from other elements in tiny amounts – but this process requires nuclear reactions to work and is so expensive that it is not a worthwhile pursuit. If an alchemist from the Middle Ages were to time travel to the present day, they might indeed be disappointed. After all these centuries, the preparation of artificial gold is theoretically possible but practically useless. The subject of my doctoral dissertation, an alchemical work called *The Mirror of Alchemy*, reflects this interest in gold.

Alchemy was one of the first experimental sciences, and it can be considered the mother of chemistry. Alchemy has a long history from well before the start of the Common Era all the way to the present day, but it flourished in Europe especially from the 13th to the 16th centuries. The major aims of alchemy were to make gold and prolong human life.

The definition of science has changed through the ages, and present-day science differs from medieval science, for instance, in its very worldview. Alchemy is considered a pseudoscience today, but in my dissertation I view it as an early branch of science. I think that historical material should always be approached on its own terms. If we view alchemy from the point of view of present-day science, the results will not reflect the views of people from the past and may be ahistorical.

In the West, alchemy was first written about in Latin, but especially from the 15th century onwards, vernaculars such as English started to gain ground. At the time, unlike nowadays, English was far from being the dominant language of science. On the contrary, English was only just becoming a viable language of science along with Latin. At first, new scientific texts were not written in English; instead, it was very common to translate Latin scientific texts into English. This was one way in which people developed English scientific terminology and expressions. Alchemy was no exception here, as there are plenty of English texts that were originally translated from Latin. *The Mirror of Alchemy*, which I examined in my dissertation, is also a translation.

There are plenty of English-language alchemical texts from the Middle Ages and the early modern period, but despite their numbers, they have been the subject of very little linguistic research so far. One reason for this is that these texts have not been edited much at all – in other words, they are not available in printed or digital form, but only exist as original manuscript copies in various libraries and archives.

I became enamoured of medieval manuscripts over a decade ago. I consider it extremely important for such historical texts to be brought forth in a form that is readable for people of the present day. For instance, historical linguists need authentic historical material for their research. Their work is made easier if this textual material is available in a form that is as faithful as possible to the original manuscript text. Thus, in my research I also aimed to spotlight previously unresearched alchemical material and to show that researching alchemical texts is worth the effort.

2. *The Mirror of Alchemy* through a philological lens

In my dissertation, I examined the early English witnesses of *The Mirror of Alchemy*. My material consisted of seven manuscript copies from the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, as well as a printed version from 1597. The manuscript copies had not been studied before my dissertation, and the printed edition had only received a little attention. *The Mirror of Alchemy* is thus an example of how even a rather well-known alchemical work can vanish into the depths of archives if researchers do not pay attention to such material.

The Mirror of Alchemy is about ten pages long. It is thus quite short for a scientific work – medieval scientific works could be a hundred pages long or more. *The Mirror of Alchemy* can be called a basic introduction to alchemy. It begins with the definition of alchemy, and it moves from a more theoretical to a more practical level. At the end, there are even some instructions for how to make gold with the Philosophers' Stone: this is the instrument through which one substance is transmuted to another, such as lead to gold.

The English work originates in a Latin work called *Speculum alchemiae* (this also means 'mirror of alchemy'). The author of the Latin work is unknown; anonymity of this kind is perfectly normal for medieval texts. However, *Speculum alchemiae* was earlier considered to be the work of Roger Bacon, a famous 13th-century English Franciscan. It was common to increase the authority of alchemical texts by using a revered scholar's name in this way. However, even though Bacon was interested in alchemy, he did not write *Speculum alchemiae*.

I will now quote a passage from the first chapter of *The Mirror of Alchemy*, translated into Present-Day English: "Alchemy is a science that teaches how to transform all manner of bodies into each other by their proper medicine". This quotation reveals that for the writers and readers of this text, alchemy was indeed a science and not a pseudoscience. In other words, the work I studied shows contemporary views of the position of alchemy: it is a science, and indeed, *The Mirror of Alchemy* deals with alchemy in a scientific manner. This is not the same as the present-day scientific style of my dissertation, for instance. However, The Mirror of Alchemy is a good example of a medieval scientific text, and of the conventions of scientific language used in its time.

In my dissertation, I examined *The Mirror of Alchemy* through a philological lens. Philology is an approach where texts are studied through close reading and trying to understand their context and content on a deeper level. My study approached the versions of *The Mirror of Alchemy* with the aim of understanding the smallest differences between the different manuscript copies and the printed edition. I also studied how *The Mirror of Alchemy*, as a translation, reflects the gradual shift of scientific language from Latin to English.

In addition, one of my main goals was to translate a previously unstudied manuscript version of *The Mirror of Alchemy*. This will enable the material to be used by scholars. The manuscripts have previously only been readable in the libraries they are held in, and reading them requires skills in reading centuries-old handwriting in addition to knowing Middle English. In this case, editing means that I have typed up the text onto a computer, taking care to show the essential features of the original manuscript. The edition also includes a commentary explaining the most difficult passages, a glossary, and other aids to the reader. Reading the edited *Mirror of Alchemy* requires skills in Middle English, so this is a specialised scholarly edition. It will bring researchers additional material for future studies.

There are many phases when editing a centuries-old manuscript text. The material I studied consists of handwritten books whose size varies from about the size of a modern hardback to that of a coffee table book. I visited libraries in the UK and Denmark to examine the manuscripts first-hand, since my approach is material-based and thus examining the physical manuscripts was necessary. I took photographs of the manuscripts in order to later transcribe the texts on the basis of those photographs. I analysed the handwriting in the manuscripts – the handwriting, in the case of *The Mirror of Alchemy*, differs quite a lot due to the 200-year time span of the manuscripts. I checked my transcriptions many times in order to eliminate errors. All of this happened hand in hand with my analysis of the text.

3. Results of the study

My dissertation places *The Mirror of Alchemy* in its historical and textual context. Historical background is especially essential for a reader's understanding in the case of historical material. Because *The Mirror of Alchemy* has come down to us in many different forms, it was also important to determine the textual relationships. I also compared the English versions to extant Latin manuscript copies and printed versions.

Comparison of the texts showed that they can be divided into four different groups, which in this case means four different translations. Two of the translations are based on Latin manuscripts; the third is based on a French printed edition, and the fourth on a Latin printed edition. The translations are independent of each other. The translations are also in part from different versions of the Latin source text. These translations, from a time period spanning about 200 years, also reveal that *The Mirror of Alchemy* was of interest also during the scientific revolution in the 16th and 17th centuries. The main reason for there being several translations of the work is that later translators were not aware of the existence of earlier translations. Alchemical theories remained rather similar in their basic form from the 15th to 17th centuries, so older texts could be read even two centuries after they had been written.

I also examined the four translations of *The Mirror of Alchemy* from the point of view of vocabulary. I studied how their source texts, that is, the different Latin versions (and one French version) affected the scientific terminology of the English translations. The different translations use various translation strategies, so they exhibit different ways of creating an English text on the basis of a Latin source text. Loanwords are a very common strategy. Some of the differences between the four translations are also due to language change over time. English changed a lot from the 15th to 17th centuries in terms of vocabulary as well as syntax. My study also revealed about ten Middle English words that are not in dictionaries. A linguistically interesting example is *occultatyffed*, which means 'hidden'. The form of this word is quite uncommon and it is not found in dictionaries, but based on the Latin *Speculum alchemiae*, it has its origin in the Latin word *occultatus*.

4. The importance of alchemy for historical linguistics

My study opens up the field of alchemy to linguists. As my results show, even a rather short text such as *The Mirror of Alchemy* can offer new knowledge on early English lexis, for instance. Alchemy is thus a fruitful subject for lexicologists in addition to people studying the history of science. My opponent Professor Peter J. Grund is a trailblazer in the study of English-language alchemical texts, and it has been a pleasure to continue on the path he has beaten. I have also found my own ways to further the rise of alchemical texts as research material. My goal is also to encourage other researchers to take up alchemical texts as linguistic material. There are vast numbers of alchemical texts in English, and they feature rich and previously unstudied linguistic material. They can reveal much about the development of scientific language.

For a long time, alchemy has been an obscure topic in English language studies, and people have been somewhat wary of approaching it. One reason for this is that alchemical texts have been considered difficult and even impenetrable. However, thinking like this can lead to a vicious circle: if alchemy is not studied from a linguistic point of view, its enigmatic nature is emphasised. The more alchemical texts are discovered, edited, and studied, the more understandable alchemy will become.

I hope that my dissertation shows that it is absolutely worthwhile to study alchemy also from a linguistic point of view. Digging deeper into these texts of course requires digging deep into the historical and scientific sides of alchemy in order for researchers to understand the content of their textual material. However, this task is very much worth the results. The more editions we have of alchemical texts, and historical linguistic studies on them, the more we will know about alchemy overall, and about the meaning of alchemy for English historical linguistics.

I have still not learnt how to make gold through *The Mirror of Alchemy*, but I have at least curated this abundant material for others to use. I hope that this field of study will provoke a broader interest in scholars so that English-language alchemy can escape the dark chambers of history and be brought to light.

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Enseñanza de las preposiciones *a*, *de*, *en*, *por* y *para* mediante su significado

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La autora defendió su tesis doctoral *Enseñanza de las preposiciones* a, de, en, por *y* para *mediante su significado* en la Universidad de Helsinki, Facultad de Letras, el 25 de septiembre de 2021. El oponente fue el Dr. Alejandro Castañeda Castro (Universidad de Granada) y la presidenta del tribunal, la Dra. Eeva Sippola (Universidad de Helsinki). La tesis está disponible en https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/333991.

Palabras clave español lengua extranjera, ELE, preposiciones, significado preposicional, polisemia preposicional, lingüística cognitiva

1. Introducción

La tesis que presento hoy, *Enseñanza de las preposiciones* a, de, en, por *y* para *mediante su significado*, es el final de una etapa que empezó en 2015 cuando solicité un puesto de lectora en la Universidad de Helsinki. Sin este primer paso, dos años después, no habría iniciado esta aventura: un proyecto que culmina mi trayectoria de profesora de español como lengua extranjera, trabajo al que me he dedicado desde el año 2004.

Antes de nada, aunque esta no sea una tesis de literatura, me gustaría empezar con una cita del conocido manual de teoría de la literatura de Aguiar e Silva: “Una palabra es caracola sutil en que rumorean diversamente las voces de los siglos, y por eso, en el origen, en la historia y en las vicisitudes semánticas de las palabras halla el escritor hilos recónditos para la tela compleja que va urdiendo” (Aguiar e Silva 1975: 533). En el proceso de este trabajo, las preposiciones se han desvelado como las caracolas que menciona Aguiar e Silva: palabras breves llenas de valores y matices en los que he buceado para descubrir como hilvanar esos significados con el objetivo de poder ofrecer a mis estudiantes una explicación lógica y significativa de estas partículas.

Como punto de partida, también quiero citar la respuesta de un alumno en el formulario del primer día de clase en el que escribió: “me interesa muchísimo la forma en que *piensa* el idioma”. Esta misma reflexión tuve yo cuando vi por primera vez el esquema de los seis casos locativos del finés, hecho que me llevó a revisar los errores con las preposiciones de mis estudiantes y a reflexionar sobre cuál podía ser su origen.

Estas dos citas resumen la semilla inicial que desencadena este trabajo, cuyo objetivo principal es comprobar si una enseñanza basada en el significado y la reflexión mejora el uso de las preposiciones átonas *a, de, en, por* y *para*, a menudo, mal llamadas vacías.

¿Por qué las preposiciones? Las preposiciones son un reto tanto para los aprendices como para los docentes. Dominar el uso de esta categoría gramatical implica conocer la gran variedad de valores y matices que transmiten, su variedad dialectal, sus alternancias, su combinación con verbos de régimen preposicional y su presencia en expresiones lexicalizadas. Además, la dificultad puede ser mayor cuando las lenguas son estructuralmente diferentes, como es el caso del finés y del español. Incluso, los nativos tenemos dudas. Una muestra de ello es la existencia de obras de consulta como el volumen *Uso de las preposiciones* de Moliner (2012) o las consultas en la página web de la *Fundación del español urgente*[1] dedicadas a las preposiciones.

La enseñanza de las preposiciones también constituye un desafío para los docentes, ya que a menudo los materiales didácticos con los que nos encontramos están basados en la explicación arbitraria, en la repetición y la memorización. Esta metodología puede ser eficaz para algunos estudiantes, pero como se muestra en este trabajo puede cambiarse o complementarse con una instrucción más reflexiva y significativa, prestando atención a los diferentes significados preposicionales, a la relación que se da entre ellos y al vínculo que hay entre el verbo y la preposición que selecciona.

Así, el objetivo principal de esta tesis es la mejora, por parte de estudiantes de español lengua extranjera, del uso de las preposiciones *a, de, en, por* y *para* en sus valores espaciales, temporales y conceptuales y con los verbos de régimen preposicional. Para ello diseñé una propuesta didáctica basada en el significado y la reflexión lingüística que piloté en un grupo de estudiantes de esta universidad. El desarrollo de un estudio cuasiexperimental y el análisis posterior de los datos me han permitido evaluar y analizar la mejora por parte de los alumnos.

1 Las consultas relacionadas con las preposiciones pueden localizarse en https://www.fundeu.es/dudas/tipo-de-unidad/preposiciones/

2. Estructura de la tesis

La estructura de este trabajo tiene dos partes diferenciadas, la primera dedicada a las cuestiones teóricas y la segunda al estudio empírico. El marco teórico tiene un carácter ecléctico, ya que se basa, por un lado, en la tradición gramatical española, y por otro, en la Lingüística Cognitiva.

2.1 Cuestiones teóricas

En el primer capítulo de la tesis se describe y delimita la categoría preposicional, la cual se considera una categoría semiléxica cuyo significado a veces puede ser más funcional que léxico; pero, aun así, es posible establecer una conexión entre sus diferentes valores. A continuación, se explica la presencia de la preposición en los complementos verbales, es decir, en el Complemento Directo, en el Complemento Indirecto y en el Complemento de Régimen Preposicional.

En el segundo capítulo, se presentan los postulados de la Lingüística Cognitiva, y se desarrollan las tres aportaciones teóricas en las que, en parte, se basan los materiales didácticos: los esquemas de imagen, la metáfora conceptual y la teoría de prototipos. Los esquemas de imagen (*image schema*, Johnson 1987) son patrones básicos recurrentes que se adquieren a partir de la interacción con el entorno y que se extienden a otros conceptos o dominios mediante la metáfora conceptual. Estos esquemas permiten interpretar y organizar el conocimiento y las experiencias vividas. La metáfora conceptual (Lakoff y Johnson 1980, 1999, 2003) es un proceso que consiste en estructurar un dominio meta en función de un dominio origen. Y, por último, la teoría de prototipos (Lakoff 1987) plantea la categorización de la realidad en función del grado de prototipicidad de los elementos que la componen. Así, algunos miembros de una categoría son más representativos que otros. En este capítulo también se presenta la concepción de la categoría preposicional desde la Lingüística Cognitiva y la aplicación de sus teorías a la enseñanza de idiomas.

En el tercer capítulo, se describen el significado básico y los usos espaciales, temporales y conceptuales de las preposiciones *a*, *de*, *en*, *por*, *para* y *con*, los verbos que las rigen y las alternancias y variedades en el español de América. Los estudios de los cuales he partido para la descripción de cada preposición son aquellos en los que predomina una perspectiva semántica, por ejemplo, el trabajo sobre el sistema preposicional español de López (1970), el artículo de Trujillo (1971) y el estudio de Morera (1988) sobre el sistema preposicional español. Asimismo, he tenido en cuenta artículos o monografías centradas en una preposición o en varias y estudios con una perspectiva diacrónica, puesto que esta puede explicar los usos menos transparentes. Estos trabajos de carácter semántico permiten acercarse a la descripción de las preposiciones desde la tradición gramatical española y ofrecen conceptos útiles para el diseño de los materiales didácticos.

La explicación de los verbos de régimen preposicional (VRP) no es exhaustiva, ya que la idea principal no es dar una lista de verbos, sino que se quiere poner de manifiesto que entre el verbo y la preposición hay una redundancia semántica más o menos transparente que explica la selección de una u otra preposición. Las indicaciones que da la *NGLE* (RAE y ASALE 2009) respecto al régimen de cada preposición son el punto de partida y se complementa o amplía la información con otros trabajos, sobre todo, el estudio de Cano Aguilar *Estructuras sintácticas transitivas en el español actual* (1981) y el de García-Miguel *Transitividad y complementación preposicional en español* (1995).

En el caso de las preposiciones *a*, *de*, *por* y *para*, se hace referencia también a algunas perífrasis verbales formadas con la preposición en cuestión, ya que la aparición de una u otra está relacionada con la redundancia semántica que se da entre el verbo y la preposición. Para este tipo de construcciones se ha utilizado, entre otras referencias, el *Diccionario de perífrasis verbales* de García Fernández (2006).

Para la explicación de las alternancias y variedades de las preposiciones en el español de América, los principales trabajos que sirven de referencia son: las *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano* de Cuervo (1907); la *Sintaxis hispanoamericana* de Kany (1976); y el capítulo de Morera dedicado a las preposiciones dentro de los *Estudios lingüísticos del español hablado en América* (2009). El objetivo es presentar algunas diferencias con el español europeo, independientemente de si están aceptadas o no por la normativa académica, intentando evitar el eurocentrismo, ya que como indica Morera: “como […] formas de expresión diferentes, requieren el respeto y la consideración de todos los hablantes del idioma” (Morera 2009: 527). No hay que olvidar que nos llegan muchos estudiantes que aprenden español en países latinoamericanos.

La descripción de cada una de las preposiciones se cierra con una sección que sirve de enlace entre la parte teórica y su aplicación. En ella se introduce brevemente cómo se ha explicado el significado básico de las preposiciones en los materiales didácticos diseñados para el grupo experimental. Las preposiciones se han descrito, por un lado, mediante una serie de rasgos, y por otro, con un esquema de imagen básico a partir del que se relacionan los usos espaciales, temporales y conceptuales.

La parte teórica de esta tesis termina con un capítulo dedicado al análisis del tratamiento de las preposiciones en algunos materiales de enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera publicados en España y en Finlandia. Los elementos que se han tenido en cuenta para este análisis son: en primer lugar, cómo se presenta el significado de la preposición y sus diferentes usos; si se ofrece una lista de usos ordenada o no; y si se hace hincapié en un significado básico de la preposición. Además, también se ha considerado si esa información metalingüística aparece en español o en finés. En segundo lugar, se ha examinado el uso de ejemplos y si estos aparecen traducidos o no. Finalmente, se ha analizado el tipo de imágenes que se muestran al hilo de las explicaciones.

Respecto al uso de las preposiciones con VRP, la mayoría de manuales omiten su presentación y explicación; pero, en los que sí forma parte de los contenidos, se ha analizado si estos se exponen siguiendo algún tipo de clasificación o únicamente por orden alfabético. En cuanto a las actividades, se ha prestado atención a su tipología, si se trata de ejercicios de carácter estructural de rellenar huecos o son de otro tipo.

También se han analizado publicaciones enfocadas tanto a los alumnos como a los docentes con un enfoque cognitivo, por ejemplo, la *Gramática cognitiva para profesores de español* (López García 2004), la *Gramática Básica del estudiante de español* (Alonso et al. 2005), el capítulo dedicado a las preposiciones dentro del manual *Temas de gramática española para estudiantes universitarios* (Erlendsdóttir 2014) o los materiales en línea *PapELEs y ELEfante* (Díaz y Yagüe 2015a, 2015b).

2.2 Estudio empírico

En cuanto a la metodología del estudio empírico, se trata de un diseño cuasiexperimental transversal llevado a cabo en la Universidad de Helsinki. En la Figura 1 puede observarse el desarrollo del trabajo empírico.

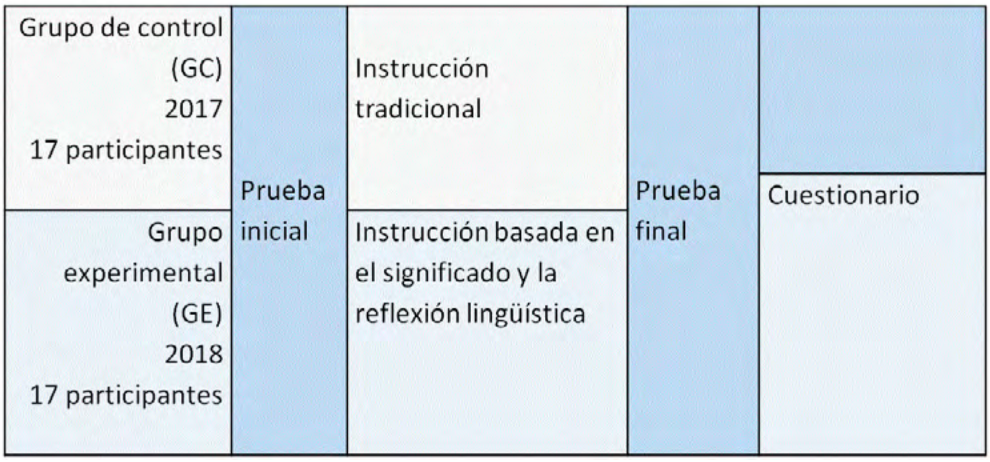


Figura 1. Esquema del desarrollo del estudio empírico.

El grupo de control (GC) lo constituyen estudiantes del curso de Gramática del Español del año académico 2017–2018, y el grupo experimental (GE), los alumnos de la misma asignatura del siguiente año académico 2018–2019. Los dos grupos realizaron la misma prueba inicial y el cotejo de los resultados entre ambos grupos permitió verificar que las dos muestras eran comparables, razón por la que se pudo llevar a cabo el estudio empírico.

El primer grupo, el GC, recibió una instrucción con un enfoque más tradicional y el segundo grupo, el GE, una instrucción basada en el significado y la reflexión lingüística en la que se pusieron en práctica los materiales diseñados para esta investigación. Ambos grupos realizaron la misma prueba final, que sirvió para contrastar los resultados. Finalmente el GE rellenó un cuestionario sobre las experiencias de aprendizaje de las preposiciones y la secuencia didáctica puesta en práctica.

Como puede deducirse, se trata de una investigación mixta, puesto que los datos recogidos son tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos. Por un lado, están los datos de la prueba inicial y final analizados estadísticamente; y por otro, los audios y materiales recogidos de las actividades, el cuestionario posterior a la intervención en el GE, el diario de la docente-investigadora y los comentarios de los alumnos del curso de Lingüística Cognitiva aplicada a la enseñanza de ELE que impartí en 2018.

2.3 La secuencia didáctica

Presentaré brevemente la secuencia didáctica y algunos de los materiales puestos en práctica con el GE. La primera actividad era de reflexión gramatical (Figura 2) y en ella los alumnos en parejas o grupos tenían que escribir ejemplos sobre los usos de las preposiciones *a*, *de*, *en*, *por* y *para*.

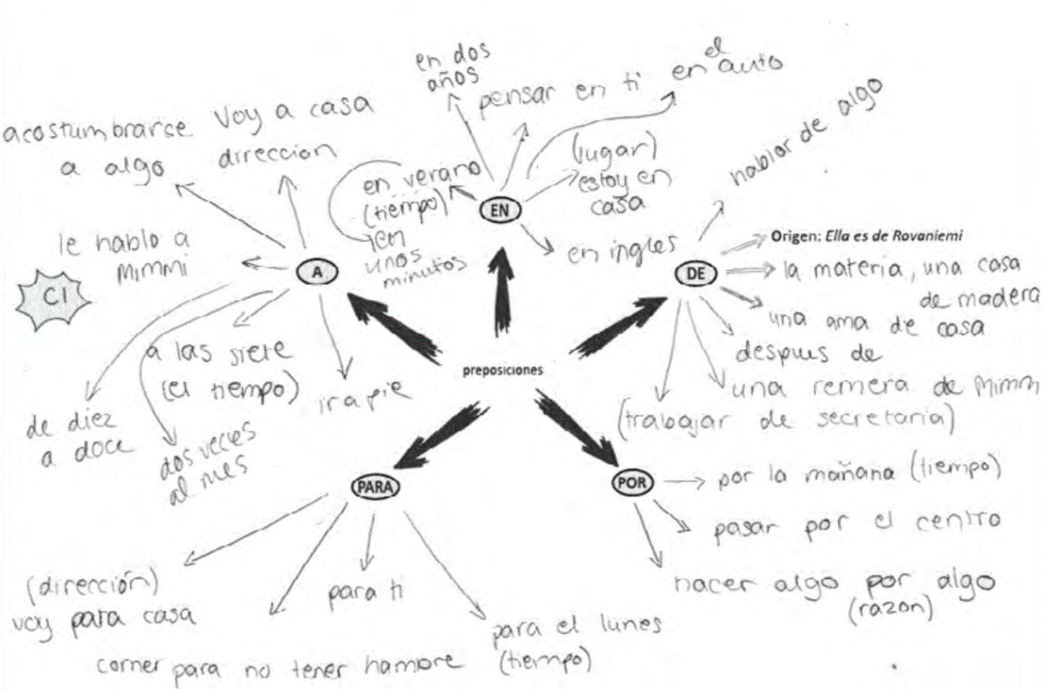


Figura 2. Muestra de unos alumnos de la actividad de reflexión gramatical.

Esta actividad fue grabada para poder observar sus dudas y su grado de reflexión metalingüística, lo cual permitió analizar el tipo de metalenguaje usado por los estudiantes y las ideas adquiridas sobre los usos preposicionales. Dicha actividad sirvió de punto de partida para después trabajar la polisemia preposicional. La multiplicidad de significados se explicó a partir de la metáfora conceptual estableciendo los tres tipos de usos: los espaciales, los temporales y los conceptuales (Figura 3).

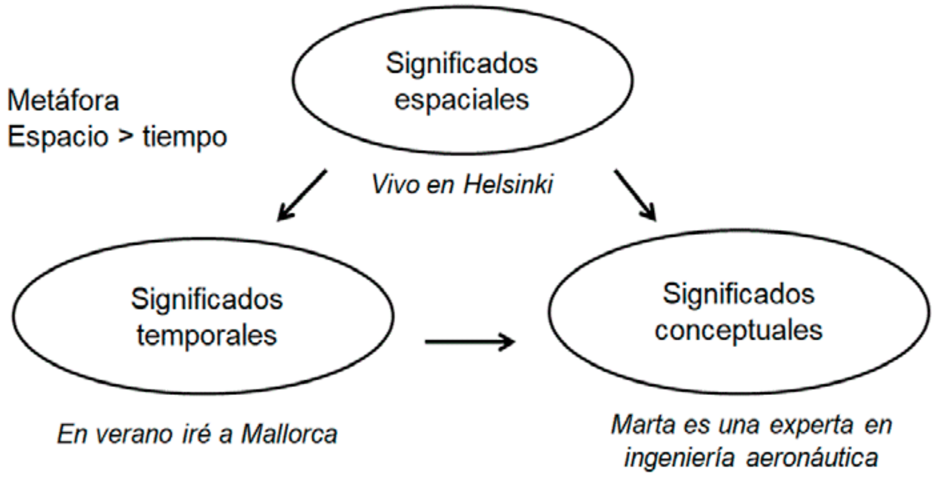


Figura 3. Esquema para explicar la multiplicidad de significados de las preposiciones.

Después de esta reflexión previa debían realizar tres tareas, en primer lugar, comprobar que entre los ejemplos del esquema tenían como mínimo un uso temporal, uno espacial y otro conceptual (Figura 4). En el caso de que les faltara algún valor, podían añadirlo.

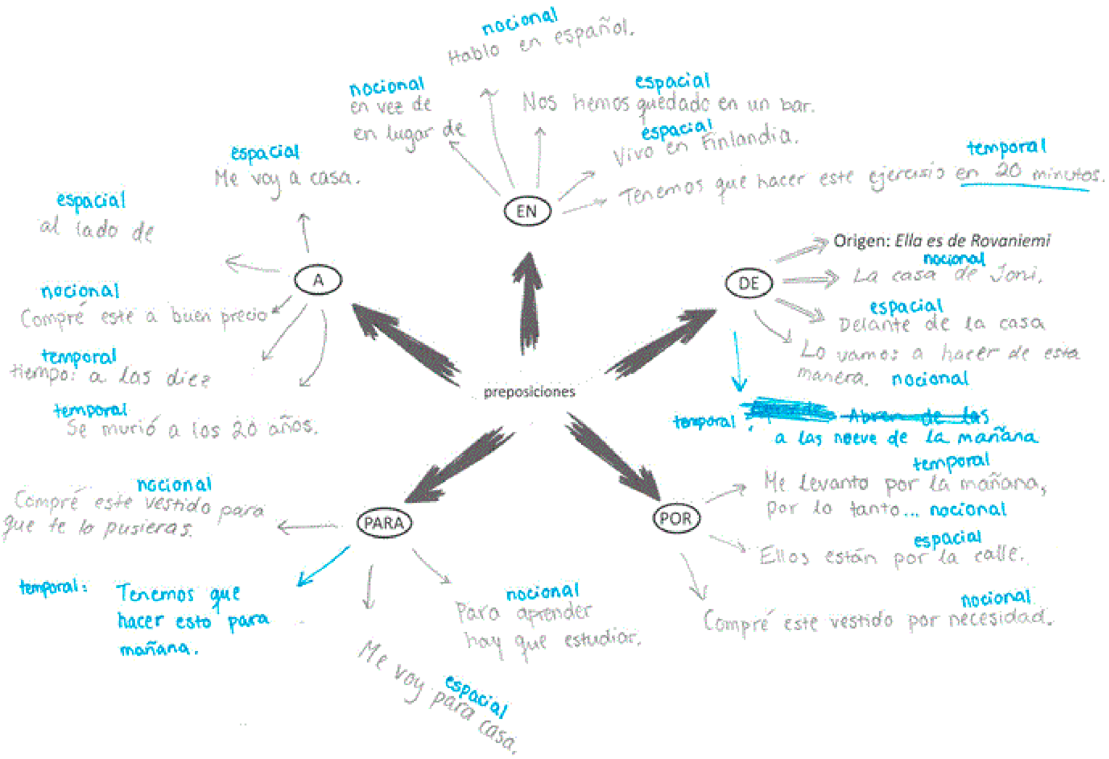
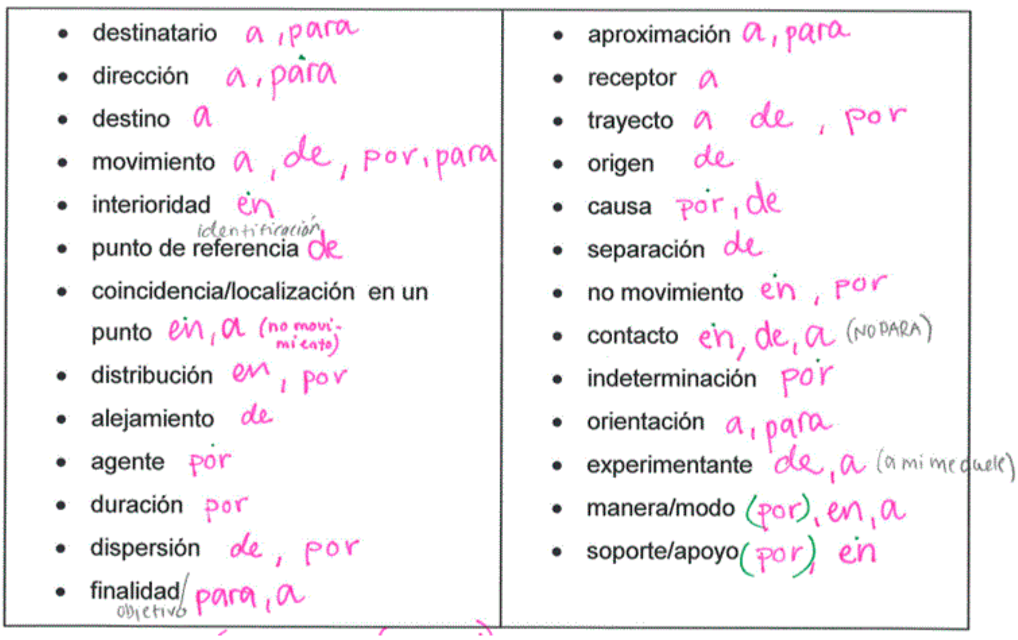


Figura 4. Muestra de unos alumnos con la comprobación de los usos espaciales, temporales y conceptuales.

En segundo lugar, tenían que dibujar un esquema que representara cada una de las preposiciones (Figura 5).

Figura 5. Muestra de algunos de los esquemas dibujados por los alumnos.

La tercera y última tarea consistía en asociar las preposiciones con una serie de rasgos, o etiquetas semánticas, es decir, para cada preposición, los estudiantes debían seleccionar aquellos rasgos que podían explicar sus usos (Figura 6).



• destinatario a, para • dirección a, para • destino a • movimiento a, de, por, para • interioridad en • punto de referencia (identificación) de • coincidencia/localización en un punto en, a (no movimiento) • distribución en, por • alejamiento de • agente por • duración por • dispersión de, por • finalidad/objetivo para, a	• aproximación a, para • receptor a • trayecto a de, por • origen de • causa por, de • separación de • no movimiento en, por • contacto en, de, a (NO PARA) • indeterminación por • orientación a, para • experimentante de, a (a mi me duele) • manera/modo (por), en, a • soporte/apoyo (por), en

Figura 6. Muestra de un alumno con la asociación de los rasgos a las preposiciones.

Una vez completadas las tres tareas (comprobar que tenían ejemplos de valores espaciales, temporales y conceptuales, dibujar un esquema representativo de cada preposición y asociar los rasgos a las preposiciones) expliqué cada una de las preposiciones siguiendo este patrón: primero el esquema básico de la preposición y los rasgos semánticos asociados a esta (véase el ejemplo de la preposición por en la Figura 7).

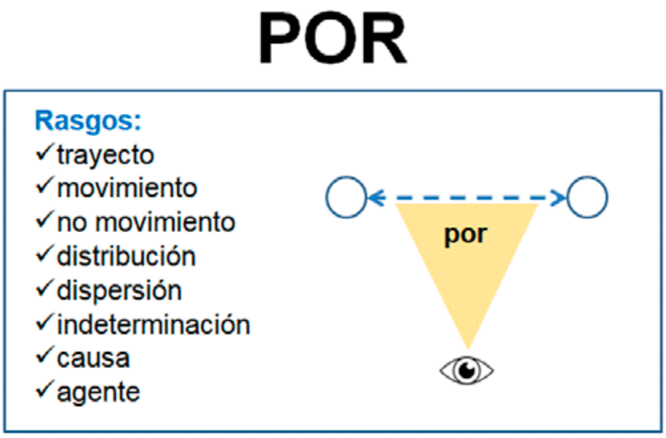


Figura 7. Esquema básico y rasgos asociados a la preposición *por*.

Seguidamente presentaba la red de significados conectados, es decir los usos espaciales, los temporales y los conceptuales (véase en la Figura 8 algunos de los usos de la preposición *por*).

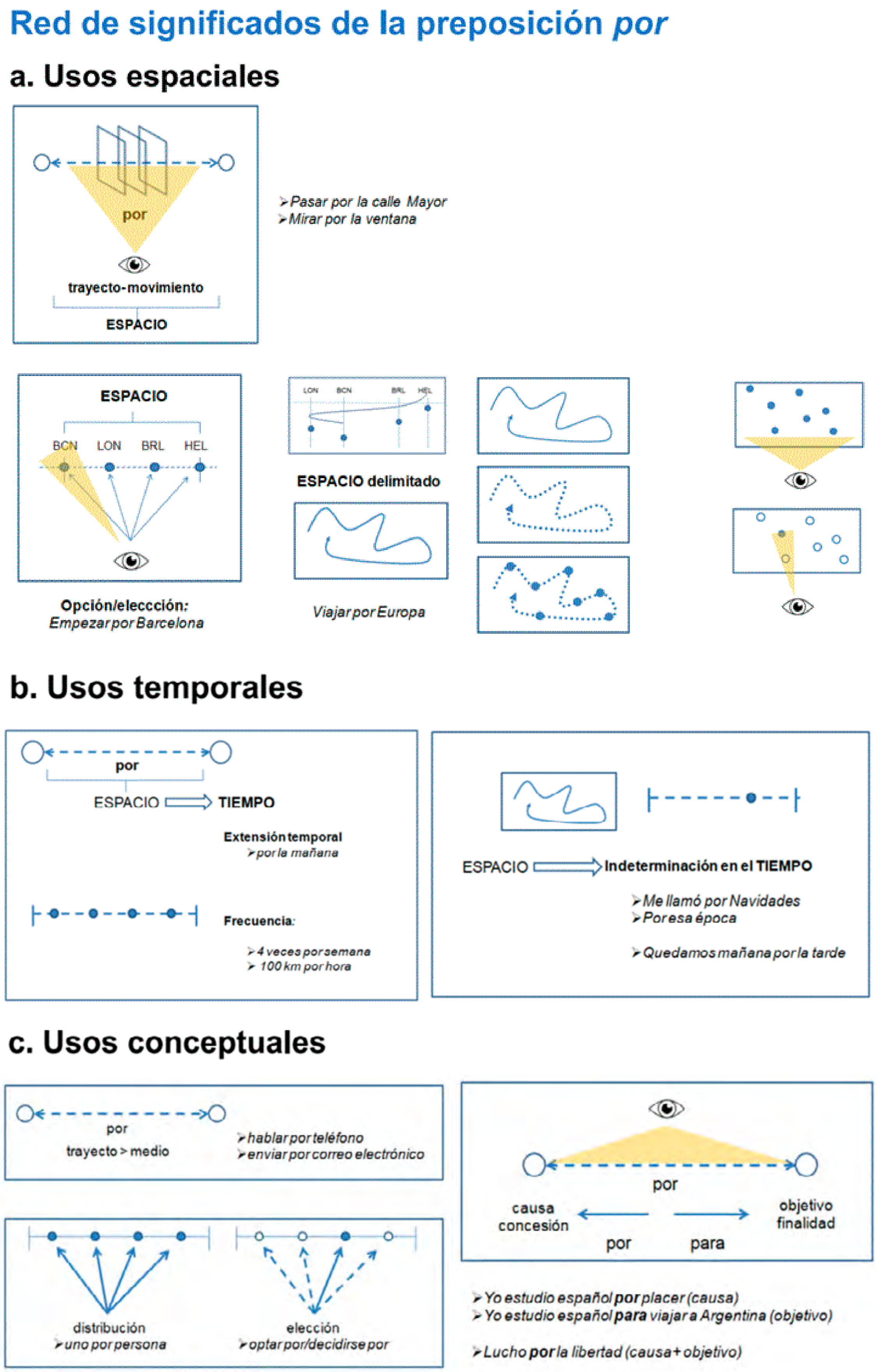


Figura 8. Red de significados de la preposición *por*.

Finalmente, a modo de síntesis de los usos de cada preposición, les mostraba un esquema que recogía los usos según su prototipicidad considerando el uso espacial como el prototípico. Véase el de la preposición *en* en la Figura 9.

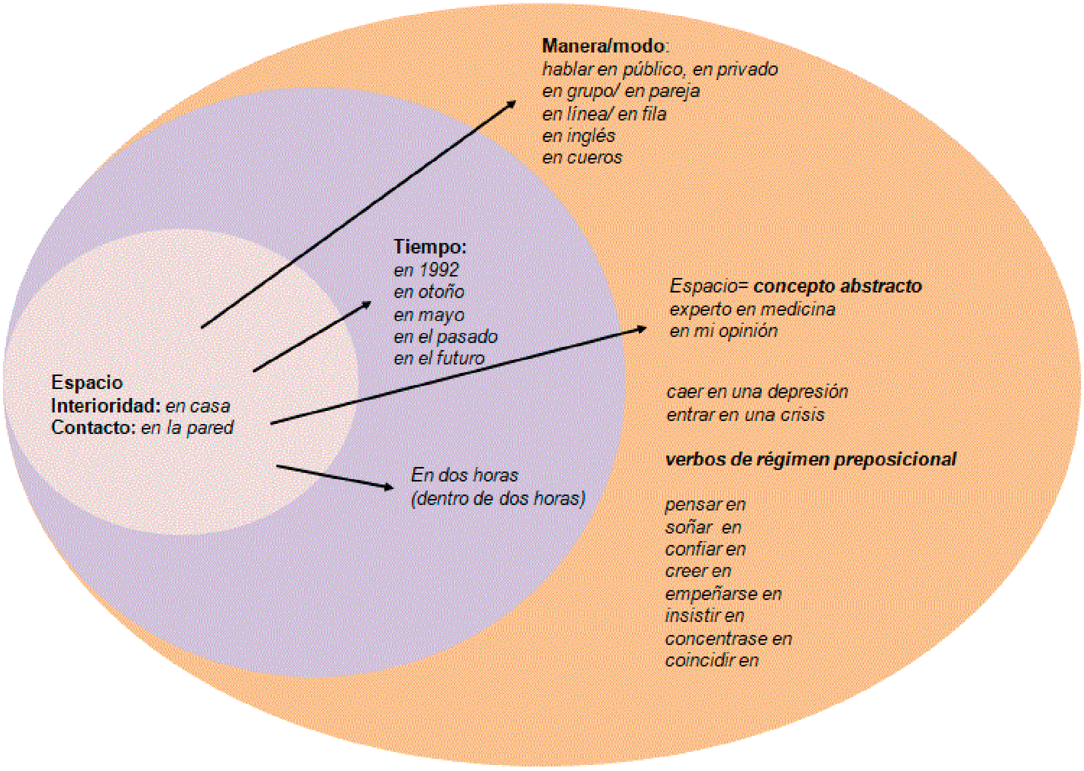


Figura 9. Esquema que resume usos de la preposición *en* según su prototipicidad.

Los verbos de régimen preposicional (VRP) los trabajamos partiendo del esquema básico de cada preposición y sus rasgos, asumiendo que entre el verbo y la preposición hay una información léxica redundante (Figura 10).

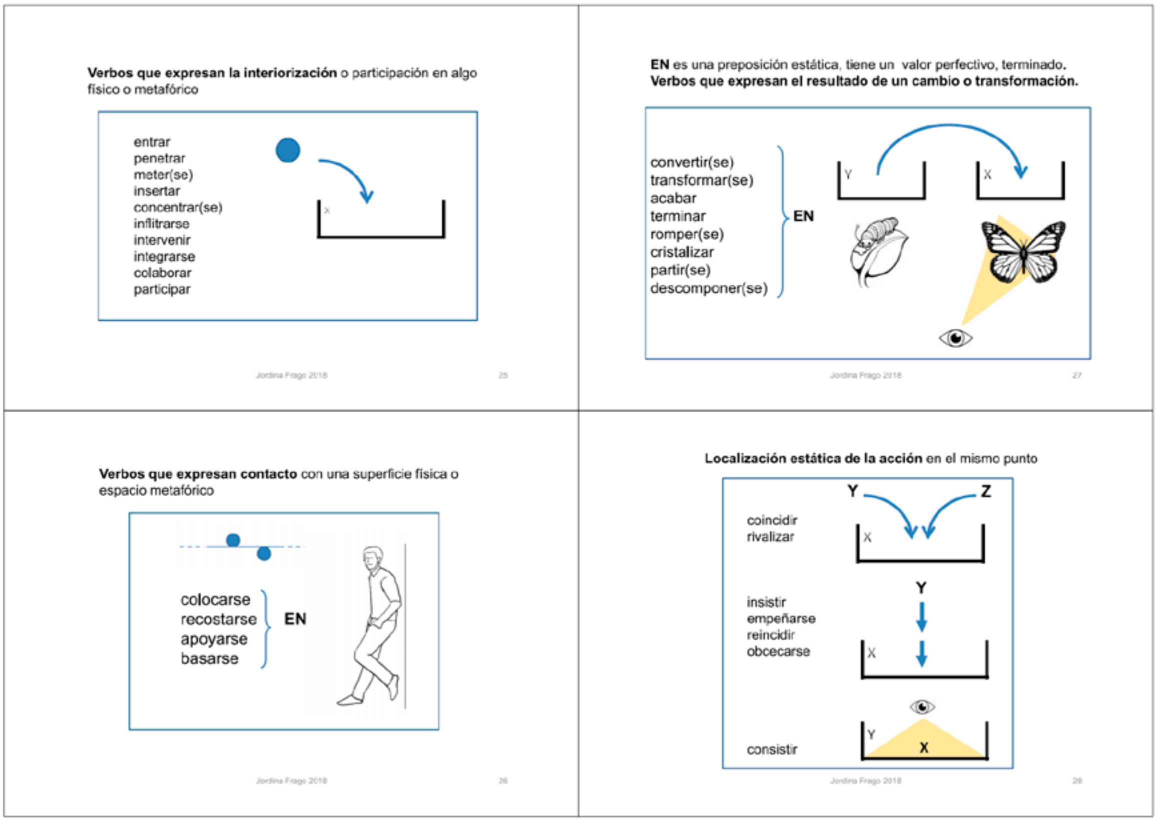


Figura 10. Muestra de las diapositivas utilizadas para la explicación de los verbos de régimen preposicional que seleccionan *en*.

Intercaladas con las diapositivas había actividades para poner en práctica lo explicado. La prueba final, idéntica en los dos grupos, estaba integrada en una de las actividades del examen y me permitió recoger datos para comparar los resultados entre el GC y el GE.

2.4 Resultados

El análisis de los datos obtenidos permite afirmar que el uso de las preposiciones mejora cuando el estudiante ha sido expuesto a una instrucción con un enfoque basado en el significado y la reflexión metalingüística. Como puede apreciarse en la Gráfico 1, si se tiene en cuenta el total de aciertos, tanto la media ($\bar{X}$) como la mediana (Me) suben en el grupo experimental ($\bar{X}_{GC} = 15.64$, $\bar{X}_{GE} = 7.\ 17.82$; $Me_{GC} = 16$, $Me_{GE} = 19$).

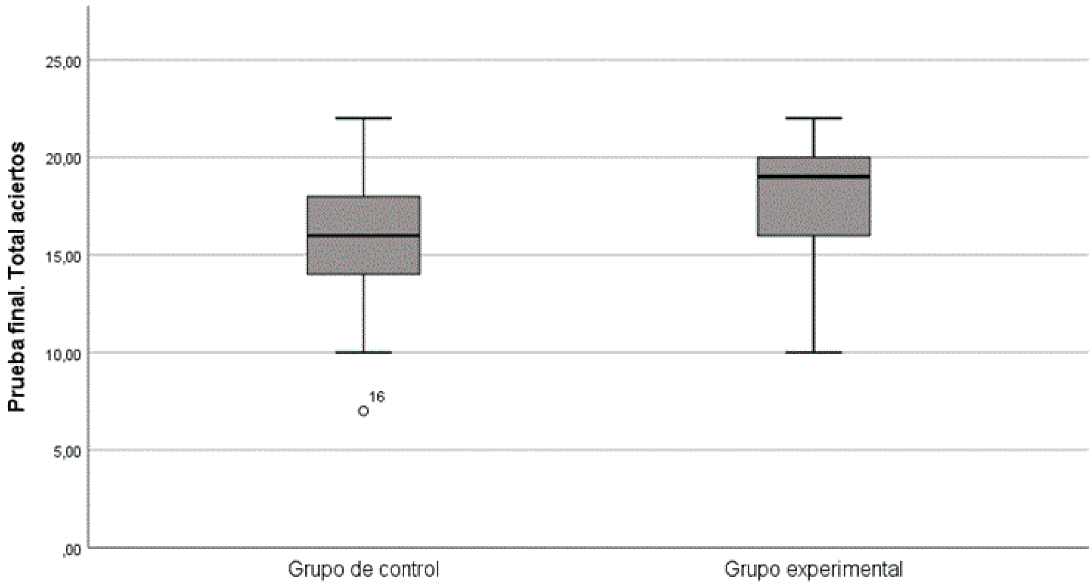


Gráfico 1. Diagrama de cajas simple del total de aciertos de la prueba final por grupo.

Si se observan los resultados por separado, es decir, usos espaciales, temporales y conceptuales, por un lado, y usos con verbos de régimen preposicional, por otro, se perciben diferencias. En el primer caso, como puede observarse en el Gráfico 2, la mediana de ambos grupos es la misma (Me_{GC} = 8, Me_{GE} = 8), pero la distribución no, ya que en el grupo experimental se concentra en valores más altos. El hecho de que no haya diferencias significativas entre los dos grupos puede estar relacionado con la interiorización de dichos usos, sobre todo los espaciales y temporales. En estos casos se trata de valores preposicionales que se presentan en niveles más bajos y es posible que la metodología que he diseñado y puesto en práctica sirviera más para consolidar conocimientos que para recibir nueva información o modificar la ya interiorizada.

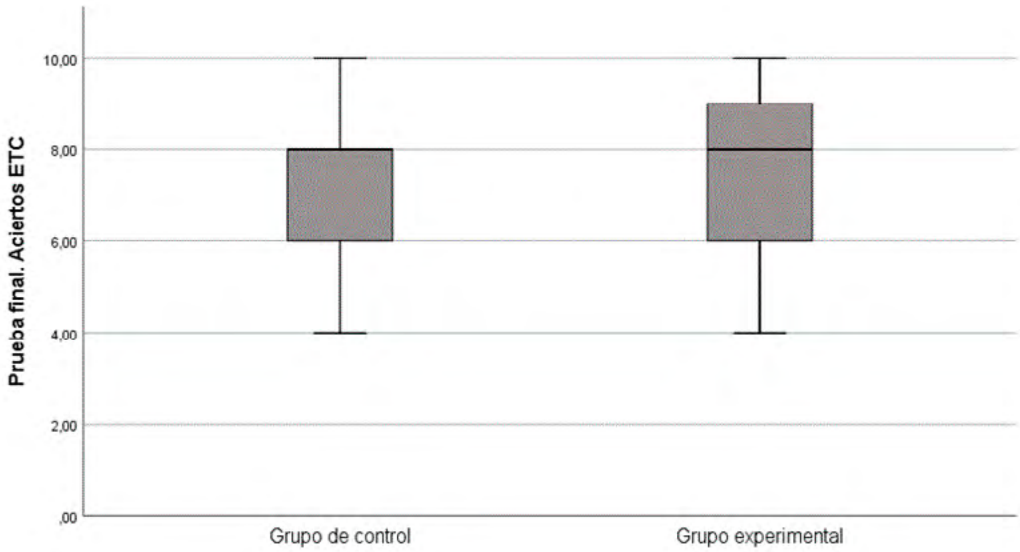


Gráfico 2. Diagrama de cajas simple de los aciertos de usos espaciales, temporales y conceptuales de la prueba final por grupo.

En cuanto a los usos de las preposiciones con verbos de régimen preposicional (Gráfico 3), tanto la media como la mediana del GE suben un punto ($\bar{X}_{GC}$ = 9.35, $\bar{X}_{GE}$ = 10.35; Me_{GC} = 9, Me_{GE} = 10) y la distribución presenta una simetría positiva. Obsérvese que el 75 % de los participantes del GE se sitúa en valores superiores a los obtenidos por el 50 % de los del GC. En el caso del uso de las preposiciones con VRP hay una diferencia estadísticamente significativa y se estima que su nota media tuvo un incremento relativo de casi el 24 %.

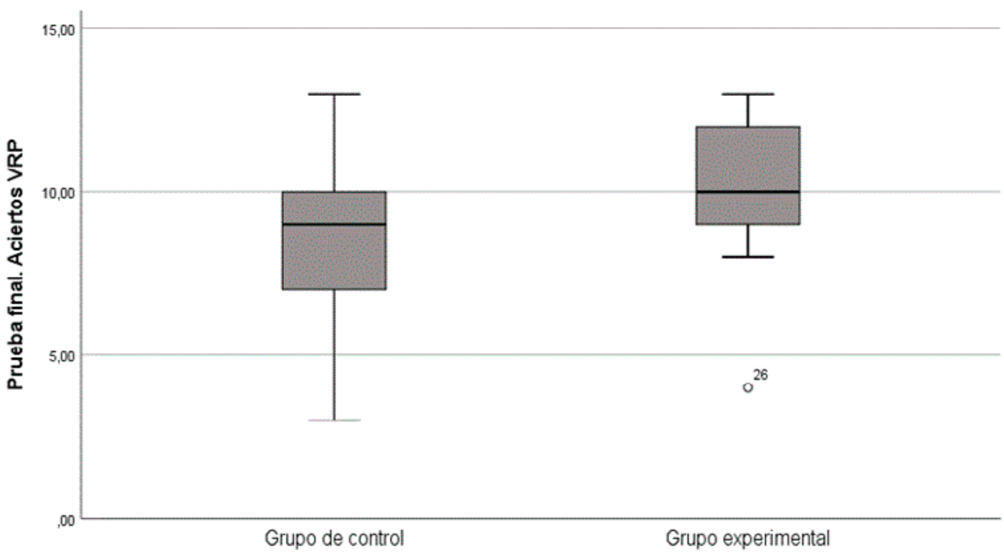


Gráfico 3. Diagrama de cajas simple de los aciertos de la prueba final por grupo en usos preposicionales con VRP.

Según los datos extraídos del cuestionario posterior a la intervención, en el grupo experimental, tanto el uso de información visual como de rasgos para la descripción de las preposiciones fueron valorados positivamente (Figura 11). Así, el 75 % consideró que los esquemas de imagen les habían ayudado a comprender mejor el significado de las preposiciones, hasta el punto de que pensaron en ellos durante las actividades y el examen.

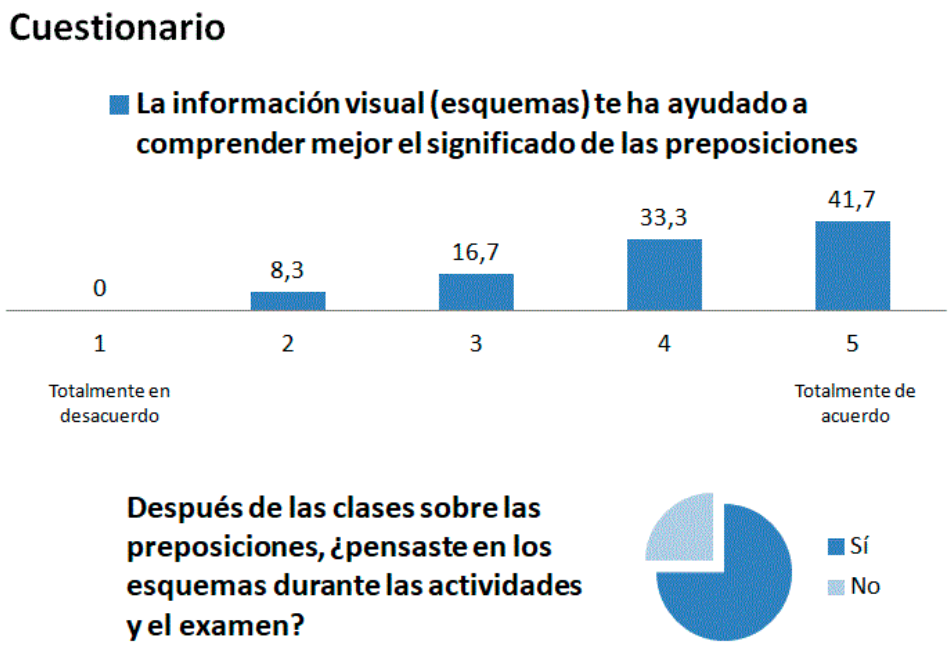
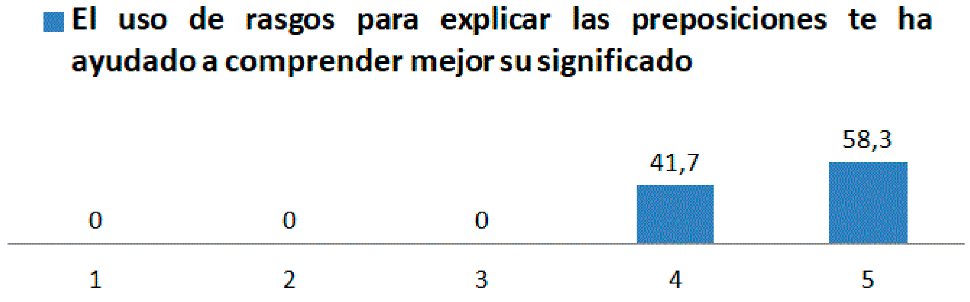


Figura 11. Resultados de las preguntas del cuestionario referentes a la información visual de los materiales didácticos.

Como puede apreciarse en la Figura 12, el uso de rasgos también fue valorado positivamente y la respuesta a la pregunta sobre si trabajar los verbos de régimen preposicional desde el significado había sido útil fue afirmativa al cien por cien.



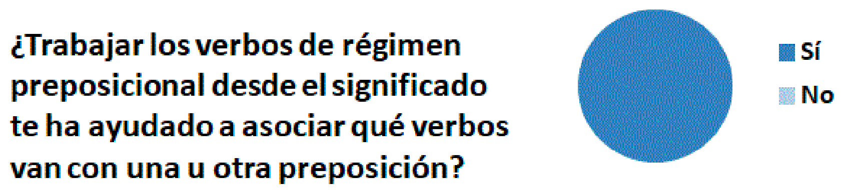


Figura 12. Resultados de las preguntas del cuestionario referentes al uso de rasgos y a una explicación basada en el significado.

3. Conclusiones

Para terminar, considero que con este trabajo ofrezco una alternativa a la enseñanza de las preposiciones *a*, *de*, *en*, *por* y *para* mediante su significado. Se trata de una propuesta didáctica que he puesto en práctica, que ha sido valorada positivamente por los estudiantes y que proporciona una mejora en sus resultados, sobre todo, en los usos de estas preposiciones con los verbos de régimen. Para poder llevar a cabo el diseño de materiales y el estudio empírico ha sido necesario un trabajo teórico previo tanto de la categoría preposicional como de los significados que transmiten las preposiciones en las que se centra esta tesis.

Como en todo trabajo de estas características, a lo largo del proceso y con la perspectiva del tiempo han surgido ciertas limitaciones y posibles líneas de investigación futura. Respecto a las limitaciones, hay que señalar el número de participantes en el estudio empírico y las modificaciones que haría en la secuencia didáctica y los materiales después de su primera aplicación. En cuanto a posibles investigaciones, la variedad geográfica del sistema preposicional se presenta como un interesante campo de estudio en el que analizar los diferentes valores de una preposición y cómo estos se distribuyen estableciendo un posible *continuum* entre los valores de unas y otras. También sería interesante adaptar y mejorar los materiales para su aplicación en diferentes niveles y perfiles de estudiantes, para luego, poder medir y valorar su eficacia con otro estudio empírico más amplio.

A pesar de las posibles mejoras, creo que el trabajo realizado ofrece, por un lado, una detallada explicación del significado de las preposiciones *a, de, en, por* y *para* que puede ser muy útil para los profesores de español lengua extranjera, y por otro, una propuesta didáctica que podría adaptarse a diferentes niveles y perfiles de estudiantes y que está avalada por un estudio empírico.

Cierro esta *lectio* recuperando el sentido de las dos citas con las que he empezado: las preposiciones *a*, *de*, *en*, *por* y *para*, cinco de las palabras más breves y más usadas del español, esconden una red de significados llena de riqueza. Son un pequeño tesoro en el que profundizar para poder entender su complejidad. Sin la comprensión y valoración de esta variedad y polisemia, no es posible la enseñanza o aprendizaje de estas partículas.

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Effet du prototype sur le changement de sujet en traduction : Étude d'un corpus bidirectionnel littéraire français ⇄ finnois

LÉA HUOTARI

L'auteure a soutenu sa thèse de doctorat « Effet du prototype sur le changement de sujet en traduction : Étude d'un corpus bidirectionnel littéraire français ⇄ finnois » à la Faculté des Lettres, à l'Université de Helsinki, le 6 février 2021. La rapporteure était la professeure Sonia Vandepitte de l'Université de Gand, Belgique et la présidente de la soutenance était la professeure Mervi Helkkula. La thèse de doctorat est disponible à l'adresse suivante : http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-51-6955-6

Mots-clés français, finnois, sujet syntaxique, animacité, prototype, traduction fantôme, universaux de traduction

1. Pourquoi étudier le changement de sujet en traduction ?

J'ai longtemps travaillé comme traductrice principalement du finnois vers le français. Dans ma pratique de la traduction, je me suis souvent demandé pourquoi, dans certains contextes, je m'éloignais du texte original pour rendre ma traduction plus naturelle en français. Le changement opéré par rapport au texte original était-il toujours justifié ? Cette thèse de doctorat a donc d'abord été pour moi une tentative de mieux comprendre ma propre pratique de la traduction.

Ensuite, cette thèse est le fruit d'un hasard. Pendant mes études de Master, j'étais tombée sur un article du linguiste français, Jean Claude Chevalier publié en 1995 et intitulé « D'une figure de traduction : le changement de sujet ». Dans cet article, Chevalier présente l'idée intéressante que le changement de sujet grammatical obéirait, en traduction, à certaines règles précises. Selon lui, quand le contexte le permet, le traducteur aurait tendance à préférer un sujet animé (un être humain ou un animal) agentif, en d'autres termes, acteur, de l'action décrite par la phrase. Ainsi en va-t-il dans l'exemple (1) tiré de Chevalier (1995 : 29) où le texte source (TS), extrait de *Through the looking-glass* (*De l'autre côté du miroir*) de Lewis Carroll, est suivi de son texte cible (TS) en français :

1. TS : How am I to stop it? said the Sheep. If you leave off the rowing, it'll stop of itself. So **the boat** was left to drift down the stream as it would. (Lewis Carroll, *Through the looking-glass*, Stockholm-London : The Continental Book Company AB 1946, p. 256.)

> TC : "Comment voulez-vous que, moi, je l'arrête ? dit la Brebis. Si vous cessez de ramer, il s'arrêtera tout seul". **Alice** laisse donc l'esquif dériver au fil de l'eau.
> (Trad. Henri Parisot, *De l'autre côté du miroir*, Aubier-Flammarion 1971, p. 143.)

Dans le texte original, le sujet grammatical inanimé « the boat » est traduit par un sujet animé humain : « Alice ». Dans le texte source, la scène est décrite à partir du bateau que l'on laisse tout simplement dériver sur l'eau au gré du courant sans que personne n'en soit responsable. L'identité de celui qui est à l'origine de l'action de laisser le bateau à la dérive n'est pas mentionnée. Selon Chevalier, cette absence de précision n'est pas pour plaire au traducteur et il change le sujet inanimé « bateau » du texte source pour un animé humain. Dans le texte traduit, c'est *Alice*, le protagoniste principal du roman qui laisse le bateau dériver. Selon Chevalier, c'est justement l'animé humain agentif, celui qui agit, qui a la préférence du traducteur en position sujet. Avais-je moi aussi préféré mettre en position sujet l'acteur humain de l'action dans mes traductions au détriment d'un sujet inanimé ?

Cette hypothèse du changement de sujet et plus précisément de ce qu'on pourrait appeler une humanisation du sujet en traduction peut être rattachée à un autre phénomène plus général, cognitivement très fort : la perspective anthropocentrique du monde (du grec *anthropos* 'homme/être humain') et qui veut que nous transposions notre point de vue d'humain sur le monde. Notre vision du monde centrée sur l'humain s'explique principalement par le fait qu'en tant qu'être humain, nous nous intéressons surtout aux autres êtres humains, à ceux qui nous ressemblent. Rien ne nous intéresse plus que les actions de nos semblables, leurs expériences, leurs sentiments, leurs pensées, leurs émotions ou encore leurs possessions. Ainsi, en tant qu'être humain, nous occupons toujours une position privilégiée dans la description des événements. Généralement, il suffit qu'un événement implique un être humain, pour que celui-ci soit mentionné en premier, occupant ainsi justement la fonction sujet dans la phrase ; tout comme dans l'exemple de Chevalier ci-dessus. Cette perspective anthropocentrique est d'ailleurs à l'origine de la paréidolie qui nous fait voir un visage humain ou un animal, lorsque l'on observe les nuages dans le ciel ou un objet qui nous semble avoir des yeux et une bouche par exemple.

Au début de la thèse, je me suis d'abord concentrée sur cette humanisation du sujet en traduction. L'hypothèse de Chevalier me paraissait extrêmement convaincante et méritait selon moi d'être testée entre deux langues appartenant à des familles différentes. D'abord, le sujet prototypique est souvent associé justement à l'animacité et plus particulièrement au trait +*humain* et à la fonction sémantique d'*agent* (Fillmore 1968, Kuno 1976, Jackendoff 1990, Dowty 1991). Ensuite, le finnois est une langue intéressante pour les études traductologiques, car ce n'est pas une langue indo-européenne comme la plupart des langues étudiées et comparées en traductologie où l'anglais domine (*cf*. Rabadán 2005, Tymoczko 1998, Mauranen 2000). En étudiant le phénomène du changement de sujet entre deux langues aussi différentes que le finnois et le français dans un corpus plus large que celui de Chevalier qui se contente de donner 75 exemples, je pensais pouvoir renforcer cette hypothèse.

Pour tester l'hypothèse de l'humanisation du sujet en traduction, j'ai compilé un corpus parallèle bidirectionnel constitué d'extraits de textes littéraires finnois et français et de leurs traductions respectives françaises et finnoises. Si dans les traductions de mon corpus, le même phénomène d'humanisation était visible, l'hypothèse d'humanisation du sujet en traduction aurait gagné plus de force. Cette hypothèse aurait ainsi pu être rattachée à une hypothèse plus générale en traductologie qu'est celle des *universaux de traduction* (Baker 1995) et qui concerne des traits caractéristiques à la traduction. Au départ, je pensais donc tester une hypothèse, celle de l'humanisation en traduction et faire ainsi une étude quantitative liée à l'hypothèse des universaux en traduction.

2. Méthodologie

Pour étudier le phénomène d'humanisation du sujet en traduction français-finnois-français, il m'a d'abord fallu analyser les sujets des deux langues pour pouvoir ensuite sélectionner les changements de sujet pertinents du point de vue de l'étude. N'étaient pertinents que ceux qui n'étaient pas contraints par les différences morphosyntaxiques intrinsèques aux deux langues. Le finnois n'est pas comme le français ou l'anglais, une langue dite agentive où l'acteur serait de facto le point de départ de la phrase en occupant la fonction sujet. Au lieu d'exprimer l'action du point de vue de son agent, le finnois utilise souvent une construction impersonnelle qui efface justement l'agent lorsque son identité n'est pas jugée importante (*cf*. Lieko *et al.* 2003 : 29). Ces constructions impersonnelles du finnois ont la particularité de ne pas comporter de sujet grammatical. Que faire alors de ces constructions somme toute relativement nombreuses dans le corpus littéraire finnois étudié ? Les laisser tomber et me concentrer uniquement sur les sujets lexicalement exprimés ? Ou au contraire les intégrer ? Mais dans ce cas, comment analyser le changement lorsque d'un côté en français on a un sujet grammatical mais que de l'autre côté, en finnois, il n'y a pas de sujet ? Prenons un exemple tiré de mon corpus, sous lequel nous donnons la traduction littérale (TrL) de l'extrait en finnois :

2. TS : – Kannetaanko gramofoni takaisin? Poika ehdottaa […].
   (Leena Lander, *Iloisen kotiinpaluun asuinsijat*, Juva : WSOY 1997, p. 206.)
   TrL : – Est-ce qu' ***Ø*** *[on-passif] porte le phono à sa place ? le garçon propose.*

   TC : – Voulez-**vous** que **j**'aille remettre le phono à sa place ?
   demande Olavi […].
   (Trad. Anne Colin du Terrail, *Les Rives du retour*,
   Arles : Actes Sud 2000, p. 207.)

Dans le texte original, la phrase « Kannetaanko gramofoni takaisin? » correspond à une forme passive et ne contient pas de sujet lexicalement exprimé. En français, elle est traduite par « Voulez-vous que j'aille remettre le phono à sa place ? » qui comporte deux sujets grammaticaux (« vous » et « je » qui figurent en gras) alors qu'il n'y en a aucun en finnois. Littéralement, cette phrase du texte source pourrait se traduire de la manière suivante : « Est-ce qu' Ø [on-passif] porte le gramophone à sa place ? »

Pour pouvoir prendre aussi ces constructions relativement fréquentes dans mon corpus, il m'a fallu étendre la conception du sujet syntaxique. Ainsi, j'ai considéré dans ces cas, le participant humain dont l'identité reste vague qui est impliqué par le passif finnois comme équivalent du sujet grammatical français. J'ai précisé plus haut que seuls les sujets qui ne changeaient pas en raison de différences morpho-syntaxiques étaient pertinents pour mon étude. Pour déterminer si un sujet était pertinent ou pas, j'ai eu besoin d'outils. J'ai donc développé une méthodologie propre basée sur ce que j'appelle une traduction fantôme selon le linguiste Matthiessen (2001 et 2014) à qui j'emprunte le terme en anglais de *shadow translation*. Pour être pertinent pour l'étude, le changement de sujet est comparé à un sujet identique en termes de référent et de trait ±*animé* à celui du texte source, appelé traduction fantôme. Ainsi dans l'exemple que nous venons de voir, si le traducteur avait pu garder un référent vague comme dans la phrase originale finnoise alors le changement est pertinent. Dans notre exemple, la construction passive renferme implicitement un participant humain dont l'identité reste vague et qui doit être interprétée en contexte. En traduction française, le pronom générique « on » aurait permis de garder la même ambigüité quant au participant de l'action à accomplir. Dans « On remet le phono à sa place » que je propose comme traduction fantôme, tout comme dans l'original, *kannetaanko gramofoni*, le participant de l'action peut aussi bien être le garçon qui pose la question que les personnes à qui il s'adresse dans cette phrase. Le changement de sujet est donc pertinent ici car le traducteur aurait pu traduire cette phrase en conservant cette même ambigüité, même si la phrase finnoise ne contient pas de sujet lexicalement exprimé. Pourtant, il décide de le changer alors que rien ne l'y oblige.

Cet exemple montre également que l'humanisation du sujet n'est pas seulement l'affaire d'un sujet inanimé qui deviendrait animé, comme dans l'exemple (1) de Chevalier. Cette humanisation est aussi une affaire de degré d'humanitude et de définitude et c'est précisément la spécificité du finnois qui a permis d'affiner l'hypothèse du changement de sujet en traduction. En élargissant la notion de sujet, j'ai compris aussi que je ne pouvais pas étudier uniquement les cas d'humanisation du sujet en traduction. Si je me concentrais uniquement sur ce type particulier de changement, je ne m'intéressais qu'à une partie du phénomène.

3. Facteurs favorisant le changement de sujet

En me penchant de plus près sur les changements de sujet de mon corpus, je me suis vite rendu compte aussi que le sujet était loin d'être une catégorie grammaticale homogène et que je ne pourrais pas faire une étude quantitative comme je l'avais pensé au départ. Plus j'avançais dans l'analyse des changements de mon corpus, plus je ressentais le besoin de comprendre quels étaient les facteurs qui semblaient les favoriser. C'est donc sur la compréhension du phénomène que je me suis concentrée, adoptant ainsi une approche qualitative.

L'étude a permis de dégager cinq facteurs favorisant le changement de sujet dans notre corpus : un facteur d'action qui correspond comme dans les exemples (1) et (2) à la préférence pour un sujet humain acteur de l'action décrite par le texte original. Quand l'action n'implique pas un être humain, elle peut être déclenchée par un sujet inanimé, causateur, qui aura tendance à se retrouver en position sujet du texte traduit (« Le vent a fait tomber la chaise »). Le deuxième facteur de changement est concerné par une expérience humaine. Celle-ci-peut correspondre à un sentiment au sens large. Il inclut la cognition (« J'apprends le suédois ») et l'affect (« J'aime ma famille ») ; un état qui peut être permanent (« Je ne suis pas très grande ») ou temporaire (« Je suis un peu stressée ») ou enfin une perception qui peut être visuelle, auditive, olfactive, tactile ou gustative. Mais ce dernier type de sentiment concerne plutôt le sens français-finnois (« D'ici, je vois toute la salle »). Le troisième facteur est la possession, du type « J'ai une famille géniale ».

Ces trois premiers facteurs sont intimement liés à l'humain et peuvent être rattachés à l'anthropocentrisme. En tant qu'être humain, rien ne nous intéresse plus que nos semblables, leurs actions, leurs expériences et leurs possessions. Les deux derniers facteurs se superposent aux trois premiers et agissent à un niveau différent. Ils sont liés à la manière dont nous organisons notre discours et au degré de précision qu'on y adopte. Le facteur de détermination s'illustre par l'exemple (2). Dans le texte source, le passif permet, comme on l'a vu, de ne pas préciser à qui s'adresse le fait de ramener le gramophone. Il peut s'agir seulement du garçon qui pose la question, de lui et de ses interlocuteurs, voire même seulement de ses interlocuteurs dans le cas où il s'agirait d'une simple question rhétorique, adressée par politesse. Cette imprécision est gommée dans la traduction et le traducteur français a interprété ce passif finnois comme se rapportant uniquement au locuteur : le garçon qui pose la question et s'adresse directement à ses interlocuteurs en demandant « voulez-vous que j'aille remettre le phono à sa place ?». L'introduction du « je » dans le discours direct comme ici est étrangement fréquent dans mon corpus. C'est un point qui mériterait à mon avis des études complémentaires. Le cinquième et dernier facteur est l'homogénéisation. Il s'illustre par l'exemple (3) suivant où les sujets figurent en gras :

3. TS : Djerzinski [...] avait ressenti la nécessité d'une compagnie ; **quelque chose** qui l'accueille le soir en rentrant. Son choix s'était porté sur un canari blanc, un animal craintif.
   (Michel Houellebecq, *Les particules élémentaires*, Paris : Flammarion 1998.)

   TC : Djerzinski [...] oli tuntenut seuran tarvetta; **jotakuta** joka olisi kotona odottamassa häntä. Hän päätyi valkoiseen kanarialintuun, joka oli hyvin arka eläin.
   (Trad. Ville Keynäs, *Alkeishiukkaset*, Juva : WSOY 2000.)

Dans le texte source de Houellebecq, le sujet inanimé « quelque chose » est associé à un verbe animé : « accueillir ». Généralement, c'est plutôt un être animé, un être humain qui est susceptible de vous accueillir. Dans sa traduction, « quelque chose » est remplacé par « jotakuta » qui veut dire « quelqu'un ». Ce changement de sujet permet d'homogénéiser le sujet avec son verbe. Il permet aussi d'homogénéiser ce « quelque chose » à son référent dans le contexte, ce quelque chose étant un animé, « un canari blanc », comme nous l'apprend la phrase qui suit.

4. Modèle d'explication du changement de sujet

Après avoir dégagé ces facteurs qui semblent favoriser le changement de sujet, j'ai cherché à comprendre pourquoi justement ces cinq facteurs favorisaient le changement. Pour tenter d'expliquer le phénomène de changement de sujet, j'ai cherché à rattacher le modèle d'explication proposé par

Chevalier à d'autres modèles plus largement connus en traductologie pour expliquer les caractéristiques de la langue de traduction : les universaux de traduction de Baker (1993), les lois traductionnelles de Toury (2012 [1995]), l'attraction gravitationnelle de Halverson (2003, 2007, 2009, 2017) auxquels j'ai ajouté une autre hypothèse – peu connue et non réellement développée – à savoir l'anthropocentrisme de Brzozowski (2008 : 771). L'évaluation de ces modèles a permis de mettre en avant des modèles moins connus en traductologie et d'en montrer les liens non réclamés avec des études plus largement exploitées en traductologie.

Dans un deuxième temps, ces modèles de généralisation ont été évalués par rapport aux cinq facteurs dégagés de l'analyse du corpus. Cette comparaison des différents modèles a permis de montrer que le modèle des universaux de traduction qui est le plus largement étudié en traductologie et que je pensais être central pour mon étude était finalement le modèle au pouvoir explicatif le plus faible pour expliquer les changements de sujet de mon corpus. De plus, elle a montré que certains modèles complexes à aborder et à comprendre, comme celui de Toury était finalement gratifiant malgré les frustrations et la conscience de sa propre limitation qu'ils engendrent.

Finalement, sur la base des modèles examinés, je propose mon propre modèle théorique permettant d'expliquer les changements de sujet de mon corpus. Ce modèle théorique prend la forme de treize hypothèses de changement de sujet. Les onze premières sont directement fondées sur les cinq facteurs ou contextes dégagés par l'analyse minutieuse du corpus. Ces hypothèses formulées sous forme de lois à la Toury sont facilement testables et falsifiables. Les deux dernières hypothèses sont plus génériques. La dernière, la plus générale et la plus simple prend la forme suivante :

> Si le sujet change dans le texte cible,
> alors la probabilité qu'il soit prototypique plutôt que
> non prototypique est plus forte.

Ceci veut dire par exemple que si le traducteur finnois doit traduire une phrase dans laquelle on associe en français le sujet « quelque chose » au verbe « accueillir » alors que dans sa langue finnoise, il est plus prototypique, plus naturel, d'associer le sujet « jotakuta » avec l'idée d'accueillir, et que dans le contexte de la phrase, cet usage est aussi plus naturel, alors, si le sujet est changé il sera plus probablement changé par « jotakuta » que par autre chose.

Ces hypothèses demanderont à être vérifiées par d'autres études impliquant d'autres paires de langues et d'autres genres textuels, hypothèse par hypothèse. N

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Besprechungen

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Wolfram-Studien XXIV: *Die Kunst der* brevitas. *Kleine literarische Formen des deutschsprachigen Mittelalters.*

Rostocker Kolloquium 2014, hrsg. von Franz-Josef Holznagel und Jan Cölln, in Verbindung mit Ricarda Bauschke-Hartund und Susanne Köbele. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2017 (Veröffentlichungen der Wolfram von Eschenbach-Gesellschaft, XXIV), 402 S., 12 farb. Abb.

ALBRECHT CLASSEN

Zu besprechen gilt der neueste Band in der Reihe der *Wolfram-Studien*, der sich diesmal ganz und gar nicht mit Wolfram von Eschenbach beschäftigt (was schon häufig der Fall gewesen ist), sondern sich Klein- und Kleinstformen in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters widmet. Die Beiträge wurden auf dem Rostocker Kolloquium vorgetragen, das vom 18. bis zum 21. September 2014 stattfand. Der Blick auf das Inhaltsverzeichnis und die nachfolgende Lektüre zeigen sogleich an, dass sich hier eine Gruppe von deutschen Germanisten/Mediävisten getroffen hat, die allein auf sich bezogen das Thema aus verschiedenen Perspektiven angegangen haben, aber dann doch darauf hoffen, von der breiteren Forschung registriert zu werden, wie die kurzen Abstracts auf Englisch am Ende jedes Beitrags anzeigen.

Der Band gliedert sich in vier Teile, eingeleitet von zwei Aufsätzen von Nikolaus Henkel und Hans Jürgen Scheuer zur Poetik der *brevitas*, gefolgt von Studien zu texttypenspezifischen Fallstudien, dann zur Überlieferung und Rezeption und abgerundet von Aufsätzen zur medialen Transformation im Spätmittelalter (Holzschnitte) bzw. zu editorischen Fragen bei *mæren*. Franz-Josef Holznagel bietet eine Einleitung, die es genauer zu betrachten gilt, um nachvollziehen zu können, was denn unter *brevitas* gemeint sein dürfte. Er macht u.a. auf die Fülle an Reimpaarversen, Reimpaarerzählungen (*mære*), Schwänke, *bîspeln* und *exempla* aufmerksam; weiterhin führt er Minnereden, Legenden und Legendensammlungen, Mirakel, Predigten, Freidankverse, Rätsel, Sprichwörter, Sentenzen, religiöse Kleinepik und Gebete an, womit wir fast dreiviertel der gesamten deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters vor uns liegen haben. Ausgeschlossen bleiben daher nur die Versromane, Heldenepen und geistlichen Spiele, was zwar sinnvoll wirkt, aber den Begriff der *brevitas* doch von vornherein ziemlich aufweicht und ins Allgemeine zerfließen lässt, denn Textkürze ist nicht unbedingt überall festzustellen. Um die Thematik aber doch wieder etwas einzugrenzen, verweist Holznagel auf Paratexte wie Kommentare oder Glossen, Überschriften und Titel, aber hier dürfte es sich bei bestem Willen nicht mehr um ‘Literatur’ handeln, so weit wir die Definition auch greifen lassen wollen. Die pragmatische Lösung besteht darin, dass hier schlicht kleinere Texte allgemein behandelt werden, von denen es wahrlich viele gibt, so auch Zaubersprüche, die hier wiederum nicht berücksichtigt werden (vgl. dazu Chiara Benatis Aufsatz in *Magic and the Magician in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time*, ed. Albrecht Classen, 2017).

Überblickt man die Sammlung von Studien, fällt sofort ins Auge, dass es kaum um gezielte *brevitas* geht, also um eine Form der literarischen Kompression, Verrätselung oder Abkürzung; vielmehr behandeln die Autoren schlicht Kleintexte, in denen häufig Anspielungen auf andere Werke vorkommen oder die ihre Anliegen in knapper Form ausdrücken, was nicht unbedingt etwas mit *abbreviatio* zu tun hat, wie es bereits die Arbeit von Nikolaus Henkel demonstriert, der sich mit lateinischen, dann aber auch mhd. Werken beschäftigt, wo es häufiger zu textinternen Anspielungen kommt. Sollten wir auch die Ekphrasis dazu rechnen (hier nicht erwähnt)? Wenn Namen von Helden anderer Texte fallen, ist dies dann *brevitas* oder der Versuch, einfach auszugreifen und neue Verbindungen zu knüpfen, was letztlich genau das Gegenteil darstellen würde?

Anhand der 'Petitcreiu-Szene' in Gottfrieds *Tristan* zeigt Hans Jürgen Scheuer auf, wie hier der Dichter das Prinzip der "multiple[n] Entfaltung" einsetzt (57), was sich mehr oder weniger auch in der *Ovide moralisé en prose* greifen lasse. Man könnte freilich fragen, ob hier wirklich *brevitas* angestrebt werde, oder ob nicht der erzählerische Duktus bewusst in die Tiefe und dann versteckt doch in die Weite führt, gerade wegen der oberflächlich so wirkenden Verdichtung, was der Autor letztlich selbst andeutet, wenn er von einer hyperbolischen Repräsentation spricht. Gottfried strebte also keineswegs *brevitas* an, vielmehr setzte er einen enigmatisierenden Stil ein, der das Publikum zum Nachdenken animieren sollte.

Für Johannes Janota gilt die lateinische Tropus-Feier auch als dramatische Kleinstform (also Superlativ), obwohl er eigentlich genau das Gegenteil mit der Aufführung des dramatischen Geschehens konstatiert. Anja Becker geht auf Gebete an den Heiligen Geist ein, die sich aber keineswegs als so knapp erweisen, während Stefan Matter das Stundenlied "Patris sapientia" in Gebetsbüchern behandelt, das acht, also recht viele Strophen umfasst, was einem zu Denken gibt. Nicole Eichenberger untersucht geistliche Verserzählungen wie solche, die in der Klosterneuburger Sammlung (Hs. heute verschollen) enthalten waren, z.B. "Der gehängte Dieb".

Johannes Rettelbach diskutiert die Fabeln aus der Feder von Hans Sachs, Karina Kellermann geht auf die politischen Reimreden des Lupold Hornburg ein, Christian Seebald analysiert das "Wachtelmære" im Licht der altfranzösischen *Fatrasies*. Darauf bietet Ernst Hellgardt eine ausgezeichnete Studie von Sprichwörtern, kleinen Gedichten und Sentenzen im Werk Notkers des Deutschen (zusammen mit einem Anhang der relevanten Texte). Almut Suerbaum geht auf die geistliche Sammelhandschrift Yale, Beinecke Library, Ms. 968, ein, worauf Johannes Klaus Kipf den Prozess von der Sammelhandschrift zum gedruckten Schwankbuch (also im 16. Jh.) verfolgt und die Sammelhandschrift M 68 in der Sächsischen Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek mit Wickrams *Rollwagenbüchlein* vergleicht (vgl. dazu A. Classen, *Deutsche Schwankliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Martin Montanus, Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof und Michael Lindener*, 2009; hier nicht konsultiert). Niederdeutsche Spruchsammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, gedruckt in Lübeck, sind das Thema der Untersuchung von Annika Bostelmann und Doreen Brandt, worauf Sabine Griese die spätmittelalterliche Bildtextierung in Flugschriften von *mæren* wie "Kampf um die Hose" oder "Die Katze lässt das Mausen nicht" analysiert. Dazu kommt noch der Aufsatz von Gudrun Felder, Sandra Linden und Henrike Schaffert über neueste Editionsstrategien bei dem Corpus von *mæren* wie "Die halbe Birne A" vom (Pseudo-)Konrad von Würzburg, "Alexander und Anteloie" und "Die zwölf (sieben) faulen Pfaffenknechte", wo die einzelnen handschriftlichen Überlieferungszeugen erheblich voneinander abweichen.

Der Band endet mit einem Abkürzungsverzeichnis, den Adressen der Autoren und den farbigen Abbildungen, aber ein Index fehlt bedauerlicherweise. Die wissenschaftliche Qualität ist als sehr hoch einzuschätzen, aber der Band als solcher ermangelt der inhaltlichen Kohärenz, denn *brevitas* allein genügt nicht für ein thematisches Fundament. Es scheint keinerlei Austausch unter den Autoren gegeben zu haben, so als ob die ursprünglichen Vorträge niemals auf einer Tagung gehalten worden wären. Wie mag es also zu dieser Auswahl von Studien gekommen zu sein? Ich finde es bedauerlich und fast erschreckend, wie wenig, wenn überhaupt, nicht-deutsche Forschung in Betracht gezogen worden ist. Es handelt sich praktisch um eine Form der wissenschaftlichen Nabelschau.

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Albrecht Greule / Jarmo Korhonen, *Historische Valenz. Einführung in die Erforschung der deutschen Sprachgeschichte auf valenztheoretischer Grundlage.*

Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag. 2021. 231 Seiten.

KARI KEINÄSTÖ

Zwei Altmeister der Sprachgermanistik aus Deutschland (Prof. Dr. emer. Albrecht Greule, Universität Regensburg) und Finnland (Prof. Dr. emer. Jarmo Korhonen, Universität Helsinki) haben ihre jahrzehntelange kollegiale Zusammenarbeit durch gemeinsame Forschungsinteressen in dieser Einführung in die vielschichtige Anwendbarkeit der Valenztheorie auf deutsche Sprachgeschichte unter Dach und Fach gebracht.

Das Handbuch gliedert sich nach Vorwort und Einleitung in sechs Hauptkapitel A bis F (S. 9–187). Ein umfangreicher Anhang (Kap. G, S. 189–206) präsentiert exemplarische Ausschnitte aus früheren lexikografischen Publikationen und Projekten, die ausschlaggebend für das Konzept des neuen Handbuchs gewesen sind. Die themenspezifische, markant breite Literaturliste (S. 207–221) zur historischen Valenz umfasst insg. 158 Titel (allein bei Greule sind es 31 Titel und bei Korhonen 23 Titel); dazu kommen noch die Verzeichnisse für Wörterbücher und Korpora (S. 223–224). Ergänzt werden diese durch die Bibliografie der zentralen Grammatiken und Wörterbücher für die deutschen Sprachperioden in dem Überblickskapitel A (S. 13–29) zur deutschen Sprachgeschichte. Ein Verfasser-, Quellen- und Sachregister (S. 225–229) tragen zur Nutzbarkeit dieser Einführung bei.

Konzeptionell werden die schon seit den 1970er-Jahren praktizierten Forschungsaktivitäten in dem Vorwort und der Einleitung (S. 9–12) kurz und bündig vorgestellt. Forschungsgeschichtlich spannend ist festzustellen, dass die Sicht der Auslandsgermanistik oft in der Lage war, anhand des Deutsch-als-Fremdsprache-Unterrichts und seiner Erforschung, der Dependenz- und Valenzgrammatik positive Impulse zu geben und dies auch für die historische Valenzforschung. Die Verfasser plädieren für den spezifischen historischen valenz- und verbzentrierten Einsatz als Textverständnisbasis für eine Betrachtung des Sprachwandels, indem sie als dessen primäre Beschreibungs- und Forschungssparten „Syntax, Phraseologie, lexikalische Semantik und Lexikografie“ auflisten (S. 12).

Der gegenwartssprachliche Valenzbegriff wird in dem kurzen Hauptkapitel B (S. 31–34) anhand von Hans-Werner Eroms Syntax-Einführung (2000) vorgestellt. Wichtig dabei ist außerdem der Begriff „Verb-Aktanten-Konstellationen (VAK)“. Das Hauptkapitel C (S. 35–41) lädt die LeserInnen in die Forschungsgeschichte und in die mehrdimensionalen Problembereiche der historischen Valenz auf der Skala „allgemeine“ und „methodologische“

Probleme sowie „grundsätzliche Unsicherheiten" offen und so argumentativ gewinnbringend ein.

Das Verhältnis zwischen Valenz und historischer textbasierter Grammatik wird in dem zentralen Hauptkapitel D (S. 43–132) aus pointiert forschungsgeschichtlicher Rückschau, insbesondere dank der eigenständigen Forschungsbeiträge von Greule und Korhonen, ausführlich besprochen. Untermauert werden diese Exkurse durch die gewichtigen Begriffsbestimmungen um die „linguistische Ersatzkompetenz" (Kap. 3, S. 46–49).

Methodisch einleuchtend und bedeutsam ist das folgende Kapitel 4 (S. 49–73), in dem exemplarisch anhand früherer Forschungsbeiträge der Weg von einem historischen Korpus zu verbzentrierter Valenz und Satzbauplänen perspektiviert wird. Textkorpora vertreten hier althochdeutsche, mittelhochdeutsche und frühneuhochdeutsche/ältere neuhochdeutsche Sprachperioden, besonders ausführlich werden Martin Luthers „Von den guten Werken" (1520) dank der Arbeit von Korhonen (1978) sowie historische Zeitungstexte (1660–1914) anhand der Untersuchung von Harry Anttila (1997) vorgestellt. Die Kapitel 5 und 6 (S. 73–90) besprechen vertiefend die historischen Satzbaupläne, Satzmodelle bzw. Satzmuster nicht zuletzt mit Wladimir Admonis (1990) Zusammenfassung zu „logisch-semantischen Satztypen" in der deutschen Sprachgeschichte. Die „diachrone Polyvalenz" in dem Kapitel 7 (S. 100–102) ergänzt zutreffend die für die Darstellung nötige Begrifflichkeit. Das Kapitel 8 (S. 102–109) exemplifiziert Aspekte der historischen Valenzveränderungen im Bereich der Wortbildung. Das Kapitel 9 (S. 109–111) dient dazu, Rollen der historischen Valenz für verbale Wortfelder zu veranschaulichen. Die Kapitel 10 und 11 (S. 111–125) bringen die verschiedenartigen Sparten der historischen Verbphraseologie (Kollokationen, Funktionsverbgefüge und Idiome) illustrativ zur Sprache. Das Hauptkapitel D rundet (Kap. 12 bis 14; S. 125–132) mit weiterführenden, zukunftsträchtigen Überlegungen zu Sprachbetrachtungsebenen der Textgrammatik, der Pragmatik sowie der Konstruktionsgrammatik ab.

Das ausführliche Hauptkapitel E (S. 133–158) zeigt, wie durch Wörterbuchtraditionen aufgebaute Ergebnisse der historischen Valenzrecherchen im Bereich der historischen Lexikografieforschung mit Gewinn zunutze gemacht werden können. Es werden im Kap. 1 (S. 133–148) die bisherigen „historischen Valenzlexika" sowie „valenzbezogene Informationen in historischen Allgemeinwörterbüchern des Deutschen" vorgestellt. Vertieft wird dies in den

Kapiteln 2 bis 4 (S. 148–158) durch genauere methodische Beispiele anhand mehrerer Projekte der historischen, verbzentrierten Valenzlexikografie; im Vordergrund stehen die Projekte „Historisch syntaktisches Valenzwörterbuch“ (HSVW), „Kleines historisches Valenzlexikon“ (KHVL) sowie „Mittelhochdeutsches syntaktisches Verbwörterbuch“ (MSVW). Die heutige Theorie und Methodik der „Digital Humanities“ bietet sich hier als eine unabdingbare Voraussetzung für künftige Korpus- und Wörterbuchentwicklungen an.

Die Phänomene „Valenzwandel“ und „Valenzentwicklung“ sind das Thema im Hauptkapitel F (S. 159–187). Hier werden syntaktische Kategorien und Funktionen von Satzgliedern und Attributen als Ausgangspunkt für valenzhistorische Betrachtungen immer mit konkreten Textbeispielerläuterungen gewählt (S. 159–175). Die genauere Klassifizierung erfolgt bei verbabhängigen Ergänzungen nach Subjekt, Akkusativobjekt, Dativobjekt, Genitivobjekt, Präpositionalobjekt, Infinitivobjekt, Satzobjekt, Prädikativ sowie Adverbial. Exemplifiziert werden auch adjektivabhängige bzw. substantivabhängige Ergänzungen. Allgemeine und spezifische Tendenzen und Erklärungsmöglichkeiten für Valenzwandel werden hier kurz zum Schluss angeschnitten. Eine genauere historische Durchsicht erfolgt nun für ausgewählte Verben und Verbphraseme in den Kapiteln 2 und 3 (S. 175–187). Der Terminus „Valenzgeschichten“ (durch alle deutschen Sprachperioden) verdient hier besonders beachtet zu werden.

Der lexikografische Anhang (S. 175–187) veranschaulicht durch Textausschnitte und Probeartikel (als Beispiele werden jeweils die Verben ahd. *wuofan* / *wuofen*, mhd. *gelpfen*, nhd. *befehlen* und nhd. *danken* herangezogen) eindrucksvoll die bisherigen Überlegungen und ihre Umsetzung in die konkrete Wörterbuchpraxis.

Das lehrbuchartige Handbuch zur historischen Valenz von Albrecht Greule und Jarmo Korhonen ist ein verdienstvoller Beitrag zur Syntax, Phraseologie, Lexikologie und Lexikografie des Deutschen und bietet so eine zuverlässige und solide theoretisch-methodische Grundlage auch für künftige einschlägige Forschungstrends, die durch neue sprachgermanistische Wissenschaftsparadigmata in Sicht sind. N

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https://doi.org/10.51814/nm.111342

Eming, Jutta/ Wels, Volkhard (Hrsg.), *Darstellung und Geheimnis in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit.*

CHRISTIAN NIEDLING

Der vorliegende bei Harrassowitz erschienene und erfreulicherweise als *Open Access auch* frei verfügbare Band präsentiert Forschungsergebnisse einer internationalen und interdisziplinären Fachtagung, die 2018 im Sonderforschungsbereich 980 *Episteme in Bewegung. Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt bis in die Frühe Neuzeit* der Freien Universität Berlin ausgerichtet wurde. Zentral für den Begriff der Episteme ist laut Projektbeschreibung die Betrachtung einer Wissenschaft oder Erkenntnis als Objekt von Aushandlungs- und Transferprozessen, die Kenntnisse sichern, systematisieren und autorisieren – oder aber destabilisieren und substituieren.

Die Publikation bietet eine anspruchsvolle Zusammenschau der Phänomene des Geheimnisreichen und Rätselhaften als Formen des Wissens oder als ästhetische Strategien in den Bereichen Literatur, Philosophie und Wissenschaft. Zur Signatur des Rätsels gehört die Implikation seiner mit einem absichtsvollen Verbergen in Zusammenhang stehenden prinzipiellen Enträtselbarkeit. Das Geheimnis vermag sich seiner Enthüllung auch zu entziehen, während seine Heimlichkeit doch immer nach Darstellung verlangt. Als Ergebnis der Konferenz steht dabei auch die Erkenntnis, dass die Diskussion einer systematischen Differenzierung von Geheimnis und Rätsel auch Überblendungen und Schnittmengen aufzeigt.

Die 15 im Band vertretenen Tagungsbeiträge lassen sich als jeweilige Engführung der komplexen Fragestellung beschreiben, welche (Er)Kenntnisse aus welchen Gründen in verschiedenen Formen verrätselt werden bzw. als Geheimnis in Erscheinung treten. Sie wurden in drei Kategorien gleichen Umfangs geordnet: *Ästhetisierungen*, *Inszenierungen von Geheimnis und Rätsel* sowie *Geheimnis und Offenbarung*. Diese tendenziell arbiträre Disposition ersetzt die ursprünglich fünf Sektionen der Tagung.

Im Bereich der *Ästhetisierungen* sind auch Beiträge der Herausgeberin und des Herausgebers vertreten: Jutta Emings Aufsatz *Evokation und Episteme* widmet sich anhand der sog. Wunderketten in Heinrichs von dem Türlin *Diu Crône* und *Apollonius und Tyrland* Heinrichs von Neustadt dem Wunderbaren als Darstellungsform der Verschleierung und Enthüllung im späthöfischen Roman. Eming nutzt die gewählte Gegenüberstellung, um überzeugend zu zeigen, dass „Gawein die Geheimnisse der höfischen Welt erfährt", während Apollonius Rätsel löst (S. 41), rekurriert also auf die erwähnte Differenzierung des Begriffspaares Geheimnis/ Rätsel. Die teils wortgleichen

Passagen in Einleitung und Aufsatz (vgl. S. 11–13, 28–29) hätten besser in Beziehung gesetzt werden können. Der umfangreiche Beitrag Volkhard Wels' führt am Beispiel des *Alphidius* und des *Lamspring* die Neigung der Verfasser (al)chemischer Texte zur Verrätselung aus einer rhetorischen-technischen Perspektive vor. Wels entzieht ebenso wie Brandl (s.u.) die (Al)Chemie dabei der Deutung einer esoterischen Geheimwissenschaft und zeigt ihre Affinität zur naturkundlichen Chemie. Hierdurch wird auch explizit der nicht statisch erfolgende Wissenstransfer als Ansatz des SFB 980 in den Blick genommen (vgl. S. 69). Zugleich entfaltet der Aufsatz ein dichtes historisches Panorama, in dessen Fluchtpunkt sich die Impulse einer „kulturpatriotischen Sprachpflege" (S. 77) schneiden. Der Beitrag von Susanne Reichlin analysiert anhand verschiedener Fassungen und der Kotexte eines geistlichen Tage- bzw. Weckliedes die Identität der Wächterinstanz, die im Ergebnis der Analyse „auch durch mystische Praktiken der Selbstbeobachtung beeinflusst sein könnte" (S. 121). Offenbar aufgrund einer automatischen Textkorrektur wurde außerhalb der Fußnoten der Name Ingmar Bergmans aus der gelungenen Einleitung leider konsequent falsch geschrieben (vgl. Rolf Bergmann in Ehrstines Beitrag). Friedrich Wolfzettel stellt an dem rätselhaften Vogel des altfranzösischen *Lai de l'Oiselet* eine Verlusterfahrung dar und zeigt, wie der Mythos an Wirkkraft verlieren kann, sobald sein Geheimnis sich buchstäblich lüftet. Vogelflug spielt in der Form eines „Greifenflugzeugs" (S. 62) als Beispiel für technische Wunderwerke auch in Falk Quenstedts Beitrag eine bedeutende Rolle. Quenstedt nutzt u.a. die Episode der Riesen aus dem ‚Paradies' zur Darstellung von Rätselspannung, die letztlich in Erkenntnis aufgeht. Der Beitrag verweist darüber hinaus auch auf die sprachliche Besonderheit des Begriffs ‚Paradisieren' (vgl. S. 52) in Albrechts *Jüngerem Titurel*, der sich auf Wolframs *Parzival* als Prätext bezieht.

Die berühmte Gralszene des *Parzival* wird im Bereich *Inszenierungen von Geheimnis und Rätsel* von Maximilian Benz aus einer narratologischen Perspektive betrachtet: Benz verdeutlicht eine Rücknahme der Fokalisierungsindikatoren durch Wolfram von Eschenbach, die zu einer Verschleierung der Perspektive führt (vgl. S. 134), was den Gral als Mysterium zu inszenieren hilft (vgl. S. 127). Wolfram wiederum erscheint im „intrikaten[n] literarische[n] Spiel" (S. 150) des *Wartburgkrieges* als Antagonist Klingsors. Beate Kellner berücksichtigt in ihrem Aufsatz die Überlieferungssituation des Rätselwettstreits, zeigt Formen der Ver- und Enträtselung und geht anhand des *Quaterrätsels* auf die Grenzen legitimen Wissens ein. Glenn Ehrstines Beitrag betrachtet zunächst die Entwicklung des *Mysterienspiels*, wobei sich die Darstellung im Beispiel Meckenheim-Lüftelbergs zu verlieren droht. Bedeutender ist seine Ausarbeitung des Begriffs der *figura* mit ihrer Vermittlungsfunktion für die „Geheimnisse des katholischen Kults" (S. 167) im theatralischen Bereich. Ein anschauliches Beispiel für die *Inszenierung* des Verbergens liefert Stefan Müller in seinem Beitrag über das DFG-Forschungsprojekt ‚Geheimschriften' des Mittelalters. Durch die meist leicht zu dechiffrierenden Codes wird, wie Müller zeigen kann, ein „Lesewiderstand" erzeugt, der darauf angelegt ist, dass man den codierten „Eintrag mehr hervorhebt denn verbirgt" (S. 186). Ein interessanter Sonderaspekt wird anhand der mystischen Geheimschrift Hildegards präsentiert. Müllers Beitrag sind ebenso wie dem von Benz Illustrationen beigefügt. Johannes Traulsen stellt geheime Allianzen und soziale Mobilität in Hartmanns von Aue *Iwein* dar. Geheimes Agieren wird als Erzählstrategie gezeigt, um lähmende Restriktionen oder zwangsläufige Mechanismen des Artushofes aufzubrechen (vgl. S. 210) und Handlungsfähigkeit zu ermöglichen.

Im dritten Komplex *Geheimnis und Offenbarung* zeigt Beatrice Trînca anhand zweier deutscher Franziskus-Hagiographien des 13. Jahrhunderts, wie die Bedeutungen der Begriffe „secretum" und „sacramentum" als „sprachlich uneinholbare Transparenz" (S. 227) volkssprachlich durch anschauliches Erzählen dargestellt werden. Yoshiki Koda spannt in seinem Beitrag einen weiten Bogen vom griechischen Orakel über die Propheten des Alten Testaments hin zur Mystikerin Mechthild von Magdeburg, in dem er die Parrhesia aus Foucaultscher Sicht als „ergänzende[s] Charakteristikum historischer Wahrheitssprecher" (S. 232) entfaltet. Simon Brandl präsentiert sehr facettenreich die Bedeutung des paracelsistischen Traktats *De tribus facultatibus*, in dem *Theologia*, *astronomia* und *medicina* als „Teilgebiete einer urzeitlichen Weisheitslehre [aufgefasst werden], in deren Zentrum das Mysterium der *incarnatio verbi* steht" (S. 249f.). Brandl führt aus, dass (Al)Chemie im Verständnis der Paracelsisten weitaus mehr als Scheidekunst darstellt und in ihrer Offenbarungsfunktion einen Ausgangspunkt mystischer Erfahrungen bildet. Dies führte zwangsläufig zu einem Dauerkonflikt mit der kirchlichen Theologie. Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheinen Methoden der Geheimhaltung nach außen als Schutz vor Häretisierung und nach innen als Vision einer Elite der Erkennenden (vgl. S. 252). Ute Frietsch beschäftigt sich mit Inhalt, Form und Wirkung der etwa zeitgleich erschienen pseudo-paracelsischen Schrift *Philosophia ad Athenienses*, die zeitweise als paradigmatisch für die Lehren des Paracelsus und seiner Anhänger angegriffen wurde (vgl. S. 281). Frietsch geht auch auf die Ironie ein, die sich aus „bombastisch philosophischem Inhalt und kontingent literarischer Form" ergibt und kann plausible Vermutungen anstellen, welcher Adressatenkreis bei den „Athenern" angesprochen wird (S. 294). Das Verhältnis von Darstellung und Geheimnis der früheren Freimaurerei beschreibt Kristiane Hasselmann im abschließenden Beitrag des Bandes. Ausgehend von den Darstellungen Ralph Cudworths und an Jan Assmann anknüpfend wird die Konzeption der *religio duplex* vorgeführt, die sich im Aufnahmeritual der Freimaurer spiegelt und das äußere Profane vom Geheimnis des inneren Bereichs trennt. Mit Verweis auf die Sphinx als „Hüterin eines Eintrittstores" (S. 312) wird ein Bogen zum *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* der Umschlagsgestaltung und der Differenzierung von Geheimnis und Rätsel in der Einleitung geschlagen (S. 12): „Um Rätsel zu lösen, braucht es Kompetenz oder Intelligenz." Beides wird im Tagungsband eindrucksvoll unter Beweis gestellt.

Der erschienene Band ist sehr sorgfältig redigiert, es ließe sich neben dem Bergman-Lapsus allenfalls darauf hinweisen, dass man an gegebener Stelle innere Bezüge der Beiträge durch Querverweise stärker hätte markieren können. So steht etwa dasselbe Zitat Aleide und Jan Assmanns ohne Verweise sowohl in der Einleitung (S. 11), als auch bei Eming (S. 40) als auch bei Traulsen (S. 202); die Erwähnung der *Philosophia ad Atheniensens* bei Brandl (S. 267) beispielsweise hätte auf Frietschs Beitrag verweisen können. Diese Anmerkungen wollen indessen die hier versammelten Erträge ausgewiesener Experten keineswegs schmälern.

(Al)Chemie, Artus, Freimaurer, Gral, Mystik, Paradies – es ist ein großes Verdienst des vorliegenden Tagungsbandes, diese und weitere Bereiche des Geheimnisvollen als Ergebnisse einer Fachkonferenz genuin wissenschaftlich und frei zugänglich zur Darstellung zu bringen.

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Sarah Brommer/ Christa Dürscheid (Hrsg.), *Mensch. Maschine. Kommunikation. Beiträge zur Medienlinguistik*.

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MICHAEL SZURAWITZKI

Dass Menschen und Maschinen miteinander kommunizieren, ist bereits seit geraumer Zeit eine Perspektive, die in ganz verschiedenen Sphären Aufmerksamkeit findet. Bereits 1978 betitelte die Düsseldorfer Band *Kraftwerk* ihr visionäres siebtes Studioalbum *Die Mensch-Maschine* und lässt sich bis heute von Robotern auf der Konzertbühne vertreten. Diese letztgenannte Praxis kann durchaus schon als beginnende Annäherung bis hin zur Verschmelzung von menschlichen und maschinellen Verhältnissen und Aktionen angesehen werden. Während dies in den 1970er Jahren noch verhältnismäßig viel Aufmerksamkeit erregte, so ist es in den zwanziger Jahren des 21. Jahrhunderts Alltag, dass wir Menschen Maschinen verwenden, mit denen wir kommunizieren. Und dies nicht nur so, dass bloß wir die Kommunikant:innen sind, sondern auch die ganz verschiedenartigen technischen Geräte kommunizieren proaktiv mit uns – egal ob Smartphone, Sprachassistentensoftwares oder in das Internet der Dinge integrierte Haushaltsgeräte etc. Um sich diesem ständig wandelnden und entwickelnden Technik- und Forschungsfeld aus medienlinguistischer Perspektive zu nähern, legen Sarah Brommer (Bremen) und Christa Dürscheid (Zürich) den hier besprochenen Band vor. In ihm sind im wesentlichen studentische Arbeiten publiziert[1].

Dieser gliedert sich nach der Einleitung durch die Herausgeberinnen, die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der Mensch-Mensch- und Mensch-Maschine-Kommunikation thematisiert, in vier wesentliche Teile: Der sogenannte Teil A umfasst insgesamt vier Beiträge, die sich unter dem Titel „Mensch-Mensch-Kommunikation via Maschine“ verschiedenen relevanten Phänomenen widmen. Im Teil B, der den Titel „Mensch-Maschine-Kommunikation I: Kommunikation mit Robotern“ trägt, sind ebenfalls vier Beiträge aufgenommen worden. Der Teil C widmet sich „Mensch-Maschine-Kommunikation II: Kommunikation mit Assistenzsystemen“ und hat somit ebenfalls einen distinktiven Schwerpunkt. Abschließend steht als Teil D ein Exkurs mit dem wohl gewollt kryptisch gehaltenen Titel „Mensch. Maschine. Menschmaschine“, wobei der Titel den eingangs genannten Namen des *Kraftwerk*-Albums aufzunehmen scheint (wenn auch in geringfügig abweichender Orthographie).

1 Mit Ausnahme der Texte von Ilona Straub und Oliver Bendel.

Die erste Frage, die sich bei der Rezeption des Titels des o.g. Bandes stellt, ist, was eigentlich mit „Maschine“ gemeint ist. Im einleitenden Beitrag fassen Brommer/Dürscheid den Terminus zunächst wie folgt: „Den Ausdruck *Maschine* verwenden wir zunächst als Sammelbezeichnung für verschiedene – vorsichtig ausgedrückt – technische Vorrichtungen, subsumieren darunter also sowohl Roboter, Chatbots, Sprachassistenten (Voicebots) als auch technische Apparate wie Handy und Computer.“ (S. 8, Hervorhebung im Original) Dies gilt als Ausgangspunkt, bevor in den einzelnen Beiträgen jeweils genauer in den Blick genommen wird, um welche „Maschinen“ es konkret geht. Danach steht die Frage im Mittelpunkt, inwiefern der Band der Medienlinguistik zuzuordnen ist. Diese motivieren die Autorinnen folgendermaßen: Es geht mithin um den Einfluss medialer Veränderungen auf Sprache und Kommunikation in den Medien – hier u.a. über den sich über technische Weiterentwicklungen ständig ändernden (d.h. größer werdenden) Einfluss von Smartphones, die mehr und mehr Dinge können. Danach wird, auch korpuslinguistisch, diskutiert, welche begrifflichen Unterschiede es zwischen Maschine, Automat und Roboter gibt – dies kann hier aus Umfangsgründen nicht vertieft werden. Eher sollte auf den anschließend stehenden Abschnitt (S. 17–22) zum Spannungsfeld Maschinen, Menschen und Vertrauen eingegangen werden. Gibt es Vertrauen, wenn Menschen mit Maschinen kommunizieren? Vielleicht liegt dabei potenziell eine gesunde Grundskepsis vor; manchmal können Menschen aber nicht (mehr) erkennen, dass sie (schon) mit Maschinen kommunizieren. Hierzu wird das Beispiel des jemanden anrufenden Chatbots angeführt (S. 18), der eine Restaurantreservierung durchführen möchte, und der dazu verwendete sprachliche Frame entsprechend so angelegt ist, dass die Menschen am anderen Ende der Leitung womöglich gar nicht auf die Idee kommen, dass sie es mit einer Maschine zu tun haben. Anders sieht es hingegen bei Robotern aus: bei so genannten humanoiden Robotern ist eine physische Ähnlichkeit zum Menschen gewollt. Es wird aber auch konstatiert, dass wir uns bisher nicht wesentlich vor einer Übernahme menschlicher Kulturtechniken durch Roboter fürchten müssen: „Denn im Gegensatz zu Menschen können Maschinen nicht alle beliebigen Arten von Informationen verarbeiten und nur solche Aufgaben bewältigen und Probleme lösen, für die sie programmiert wurden. Entsprechend bleiben auch die Unterschiede in der Mensch-Mensch- und Mensch-Maschine-Kommunikation bestehen. Ob diese Grenzen jemals verschwimmen, halten wir für fraglich […]" (S. 21–22). Nachdem hiermit die Grundlage für eine differenzierte Betrachtung gelegt ist, blicken wir in der Folge auf die einzelnen Beiträge zu den thematischen Bereichen des Bandes.

Teil A befasst sich mit dem Bereich „Mensch-Mensch-Kommunikation via Maschine". Den Anfang macht Linda Bosshart, die WhatsApp, iMessage und E-Mail mit Blick auf das technisch Mögliche und das tatsächlich Realisierte vergleicht (S. 31–68). Darauf folgt ein Text von Roberto Tanchis und Leonie Walder, der Animojis aus linguistischer Perspektive analysiert (S. 69–84). Hiernach steht Mia Jennis Betrachtung zur virtuellen Influencerin Lil Marquela (S. 85–101). Florina Zülli versucht im letzten Beitrag von Teil A, die Evolution des Online-Datings anhand der Benchmarks Parship, Tinder und künstlicher Partner nachzuzeichnen (S. 102–130).

WhatsApp weist nach den erzielten Resultaten Bossharts den höchsten Grad an Synchronizität auf, iMessage und E-Mail in der genannten Reihenfolge haben einen niedrigeren Grad der Synchronizität (S. 52). Der Grad der Reflektiertheit scheint bei iMessage, das nur auf Apple-Geräten verfügbar ist, nach ihren Ergebnissen höher (S. 52), da aufgrund der Schnittstelle vielleicht eher die SMS-Kommunikation mit iMessage verbunden [womöglich sogar verwechselt (?); MSZ] wird. Die E-Mail weise eine vergleichsweise hohe Synchronizität auf, was auf die Möglichkeit der mobilen Bearbeitbarkeit und der Push-Funktionen zurückzuführen sein kann (S. 52). Für mich überraschend wird hier nicht diskutiert, dass soziale (berufliche) Erfordernisse eine gesteigerte Geschwindigkeit und somit einen höheren Grad von Synchronizität begünstigen, zumal Interaktion auf beruflicher Ebene oft zwangsläufig über das Medium E-Mail stattfindet, da WhatsApp und iMessage-Kontakt (ggf. (noch)) nicht besteht. An dieser Stelle ließe sich auch auf semiotischer Ebene weiter diskutieren: Braucht es bei der E-Mail in vorwiegend beruflichen Kontexten eine möglichst breite Bespielung verschiedenartiger semiotischer Elemente? Bossharts Studie ist insofern nützlich, als genug Raum zur weiteren Reflexion eröffnet wird.

Tanchis/Walder begeben sich im Gegensatz zu Bosshart auf linguistisch neues Terrain, indem sie der interessierten Community Animojis näherbringen. Die Entwicklungsgeschichte hin zu Animojis wird skizziert, und es wird erläutert, was Animojis eigentlich sind: „Ein Animoji ist […] ein grossformatiges, animiertes 3D-Emoji, welches die Mimik der [auf Video; z.B. mit der Smartphone-Kamera; MSZ] aufgenommenen Person auf das Emoji überträgt und die parallel dazu aufgenommenen Sprachbotschaften wiedergibt. Kurz: es kombiniert die bekannten Emojis mit der Stimme der Person zu einem Videoclip – deshalb auch die Bezeichnung *Animoji*, was ein Portemonteau-Wort aus *Animation* und *Emoji* ist.“ (S. 71, Hervorhebungen im Original) Anschließend werden Animojis linguistisch auf mehreren Ebenen untersucht. Zunächst wird auf die visuelle Ebene fokussiert und eine Relation zu den (bekannteren) Emojis hergestellt; auf der auditiven Ebene wird vor der Vergleichsfolie von Sprachnachrichten gearbeitet. Analysen von Verwendungsbeispielen bieten Aufschluss über die Kommunikation mit Animojis. Abschließend wird eine Prognose dazu abgegeben, „wohin die Auseinandersetzung mit Animojis führen könnte“ (S. 70): diese läuft auf Selbstdarstellungsversuche und ‚Spektakel‘ (S. 81) hinaus, das mit „Avataren in Online-Spielen oder Chatforen“ (S. 82) verglichen werden kann, wobei hier Grenzverläufe zwischen Avatar und realer Person (natürlich) verschwimmen.

Jenni untersucht in ihrem Beitrag die Kommunikation rund um die virtuelle, nicht real existierende Influencerin Lil Miquela. Im gegebenen Spannungsfeld der Mensch-Mensch-Kommunikation wird untersucht, welche Faktoren dazu führen, dass Lil Miquela als menschlich wahrgenommen wird und in welcher Beziehung sie zu anderen, menschlichen Influencer:innen in den Sozialen Medien steht (S. 86). Zu diesem Zweck werden einige Instagram-Posts von Lil Marquela analysiert. Als Fazit formuliert Jenni u.a.: „Interessant wird die Figur Lil Marquela […] durch die ausgeklügelte Selbstreflexion und Offenlegung der eigenen Künstlichkeit. Dadurch nimmt sie erstens allen Kritiker*innen den Wind aus den Segeln und zweitens wird jeder Post so zu einem Kommentar über die Social-Media- Plattform *Instagram* selbst.“ (S. 99, Hervorhebung im Original) Aus meiner Sicht verbleibt fraglich, inwiefern wir es beim analysierten Phänomen mit etwas Zukunftsträchtigem zu tun haben. Ähnliches gilt für die Perspektive im Online-Dating hin zu künstlichen Partner:innen, wie sie im Beitrag von Florina Zülli eröffnet wird.

Teil B (Titel „Mensch-Maschine-Kommunikation I: Kommunikation mit Robotern“) beginnt mit einem Beitrag von Ilona Straub zur Mensch-Roboter-Interaktion. In dieser Untersuchung werden präkommunikative und kommunikative Erwartungshaltungen an einen sozialtechnischen Akteur (den

Roboter) thematisiert (S. 133–148): „Erwartet werden: autonome Reaktionen auf Aufmerksamkeitshascher, Autonomie in Bezug auf allgemeine Bewegungs-, Reaktions- und Interaktionsfähigkeiten, interaktive Antworten auf symbolische Gesten, das Erkennen und Erwidern von Interaktionsversuchen, das Verfügen über eine Wirksphäre, adäquate motorische Aktionen, Etablierung von direktem Kontakt. All dies kann einen positiven Einfluss auf den Zuspruch eines Akteursstatus haben.“ (S. 146) Straub hält fest, dass „die zwischenartliche Interaktion durchaus gelingen kann. Dies bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass die Eigenschaften des Roboters mit denen der menschlichen Personen korrespondieren. Im Laufe der Erkundung des Roboters wurden viel mehr zentrale Unterschiede zu menschlichen Wesensmerkmalen deutlich, die sich u.a. in Beschränkungen des Ausdrucks der Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit und der Bewegung [sic] bemerkbar machten. Diese unübersehbaren Eigenarten können zu Abweichungen in den bisher geltenden Erwartungshaltung hinsichtlich der Eigenschaften eines sozialen Akteurs führen.“ (S. 147) Daher gelte es, neue Erwartungshaltungen für zukünftige Mensch-Roboter-Interaktionen zu formulieren.

Jana Seebass schreibt zu Robotern als Partnerersatz und fokussiert auf Streitgespräche in der Mensch-Mensch- und Mensch-Maschine-Kommunikation (S. 149–176) am Beispiel der Episode *Be right back* der Netflix-Serie *Black Mirror*. Dabei lautet das (ein wenig überraschende) Fazit, dass sowohl Menschen – wie auch Roboter – konfliktfähig sein müssen; nur gibt es (noch) keine Roboter, mit denen man sich so richtig streiten kann. Rahel Straubli reflektiert zur Anthropomorphisierung von Robotern als vertrauensfördernder Strategie (S. 177–190). Zumindest könne auf einer Metaebene von ‚Vertrauen in Maschinen‘ gesprochen werden (S. 188). Eine Strategie könne dabei eine sprachliche ‚Vermenschlichung‘ von Robotern, etwa über die Benennung mit eigennamenähnlichen Typbezeichnungen sein. Andrea Knoepfli analysiert anhand aktueller Beispiele, mit welchen Strategien Pflegeroboter Vertrauen erzeugen (S. 191–208). Dieser Aufsatz beschließt den Teil B. Als Herausforderung wird angemahnt, dass kein (in der Pflege u.U. lebensnotwendiger) Vertrauensaufbau möglich ist, bevor Roboter nicht absolut einwandfrei funktionieren. Probleme existierten neben der Bewegungsfreiheit auch in der Spracherkennung.

Der Titel von Teil C lautet „Mensch-Maschine-Kommunikation II: Kommunikation mit Assistenzsystemen". Dieser dritte Teil des Bandes umfasst zwei Beiträge mit besonders aktueller Ausrichtung. Zunächst widmet sich Julia Degelo der Frage, wie eine genderneutrale Sprachassistenz spricht (S. 211–225). Vor dem Hintergrund der emotional geführten Diskussionen um Gendersprache ist es logische Konsequenz, dass auch für virtuelle Assistent:innen diese Frage diskutiert wird. Als potenzielle Lösung „würde sich eine Sprachassistenz mit genderneutraler Stimme und absichtlich genderneutralem Sprechverhalten anbieten. Allerdings sind mit diesem Vorschlag auch einige Komplikationen verbunden. So müsste beispielsweise entschieden werden, ob nun das genderneutrale Sprechverhalten der Sprachassistenz oder das selbstlernende Verfahren wichtiger ist. Beides lässt sich nicht verbinden, da eine selbstlernende Sprachassistenz durch den Sprachgebrauch der Nutzenden beeinflusst wird." (223) Der zweite Beitrag in Teil C stammt von Ann Fuchs und Zora Naef (S. 226–245). Sie betrachten Smart Homes im öffentlichen Diskurs (hier: in Online-Tageszeitungen) und thematisieren dies anhand dreier Fallbeispiele, konkret eines Beitrages aus dem ZEIT Magazin, der Online-Ausgabe der WELT, sowie der Schweizer Graitiszeitung 20 Minuten. Es werden für das kleine Korpus Verschränkungen zwischen Laientum und Expertentum festgestellt, ebenso kommen alle analysierten Beiträge ohne hypertextuelle Strukturen aus, anhand derer z.B. Fachtermini hätten durch Verweise erklärt werden können.

Im abschließenden Teil D, dessen Titel oben bereits diskutiert wurde, widmet sich Oliver Bendel im einzigen englischsprachigen Beitrag des Bandes der Frage des so genannten Bodyhacking (S. 249–272). Bendel definiert Bodyhacking als Prozedur „in which one intervenes in the animal or human body with biological and chemical, but above all technical means (computer chips, magnets, devices of all kinds, exoskeletons and prostheses), often with the purpose of animal or human enhancement and sometimes with a transhumanist mentality" (S. 251). Der Artikel bietet nach der Einleitung einen informierten Überblick über die verschiedenen einschlägigen Forschungsströmungen und -erträge (speziell in Abschnitt 3.), bevor in Abschnitt 4. ethische Fragestellungen zum Bodyhacking thematisiert werden. Abschließend wird die Frage aufgeworfen, ob sich Bodyhacking von einem gesellschaftlichen Randphänomen weiter in Richtung einer breiteren Akzeptanz entwickeln könnte. Bendel sieht das Potenzial dafür; sicher gibt es in diesem Zusammenhang kontroverse Meinungen und wohl noch einige zu führende Diskussionen.

Insgesamt handelt es sich um einen sehr lesenswerten Band, der zukunftsgewandte Entwicklungen in den Blick nimmt. Allerdings ist die eingenommene Perspektive am ehesten als eurozentrisch beziehungsweise auf die deutschsprachigen Länder beschränkt zu charakterisieren. Dies hat damit zu tun, dass die Autor:innen zumeist Studierende sind. Wünschenswert wäre eine Ergänzung über diesen ‚Tellerrand' hinaus gewesen, denn das Verhältnis von Mensch und Maschine ist ein globales Thema des 21. Jahrhunderts. Speziell in Asien gibt es viele Entwicklungen, deren Betrachtung den hier besprochenen Band noch bereichert hätten. Aber so lässt sich vielleicht zukünftig auf der Grundlage der von Brommer/Dürscheid umsichtig herausgegebenen Beiträge weiterarbeiten. N

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