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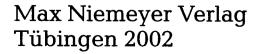Franz Josef Hausmann, Ulrich Heid, Oskar Reichmann,
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Symposium on Lexicography X

Proceedings of the Tenth International
Symposium on Lexicography May 4–6, 2000
at the University of Copenhagen

Edited by
Henrik Gottlieb, Jens Erik Mogensen
and Arne Zettersten

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Introduction

The Tenth International Symposium on Lexicography at the University of Copenhagen, the proceedings of which are hereby published, took place on 4-6 May 2000. In this volume, we present 28 papers from lexicographers in 17 countries: Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Japan, Latvia, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the USA.

Two of the papers are based on plenary lectures held on the first day of the Symposium at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. Since 1994 the International Symposium on Lexicography has opened with the Otto Jespersen Memorial Lecture, and the year 2000 Otto Jespersen speaker, *Norman Blake,* presented his plans for a new Shakespeare dictionary. In his paper, Blake observes that Jespersen noted many writers' claims about Shakespeare's vocabulary, though these claims chiefly focus on the number of words he used or his inventiveness in creating new ones. In outlining the methods for collecting the appropriate material, Blake also emphasizes the fact that very few scholars have systematically explored register in Shakespeare before.

In the second plenary paper from the Symposium, *Wolfgang Viereck* presents the "Atlas Linguarum Europae", an interpretative word atlas using both traditional methods such as onomasiology and semasiology as well as innovative ways of interpreting geolexical data, like for instance motivational mapping. With the aid of a great number of examples, Viereck demonstrates how the study of European word history offers important insight into cultural history and religion.

Tove Bjørneset offers a presentation of the Norwegian NORDLEXIN-N project which has been based in Bergen since 1996. In the early 1990s, all Nordic countries were offered free use of the Swedish LEXIN database to facilitate the production of similar dictionary series. The dictionaries will hopefully become a useful tool for, among others, immigrants with limited reading proficiency and will be published in both a printed and an electronic version.

Jane Bottomley discusses ways of exploiting the full potential of the electronic medium, with reference to the "Cambridge International Dictionary of English Online" (CIDE Online), a free Internet service, and the "Cambridge International Dictionary of English CD-ROM" (CIDE CD), whose development she has been involved in. Her paper covers four main areas: editing the content for an electronic format, managing the database and integrating feedback, the user interface, and, finally, the extra features outside the running text.

Ulrich Busse explores the social dimension of lexicography by offering a contrastive analysis of two special types of foreign-word dictionaries. By comparing some of the most recent dictionaries of Anglicisms in German to the English hard-word dictionaries of the 17th century he demonstrates that lexicography, at least to a certain extent, has always reflected sociological and sociolinguistic phenomena.

Timothy Colleman reports on the present project of the Contragram research group at the University of Ghent (Belgium), the compilation of the "Contragram Verb Valency Dictionary". It is stressed that the CVVD will be the first valency dictionary that is fully con-

trastive, and that the traditional distinction between source language and target language(s) will not apply to the CVVD. As a result, the CVVD should ideally complement grammars, traditional translation dictionaries and existing valency lexicons in a number of respects.

In their paper, *Janet DeCesaris* and *Victória Alsina* discuss the representation of figurative senses in English, Spanish, and Catalan dictionaries. In English learner's dictionaries it is common not to label figurative senses as such, whereas in Spanish and Catalan lexicography there is a long-standing tradition of using a label to identify such senses. It is argued that proper use of labels can help represent coherent sense development, which constitutes vital information for language learners. Corpus data from English verb-preposition combinations support a presentation of polysemous words in learner's dictionaries that relate figurative senses to their literal counterparts.

Bernhard Diensberg's paper deals with the variety of problems connected with Old French loanwords of Germanic origin in the English language. In analysing a number of these problems, Diensberg distinguishes between Old French loans of Germanic origin which have reflexes in (nearly) all Romance languages and those that are restricted to Gallo-Romance, which make up the majority of Old French loanwords with Germanic etymons.

Ken Farø explores the lexicographical handling of so-called 'polysemic somatisms', a special category of polylexical phrases consisting of body sememes, which occur in actual language in both an idiomatic and a free syntagmatic variant. Farø demonstrates how these phrases are dealt with in a number of German and Danish dictionaries and concludes that this type of phrase is ambiguous in a strict sense and should therefore be monosemized in the dictionaries.

In comparing four Germanic dictionaries of Anglicisms, *Henrik Gottlieb* warns against concluding from lexicographical evidence (the entries in the works examined) to lexicological realities (usage in Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway). He argues that the differences between the four dictionaries – and their internal discrepancies – mean that exact comparative statements concerning the influence of English on other Germanic languages cannot be made on the basis of the four works alone.

Rolf Hesse describes the difficulties encountered in the translation of sample sentences, collocations and idiomatic expressions out of context in bilingual dictionaries, which can be attributed to grammatical differences between source and target languages. Hesse suggests how these difficulties might be dealt with, reduced or even removed.

Lars Holm gives an account of his project of editing an early 18th-century dictionary manuscript, Bishop Jesper Swedberg's "Swensk Ordabok" and points out that there is no tradition on which the solution of many editorial problems can be based. He argues that none of the manuscripts written by Swedberg himself can serve as the basic manuscript, since they are all incomplete, and he offers suggestions as to how to tackle the resulting editorial difficulties.

Jean Hudson discusses some methodological issues in corpus design with reference to CANCODE, a five million word corpus of naturally occurring spoken English. It is assumed that an influential variable on linguistic choice is the relationship that holds between speakers. The paper describes the categorization of the CANCODE data and offers some linguistic evidence in support of the validity of the further subcategorization of the important category that is generally classified in corpora as 'Conversation'.

The paper by *Olga Karpova* and *Svetlana Manik* is devoted to reflections on how processes in social and public political life lead to changes in language. They analyse different types of dictionaries and examine methods of dictionary criticism. The authors underline the necessity of a dictionary which offers objective presentation and labelling of political vocabulary.

Ksenija Leban gives a detailed outline of the structure and functions of a Slovene-English dictionary of false friends, aimed at language professionals, a segment of dictionary users often neglected. False-friend dictionaries should help preclude errors based on the assumption that a target-language lexeme shares meaning and/or form with its source-language lookalike, a notion which – as demonstrated – is very often unfounded.

The discussion in *Anatoly Liberman*'s contribution turns on three theses: 1) An etymological dictionary should offer a detailed critical survey of the conjectures about the origin of the words included. 2) Closely related words should be treated in one entry rather than distributed according to the letters with which they begin. 3) As a general rule, the prehistory of loan words should be left out of the etymological dictionaries of borrowing languages.

Sándor Martsa demonstrates that English conversions defy the traditional distinction made between polysemy and homonymy. The notions of semantic relatedness and predictability are considered, followed by the analysis of two groups of verbs representing meaning extension: animal verbs and verbs converted from instrument terms. Looking at a number of examples of both types, it becomes obvious that animal and instrument verbs are in fact word-metaphors or word-metonyms. This means that the semantic relationship between them and the corresponding parent nouns can only be interpreted as a kind of polysemy, not homonymy.

Geart van der Meer addresses the treatment of conventional metaphors in the four main English learner's dictionaries. Focusing on the lexical field around the word 'morass' ('bog', 'swamp', 'quagmire', 'mire', 'quicksands', 'dregs'), it turns out that all these words behave in largely the same way, despite what the dictionaries report. This study suggests that demetaphorisation, i.e. loss of metaphorical content, should not be assumed too quickly and that we should speak of metaphorical use rather than metaphorical meaning.

Tadamasa Nishimura presents the results of a study of Japanese learners' problems in connection with the use of learner's dictionaries. Nishimura claims that lexicographers have too often ignored dictionary users in Japan. He presents the feedback from a questionnaire given to high school and university students, with the conclusion and recommendation that lexicographers should use such surveys much more in the future.

The two main issues in *Vilja Oja*'s paper are, first, how to provide equivalents for colour terms in bilingual dictionaries, and second, how to define the meaning of a word in a computer database designed to provide for a multilingual dictionary. The discussion is based on examples from bilingual dictionaries, covering various languages (Estonian, English, Finnish, German, Russian) and from the Database of Estonian Colour Terms.

Kurt Opitz challenges lexicographers' traditional preoccupation with ascertaining and listing the semantic charge of words as a paramount and immutable quality attributable to concepts rather than their representation in language. Such emphasis on this denotational aspect of lexemes neglects the vital role of speaker-oriented connotation so characteristic of actual language use. Consequently, a dedicated dictionary of connotations is proposed. This is outlined and illustrated by an examination of the lexeme 'garden': how it is treated in

conventional dictionaries, and how it could be presented for purposes of connotation-sensitive decoding of text.

Yoshiaki Otani draws attention to the great importance of English-Japanese dictionaries in modern Japanese society. Such bilingual dictionaries help to initiate Japanese users into the world of English while providing a frame of reference for the reception of English in the world of Japanese. In either process equivalents play a key role as interface between the two languages which are so different in syntax, concept and cultural background.

In his paper, *Gunnar Persson* delineates the sense development of the word 'spinster' over the past 1000 years. He introduces a lexicological model based on semantic frames and a prototype analysis that does not distinguish between denotation and connotation in the same way as traditional semantic analyses.

Based on a thorough analysis of the SYN2000 subcorpus in the Czech National Corpus, *Vĕra Schmiedtová* and *Barbara Schmiedtová* consider the linguistic wealth and diversity of the words for 'black', 'white' and 'red' in Czech. The authors point out that no existing dictionary is capable of embracing all the semantic and conceptual nuances of these words, and they express the hope that future dictionaries will address this issue.

Włodzimierz Sobkowiak presents a critical overview of the phonetic treatment of the English morpheme 'trans-' in seven leading EFL dictionaries. It is shown that the phonetic representation of 'trans-' lacks consistency both within and across dictionaries. Some variation can be explained by underlying linguistic factors hidden from the eyes of the learner. Some is due to the intuitive nature of the representations, often based on the individual preferences of compilers. Finally, phonetic representations in dictionaries are apparently not as thoroughly cross-checked as other data, which leads to further variation, this time completely haphazard.

Andrejs Veisbergs considers euphemisms and their treatment in general monolingual dictionaries. He offers a linguistic analysis of euphemism formation (based on English material) and the treatment of euphemisms in several English and Latvian monolingual dictionaries. Serious inconsistencies in euphemism treatment (editorial decisions, subjective solutions in individual cases, absence of or inconsistency in the use of labels, etc.) as well as problems in representing the transitory nature of euphemisms in dictionaries are revealed.

Hideki Watanabe observes in his paper that "A Thesaurus of Old English", published in 1995, has received less attention than it deserves. It is important both as the first period thesaurus of its kind and as a pilot study for the publication of "The Historical Thesaurus of English" which is to appear in a few years' time. Watanabe incorporates the points discussed by reviewers and appraises it once again, with the acknowledgements properly due to the most important contribution to Old English word study in the last decade of the twentieth century. Watanabe concludes his paper by proposing some revisions, particularly with a view to compounds, set phrases and idiomatic expressions.

Arne Zettersten and *Hanne Lauridsen*'s paper deals with the preparatory process of their new English-Danish dictionary and some aspects of the reception of the dictionary after its publication. Special attention is paid to the way the editors made use of a professional assessment company in deciding on priorities in the planning. After publication, the editors learnt from users that this bilingual dictionary is to be regarded as a production dictionary as well as a reception dictionary.

Vorwort

Das Zehnte Internationale Symposion zur Lexikographie, dessen Akten hiermit veröffentlicht werden, fand in der Zeit vom 4. bis 6. Mai 2000 an der Universität Kopenhagen statt. Wir freuen uns darüber, in diesem Band 28 Beiträge von Lexikographen aus 17 Staaten vorstellen zu können: Belgien, Dänemark, Deutschland, Estland, Großbritannien, Japan, Lettland, den Niederlanden, Norwegen, Polen, Russland, Slowenien, Schweden, Spanien, Tschechien, Ungarn und den USA.

Zwei der Beiträge basieren auf Plenarvorträgen, die am ersten Tag des Symposions an der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Kopenhagen gehalten wurden. Seit 1994 wird das Internationale Symposion zur Lexikographie durch die "Otto Jespersen Gedenkvorlesung" eröffnet. Der Otto Jespersen-Redner des Jahres 2000, *Norman Blake,* stellte seine Pläne für ein neues Shakespeare-Wörterbuch vor. Blake bemerkt u.a., dass Jespersen die Kommentare vieler Autoren zum Wortschatz Shakespeares notierte, obwohl diese hauptsächlich aus Aufzählungen der von Shakespeare benutzten Wörter sowie seiner lexikalischen Neuerungen bestehen. Ausführlich beschreibt Blake die Methoden bei der Einsammlung des einschlägigen Materials und betont dabei den Umstand, dass die sprachlichen Register bei Shakespeare von der bisherigen Forschung nur in ganz wenigen Fällen systematisch berücksichtigt wurden.

Im zweiten Plenarvortrag des Symposions stellt *Wolfgang Viereck* den "Atlas Linguarum Europae" vor, einen interpretierenden Wortatlas, der sich bei der Interpretation geolexikalischer Daten sowohl traditioneller Methoden wie Onomasiologie und Semasiologie als auch innovativer Ansätze bedient, bei denen es vorrangig um den motivationellen Aspekt geht. Anhand einer Vielzahl von Beispielen weist Viereck nach, dass das Studium der Wortgeschichte Europas mit wichtigen Einsichten in Kulturgeschichte und Religion verbunden ist.

Tove Bjørneset stellt das norwegische Projekt NORDLEXIN-N vor, welches seit 1996 in Bergen läuft. Anfang der 90er Jahre wurde allen nordischen Ländern die schwedische LEXIN-Datenbank im Hinblick auf die Herstellung ähnlicher Wörterbuchreihen frei zur Verfügung gestellt. Mit diesen Wörterbüchern, die in sowohl einer gedruckten als auch einer elektronischen Version erscheinen werden, soll ein u.a. für Immigranten brauchbares Werkzeug erstellt werden.

Jane Bottomley diskutiert verschiedene Möglichkeiten zur vollen Ausnutzung des elektronischen Mediums, indem sie insbesondere auf das "Cambridge International Dictionary of English Online" (CIDE Online), einen freien Internetdienst, sowie das "Cambridge International Dictionary of English CD-ROM" (CIDE CD) eingeht, an dessen Entwicklung sie selbst beteiligt war. In ihrem Beitrag werden vier Hauptgebiete behandelt: 1. die Redaktion des Inhalts für ein elektronisches Format, 2. die Datenbankpflege bzw. die Integration des Feedbacks, 3. die Benutzerschnittstelle und 4. die Organisation zusätzlicher Merkmale außerhalb des laufenden Textes.

Ulrich Busse thematisiert die soziale Dimension der Lexikographie, indem er eine kontrastive Analyse zweier spezieller Typen von Fremdwörterbüchern unternimmt. Durch den Vergleich einiger der neuesten Anglizismenwörterbücher des Deutschen mit den englischen Wörterbüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts zu "schweren Wörtern" kann er nachweisen, dass die

Lexikographie – zumindest bis zu einem gewissen Grade – schon immer soziologische und soziolinguistische Erscheinungen reflektierte.

Timothy Colleman berichtet über die Herstellung des "Contragram-Wörterbuches zur Verbvalenz" (CVVD), das gegenwärtige Projekt der Contragram-Forschungsgruppe der Universität Gent (Belgien). Er betont, dass das CVVD als erstes Valenzwörterbuch vollständig kontrastiv sein wird, und dass die traditionelle Unterscheidung zwischen Quellensprache und Zielsprache(n) für ein solches Wörterbuch nicht relevant ist. Im Endergebnis will das CVVD Grammatiken, traditionelle Übersetzungswörterbücher und existierende Valenzwörterbücher in mehrfacher Hinsicht ergänzen.

Janet DeCesaris und *Victòria Alsina* diskutieren in ihrem Beitrag die Darstellung figurativer Bedeutungen in englischen, spanischen und katalanischen Wörterbüchern. In englischen Lernerwörterbüchern ist es üblich, figurative Bedeutungen nicht eigens zu markieren, wohingegen in der spanischen und katalanischen Lexikographie eine lange Tradition für die Markierung solcher Bedeutungen besteht. Es wird die Auffassung vertreten, dass ein reflektierter Gebrauch von Markierungen dazu beitragen kann, die kohärente Bedeutungsentwicklung zu verdeutlichen, anhand derer entscheidende Auskünfte für die Lerner einer Sprache konstituiert werden. Durch Korpusdaten aus dem Englischen werden Vorschläge zur Darstellung polysemer Wörter in Lernerwörterbüchern unterbreitet, u.a. im Hinblick darauf, wie die figurativen Bedeutungen zu ihren litteralen Gegenüber in Beziehung gebracht werden können.

Der Beitrag von *Bernhard Diensberg* behandelt die mit den altfranzösischen Lehnwörtern germanischen Ursprungs in der englischen Sprache verbundene Vielzahl von Problemen. Bei der Analyse einer Reihe dieser Probleme unterscheidet Diensberg zwischen altfranzösischen Entlehnungen germanischen Ursprungs, die in (fast) allen romanischen Sprachen Reflexe haben, und solchen, die auf das Gallo-Romanische begrenzt sind, d.h. die Mehrzahl der altfranzösischen Lehnwörter auf germanischem Substrat.

Ken Farø untersucht die lexikographische Berücksichtigung so genannter 'polysemer Somatismen', eine besondere Kategorie polylexikalischer Syntagmen, die aus körperbezogenen Sememen bestehen, und die im aktuellen Sprachgebrauch sowohl in einer idiomatischen als auch in einer freien syntagmatischen Variante vorkommen. Farø weist nach, inwieweit solche Syntagmen in einer Reihe deutscher und dänischer Wörterbücher behandelt werden und stellt fest, dass dieser Syntagmentyp im strikten Sinne ambig ist und daher in den Wörterbüchern monosemiert werden müsste.

Aufgrund eines Vergleiches vier germanischer Anglizismenwörterbücher warnt *Henrik Gottlieb* vor der Gefahr, die darin bestünde, die lexikographischen Befunde (d.h. die Eintragungen in den untersuchten Wörterbüchern) unkritisch auf die lexikologischen Realitäten zu applizieren (aktueller Sprachgebrauch in Deutschland, Dänemark, Schweden und Norwegen). Er betont, dass die Feststellung von Unterschieden zwischen den vier Wörterbüchern – und deren internen Diskrepanzen – zur Folge hat, dass genaue Angaben zum Einfluss des Englischen auf andere germanische Sprachen auf der Basis der vier behandelten Wörterbücher nicht möglich sind.

Rolf Hesse beschreibt die Schwierigkeiten, die bei der Übersetzung von Beispielsätzen, Kollokationen und idiomatischen Wendungen außer Kontext auftreten, und die auf grammatische Unterschiede zwischen Quellen- und Zielsprache(n) zurückgeführt werden können. Hesse unterbreitet eine Reihe von Vorschlägen zur Lösung bzw. Reduktion oder Entfernung dieser Probleme.

Lars Holm berichtet über den Fortgang seines Projektes zur Edition eines frühen Wörterbuchmanuskriptes aus dem 18. Jahrhundert, und zwar das "Swensk Ordabok" des Bischofes Jesper Swedberg. Holm weist auf den Umstand hin, dass keine Traditionen bestehen, auf deren Folie man editorische Fragestellungen lösen könnte. Er vertritt die Auffassung, dass keines der von Swedborg selbst verfassten Manuskripte als Editionsgrundlage dienen kann, da sie alle unvollständig sind. Abschließend schlägt er Wege zur Lösung der daraus entstehenden editorischen Schwierigkeiten vor.

Jean Hudson diskutiert einige mit der Erstellung von Korpora verbundene methodologische Fragen, indem sie sich auf CANCODE bezieht, ein aus fünf Millionen Wörtern bestehendes Korpus des tatsächlich gesprochenen Englisch. Dabei wird vermutet, dass die Beziehung zwischen den Sprechern eine wichtige Variable in sprachlichen Wahlsituationen ausmacht. Anschließend wird die Kategorisierung der CANCODE-Daten beschrieben, und zur Unterstützung der Validität einer weiteren wichtigen Subkategorisierung, die in Korpora gemeinhin als 'Konversation' bezeichnet wird, werden sprachliche Belege angeführt.

Olga Karpova und *Svetlana Manik* gehen in ihrem Beitrag der Frage nach, inwieweit gesellschaftliche und politische Prozesse zu sprachlichen Veränderungen führen. Sie analysieren eine Auswahl von Wörterbüchern und erörtern dabei verschiedene Methoden zur Wörterbuchkritik. Die Verf. betonen die Notwendigkeit der Erstellung eines Wörterbuches, welches eine objektive Darstellung und Markierung des politischen Wortschatzes bietet.

Ksenija Leban gibt einen detaillierten Abriss der Struktur und Funktion eines Slowenisch-Englischen Wörterbuches zu falschen Freunden mit professionellen Sprachbenutzern als Zielgruppe – ein oft stiefmütterlich behandelter Wörterbuchtyp. Wörterbücher zu falschen Freunden sollen zur Ausschließung von solchen Fehlern beitragen, die auf der Vermutung basieren, dass ein zielsprachiges Lexem dieselbe Bedeutung und/oder Form hat wie seine scheinbaren Entsprechungen in der Quellensprache – eine in der Realität vielfach unbegründete Vorstellung.

Die Diskussion im Beitrag von *Anatoly Liberman* konzentriert sich auf drei Thesen: 1) Ein etymologisches Wörterbuch sollte einen detaillierten, kritischen Überblick der Mutmaßungen über den Ursprung der aufgenommenen Wörter vermitteln. 2) Nah verwandte Wörter sollten in ein und demselben Wörterbuchartikel behandelt und nicht auf verschiedene Stellen je nach dem Anfangsbuchstaben des betreffenden Wortes verteilt werden. 3) Die Vorgeschichte von Lehnwörtern sollte in der Regel aus den etymologischen Wörterbüchern der Empfängersprachen ausgelassen werden.

Sándor Martsa weist nach, dass englische Konversionen nicht im Rahmen der herkömmlichen Unterscheidung zwischen Polysemie und Homonymie beschreibbar sind. Begriffe wie semantische Verwandtschaft und Vorhersagbarkeit werden diskutiert, wonach zwei Gruppen von Verben analysiert werden: auf Tiere bezogene Verben sowie Verben, die von Instrumentausdrücken konvertiert sind. Durch die Analyse einer Reihe von Beispielen beider Typen wird klar, dass tierbezogene Verben und Instrumentverben in Wirklichkeit Wortmetaphern oder Wortmetonyme sind. Dies bedeutet, dass die semantische Verwandtschaft zwischen diesen und den entsprechenden Basissubstantiven lediglich als eine Art Polysemie – und nicht Homonymie – interpretiert werden kann.

Geart van der Meer thematisiert die Berücksichtigung konventioneller Metaphern in den vier wichtigsten Lernerwörterbüchern des Englischen. Die Analyse konzentriert sich auf das Wortfeld um das englische Lexem für Morast, 'morass' ('bog', 'swamp', 'quagmire', 'mire', 'quicksands', 'dregs'). Es zeigt sich, dass sich all diese Wörter grob gesehen in

derselben Weise benehmen, und zwar unabhängig davon, was in den Wörterbüchern steht. Es wird im Beitrag davor gewarnt, vorschnell mit Demetaphorisierung, d.h. dem Verlust metaphorischen Inhalts, zu rechnen, und weiter heißt es, dass anstelle von metaphorischer Bedeutung eher von metaphorischem Gebrauch die Rede sein sollte.

Tadamasa Nishimura stellt die Ergebnisse einer Studie über Probleme von japanischen Lernern in Bezug auf den Gebrauch von Lernerwörterbüchern vor. Nishimura ist der Ansicht, dass Wörterbuchbenutzer in Japan von den Lexikographen zu oft außer Acht gelassen werden. Er stellt das Feed-back eines von SchülerInnen an Gymnasien und StudentInnen an Universitäten beantworteten Fragebogens vor und empfiehlt schluss-folgernd, dass Lexikographen sich künftig viel häufiger solcher Fragebogenuntersuchungen bedienen sollten.

Die zwei Hauptanliegen des Beitrages von *Vilja Oja* sind erstens die Frage, inwieweit Äquivalente für Farbausdrücke in zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern implementiert werden sollen, und zweitens, wie die Bedeutung eines Wortes in einer elektronischen, im Hinblick auf die Herstellung eines mehrsprachigen Wörterbuches erstellten Datenbank definiert werden soll. Die Diskussion basiert auf Beispielen aus zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern. Dabei geht der Verf. auf mehrere Sprachen ein (Deutsch, Estnisch, Englisch, Finnisch, Russisch) und beschreibt abschließend die Datenbank der estnischen Farbausdrücke.

Kurt Opitz stellt die traditionelle Beschäftigung der Lexikographen mit der Ermittlung und Auflistung der semantischen Ladung von Wörtern in Frage, welche eher Konzepten zuschreibbar sei als ihrer Repräsentation in der Sprache. Diese Betonung des denotativen Aspektes der Lexeme vernachlässigt die vitale Rolle der sprecherorientierten Konnotation, die für den aktuellen Sprachgebrauch so charakteristisch ist. Folglich wird ein besonderes Wörterbuch der Konnotationen vorgeschlagen. Dieser Vorschlag wird durch eine Untersuchung des Lexems 'garden' veranschaulicht und begründet: Wie wird dieses Lexem in konventionellen Wörterbüchern behandelt, und wie könnte es für den Zweck einer konnotationssensitiven Dekodierung von Texten dargestellt werden?

Yoshiaki Otani macht darauf aufmerksam, wie wichtig englisch-japanische Wörterbücher für die moderne japanische Gesellschaft sind. Mit Hilfe solcher zweisprachigen Wörterbücher werden japanische Benutzer in die Welt des Englischen eingeführt, und es wird ein Referenzrahmen bezüglich der Rezeption des Englischen in der Welt des Japanischen hergestellt. In beiden Fällen kommt Äquivalenten eine Schlüsselfunktion zu: als Nahtstelle zwischen den beiden in Bezug auf Syntax, Begriffsinhalt und den kulturellen Hintergrund so unterschiedlicher Sprachen.

In seinem Beitrag stellt *Gunnar Persson* die Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes 'spinster' im Laufe der vergangenen 1000 Jahre dar. Er führt ein auf semantischen "Frames" basierendes lexikologisches Modell ein, in dem – im Gegensatz zu traditionellen seman-tischen Analysen – nicht zwischen Denotation und Konnotation unterschieden wird.

Auf der Basis einer sorgfältigen Analyse des zum tschechischen Nationalkorpus gehörigen SYN2000-Subkorpus wird im Beitrag von *Vira Schmiedtová* und *Barbara Schmiedtová* die sprachliche Vielfalt der tschechischen Wörter für 'schwarz', 'weiß' und 'rot' thematisiert. Die Verf. weisen darauf hin, dass kein existierendes Wörterbuch all die semantischen und konzeptuellen Nuancen dieser Wörter beschreibt. Abschließend wird die Hoffnung zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass künftige Wörterbücher sich dieser Aufgabe zuwenden werden.

Włodzimierz Sobkowiak stellt eine kritische Übersicht über die Behandlung der Phonetik des englischen Morphems 'trans-' in sieben führenden Wörterbüchern zum Englischen als

Fremdsprache vor. Es wird aufgezeigt, dass die phonetische Darstellung von 'trans-' sowohl innerhalb einzelner Wörterbücher gesehen als auch der Wörterbücher untereinander unter fehlender Konsistenz leidet. Teils lässt sich die Varianz über tiefer liegende sprachliche Faktoren erklären, welche die Augen des Lerners nicht sehen, teils ist sie auf die intuitiv-individuellen Vorlieben des jeweiligen Lexikographen zurückzuführen. Außerdem werden phonetische Angaben in Wörterbüchern offensichtlich nicht so sorgfältig kontrolliert wie andere Daten, Dies führt nur zur weiteren Varianz und letztendlich zu völliger Willkür.

Andrejs Veisbergs thematisiert Euphemismen und ihre Behandlung in allgemeinsprachlichen einsprachigen Wörterbüchern. Nach einer auf englischem Material basierenden sprachlichen Analyse von Euphemismenbildungen untersucht er die Behandlung von Euphemismen in mehreren englischen und lettischen einsprachigen Wörterbüchern. Dabei wird eine Vielzahl ernsthafter Inkonsequenzen der editorischen Praxis aufgedeckt. Beispielsweise werden Entscheidungen des Öfteren von Fall zu Fall getroffen, Markierungen werden inkonsequent oder gar nicht benutzt etc. Es wird außerdem auf eine Reihe anderer besonders euphemismenbezogener Probleme in den analysierten Wörterbüchern hingewiesen.

In seinem Beitrag beklagt *Hideki Watanabe*, dass dem im Jahr 1995 erschienenen "Thesaurus of Old English" weit weniger Aufmerksamkeit zuteil geworden ist, als er verdient. Wertvoll ist das Werk nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil es sich dabei sowohl um den ersten periodenbezogenen Thesaurus dieser Art handelt als auch um eine Pilotstudie, die für die Erstellung von "The Historical Thesaurus of English", das in wenigen Jahren erscheinen wird, große Bedeutung haben könnte. Unter Berücksichtigung der von den Rezensenten hervorgehobenen Punkte bewertet Watanabe das Buch aufs Neue, indem er den Thesaurus als den wichtigsten Beitrag zur Erforschung der altenglischen Wortgeschichte im letzten Jahrzehnt des 20. Jahrhunderts bezeichnet. Abschließend unterbreitet Watanabe einige Änderungsvorschläge, besonders in Bezug auf Komposita, Kollokationen und idiomatische Wendungen.

In ihrem Beitrag beschreiben *Arne Zettersten* und *Hanne Lauridsen* die mit ihrem kürzlich erschienenen englisch-dänischen Wörterbuch verbundenen Vorüberlegungen sowie einige Aspekte der Rezeption des Wörterbuches. Insbesondere wird darauf eingegangen, wie die Autoren bei der Festlegung des Arbeitsplans von einer professionellen Ratgeberfirma Gebrauch machten. Nach dem Erscheinen des Wörterbuches haben die Autoren von den Benutzern erfahren, dass dieses zweisprachige Wörterbuch zur gleichen Zeit als ein Produktionswörterbuch und Rezeptionswörterbuch charakterisiert werden muss.

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Die Herausgeber danken den Autoren sehr herzlich für ihre Bereitschaft, die Manuskripte ihrer Beiträge für den Druck zur Verfügung zu stellen. Wir danken auch allen – alten und neuen Freunden – für ihre Teilnahme am Symposion. Ebenso sind wir als Organisatoren dem Englischen Institut, dem Institut für Deutsch und Niederländisch und dem Zentrum für Übersetzungwissenschaft (alle Universität Kopenhagen) sehr zu Dank verpflichtet.

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Kopenhagen im Mai 2001   Die Herausgeber

Acknowledgements

Norman Blake

Towards a Dictionary of Shakespeare's Informal English[1]

In the Department of English Language and Linguistics at the University of Sheffield are some photographs of distinguished philologists. One is of Otto Jespersen. No documents record how his photograph came to be there, but I suspect it was donated by Professor Moore Smith, for the two clearly knew each other well. Jespersen refers to Moore Smith in his autobiography and in several prefaces of his books, both while Moore Smith was in Oxford and later when he was professor at Sheffield. Jespersen never wrote a major study of Shakespeare's language, though Shakespeare's works are an important source for examples in his *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (1909-49). He also wrote a brief chapter on "Shakespeare and the Language of Poetry" included in his *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1982). In this chapter, a broad-brush exploration of some features of Shakespeare's language, he claimed that Shakespeare used "language to individualise the characters in his plays. In this he shows a much finer and subtler art than some modern novelists, who make the same person continually use the same stock phrase or phrases. Even when he resorts to the same tricks as other authors he varies them more" (p.203). He also noticed that words can "have another colouring than their present significa- tion" (p. 205), for some occur only in the mouths of vulgar or affected persons. He did not develop these insights or produce much evidence to support them. For my own part I have been invited to compile a dictionary of informal English in Shakespeare. Given the links between Jespersen and Sheffield, and the interest I share with him in Shakespeare's lan- guage, this lecture seemed an appropriate opportunity to review how one might approach the task of deciding what to include in a dictionary like this.

As Jespersen noted, many writers make claims about Shakespeare's vocabulary, though these claims focus on the number of words he used and his inventiveness in creating new ones. As for register, most commentators limit themselves to his use of either bawdy or colloquialism, often regarded as the exclusive feature of lower-class characters. The diction of Elizabethan "common life" was a familiar topic fifty years ago, though most essays were largely impressionistic and based on little real evidence. Few scholars have explored regis- ter in Shakespeare systematically, though Cusack (1970), Brook (1976) and Salmon (1965, 1967) have made a start. But Brook saw register mainly in terms of repartee and comedy, and Salmon confined her enquiries to the Falstaff plays. Otherwise, literary scholars restrict their sparse comments on Shakespeare's language to what they describe as his colloquial- ism. This comment about *The Taming of the Shrew* by Park Honan in his recent biography of Shakespeare is not untypical:

> Petruccio's and Kate's talk is colloquial, earthy, often bawdy, sharp as a slap in the face, enriched by snippets from country folk-tales and legends. (1998, p.135)

What Honan means by this is not clear and he gives no examples of this colloquial talk. The implication is that the language of these two characters is different from that found in other plays because of its colloquial and earthy nature. But the genre of drama demands that, if characters are to appear reasonably lifelike, their talk must not be too formal or wooden, a demand which applies to characters of high social standing as much as to Kate and Petruccio. In principle Hamlet may be as colloquial and bawdy as Petruccio. Philologists have often noted how difficult it is to trace colloquialism in language written four hundred years ago, and in this paper I would like to explore some possible approaches to isolate elements of informal language in Shakespeare's vocabulary and syntax. I shall focus on the problem presented by words and phrases not normally designated as informal by editors or lexicographers rather than on those forms beloved of commentators like dialect words, bawdy expressions or variant pronunciations. The tone of those words and phrases at the periphery of informality often escapes readers and they present difficulties to lexicographers.

There are two ways of approaching this investigation: by considering material within a play on its own merits and by evaluating material in the play against external information. The two may overlap. The former is implied in the quotation by Park Honan, namely if characters are comic or of a low status, their language will be colloquial. In fact neither Petruccio nor Kate is specifically low in status, and it is the way they behave and the situations they find themselves in rather than their position in society which might determine whether their language is informal. If register is the use by individuals of a different level of language in accordance with the discourse situation, then colloquialism is not confined to a particular class of individual, though people in lower social classes may use it more because of their social environment. As sociolinguists tells us, we all, whatever our social class, indulge in colloquialisms when we are in our informal conversational mode; we all have a linguistic code of informality. Hence one way of approaching this question of register, as Jespersen suggested, is to consider words which appear to have an informal tone not so much by who uses them as by the context in which they appear. It may be that lower-class characters find themselves more often in situations which favour informal language, but it is not invariably true. To make any conclusions convincing, it will be necessary to examine the contexts in some depth, following the principles of pragmatics. This method was adopted by Arthur King in his analysis of the language of *Poëtaster* (1941). In that play he considered words as criticised if they were used either by characters who the author clearly satirises or by other characters when they use parody, irony or humour. The same approach may be applied to Shakespeare. Although some words or abbreviated forms may always be colloquial or informal, other words which appear to be neutral or even polite may in some discourse situations take on a different register.

I start by considering this exchange in *Much Ado About Nothing* in which Don John and Borachio, two of the villains, are discussing the marriage being arranged between Claudio and Hero:

> *Iohn.* What is hee for a foole that betrothes himselfe to vnquietnesse?
> *Bor.* Mary it is your brothers right hand.
> *Iohn.* Who, the most exquisite *Claudio*?
> *Bor.* Euen he.
> *Iohn.* A proper squier, and who, and who, which way lookes he? (1.3.43-9)[2]

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[2]   The quotations are from Hinman (1996), but the lineation is from Wells & Taylor (1988).

Here two phrases are ironic or derogatory, *most exquisite* and *proper squier*, and they will be examined in greater detail. In addition, the repetition of *and who* might suggest that this type of repetition was either informal or ironic, partly because of its syntactic form and partly because it appears to express curiosity mixed with disbelief. We need to discover whether these words and phrases are merely adapted by Don John to this register on this one occasion or whether they are more generally informal, even if informal in this connection means little more than "not normally used in a neutral context".

Exquisite belongs to the language of courtly extravagance as a term of praise, though it became a vogue word, which aroused a reaction of disapproval in many who heard it. Its tone of exaggeration meant that it had lost its usefulness. The word occurs only in Shakespeare's plays, not his poems. It occurs in the plays twelve times, apart from this example in *Much Ado*, though one must remember that quartos and First Folio sometimes have different readings. The most revealing occurrences are those in *Twelfth Night*, where it occurs four times. When Viola as Cesario first meets Olivia, she embarks on a prepared speech as from Orsino in praise of Olivia. This starts *Most radiant, exquisite, and vnmatchable beautie.* (1.5.163), at which point Viola breaks off in case it is not Olivia she is addressing. This is an example of hyperbole in which the three adjectives may be regarded as appropriate to the extravagant praise of a woman, the beloved. This is the normal context for the word, confirmed in this case by the other adjectives which accompany it. The occurrence of *radiant* here is matched by its use by Francis Flute as Thisbe in the artisans' play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* when he praises Pyramus in terms more appropriate to a woman, which is indeed part of the joke: *Most radiant Piramus, most Lilly white of hue,* (3.1.87). Other examples of *radiant* are usually used of the sun, which may suggest why it could pass over into hyperbole when applied to humans. It is applied to Cymbeline to exalt him when he is portrayed as a sun shining in the west (*Cymbeline* 5.6.476-7) to match the Roman Caesar in the east. It may not be surprising that it is used in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the final scene with the fairies, when Pistol says *Our radiant Queene, hates Sluts, and Sluttery.* (5.5.45). This example matches *radiant* against *sluts* and *sluttery* suggesting that the word may well be regarded as hyperbolic and thus needing to be deflated. The three other examples of *unmatchable* in Shakespeare are, however, unambiguously laudatory, but they are applied to men like Antony. Of these three adjectives in the example from *Twelfth Night* it is *exquisite* which taints the others as hyperbolic, though the opening of a letter to a beloved is by its own nature a place where exaggeration might be expected. Hamlet's letter is addressed *To the Celestiall, and my Soules Idoll, the most beautified Ophelia.* (*Hamlet* 2.2.110-11). But such openings where they occur in Shakespeare are often inflated as though tongue in cheek.

The second and third examples from *Twelfth Night* come in the same piece of dialogue between Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek:

To. What for being a Puritan, thy exquisite reason, deere knight.
An. I haue no exquisite reason for't, but I haue reason good enough. (2.3.137-40)

These represent a playful use of words by the two knights, who are straining to appear courtly and fashionable both to each other and to the others present. Nevertheless, the exchange suggests that *exquisite* is a word which lent itself to this usage, and Sir Andrew picks it up from Sir Toby because he strives to be fashionable. It may not be colloquial, but

it suggests a register which is not as formal as it at first appears. The final example from *Twelfth Night* is also spoken by Sir Toby, who is hugely enjoying the teasing of Malvolio by Feste in his role as Sir Topas. To Malvolio's anguished cries of *Sir Topas, sir Topas.*, Sir Toby can only blurt out in joy *My most exquisite sir Topas.* (4.2.62). These examples by Toby and Andrew together with the one used hyperbolically by Viola as Cesario suggest that *exquisite* was a loaded word; it was fashionable and part of courtly language but it could easily pass over into the informality of comic or ironic exaggeration.

The only other comedy in which this word occurs is *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in which Valentine expresses his love for and admiration of Sylvia to Speed, who mocks him for his expression of love by misunderstanding his words in a way Valentine had not intended. The dialogue includes this exchange:

> Val. What dost thou know?
> Speed. That shee is not so faire, as (of you) well-fauourd?
> Val. I meane that her beauty is exquisite,
> But her fauour infinite.
> Speed. That's because the one is painted, and the other out of all count. (2.1.49-54)

One may accept that Valentine uses the word *exquisite* in sincere praise of Sylvia, but Speed mocks the word because it is fashionable and exaggerated, and because those who use it cannot see beneath the surface of what is described by it. A lady who uses sufficient cosmetics may be exquisitely beautiful to some, but not to those who know what it covers up. Neither uses the word neutrally: for one it represents the highest praise, for the other self-deception.

Otherwise, the word occurs in several tragedies. The same sense of exaggeration is found in *Romeo and Juliet*, for it is a word used in the opening scene by Romeo to describe his first love, Rosaline. The expressions he uses are stereotyped and traditional, because this is not real love, but the love of a distant lady as part of the love game. Romeo does not use this type of vocabulary, which includes *exquisite*, when he really falls in love, with Juliet. Benvolio, like Speed in *Two Gentlemen*, mocks this vocabulary. He advises Romeo to open his eyes to look at other women:

> Ben. By giuing liberty vnto thine eyes,
> Examine other beauties.
> Ro. 'Tis the way to cal hers (exquisit) in question more, (1.1.224-6)

Although *exquisite* is marked off by brackets here, it is not otherwise unusual in that it fits into the pattern of Romeo's employment of the traditional vocabulary of love at this stage in his development. This vocabulary is appropriate for the game of love, but not to represent true feelings.

Perhaps more significant are its uses in other tragedies. In *Othello* it is used three times in the scene which witnesses Cassio's disgrace and downfall. The first time is when Iago and Cassio discuss Desdemona, the former seeing her more as a sex object and the latter using language more suitable for a lover:

> *Iago.* ...he hath not yet made wanton the night with her: and she is sport for *Ioue.*
> *Cas.* She's a most exquisite Lady.
> *Iago.* And Ile warrant her, full of Game.

Cas. Indeed she's a most fresh and delicate creature. (2.3.15-20)

Although Cassio means *exquisite* to express his admiration for her in a positive sense without any ambiguity, the context in which it occurs suggests that far from being a distant beauty she is little more than an overcharged sex symbol. Cassio himself later in this scene undermines the status of this word, which he uses twice more when drunk. Iago, having persuaded Cassio to drink more than he should, indulges in nonsense talk. First he talks about the drinking abilities of various nations, where he claims of the English *they are most potent in Potting.* (2.3.70-1). To this Cassio responds *Is your Englishmen so exquisite in his drinking?* (2.3.74). Few commentators comment on *exquisite* in this context, though some editors follow the Quarto in reading *expert*. However, Andrews (1991) glosses *exquisite* "choice, distinguished" on the basis of the other examples in this scene. Although this may be the word's basic meaning, here the sense is "elegant, fastidious" or even "notorious". That it describes outrageous drinking habits puts the word into a different context from its normal one, and it implies excess. Later in this scene Cassio enthuses about the trite and probably traditional song on King Stephen's trousers sung by Iago with *Why this is a more exquisite Song than the other.* (2.3.91-2). Once again *exquisite* is put into a different context where it implies no more than general approbation, but in both cases of things which for most people would not merit any approval whatsoever. If one accepts *in vino veritas*, one appreciates how Cassio really understands this word.

There is a single example in *Timon of Athens* where it is used by Lucius, one of those who befriend and flatter Timon when he is wealthy and distributing his wealth to all and sundry. Lucius uses inflated language to describe Timon and his own friendship for him. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that he should instruct Servilius to greet Timon with *commend me to thy Honourable vertuous Lord, my very exquisite Friend.* (3.2.29-30). The number of adjectives and the modifying of *exquisite* by *very* all suggest how hypocritical this expression of love is. That *exquisite* should be addressed to a man is also potentially significant.

Two final examples of *exquisite* occur in *Cymbeline*. The first is used by Giacomo, the duplicitous Italian, when he asks Imogen to store a trunk full of valuables in a safe place for him. They are described as *Plate of rare deuice, and Iewels Of rich, and exquisite forme, their valewes great,* (1.6.190-1). On the one hand, this is a neutral, if somewhat inflated, description but, on the other hand, given Giacomo's character and the fact that there are no valuables anyway, we accept that he exaggerates their pretended worth to make sure Imogen stores the trunk in her own bedchamber; the word implies excess. The other is used by Cloten who hopes to marry Imogen. In the play he is portrayed as a braggart who uses courtly language which he has picked up without always knowing exactly what it may imply. When he is discussing Imogen with his mother, he describes her

...she hath all courtly parts more exquisite
Then Lady, Ladies, Woman, from euery one
The best she hath, and she of all compounded
Out-selles them all. (3.5.71-4).

Once again, although no doubt meant sincerely, the word occurs in a passage of hyperbole which may undercut its use. Although the language is not elaborate, the structure of *Then*

Lady, Ladies, Woman implies a groping after effect without the speaker knowing how best to achieve this.

There is, therefore, sufficient evidence to suggest that *exquisite* was a word fashionable in courtly contexts usually in praise of women, but for Shakespeare it had become a word of little more than general approbation which had lost its usefulness through misuse. It could be adopted for irony or comedy in appropriate situations. Words like this were relatively new and, as Gladys Willcock has commented, "By the end of the neo-classical period words like *elegancy, fancy, invention* were commonplace enough. We miss the whole point if we imagine they were so in the early fifteen-nineties." (1934, p.12). S-L glosses *exquisite* as "excellent" and quotes a few examples without further comment. OED **Exquisite** *a.* and *sb.* 4 defines it as "Of a person, etc.: accomplished either in good or bad things; consummate, excellent, perfect". Few users of either dictionary will understand that Shakespeare uses this word to mean "over the top, excessive". In this period when many words were being incorporated into the language, it is the context rather than the word itself which indicates its level of formality. In the original passage from *Much Ado* its modification by *most* merely emphasises this state of affairs, because a word which hardly warrants any indication of degree is given a superlative modifier. Other examples employ this or other modifiers in their striving for an effect.

The other phrase in the original passage used by Don John in *Much Ado* which matches *most exquisite* in its informal and ironic use is *A proper squier*. This example is of a different kind since it is the only occurrence of this phrase in Shakespeare, but the linking of *proper* with *squier* may be significant. *Proper* occurs frequently in Shakespeare. It has several senses and its principal one "own, conformable, belonging to a particular person or state" is not relevant here, for that is its neutral or acceptable sense. In that way this word differs from *exquisite* because it is most often used neutrally. *Proper* also occurs in the phrase *a proper x*, where *x* is a noun of human status, such as *man, maid* etc. S-L glosses the word in these contexts as "honest, respectable (used of women)", but "fine, nice, pretty (used of men)" though one of the latter examples is translated as "handsome". S-L suggests the word is used ironically when modifying nouns like *saying, jest* or *peace*, without any indication that this might also apply when modifying nouns like *man*, though the separation of meanings when *proper* is used with male or female persons suggests that this is something worth exploring. There is variety in the tone of many examples of this type of phrase. In many instances there is no reason to doubt that the phrase *a proper man* is a compliment, as in *Two Gentlemen* 4.1.10-11, where the outlaws describe Valentine as such before they choose him as their leader; in *Twelfth Night* where Olivia can see the time when Viola/Cesario will become *a proper man:* (3.1.132, though there may be some irony here since that is not possible for Viola); and in *Othello* where Desdemona refers to Lodovico, who brings news that Cassio is to be the new governor of Cyprus, as *a proper man.* (4.3.34). A little more ambiguous, since the phrase comes in a passage of witty exchanges, may be Le Beau's description in *As You Like It* of *Three proper yong men, of excellent growth and presence.* (1.2.112-13), who are all thrown by Charles the wrestler so that they are likely to die. More ironic is Claudio's description of Benedick as *a very proper man.* (*Much Ado* 2.3.175) in response to Don Pedro's claim *for the man (as you know all) hath a contemptible spirit.* (2.3.173-4), both of which occur in a passage where Claudio and Don Pedro are tearing Benedick's character to shreds. The same applies in *Richard III* where Richard expresses astonishment that Anne *findes (although I cannot) My selfe to be a*

maru'llous proper man. (1.2.240-1). Clear contempt is evident in *The Taming of the Shrew* in Grumio's description of Lucentio as *A proper stripling, and an amorous.* (1.2.141); though *stripling* signifies immaturity, it is not otherwise a derogatory word, so it may be its combination with *proper* which gives this utterance its edge. There is no reason to doubt that *proper* can vary from being complimentary, through being ambiguous, to having an ironic tone. Unlike *exquisite* it is not usually derogatory, although it can be. It depends both on the context and on the company of other words it keeps.

This leads us to focus on *squire* a word which by itself or as part of a compound occurs eighteen times in Shakespeare's works, all of them in his plays. It is a word which falls into two distinct fields, one the title of those gentlemen just below the rank of knight and the other referring to a man of any class, used both familiarly and contemptuously. We are not concerned with the former, which is usually linked with other words of rank. The latter is still an informal, even slang, word in Present Day English meaning "fellow, chap, lad". S-L glosses this sense as "a familiar title, given sometimes in tenderness, and sometimes in contempt; almost = fellow". OED **Squire** *sb.* 1 d refers to the word being in contemptuous use, though now obsolete. However, Holdsworth (1986) believes that *squire* also had a slang meaning in Shakespeare's English in the sense of "pimp, whoremaster", though he does not refer to this passage in *Much Ado*. The use of *squire* to refer to a child is affectionately familiar: Titania in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* refers to the mother of the boy who is the subject of the dispute between her and Oberon with *(her wombe then rich with my yong squire)* (2.1.131); Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* refers to his young son Mamilius *So stands this Squire Offic'd with me:* (1.2.172-3). However, *squire* can refer to a man, possibly a young man, though with contempt. In *Othello* Emilia refers to whoever betrayed Othello first as *some most villanous Knaue, Some base, notorious Knaue, some scuruy Fellow.* (4.2.143-4) and in her next speech as *some such Squire he was That turn'd your wit, the seamy-side without,* (4.2.149-50). In other examples the reference to status is present, but the connotations of *squire* are negative. In *1 Henry VI* Talbot suggests Sir John Fastolf should be stripped of his rank because at the Battle of Patay he *Like to a trustie Squire, did run away.* (4.1.23); in *1 Henry IV* Falstaff refers to *vs that are Squires of the Nights bodie,* (1.2.25) in a context which makes it clear they are thieves; and in *King Lear* the compound *squire-like* in *To knee his Throne, and Squire-like pension beg, To keepe base life a foote;* (2.2.387-8) paints the role of squires as unflattering, to say the least. The portrayal of squires is of men who are young and on the lowest rank of the aristocratic hierarchy who have constantly to defer to their elders and who, perhaps through inexperience, are likely to prove unreliable in battle. Although Claudio is young, inexperienced and still junior in rank (for Don Pedro goes out of his way to woo on his behalf), he has proved himself in the recent war. Familiarity can turn into contempt. Don John's *A proper squier* picks up the least favourable elements of the words *proper* and *squier* to highlight Claudio's youth and inexperience. The sense of *squire* in this context must refer not to his rank, but to his youth and inexperience. It may also suggest that Claudio is no better than a pimp. Given the later accusation that Hero has been unfaithful, the suggestion that Claudio is her pimp may look forward to later developments in the plot. The phrase suggests an informal register not fully recorded in either dictionary.

The discussion of these words has been long, but they are rarely commented on in editions and it is far from certain that they are understood by readers of Shakespeare. Of these words *exquisite* is glossed with the single sense "supreme", but within most of the contexts in

which the word occurs in Shakespeare that sense is made to seem extravagant or excessive, and thus a vogue word passes over into the informal register implying the opposite of supreme. The praise which the word conveys is artificial, immature and frequently ironic. *Proper* and *squire* have at least two meanings each. *Proper* is most often a word with neutral or favourable connotations; it is only when it is paired with words of ambiguous or unfavourable connotations that a sense of irony is attracted to it so that it changes register. It is a difficult word to pin down, but its unfavourable sense occurs principally in the phrase *a proper x*, where *x* is a noun indicating a human being, for in this phrase it may suggest irony. *Squire* has two quite distinct fields of meaning, one is formal and refers to a given rank, and the other is informal, almost indeed in the slang register, with a range of connotations from familiarity to contempt. These connotations can be discovered only through a comprehensive analysis of their occurrences in different contexts in Shakespeare's works, and this is why this survey has been so detailed. The evidence indicates that *exquisite* and the phrase *a proper squire* may appropriately be included in a dictionary of informal terms. It is time to turn now to other ways in which we might be able to decide on words which are informal either regularly or in particular contexts.

In the original passage from *Much Ado* I noted the occurrence of the repeated phrase used by Don John *and who, and who,* and I suggested that this repetition might be significant. Let us pursue this further. By repetition I mean only those instances where a word or phrase is repeated within the same grammatical framework and not those which through the rhetorical figures like antimetabole occur side by side because of the mirror reversal of phrases or clauses. Because repetition is so common in rhetorical figures, we must be careful how we interpret its use. Repetition often expresses some emotion like amazement or despair, and such expression is likely to involve verbal strategies suggesting colloquialism. There is nothing in either *and* or *who* which by itself is anything other than a neutral tone but, when they are joined together and repeated, the combination attracts attention to itself for it appears to have shifted from a neutral to an informal level. It reminds one of the repetition of *Farthee well* by a lord to Apemantus in *Timon of Athens* 1.1.265, for Apemantus picks up the repetition of this over-effusive departure formula and turns it into a "cynical jest". Apemantus says the lord should not have used this parting formula twice; he should have kept one for himself since Apemantus does not intend to use the formula to him for he must leave without any reciprocal gesture. The repetition is ambiguous in tone, so it is worth looking at other examples. Repetition of a word or phrase comes in two forms: one when the words are intensifiers of some sort (usually adjectives or adverbs) or pseudo-interjections (either adverbials or nouns), and the other, as in the examples just quoted, involving a group of words where a verb is either explicit or implicit through ellipsis, for *and who* in the first example implies *is she?* Let us start with the first category.

Some examples of intensifiers are certainly colloquial. If we take *Hamlet*, we can see how the little verse Hamlet recites to Horatio which ends:

> This Realme dismantled was of Ioue himselfe,
> And now reignes heere
> A verie verie Paiocke. (3.2.270-2)

contains the repetition of *verie*. Nobody knows exactly what *Paiocke* means, though the verse is clearly intended to conclude bathetically. If repetition of this sort is informal, the

introduction of *verie verie* lowers the tone to prepare us for the introduction of the final word P*aiocke*. Some editors (Wells & Taylor 1988 and Jenkins 1982) unnecessarily place a dash in front of this word to serve the function which is fulfilled by *verie verie* if they did but realise it. The tone of repeated *verie* may be strengthened by the word's ambiguous nature for it was often regarded as a mark of exaggeration. At least that is how one may interpret Mercutio's comment:

> The Pox of such antique lisping affecting phantacies, these new tuners of accent: Iesu a very good blade, a very tall man, a very good whore. (*Romeo and Juliet* 2.3.26-8)

Another example of this type of repetition occurs in Hamlet's first soliloquy which opens in the Folio *Oh that this too too solid Flesh, would melt,* (1.2.129), where one might at first suppose that *too too* was introduced to heighten the style of the soliloquy. However, OED Too *adv.* 4 shows that *too too* was a common phrase in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. The dictionary does not suggest what field it may fall into, though many of the examples it quotes indicate that its usage was informal partly because of the nature of the texts it occurs in and partly because of its association with other colloquial words and frequent alliteration. It was often spelt as one word *tootoo* or hyphen-ated *too-too* in the texts of this time as though it had adopted reduplicative status rather like Present Day English *so so*; a number of modern Shakespearean editions retain the hyphen in *too-too* in some of its occurrences. Shakespeare himself uses this repetition on several occasions, mainly in prose passages in the comedies. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Master Ford disguised as Brooke, when bargaining with Falstaff about seducing his own wife, says *a thousand other her defences, which now are too-too strongly embattaild against me:* (2.2.239-40). In *Love's Labour's Lost* it occurs in a passage of bombast spoken by Armado: *the Schoolmaster is exceeding fantasticall: Too too vaine, too too vaine.* (5.2.525-6), where the repetition of the phrase is significant as to its status. In the other two plays it occurs in verse. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Jessica while joking with Lorenzo in a semi-serious way as she is about to flee her father's house says:

> What, must I hold a Candle to my shames?
> They in themselues goodsooth are too too light. (2.6.41-2),

where both the witty tone of her comment and the association of *too too* with *goodsooth* and *light* suggest an informal level of speech. In *3 Henry VI* Queen Margaret uses the ex-pression to taunt the captured Duke of York, who had taken the crown from Henry VI, with:

> Oh 'tis a fault too too vnpardonable.
> Off with the Crowne; and with the Crowne, his Head,
> And whilest we breathe, take time to doe him dead. (1.4. 107-9).

Margaret's wickedness expresses itself in her language throughout her speech in which she goads York and belittles him, and her use of *too too* before *vnpardonable* may well indicate a lowering of tone before the final coup de grace. *Too too* also occurs once in *The Rape of Lucrece* describing Tarquin's hesitation before acting:

> But honest feare, bewicht with lustes foule charme,

> Doth too too oft betake him to retire,
> Beaten away by brainesicke rude desire. (173-5).

It is not certain that all these examples are informal, though those from the comedies certainly are and the one from *3 Henry VI* exemplifies a mixture of anger and an almost vulgar playing with words. Even the example in *Lucrece* is somewhat ambiguous in its tone though, if it is not informal, it does at the very least illustrate Tarquin's troubled state of mind.

Other repeated words act to deflate pomposity as when in *Love's Labour's Lost* Holofernes, having been praised for his alliterative verse on *The prayfull Princesse*, then claims *This is a gift that I haue simple: simple,* (4.2.66), where *simple: simple,* is more humorous than he intends because of its lowering of the tone after the pomposity of his verse. In *Hamlet* the repetition of a single word occurs more than one might expect. For example, there can be little doubt that, when Osric takes his leave with *I commend my duty to your Lordship*, and Hamlet replies *Yours, yours; hee does well to commend it himselfe, there are no tongues else for's tongue.* (5.2.142-5), Hamlet uses this repetition to make fun of Osric which is partly informal and partly exaggeration. Osric's inflated language is shown up for what it is by Hamlet's use of a different register.

Hamlet's *too too* in his first soliloquy has not in recent times been interpreted as informal, but if these two words were represented as hyphenated in modern editions, as other examples of *too-too* often are, our attitude to its discourse level might be different. Indeed, James Orchard Halliwell (1844, I.39) claimed it was a provincial form and cited Ray's *A Collection of English Words* (1674) as his authority, but since then it has been regarded simply as an intensive or not discussed at all.[3] As is well known, readings in the early quartos are different in this line. The first quarto has *O that this too much grieu'd and sallied flesh,* and the second quarto *O that this too too sallied flesh would melt,* for the line. The traditional reading in modern editions was the First Folio's *solid flesh* until Dover Wilson (1934, pp. 151-152) proposed the emendation *sullied* which, he argued, had been misprinted as *sallied* in the quartos. However, no editor has considered the implications of *too too* in the reading of the first line. If *too too* is informal, this may have some bearing on the reading of *solid/sallied.* Neither *solid* nor *sullied* (the preferred modern reading) gives completely acceptable sense here, since flesh is not exceptionally solid nor is Hamlet's flesh particularly sullied. Perhaps like *verie verie,* the introduction of *too too* with its informal register is preparing us for a different sort of word. *Sallied* must relate to the verb *sally* "to rush forth, to be thrust out" and may be used here in the informal sense of Hamlet's flesh being thrust out into a new world (Denmark which is a prison to him) where it is under assault and exposed to the temptations of the immoral and greedy court. This explanation might explain the first quarto's *grieu'd* "afflicted". Hamlet would rather his flesh metaphorically melted away by his return to Wittenberg. Although this may not be the right interpretation, we should exploit the information provided by such repetitive phrases in understanding the possible meaning of the text. It may be significant that in this soliloquy there are a number of other repeated words and phrases at strategic points: *O God, O God!* (line 132), *Oh fie, fie* (135), and even *Why she, euen she,* (149). Just as the first quarto has

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[3]   GTSW defines *too-too* as "extremely, very", and notes it is "common".

only a single *too*, it has none of these other repeated words or phrases; the second quarto has *too too* but only *o God God* of the others. It seems as though either these more informal expressions were omitted in the quartos or that the emotional tone of the soliloquy was being more clearly pointed by introducing words of an informal level at significant points. It is worth recording that other soliloquies also have words of a similar informal level. A later one opens: *Now might I do it pat, now he is praying, And now Ile do't,* (3.3.73-4), where *pat* both here and in other quotations from Shakespeare is colloquial, though interestingly neither the first nor second quarto has this word in this soliloquy in *Hamlet*. But all have the echoing of *now* and *do* in successive clauses, though that may be more rhetorical than informal.

Hamlet's use of such expressions is echoed by repetitions uttered by other high-born speakers. I will quote one final example, from *Love's Labour's Lost* 5.2.268. Rosaline, one of the ladies-in-waiting to the Princess of France, caps Boyet's assessment of the gentlemen's wit with *Wel-liking wits they haue, grosse, grosse, fat, fat*. The apparent approval of the men's wits is undercut by two words each repeated, where the repetition (tagged on as it is at the end) gives the preceding words a definitely informal, even vulgar, tone.[4] There would seem no reason to doubt that *too too* was informal in register and that it and similar repetitions are often used to deflate what might otherwise be overly pretentious utterances.

The second category of repetition referred to previously consists of phrases which include a verb, either explicitly or implicitly. The first examples I wish to focus on are imperatives. There may be a structural distinction in the various types of imperative which allowed one group to develop a more informal level. Imperatives may be addressed to individuals or to groups of people. There is a tendency when they are addressed to a group to omit any pronoun or form of address. With individuals the opposite tendency may be noted; a pronoun, a form of address or a politeness formula like *I pray thee* is often included. Examples with plural addressees include *guard with Halberds.* (*Comedy of Errors* 5.1.186, said by the Duke to his officers), *Guard her till Cæsar come.* (*Antony and Cleopatra* 5.2.36, said by Proculeius to the soldiers); and those with individual addressees *Abhominable Gloster, guard thy Head,* (*1 Henry VI* 1.4.85), *henceforth guard thee well,* (*Troilus and Cressida* 4.7.137, said by Hector to Achilles). However, there are examples where a single imperative may not have the subject expressed, particularly where that imperative like *go* acts as a quasi-auxiliary, but this applies only when the verb is simple and not when it is a phrasal verb. When the simple verb is repeated, it tends not to have a subject expressed, and it creates a different tone for the imperative is not expressing a command, but more an emotional statement. It seems likely that both the simple imperative used as a pseudo-auxiliary and the repeated imperative, whether a simple or a phrasal verb, are informal in usage. Such forms are common in prose passages, but they are by no means confined to them.

Let us consider some examples. Verbs used as pseudo-auxiliaries are common verbs like *come* and *go*. When used in this way they lose their primary meanings and are equivalent to Present Day English forms like *go on*, as in *go on tell me what happened*, where *go on* rather like *OK* expresses encouragement or scepticism or even both. Thus when Celia in *As You Like It* says to Rosalind *come lame mee with reasons.* (1.3.5-6), it is an informal way of saying "I am waiting to be convinced by your reasoning". When later in the play Duke Senior says *Come, shall we goe and kill vs venison?* (2.1.21), *come* has the nature of an

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[4]   For other examples see Joseph (1966), pp. 87-89.

interjection or call for attention, which could be replaced by words like *Now, What* or some asseveration. In these cases, especially when *come* and *go* are pseudo-auxiliaries, modern editors find it difficult to decide how to punctuate the resulting expression, some putting a comma after *come* or *go* and others having no punctuation. This itself signals that these words have an ambiguous grammatical status characteristic of informal language which makes the conventions of standard grammatical punctuation hard to apply. When the imperative is repeated there may be a word in the vocative, though often for other reasons. Thus when Orlando is threatened by his older brother Oliver, he says *Come, come elder brother, you are too yong in this.* (1.1.50-1), but *elder* is introduced as a contrast to *yong*. Most often the repeated expression *come come* expresses dismay or surprise at what another character has said or done. Thus in *The Comedy of Errors* Angelo the goldsmith says to Antipholus of Ephesus who has denied any knowledge of the gold chain *Come, come, you know I gaue it you euen now.* (4.1.55). And in *Much Ado* in the scene of the masked dance Ursula does not believe Antonio's claim that he is someone other than Antonio and says *Come, come, doe you thinke I doe not know you by your excellent wit?* (2.1.111-12).

Examples with *go* are just as frequent as pseudo-auxiliaries, but as an expression of surprise or disbelief it is much more common in the form *go to*, whether alone or repeated. In the example just quoted from *Much Ado* where Ursula rebukes Antonio for pretending to be someone else, she carries on *goe to, mumme, you are he,* (2.1.112-13), where the association of *goe to* and *mumme* makes the informal nature of both expressions clear enough. Other examples of *go to* are common. When it is repeated, it expresses particular frustration, even anger, as in: *Go too, go too, thou art a foolish fellow, Let me be cleere of thee.* (*Twelfth Night* 4.1.3-4), but in *The Winter's Tale* it expresses Leontes' jealousy: *Goe too, goe too. How she holds vp the Neb? the Byll to him?* (1.2.183-4), with his distress emphasised by words referring to Hermione's mouth like *Neb* and *Byll*, which suggest animality or even bestiality. *Go* as a pseudo-auxiliary also occurs with verbs in contexts which suggest colloquialism: *Go hang your self, you naughty mocking Vnckle:* (*Troilus and Cressida* 4.2.28), *You may go walk, and giue me leaue a while,* (*Taming of the Shrew* 3.1.57), *Go sleepe, and heare vs.* (*Tempest* 2.1.195 said by Antonio to Gonzalo). Indeed the verb *go* was one which had many meanings, most of which suggest that it was frequently used at an informal level.

In the previous set of examples I referred to *go to* and this introduces the question whether phrasal verbs, of which this is one, were at this time more informal than formal in register. They occur much more frequently in the comedies than in the other plays and they are more likely to be found in prose than verse. However, it is doubtful whether one can say that all phrasal verbs were informal, but this was a productive area for new words, as it still is, and many of these new forms were and are created at a colloquial level. Phrasal verbs generally consist of monosyllabic verbs and prepositions, though some bisyllabic ones occur. Hence the majority of phrasal verbs consist of words of Anglo-Saxon origin and often contrast with polysyllabic words of French or Latin origin. Even today phrasal verbs like *go up* and *come down* are less formal variants of *ascend* and *descend*. It is appropriate that the plebeian in *Julius Cæsar* should say *Let him go vp into the publike Chaire, Wee'l heare him:* (3.2.64-5) since we would expect a person of his status to use informal language. Perhaps Hamlet intends his language to be understood as informal and thus belittling to Claudio when he says *you shall nose him as you go vp the staires into the Lobby.* (4.3.35-6), since he links *go vp* with *nose*, a new verb in English, in a series of utterances

that hardly maintains the deference due to a king. The same may apply to *go on*, for when Othello says of Desdemona *she can turne, and turne: and yet go on And turne againe.* (4.1.255-6), the run of monosyllables suggests he has adopted a colloquial, even vulgar, level to destroy his wife's reputation. A few other examples from *As You Like It* must suffice; all chosen from witty exchanges in prose: *Well said, that was laid on with a trowell.* (1.2.99), *Then there were two Cosens laid vp, when the one should be lam'd with reasons, and the other mad without any.* (1.3.7-9), *Now Ile stand to it, the Pancakes were naught,* (1.2.62-3), *My better parts Are all throwne downe, and that which here stands vp Is but a quintine,* (1.2.239-40).

The example of the verb *to nose* mentioned above, which is a new word in the sixteenth century but not a Shakespeare coinage, raises the question of how far words created by functional shift or by some other means such as back-formation were introduced at a colloquial level before, in some cases, being adopted more widely into the language. Although various commentators offer accounts of functional shift in Shakespeare, they rarely seek to describe the register which such words might occupy. In Present Day English functional shift is common and not necessarily colloquial, though that depends on the type of shift. Using a noun as a modifier is common in all types of English today and is rarely colloquial, and the same may be true in Shakespeare. When in *Love's Labour's Lost* Berowne says *full of maggot ostentation.* (5.2.409) we do not regard *maggot* which has been shifted from noun to modifier as colloquial; it is rather part of the heightened style of Berowne's discourse in what takes the form of a sonnet in the play. But functional shift and back formation are often used in Shakespeare as part of witty and humorous exchanges, especially the interchange between noun and verb, though the shift may involve morphological adaptation. Although frequent in comic scenes and the comedies, they are also found in more serious scenes where their possible colloquial nature adds to the implicit threat which may be involved. Ford in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* can turn a personal name, Mrs Prat, into a verb: *Ile Prat-her: Out of my doore, you Witch,* (4.2.170-1), though as *prat* was part of thieves' cant for "arse" an obscene sense may be intended for this verb (Gotti 1999, p. 24). Even Roman senators can play this game, for Menenius in *Coriolanus* makes a verb out of the name Aufidius, the Volscian general defeated by Coriolanus, when he says *I would not haue been so fiddious'd, for all the Chests in Carioles,* (2.1.128-9). Less playful and more angry is York's *Grace me no Grace, nor Vnkle me,* (*Richard II* 2.3.86, Q1 adds *no Vnckle*). Examples of back-formation include *1 Henry IV* when Falstaff makes a verb *iure* out of *Iurer* in his *you are Grand Iurers, are ye? Wee'l iure ye ifaith.* (2.2.88-9), and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* when he exclaims *I must conicatch, I must shift.* (1.3.29-30 from *cony-catching*), and later when Ford says *Ile coniure you, Ile fortune-tell you.* (4.2.172-3 from *fortune-telling*); a similar form occurs in *Antony and Cleopatra* where Iras says *Go you wilde Bedfellow, you cannot Soothsay.* (1.2.45 from *soothsayer*). Not all of these forms were coined by Shakespeare, but that is not significant for the point I wish to make. Many examples of functional shift and back-formation, whether coined by Shakespeare or not, fall within the colloquial register and some (though hardly those isolated here) may have been common in ordinary speech. Most of the examples which are of an informal register are marked by the fact that the words from which they are formed also appear in the vicinity of the new formation; our attention is drawn to their register in this way.

It is time now to consider what might be informal from the evidence of external evidence, and I shall draw on two possible sources. The first examples might not be considered exter-

nal by some, since I take them from differences between the texts which exist in Quarto and First Folio. Some quartos are described as "bad" quartos because they may have been memorially reconstructed by one of the actors, but even the good quartos may have been printed without authorial approval. It is possible that the quarto texts exhibit either a higher degree of colloquialism or, conversely, a higher degree of formality compared with what is found in the First Folio. Each example must be judged on its merits. The problem of deciding which is which may be illustrated by two relatively straightforward examples. At the end of *Othello* Lodovico, the new arrival from Venice, says in the First Folio: *(belike) Iago in the interim Came in, and satisfi'd him.* (5.2.325-6), whereas the Quarto has *belike, Iago, in the nicke Came in, and satisfied him.* Some modern editors prefer *nick* to *interim* in their editions, and Honigmann, a recent editor, notes of *nick* "Colloquial and 'low', hence 'sophisticated' in F[olio] (where *interim* gives a long line) or revised by Shakespeare" (Honigmann 1997, p. 328). The compression makes his note difficult to understand, though the implication seems to be that if the text was revised by Shakespeare this would affect the assessment of *nick* as colloquial and *interim* as sophisticated. Whether Shakespeare revised this passage or not seems immaterial, for there is a huge difference between these two words. *Interim* is used frequently by Shakespeare, but only on one other occasion in the phrase *in the interim*. On the other hand, *nick* does not occur in this sense elsewhere in the plays, except in the 1634 Quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* attributed to John Fletcher and Shakespeare. The phrase *in the nick* was also used by others at about this time; it is recorded in OED from 1577 and was presumably just emerging from its colloquial status to a more polite level. However, the evidence suggests that *interim* is the more likely word to have been used by Shakespeare in *Othello*, partly because he does not use the phrase *in the nick* elsewhere, for the example in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was possibly introduced by Fletcher, and partly because its register makes it an unsuitable expression for Lodovico. In other words, the *Othello* quarto probably contains a word of an informal register which may have been introduced into the text by someone other than Shakespeare.

The other example tells a different story. In *King Lear* the Fool says of the eels in the First Folio: *she put 'em i'th' Paste aliue, she knapt 'em o'th'coxcombs with a sticke,* (2.2.294-5), whereas the Quarto reads *she put vm ith past aliue, she rapt vm ath coxcombs with a stick.* Both *knapt* and *rapt* are used in the sense "to hit, strike". In this case *rap* is and was the more common word, but *knap* is a word from a lower register used in this period which may thus be a suitable word for the Fool. The verb *knap* is used once elsewhere by Shakespeare, but with a different meaning. Solanio in *The Merchant of Venice* says *I would she were as lying a gossip in that, as euer knapt Ginger,* (3.1.8-9), where *knap* means "to bite, nibble". In Shakespeare's plays *rap* meaning "to hit, strike" is used elsewhere only in *The Taming of the Shrew*, but always with an ethic dative; but *knap* in this sense is not found elsewhere in the plays. In this case it is probable that Shakespeare chose a less common word of informal register for the Fool and that this was turned into a more common one by someone else, for *rap* is found more widely and is still used today. It would not be difficult for a copyist or compositor to memorise a line and mistakenly introduce for the word in the text one with roughly the same sound but more frequently heard. These examples show two contradictory tendencies: first, a frequently used formal word is replaced by an informal word which is emerging from the informal register into wider usage, and secondly, an informal but less frequently heard word specially chosen for a character like the

Fool is replaced by a word of similar phonetic make-up which was more widely heard at the time.

One further example, this time involving syntax, may suffice. In *Hamlet*, a passage regarded as a crux occurs at 1.3.107-9 where Polonius admonishes Ophelia. The First Folio reads:

> Tender your selfe more dearly;
> Or not to crack the winde of the poore Phrase,
> Roaming it thus, you'l tender me a foole.

This reading is rarely reproduced in modern editions. This passage is not found in Quarto 1, Quarto 2 does have it but in a different form:

> tender your selfe more dearely
> Or (not to crack the winde of the poore phrase
> Wrong it thus) you'l tender me a foole.

Modern editors follow neither Folio nor Quarto and prefer to start line 109 with *Running* "this generally accepted emendation" (Jenkins 1982, p. 205), indicating the running of a broken horse with no wind. But there may be something to be said for the Quarto reading. The use of an imperative as a conditional is found in colloquial English, and survives today. It would be quite possible to hear an angry parent say to a naughty child "Do that once more, and you'll go straight to bed", where the imperative *Do* implies the conditional "If". Despite the brackets in the quarto, the sense of line 109 could be "Misbehave in this way and you'll present me with a bastard". This would be a syntactic colloquialism which, having never entered the formal language, was misunderstood and so replaced in later versions. That the compositor of Quarto 2 did not understand it is suggested by his inclusion of brackets which destroys the syntax.

The other type of external evidence is that found in other plays of this time and the one I have chosen for comparative purposes is Ben Jonson's *Poëtaster*, written c 1602, which satirises other playwrights, including John Marston. There are several points already discussed which are confirmed as informal through this play, such as some types of repetition. Other expressions are attacked by Jonson and can be applied to Shakespeare.[5] One is the use of the subject pronoun at the beginning and end of a clause: *I'll not be guilty, I.* (1.1.39). This structure is also found in Shakespeare as in: *I am no Baby I,* said by Aaron after his capture (*Titus Andronicus* 5.3.184), and *I know it I:* said by Juliet when dawn breaks (*Romeo and Juliet* 3.5.12). These have not aroused attention among scholars as possible colloquialisms, though to accept them as such adds an extra dimension to our understanding of the scenes in which they occur. Juliet's *I know it I* suggests a certain simplicity in trying to prove that dawn has not yet arrived; Aaron's *I am no baby I* smacks of bravado in the face of certain punishment. Conversely, the omission of the subject pronoun is also highlighted as a possible colloquialism in *Poëtaster*. Hermogenes is given to saying *'Cannot sing* (2.2.107 etc), and *but 'will not sing* (2.2.122). This omission in Shakespeare is not considered a colloquialism so much as a hangover from an earlier period when the inflectional system allowed such omissions to occur. But the infrequency of this omission

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[5]   *Poëtaster* is quoted from Cain 1995.

suggests that it was something which had been retained in some registers allowing it to be exploited by dramatists. This may be the explanation of such phrases as when Mistress Quickly in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* says *Giue your worship good morrow.* (2.2.33), and when Nathaniel in *Love's Labour's Lost* replies to an invitation *And thanke you to:* (4.2.158). These are people for whom an informal register is not inappropriate, though these expressions in their language have not been identified as such previously.

Some of the words highlighted earlier in this paper as evidence of an informal register in Shakespeare do not figure as such in *Poëtaster*, and equally some words pilloried by Jonson are not singled out by Shakespeare. *Exquisite* is not a word found in *Poëtaster,* whereas a word like *earnest* which is attacked by Jonson appears to have no unfavourable connotations for Shakespeare. This is hardly surprising, for not every writer will want to attack the same word. There are nevertheless a number of words and phrases, which are used by both authors and whose status as informal is confirmed, though not always recognised in Shakespeare editions. Such words include *swaggerer,* used both by Rosalind once in *As You Like It* 4.3.15 and several times by Mistress Quickly and Falstaff in *2 Henry IV* 2.5, and *setter* used by Poins once in *1 Henry IV* 2.2.50. Although *setter* is recognised as thieves' cant by most editors, *swaggerer* is simply glossed "bully, blusterer" (if it is glossed at all) by editors who take their cue from S-L. But in *As You Like It* the connotations of this word used by Rosalind may be significant for what it tells us about her adoption of the role of the male Ganymede.

Among phrases one can point to the expression *gentleman born.* It is clear from its use by both Jonson and Shakespeare that this had become a vogue expression for those who claimed the status of gentlemen through birth, but did not show the breeding of a gentleman in their behaviour. In Shakespeare it is used by Slender in *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* who says *and a Gentleman borne (Master Parson) who writes himselfe Armigero, in any Bill, Warrant, Quittance, or Obligation,* (1.1.7-9), and in *The Winter's Tale* by the old shepherd and his son, who had brought up Perdita and were suddenly transformed into gentlemen; they then claim themselves to be *gentlemen born* and snub Autolycus for his previous behaviour towards them (5.2.126 ff.). It increases the humour of this passage if one realises that *gentleman born* was a stock expression with these connotations rather than simply a phrase which these two had invented for their own purpose.

Poëtaster does, however, satirise many oaths and asseverations and these fall into two groups: those which are rather vapid like *forsooth, on my word,* and *which is more,* and those which are potentially blasphemous like *'Slid* (for "God's eyelid"). It is the first of these two groups which deserves a brief comment. In Jonson phrases in this group frequently come after the rest of the utterance (i.e. they refer back rather than forward), and they often appear in twos and threes: *Yes in truth, forsooth,* (2.1.84), *the coaches are come, on my word* (2.1.150), *we are new turned poet too, which is more;* (3.1.23-4). They are the sort of oath which Hotspur criticised his wife for using in *1 Henry IV* when she had said *Not mine, in good sooth.* (3.1.242). Their weakness may be caused not merely by their structure, but also by their position in the clause as though a kind of afterthought. A recognition of the significance of this positioning might help editors decide how to punctuate examples of these expressions, which they often place at the beginning of a second clause rather than at the end of the first. When the Hostess in *2 Henry IV* says: *you are both (in good troth) as Rheumatike as two drie Tostes, you cannot one beare with anothers Confirmities. What the good-yere? One must beare, and that must bee you:* (2.4.53-7), editors often put the phrase

What the good-yere?, which stands by itself in F, with what follows rather than with what comes before it. But the evidence of *Poëtaster* suggests that it is part of the previous clause and strengthens the other oath *in good troth.*

It has not been possible to do more than suggest some methods which might be followed in collecting material for a dictionary of Shakespeare's informal English. However, one last point could be made. Many of the features I have commented on are ones which either survive or have their equivalent in contemporary spoken English, as can be recognised from the corpora of spoken language which have been assembled. Vogue words today, however, are not likely to be those with a Latinate origin, but are those associated with the teenage pop culture; they include words like *great* and *wicked*, both of which like *exquisite* express general approval and are overused. The repetition of intensifiers or modifiers is common enough: *that's really, really wonderful news.* But conversely the placing of adverbials at the end of a sentence so that they seem to weaken to become little more than emotional comments on what has gone before are characteristic of the modern spoken language: *I like him really;* and *that's a silly thing to say, what's more.* Phrases like *a proper squire* and *a gentleman born* have their equivalent in *a real man* and *a true gentleman*, both of which are stock idioms that are or were overused. The use of *go* as a pseudo-auxiliary is paralleled today by the use of *got* in the same role: *he got drowned off the coast of Zanzibar.* The formation of new phrasal verbs, many of which have not achieved a more formal status, is very productive in the spoken language; one need only think of all the verbs which can be used for the meaning "go away", like *buzz off, fuck off, push off,* and *shove off,* to name only a few. The repetition of the subject pronoun at the end of a clause is also common enough in spoken English, though the repeated form may today take the non-subject case: *he's a real bastard him,* or the subject and auxiliary may be repeated: *he's coming home, he is.* On the other hand, different forms of ellipses such as the omission of the subject pronoun or the subject pronoun and auxiliary are frequent: *Coming* instead of *I'm coming.* And so the list could go on. What this might suggest is that the spoken language continues on its way almost untouched by the teachings of the grammarians and the efforts of educationalists. Criticisms of informal English by the speakers of Standard English and the satire on the pretensions of those who strive to enrich their language appear to have little effect on what is going on at the spoken level. Evidence of this informal register in the past is often only possible to extract from attacks by others and from dramatists like Shakespeare. But it is obviously robust enough to survive whatever we can throw at it; all we can do is to record it.