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# Is it, stylewise or otherwise, wise to use -wise?

## Domain adverbials and the history of English -wise\*

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### 1. Introduction

Considering that very few languages of the world exhibit a special morphological device for sentence adverbials (Ramat & Ricca 1998: 203), it is remarkable that English has recently developed a suffix for that matter, namely the suffix -wise with the meaning 'as regards, in respect of' or 'as far as [the base] is concerned'.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) "We are both saving some money", she says, "though there is no hope at the moment of being able to rent or buy. Nothing is certain. *Jobwise*, I don't know where I will be in a year's time."  
(*The Independent*, May 9, 1993)
- (2) They begin (...) by disputing the idea that their fans are bashful under-achievers who spend their lives on the net (...). "It's too easy to put a label on us. We get all sorts, *agewise* and *professionwise*. I see quite good-looking people who've got girlfriends", maintains Colburn. "I don't look out and see a bunch of geeky, specky shy people."  
(*The Guardian*, July 16, 1999)

According to Houghton (1968) and, independently, the *OED*, these denominal adverbs in -wise first appear in "colloquial American English" in the 1940s (*OED* s.v. *wise* n.<sup>1</sup>, 3.ii; see below (33)). As early as the 1950s and 1960s, however, sentence adverbials in -wise gain a much wider currency and even become fashionable.



The evidence presented here suggests that the new sense of *-wise* has in a short time made considerable progress toward establishing itself as a generally accepted part of the language. (...) No one knows, of course, whether it will become more widely used and accepted in the future or whether it is, as some believe, a fad that will soon run its course and pass away. (Houghton 1968: 213)

At that time, not only some linguists and style critics considered sentence adverbials in *-wise* a "gimmick" or "fad" and, accordingly, users of *-wise* were often harshly criticized for being "trendy" speakers who are "insensitive to language" (cf. Houghton 1968: 214). Some style critics even wanted to "outlaw it from decent American usage" (Follett 1966: 361).

Yet in spite of the criticism and stylistic warnings of prescriptivists, sentence adverbials in *-wise* have become an increasingly accepted part of the English language. In 1985, Quirk et al. (p. 568) establish them as markers of "viewpoint subjuncts", though they still regard them as "more freely productive in AmE than in BrE" and assert that their use is considered "informal" and that "many people object to these formations" (1985: 568, 1557).

British *Good Style Guides* of the 1990s do not recommend the use of *-wise* for more formal styles, but they do not really object to it either.

The habit began in America and continues to be commoner in AmE than in other forms of English. Fastidious speakers treat it with mild disdain, or with a shrug of the shoulders as if to say that its use in this way is inevitable, painful or too clever by half though it is. (Burchfield 1996: 852)

Admittedly, *-wise* is overused trendy jargon, but that doesn't mean it is not useful sometimes: *careerwise* is much quicker than 'in relation to my career', *moneywise* more direct than 'as far as money is concerned' (...) If you use *-wise* carelessly it becomes a trendy linguistic gimmick, but occasionally *-wise* added to a word can say something quickly and effectively, as long as you remember it will make some people wince. New *-wise* words are probably not acceptable yet in serious writing. (Howard 1993: 411)

By stressing that the adverbials in *-wise* are "inevitable" (Burchfield), "useful", "quicker" or "effective" (Howard), these authors now emphasize the functional values of *-wise* as a morphological marker of sentence adverbials.

This paper also adopts a basically functional approach: after an examination of the distribution and productivity of sentence adverbial *-wise* in today's Englishes (cf. 2), the paper concentrates on the syntactic and functional properties of these new coinages in Present-day English (cf. 3). It then traces the history of today's nominal and adverbial functions from *wise*'s original use as an

independent noun (cf. 4) and compares this development to the related German forms *Weise* and the suffix *-(er)weise* (cf. 6). Since these diachronic and contrastive analyses show that the new sentence adverbial function of English *-wise* has to be kept apart from its older meanings, its emergence and diffusion is compared to the fairly new sentence adverbials in German *-mäßig* (cf. 7) and to English adverbs in *-(c)ally*. In a last step, the emergence of *-wise* as a suffix marking sentence adverbials is connected to the history of viewpoint adverbials in German and English in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (cf. 8, 9).

## 2. Distribution and productivity of *-wise* in Present-day English

### 2.1 Data

The widespread use and productivity suggested in the statements quoted above can be tested on data from computer-readable corpora documenting Present-day English (PDE). The following data set of all tokens and types of *wise*-coinages in the different corpora collected on the ICAME CD-ROM<sup>2</sup> corroborates the impression that the use of *-wise* is no longer restricted to American English. A *broad variety* of *wise*-coinages is found in *comparable numbers* in all major varieties of English — African, American, Australian, British, Indian, and New Zealand English.<sup>3</sup>

### (3) ICAME CD-ROM

#### a. Written English:

Australian English (ACE):	<i>elementwise</i>
American English (Brown):	<i>balance-wise, marketwise, price-wise</i>
American English (Frown):	<i>progresswise</i>
East African English (ICE_ea):	<i>bookwise, biologicalwise (2×), contextwise, percent-wise, scopewise</i>
Indian English (Kolhapur):	<i>commoditywise (2×), costwise, histrionics-wise, occupation-wise, state-wise, storywise, sex-wise, unit-wise</i>
New Zealand English (WWC):	<i>security-wise, tenant-wise, workwise</i>



- b. *Spoken English:*
- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| British English (LLC):         | <i>educationwise</i>   |
| East African English (ICE_ea): | <i>healthwise, literaturewise, moneywise, population-wise, schoolwise, timewise</i>  |
| New Zealand (WSC):             | <i>incomewise, pressurewise, sizewise, staffwise, trainingwise, unemploymentwise</i> |

Although the corpora comprising written British texts (LOB, FLOB) do not contain any instances, *wise*-coinages are amply recorded in more recent British newspapers of the 1990s, such as *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Observer*.<sup>4</sup>

- (4) *The Independent* 1993; *The Guardian* 1999, 2000; *The Observer* 1999, 2000
- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>The Independent</i> 1993:    | <i>jobwise</i> (2×), <i>matchwise</i> , <i>moneywise</i> , <i>pricewise</i> , <i>textwise</i> , <i>timewise</i> , <i>workwise</i>   |
| <i>The Guardian</i> 1999, 2000: | <i>agewise</i> , <i>bedwise</i> , <i>bookwise</i> , <i>brainwise</i> , <i>brandwise</i> , <i>dietwise</i> , <i>foodwise</i> (2×), <i>footballwise</i> , <i>gloatwise</i> , <i>healthwise</i> (3×), <i>indoorwise</i> , <i>joywise</i> , <i>pain-wise</i> , <i>presswise</i> , <i>professionwise</i> , <i>teamwise</i> , <i>time-wise</i> , <i>weatherwise</i> |
| <i>The Observer</i> 1999, 2000: | <i>businesswise</i> , <i>healthwise</i> (2×), <i>moneywise</i> , <i>plotwise</i> (2×), <i>policywise</i>  |

## 2.2 Productivity

These data, which record the total number of instances found in the respective corpora, allow the conclusion that *-wise* is a productive element in Present-day English. Similar results are obtained from the British National Corpus (BNC), which contains altogether 205 instances (137 types) of sentence adverbials in *-wise* (Dalton-Puffer & Plag 2000: 236).

Even a quick look at the altogether 72 tokens of *wise*-formations listed above reveals the considerable share of single instances of a particular word. Out of the 56 types of *wise*-coinages in question, only 10 occur more than once, namely *biologicalwise* (2),<sup>5</sup> *bookwise* (2), *commoditywise* (2), *foodwise* (2), *healthwise* (6), *jobwise* (2), *moneywise* (3), *plotwise* (2), *timewise* (3) and *workwise* (2).

This distribution of types and tokens is — according to research done by Baayen (1993) and Baayen & Renouf (1996) — tremendously important for the question of the productivity of an element. Baayen & Renouf explain how the number of words that occur only once in a given corpus (i.e. 'hapax legomena' with respect to the given corpus) correlates with the number of neologisms and is therefore highly indicative of the productivity of a morphological element.<sup>6</sup>

[If] a word-formation pattern is unproductive, no rule is available for the perception and production of novel forms. All existing forms will depend on storage in the mental lexicon. Thus, unproductive morphological categories will be characterized by a preponderance of high-frequency types, by low numbers of low-frequency types, and by very few, if any, hapax legomena, especially as the size of the corpus increases. Conversely, the availability of a productive word-formation rule for a given affix in the mental lexicon guarantees that even the lowest frequency complex words with that affix can be produced and understood. Thus large numbers of hapaxes are a sure sign that an affix is productive. (Baayen & Renouf 1996: 74)

From the large number of hapaxes in both the 100 million-word BNC (81% of the 137 types; see Dalton-Puffer & Plag 2000) and also in my own corpus (94% in the ICAME corpus of about 11 million words; 77% in corpus),<sup>7</sup> we can therefore conclude that *-wise* is a productive suffix in day English, an accepted morphological device for marking sentence adverbials. It certainly was not a "fad" that ran its course and "passed away" (cf. Houghton 1968: 213).

## 2.3 Research

This use of *-wise* has, however, only very rarely received the attention of linguists. The three relevant studies on the topic were published in its early and trendy years 1968 and 1969 (cf. Houghton 1968; Pulgram 1968; Rahn 1969). At about the same time, Marchand (1969: 358) observes its increasing use and comments on its functions and its possible future as a full-fledged suffix: "*wise* is being used less and less as an independent word and may, as a semi-suffix, one day come to reach the state of F[rench] *-ment*". Other studies on word-formation do not mention these *wise*-coinages meaning 'as regards, in respect of', except for Bauer (1983: 225) who lists *-wise* among the adverbial suffixes without, however, discussing it.

More importantly, these studies mainly collect instances of *wise*-formations and consider their morphological and, in most cases marginally, their stylistic



properties. They completely disregard syntactic and functional considerations, which are in my view essential for understanding the origin and spread of this new function of *-wise* as a sentence adverbial.

### 3. Functional properties of *-wise*

#### 3.1 Sentence position

The scope of these new adverbials in *-wise* is not the verb phrase, but the whole clause or sentence, a fact which is reflected in the surface word order of the relevant sentences, in which *wise*-adverbials mostly occur sentence-initially or sentence-finally.

- (5) *Foodwise*, Stanley has authentic northern tastes — his favourite is tripe.  
(*The Guardian*, February 26, 2000)
- (6) It was the only way I could keep alive, *foodwise*.  
(*The Guardian*, February 4, 2000)

If sentence adverbials in *-wise* appear in the middle of the sentence, their parenthetical character is marked by dashes (see example (16)) or commas.

- (7) My (French) partner tells me she's always being asked by her astounded friends if, *bedwise*, I'm not a complete catastrophe. Fortunately, she's an accomplished liar. (*The Guardian*, June 13, 2000)

#### 3.2 Sentence adverbials

More prototypical examples of sentence adverbials are the so-called 'disjuncts' — which in the terminology of Quirk et al. (1985: 478–653) are distinguished from adjuncts (manner or time adverbs such as (*to walk*) *slowly*, (*to come*) *regularly*) and conjuncts (connecting adverbs such as *therefore*, *however*).<sup>8</sup>

Disjuncts (Quirk et al. 1985: 612–631) express an evaluation of the speaker, either with respect to the meaning of a sentence (content disjuncts) or with respect to the form of the communication (style disjuncts). For speakers' comments on or evaluations of the sentence (content disjuncts), cf.

- (8) She *wisely* didn't attempt to apologize.  
(It was wise of her that she didn't attempt to apologize.)
- (9) The Yard's wonder boy, *appropriately*, descends from the clouds.

(It was appropriate that the Yard's wonder boy ...)

Speakers' comments on the form of the communication can take the form of style disjuncts, such as

- (10) *Frankly*, I'm tired.  
(Frankly speaking, I'm tired; Put frankly, (...); I'm frank when I say (...);  
In all frankness, (...))

#### 3.3 Domain or viewpoint adverbials

The new adverbial coinages in *-wise* investigated here are similar to style disjuncts such as *frankly* in that they concern the form, or rather, the *viewpoint* or *perspective* of communication. These *wise*-formations therefore belong to the adverbial category of 'viewpoint' adverbials, a hitherto neglected category in linguistic research (see Lenker in progress). In English, this subcategory of sentence adverbials is — on adverbs formed from (Neo-)Latin roots<sup>9</sup> — marked by the suffix *-(c)ally*:

- (11) *Linguistically*, this example is interesting.  
*Textwise*, the characters are flat as traffic signs (...)  
(*The Independent*, August 3, 1993)

Both style disjuncts and domain/viewpoint adverbials have a corresponding participle clause with *speaking*, such as *frankly speaking* or *linguistically speaking* (see also below, 8.3). They also share other syntactic properties: it is not possible, for instance, to negate them. Unlike when they are used as adjuncts, viewpoint adverbials are nongradable; hence they do not accept premodification or comparison, a feature which also style disjuncts accept only in certain restricted contexts (cf. Paraschkehoff 1976: 182–186; Quirk et al. 1985: 569).

DOMAIN/VIEWPOINT ADVERBS	STYLE DISJUNCTS
Linguistically speaking, ....	Frankly/confidentially speaking, ...
*Not linguistically (speaking), ...	*Not frankly/confidentially (speaking),
	...
*Very linguistically (speaking), ...	*?Very frankly/confidentially (speaking),
	...

Speakers employ adverbs such as *linguistically* or *textwise* because they want to indicate that the proposition of the whole sentence or clause is only true in the perspective chosen by the speaker, the given domain. Bellert therefore refers to



these adverbs as “domain adverbs” (Bellert 1977:347–348) and exemplifies the fact that speakers “do not commit themselves to the truth of the proposition in any other domain” via the help of sentences in which domain adverbials are used contrastively (Bellert 1977:348):

- (12) *Linguistically*, this example is interesting, but *logically* it is not.  
*Logically*, John is right, but *morally* he is wrong.

This inherent restrictive dimension of domain adverbials is reflected in Bartsch’s term *limitierende Adverbiale* ‘limiting adverbials’ (Bartsch 1972). Quirk et al. emphasize their semantics and refer to them as “viewpoint adjuncts” (1972) or, in 1985, as “viewpoint subjuncts”<sup>10</sup> (Quirk et al. 1985:568) and give as typical examples:

- (13) *Architecturally*, it is a magnificent conception.  
 (14) *Morally*, *politically* and *economically*, it is urgent that the government should act more effectively on aid to developing countries.  
 (15) It could have been a serious defeat, not only *militarily* but *psychologically* and *politically*.

Instances from my corpus show that adverbs in *-(c)ally* and *-wise* are not only theoretically equivalent with respect to their semantics and syntax, but that they are indeed used together in one phrase if speakers want to indicate that the proposition of the sentence is only true in the given perspective.

- (16) Peter White, chief executive elect of the new Bank of Ireland & Leicester, therefore, must this weekend at once be an elated and troubled man. Elated, because he — *personally and businesswise* — is the winner from the planned £ 11bn marriage of Alliance & Leicester and Bank of Ireland. (*The Observer*, May 30, 1999)  
 (17) Caroline Coyne (...) says the 12-month guarantee is critical. “What attracted me is that you could try work, and if it didn’t work out you could return to your benefit. This takes the pressure off, *financially and healthwise*.” (*The Guardian*, September 8, 1999)

It has to be emphasized that this domain function is the only adverbial function of *-wise* which is widely productive today. The next section on the etymology and history of the form *-wise* shows that its new use as a domain adverbial has to be kept apart from other meanings and productive patterns attested for its history in English. Nowadays, most of these are generally regarded as obsolete or archaic.<sup>11</sup>

#### 4. The history of PDE *-wise*

##### 4.1 Homonym: Adjective compound in *-wise*

In a first step, our formations have to be kept apart from their homonyms, adjective compounds in *-wise* such as *streetwise* or *pennywise*. These go back to a different Germanic root, OE *wīs* ‘prudent’ (*OED* s.v. *wise* a.), and are quite productive in today’s Englishes. Examples of adjective compounds occurring in my corpus are *all-wise*, *budget-wise*, *industry-wise*, *pennywise*, *poundwise*, *streetwise*, *weather-wise* and *worldly-wise*. *Weatherwise* is an interesting formation because it occurs in both uses, as a nominalized adjective compound and as a viewpoint adverbial:

- (18) The day of the party dawned with that odd summer haze which told the *weather-wise* it would grow bright and warm. (ICAME, Frown, p14\_99)  
 (19) Of course, the one time in 1987 we did have a bit of excitement, *weather-wise*, Michael Fish got it wrong. For which we love him all the more. (*The Guardian*, February 11, 2000)

This ambiguity is exploited in book titles such as *Weatherwise: The Techniques of Weather Study* or *Babywise* and *Drugswise* (guides for parents). They are probably deliberately ambiguous, i.e. ‘wise about the weather/babies/drugs’ (adjective-compound) or ‘as regards the weather/babies/drugs’ (viewpoint adverbial). The same is true for tradenames such as *Netwise* or *Webwise*.

##### 4.2 OE *wīse* ‘manner, fashion; cause’

The root OE *wīse* ‘manner, fashion; cause’ is attested in most North and West Germanic languages (cf. OHG *wīsa*, MHG *wīsa*; OFris *wīs*, OS *wīsa*, ON *vīsa*; cf. OE *wītan*) and has survived in several functions in German *Weise*, Dutch *-wijs* and Norwegian, Swedish and Danish *-vis* (*OED* s.v. *wise* n.<sup>1</sup> II; Paraskewoff 1976:169–170). In today’s Englishes, it occurs in four different forms (for the following account and the examples, see *OED* s.v. *wise* n.<sup>1</sup>; Marchand 1969:357–358).<sup>12</sup>

- Lexical noun*: *wise* has retained its status as an originally independent lexical noun only in archaic prepositional phrases such as *in no wise*, *in like wise*, *on this wise* or *in gentle wise*.
- Lexicalized items (likewise, otherwise)*: originally transparent formations of the noun modified by an adjective only survive as lexicalized items, in



particular *likewise* and *otherwise*, and the nowadays less frequent *anywise*, *contrariwise*, *leastwise* and *nowise* (cf. *OED* 'survived as simple words').<sup>13</sup>

In the older stages of English, adverbial expressions meaning 'in such-and-such a manner or way' could be qualified by an adjective or by a noun, both either with or without a governing preposition, usually *on* or *of* (cf. below, *ealde wisan* / *on ald wise* 'in the old way, manner').

(20) *Beowulf* 1865 Ic þa leode wat (...) fæste geworhte, æghwæs untæle *ealde wisan*.

(21) a1300 *Cursor M.* 10948 Als lagh was Pan *on ald wise*.

*On ððre wisan* therefore alternates with *ððre wisan* 'in another manner' in Old English. In the fourteenth century, the latter yields the later lexicalized *otherwise*.

(22) c900 tr. *Bede's Hist.* i. xxvii. (1890) 72 Ne meaht þu *on ððre wisan* biscop halgian (...)

(23) 971 *Blickl. Hom.* 177 þe læs þe *ððre wisan* ænig man (...)

c1. *Manner adjunct* 'manner, way': apart from these archaic or lexicalized usages, *wise* occurs in three distinct denominal functions (c1, c2, d). Formations on noun + *wise* meaning 'in the manner of' appear as manner adjuncts, such as (*go/walk*) *frogwise/crabwise*, *pilgrimwise*. These nominal patterns are attested in OE phrases such as *on scipwisan* 'in the manner of or like a ship'. The *OED* refers to them as 'non-syntactical' because they lack a morphological marker of the genitive.

(24) a950 *Guthlac* ii. (Prose) 107 (...) seo yld com þæt hit spreca mihte æfter *cnihtwisan*.

(25) 1377 *Langl. P. Pl. B.* xix. 138 Kulleden hym *on-crosse-wyse*.

From the fourteenth century onwards, they appear without a preposition.

(26) 1398 *Trevisa Barth. De P.R.* ix. xxxi. (1495) 368 On holy Saterdaye newe fyre is fette and thus [= incense] is putte therin *crossewyse*. (*OED* s.v. *crosswise* adv.)

(27) 1591 *Savile Tacitus, Hist.* i. lv. 32 No man presumed to make any solemne oration *assembly-wise* [L. in modum concionis].

Nowadays, these formations are, however, productive only to a limited extent. In Present-day English, they are rivalled by derivations in *-fashion*

(*arrow-fashion*, *baby-fashion*) and *-style* (*schoolboy-style*) (see Marchand 1969: 358; Quirk et al. 1985: 1557; Bauer 1993: 225; Dalton-Puffer & Plag, 2000: 236–241).

c2. *Manner adjunct* 'in direction of': alternatively, *wise*-adverbs used as manner adjuncts can refer to the concept of 'dimension', meaning 'in direction of'. They occur, often with the variant *-ways*, in particular in such highly frequent words as (*anti-/counter-*)*clockwise*, *edgewise/-ways*, *endwise/-ways*, *lengthwise/-ways*, *sidewise/-ways*, *slantwise*, *widthwise/-ways* (*OED* s.v. *wise* n.<sup>1</sup> 4; Marchand 1969: 357; Quirk et al. 1985: 1557; Burchfield 1996: 851).

While Marchand maintains that the manner-adjunct type "is strong" (1969: 358) in Modern English, Quirk et al. (1985: 438, 1557) refer to it as a "less common" suffix and assert that it is only "limitedly productive". Dalton-Puffer & Plag (2000: 239–240) corroborate the latter view of only limited productivity by an analysis of the tokens, types and hapaxes in the BNC (see above, 2.2). In the 100 million-word BNC 509 tokens are counted, but only 39 different types (21 hapaxes). This means that, in today's English, the formation of new manner adjuncts according to this pattern is possible, but not very frequent.

d. *Viewpoint adverbs*: as has been shown above (2.2), the noun + *wise* pattern is fairly productive with regard to our domain or viewpoint adverbs. Although the *OED* unfortunately still lists this pattern in the entry for the noun, it is obvious that we are dealing with genuinely new coinages here. The *OED* avoids the topic by stating: "(i) Used in the same way but with the sense: as regards, in respect of" (*OED* s.v. *wise* n.<sup>1</sup> II.3.ii).

Yet adverbs such as *jobwise* or *bedwise* are indeed only formally identical to those attested before the 1940s in that they are nominal combinations without a marker of the genitive and with ellipsis of the preposition. In its new function, *-wise* has definitely ceased to be an independent noun, since it can no longer be paraphrased by employment of the now archaic noun *wise* such as 'in the wise (way) of a clock = clockwise'. Paraphrases such as \*'in the wise (way) of a job' or \*'in the wise (way) of a bed' are impossible; *-wise* has — as was predicted by Marchand (1969: 358) — now reached the status of a lexicalized suffix.

There is thus no *direct* semantic path between the different meanings of *-wise* (cf. the meanings listed under a–c) and its employment as a viewpoint adverbial (d). Since the origin of sentence adverbial *-wise* is therefore more complicated than it may have seemed at first glance, the next sections will test different



suggestions for its rise (cf. 5, 6) and will, in conclusion, offer a new (functional) explanation for its emergence and diffusion (cf. 8, 9).

## 5. The origin of *-wise* (Foster 1968)

As I have noted above, literature on the origin of *-wise* as a viewpoint adverbial is rather scarce. In one of the very few suggestions, Foster argues that

we see here an astonishing reversal of fate whereby an 'archaism' suddenly becomes the latest fad. It may well be that the old usage had lingered in the United States to a greater extent than in the English of Britain, but it can scarcely be doubted that its blossoming forth in the twentieth century was due to a more or less conscious transference of a German habit, whether on the part of scholars or — more likely — of immigrants. (Foster 1968: 95)

Foster's suggestion of the revival of an archaism is not convincing, however. The diachronic analysis has shown that the new formations are both semantically and functionally different from the manner adjuncts attested from Old English onwards. The new formations are so novel that the suggestion of a "reversal of fate" has to be discarded. Foster obviously senses the problems associated with his assumption and accordingly also — rather wordily — suggests German loan influence.

## 6. German *-weise*

### 6.1 PDG *Weise*, *-weise*

This second suggestion will now be tested by a short account of the meanings and nominal and suffixal uses and functions of German *Weise* and *-weise*. In German, the noun *Weise* 'manner, fashion; way' has retained all the semantic and syntactic possibilities documented for the history of its English cognate (Paraschkewoff 1976; Kluge/Seebold 1995: 883).

*Weise* has survived as a common noun — *sie (macht es) auf ihre (diese) Weise* 'she does it her (this) way' (see above 4.2a) — and can be freely employed in all kinds of prepositional phrases with modifying adjectives — *auf angenehme/gemächliche Weise* 'in a pleasant/slow way' (see above 4.2b).

There are also denominal compound adverbs in *-weise* which function as manner adjuncts (see above 4.2c), such as *kreuzweise* ('crosswise') or *schrittweise* ('stepwise').

### 6.2 PDG adjective + *-erweise*

In contrast to English, however, a specific adjectival pattern — adjective + *-erweise* — is widely productive in today's German (cf. *glücklicherweise* 'luckily' or *interessanterweise* 'interestingly'). This formation is particularly interesting because German does commonly *not* mark adverbs morphologically but employs the unmarked form of the adjective for the adverbial function. Yet in the case of these content disjuncts (see above 3.2), the suffix *-erweise* is obligatory.

- (28) He answered me *cleverly*.  
GER Er antwortete mir *klug*. (manner adjunct)
- (29) *Cleverly*, he answered me.  
*It was clever of him* to answer me.  
GER Er antwortete mir *klugerweise*. (content disjunct)

*Cleverly*, when used as a content disjunct (*It was clever of him to answer me...*), can only be rendered by *klugerweise*.<sup>14</sup> Etymologically cognate suffixes are also productive in other Germanic languages, for example Dutch *-erwijs*, Swedish and Danish *-vis* (Ramat & Ricca 1998: 203–206). These forms seem to constitute one of the extremely few morphological devices marking sentence adverbials (Ramat & Ricca 1998: 204) and are therefore related to English *-wise*. They do not mark domain adverbials, however, but content disjuncts.

In sum, if adjective + *-erweise* is the German pattern Foster is thinking of, it is definitely not a good choice. *-erweise* cannot be a model for the suggested loan *-wise*, because the coinages are not at all similar, neither morphologically nor semantically:

ENGLISH <i>-WISE</i>	GERMAN <i>-ERWEISE</i>
denominal	deadjectival
domain adverb	content disjunct



## 7. German *-mäßig*

There is, however, a fairly new German suffix which is functionally equivalent to the use of *-wise* in its functions as a domain or viewpoint adverb, namely *-mäßig* (examples are taken from Inghult 1975).

- (30) (...) eine *altersmäßig* schlechte Zusammensetzung (= 'agewise, an unfavourable distribution')
- (31) Nordrhein-Westfalen — räumlich und *bevölkerungsmäßig* vergleichbar mit der DDR (...) (= 'Nordrhein-Westfalen — sizewise and population-wise comparable to the GDR')

This function of *-mäßig* appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century. Just like *-wise*, it spread considerably in the middle of the twentieth century and was (and still is) harshly criticized; a German style critic even regards the use of (ср. с. 211) "*sprachmäßig* saumäßig" ('linguistically like a pig'; cf. "*Sprachmäßig* *пик* - *мизг*", *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* August 4/5, 1978, cited from Welte 1996: 232). *ЛРГ* fairly recent emergence and fast diffusion of new morphological marking the function 'domain adverbials' in both English and German my idea that functional considerations are essential for an analysis of  
8' *ЛРГ* lead to my last major point, the history of domain or viewpoint is in English and German.

## 8. The history of viewpoint adverbials

### 8.1 Viewpoint adverbials in the history of German

The most interesting fact about this subgroup of adverbials is that they are comparatively young. In both English and German, the category 'viewpoint adverbial' is not attested until the nineteenth century.

In his study of German *-mäßig*, Inghult shows that the first instances of *-mäßig* in the limiting function appear as late as the nineteenth century. Still more interesting, however, is the fact that *other* German suffixes marking this function are not recorded before 1800 either:

EINSCH[ränkung]-Derivate auf *-mässig* sind also eine relativ neue Erscheinung in der deutschen Sprache (...) [Sie] kommen vereinzelt schon im 19. Jh. vor, und es sieht aus, als ob der Gebrauch von Adjektivderivaten mit limitativer Funktion im Deutschen überhaupt erst zu dieser Zeit entstanden sei. Jedenfalls

sind keine Beispiele anderer Suffixtypen vor 1800 zu belegen. Aus dem 19. Jh. dagegen sind u.a. folgenden Bildungen auf *-isch*, *-lich*, *-al*, *-är* und *-iv* zu verzeichnen. (Inghult 1975: 152; emphasis supplied)

[Limiting derivations in *-mässig* are a comparatively recent phenomenon in German (...) There are some instances in the nineteenth century, and it seems as if the use of adjective-derivations with limiting function was indeed only employed from that time onwards. There are (...) no examples of other suffixes attested before 1800. In the nineteenth century, however, we find formations in *-isch*, *-lich*, *-al*, *-är* and *-iv*.]

### 8.2 Viewpoint adverbials in the history of English

Inghult's data for German match my findings for the history of domain adverbials in English (for a more comprehensive account, see Lenker in progress). An analysis of adverbs in *-ly* and their syntactic distribution undertaken in the diachronic corpora on the ICAME CD-ROM (Helsinki, CEECS, Lampeter, Innsbruck), which comprise texts up to the eighteenth century, yields no unambiguous results for domain adverbials. This means that this adverbial function must have indeed emerged after that period, in particular if we are not talking about a few doubtful cases from religious discourse, but of a semantic and syntactic pattern.<sup>15</sup>

For the corpus analysis, data were lifted from the best computer-readable source for the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the *OED* (1989, 2nd ed.) and the *OED-online* (<http://oed.com/>). Table 1 shows the results of the 'Word' search for *-(c)ally* (letters A to D). The first column lists the earliest attestation of the adjective. This is essential because all of the adverbs in question go back to Neo-Latin/Greek roots in *-al* or *-ical* (Latin *-āl-em*, *-āl-is*) and were mainly borrowed in the EModE period (see *OED* s.v. *-al* suffix<sup>1</sup>; Marchand 1969: 238–244).<sup>16</sup> The second column lists the earliest attestation of the adverb, the third and essential column records the date for its first recorded use as a domain adverbial.

The dates given in the third column clearly show that the domain usage appears and is indeed already strong from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, irrespective of when the adjective or adverb had entered the language.

The results are basically the same for the other letters. Among the earliest adverbs used as domain adverbials, *philosophically* and *politically* are attested in the first half of the nineteenth century (Table 2).



Table 1. OED adverbs in -(c)ally (letters A–D)

	Adjective (-al, -ical)	Adverb	Domain Adverbial
academically	1610	1591	1879
analytically	1525/1601	1656	1879
architecturally	1762	1843	1876
arithmetically	1543	1571	1865
atmospherically	1664	1874	1871
botanically	1658	1757	1849, 1870
choreographically	1893	1911	1959
chronologically	1614	1691	1881
clinically	1780	1862	1876
crumenically	—	1825	1825 (nonce-word)
culturally	1868	1889	1906
developmentally	1849	1849	1949
diagnostically	1625	1657	1891
diplomatically	1787	1836	1877

Table 2. Other OED adverbs in -(c)ally

	Adjective (-al, -ical)	Adverb	Domain adverbial
philosophically	1500	1580	1825
politically	1420	1638	1841

### 8.3 The origin of the viewpoint or domain use

This emergence of domain uses for these adverbs can be traced back to their original employment as manner adjuncts. Before their independent use as domain adverbials, the adverbs often surface in phrases such as *to speak(e) (more) ~, ~ speaking, ~ considered, ~ studied, ~ viewed* (see above, 3.3). These phrases, which must have served as the bases or models for the use of the adverbs as domain adverbials, are attested in large numbers also only from the end of the eighteenth century onwards.

For a full example lifted from the OED by means of a combined 'Word' and 'Quotation' search, see *botanically*:

(32) OED: *botanically*

a. OED s.v. *botanically* adv. (*botanical* adj., 1658; *botany* n., 1696)

'In a botanical manner; in relation to botany; according to the principles or technical language of botany.'

1757 Da Costa in *Phil. Trans.* L. 229 note, Scheuchzer has arranged the fossile plants *botanically*.

1793 W. Curtis *Bot. Mag.* VI. 215 In its improved, or to *speak more botanically*, in its monstrous state.

1848 C. A. Johns *Week at Lizard* 291 It is *botanically* distinguished from the other Heaths, by its anthers.

1870 Yeats *Nat. Hist. Comm.* 102 *Botanically*, this is the region of palms.

b. OED s.v. *myrtle* n.

1849 *Rural Cycl.* III. 538/1 \*Myrtle Bilberry, — *botanically* *Vaccinium Myrtillus*.

c. OED s.v. *herald* n.

1894 H. Drummond *Ascent Man* 295 The Flower, *botanically*, is the herald of the Fruit.

In the earliest quotation (1757), *botanically* is a genuine manner adjunct (*to arrange botanically*).<sup>17</sup> In 1793, it is attested in the phrase *to speak more botanically*, which serves as the basis for its use as a viewpoint or domain adverbial (see the quotations from 1870, 1849, 1894).<sup>18</sup>

### 8.4 Scientific language in the nineteenth century

This late emergence of the category of viewpoint adverbials in the nineteenth century corresponds to certain socio-historical developments in that period which may be (very roughly) summarized as follows. It may be suggested that the need for a linguistic pattern of marking perspective only arose with the diversification of perspectives after the Middle Ages or even after the Renaissance, at a time when the theological or religious perspective had ceased to dominate (scientific) thinking.

The number of conceivable perspectives on a given subject increased rapidly — and thus gained additional linguistic relevance<sup>19</sup> — with the advent of the new sciences, and especially with the increasing diversification of the empirical sciences into discrete individual disciplines in that period. In a contemporary nineteenth-century source, Trench criticizes the influx of an "army of purely technical words" which occur in treatises on "chemistry or electricity, or on some other of the sciences which hardly or not at all existed half a century ago" (1860: 57–58). At that time, the many new suffixes formed from Neo-Latin or Greek stems indicate that science in the nineteenth century was particularly preoccupied with measuring and precise classification — cf.



e.g. *-graph*, *-meter*, *-ite*, *-ide* or *-ine* (Bailey 1996:145–151; Görlach 1999:111–114). Similarly, the new domain adverbials in *-(c)ally* are also formed from Neo-Latin/Greek roots (see above, 8.2) and a large number of them refer to the domain of a particular science (*architecturally*, *arithmetically*, *atmospherically*, *botanically*) or its methods (*chronologically*, *clinically*, *diagnostically*).

Biber & Finegan (1997:260ff.) track overall changes in the patterns of register variation over the past four centuries, and document a general trend towards a less 'involved', more 'informational' style in specialist written registers such as medical prose. The new domain adverbials in *-(c)ally* are an excellent vehicle for that new informational pattern. They indicate the speaker perspective (most often sentence-initially) without having to name the speaker directly and thus help to avoid the use of a personal pronoun. More recently, Biber & Clark (2002) have also shown that over the past 100 years medical prose has developed a much more compressed style of presentation, which is at the same time less explicit in the expression of relational meaning. Domain adverbials definitely satisfy these new stylistic demands because they are an extremely condensed and therefore quick and efficient means of stating the perspective chosen for the proposition, a property that is indispensable for scientific texts, but also quite convenient in other contexts.

## 9. Pattern transfer: *-wise*, *likewise* and *otherwise*

### 9.1 *-cally* and *-wise*: Morphology

I would therefore like to suggest that this late emergence of the function of 'domain adverbial' in the nineteenth century was the beginning of the creation and spread of the coinages in German *-mäßig* and, later, English *-wise*. The linguistic efficiency of viewpoint adverbials is obvious and we cannot really imagine twentieth-century academic or scientific writing without them. Yet, the English coinages in *-(c)ally* have one apparent inconvenience: they can only be derived from Latin (or Greek) adjectival bases in *-al* or *-ical*. The suffix *-wise*, on the other hand, can be combined with all nominal roots, irrespective of their etymological origin, and is therefore an ideal candidate to fill this gap in word-formation.<sup>20</sup>

### 9.2 Earliest attestations

The earliest attestations of *-wise* support this view. Although the OED (s.v. *wise* n.<sup>1</sup> 3.b.ii) maintains that *-wise* with the sense 'as regards, in respect of' is "colloq. (orig. U.S.)", the quotations given for the first attestations show that the decisive factors for its use are neither 'medium' (spoken vs. written) nor 'attitude' (formal, informal, etc.), but 'field of discourse' (for these types of variation see Quirk et al. 1985:15–26).<sup>21</sup>

- (33) 1942 E. R. Allen in J. J. Mattiello *Protective & Decorative Coatings* II. viii.  
252 It should be noted that there are two types of hydrogen atoms  
*positionwise*.  
1948 *Sat. Rev.* 6 Mar. 16/3 *Plotwise*, it offers little more or little less of  
what-happens-next interest than may be found [etc.]

The co- and contexts of these examples refer to the fields of discourse of science or arts. The same is true for most of my corpora-examples: they may be more frequent in the spoken medium (see above, (3b)), but they almost exclusively relate to these technical registers.

- (34) John Guillebaud, (...) and author of *The Pill* (...) confirms that the  
pattern of having 13 breaks a year (...) is "amazingly safe, *healthwise*".  
(*The Guardian*, June 17, 2000)  
(35) (...) as far as crayfish are concerned are th (...) you know that the ideal  
unit ummm *sizewise* (...) (ICAME CD-ROM, Wellington Corpus of  
Spoken New Zealand English)

In German, this relation to the field of science and technology is even more obvious, because in nonstandard German *-mäßig* is rivalled by the new suffix *-technisch* 'technically' (cf. *Arbeitsmäßig/arbeitstechnisch war das ein blöder Tag* 'Workwise, it was a horrible day').

For English, this idea of a transfer of the functional pattern from the scientific discourse is also corroborated by one of the American native speaker informants in Rahn's (1969) study who says about *wise*-creations that he has "heard them usually from people who had studied engineering" (Rahn 1969:234). All the early studies from 1968 and 1969 furthermore mention the fact that *-wise* is often used in the languages of business, trade and industry, all of which are technical varieties more or less modelled on the field of discourse of scientific language.



### 9.3 The morphological pattern

Once we accept a transfer from the field of scientific discourse, we have to consider why the suffix *-wise* was chosen for filling the obvious gap in word-formation. The most important factor must have been that *-wise* had become archaic in its original usages as a lexical noun and infrequent or only limitedly productive as a manner adverb (see above, 4.2 a, b, c). The form could therefore be functionally reshifted.

The missing link between the still existent uses of *-wise* and the new domain use must have been highly frequent lexicalized words in *-wise*, in particular *likewise* and *otherwise* (see above, 4.2b).

*Likewise*, for instance, is functionally similar to domain adverbials in *-wise* when it is used as a conjunct 'similarly; also' (*OED* s.v. *likewise* 2, 3). In this sense, it can be paraphrased by 'seen in the same perspective'.

The more likely model, however, is *otherwise*, which often serves as a domain adverbial of a more or less vague kind. A sentence starting with *otherwise* allows speakers to open up a new perspective without necessarily having to refer to their change of perspective. The *OED* describes this meaning and function by '[i]n other respects; with regard to other points' (*OED* s.v. *otherwise* adv. 3), a definition which shows the tight link between *otherwise* and the new *wise*-adverbials (*OED* definition: 'as regards, in respect of'; s.v. *wise* n.<sup>1</sup> 3.b.ii).

*Otherwise* is accordingly often found in one phrase together with a domain adverb. Consider, as one of many examples from the *OED*, the phrase *etymologically or otherwise* in the definition for nylon (*OED* s.v. *nylon*).

- (36) The word is a generic word coined by the du Pont Co. It is not a registered name or trademark. We wish to emphasize the following additional points: First, that the letters n-y-l-o-n have absolutely no significance, *etymologically or otherwise*.

This close connection with *otherwise* is actually also employed as a stylistic device by such a language-conscious writer as Arundhati Roy (1997: 83) when she says

- (37) It didn't make any sense at all. *Weatherwise* or *otherwise*.

### 10. Conclusion

The new coinages in *-wise* marking sentence adverbials are thus not archaisms which reappeared and became trendy in American usage as a "linguistic

gimmick" or "fad". Neither are they borrowings from German. They are English/American innovations, and were coined for a functional reason: they are employed to form derivations for the comparatively new category of domain adverbials from non-Latin roots which do not allow the element *-(c)ally*.<sup>22</sup> The form *-wise* proved to be a good candidate for fulfilling this function because its old meanings and functions had become archaic and because the lexicalized *likewise* and *otherwise* provided the morphological pattern needed.

### Notes

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1. The examples in this paper are taken from either the ICAME CD-ROM or from a corpus of more recent British newspaper publications, *The Independent* on CD-ROM for 1993 and *The Guardian* and *The Observer* for 1999 and 2000 (see also (3) and (4)).
2. The data are lifted from the ICAME CD-ROM; for further information, see <http://www.hit.uib.no/icame>.
3. Only *wise*-coinages with the meaning 'as regards, as far as x is concerned', i.e. adverbs functioning as sentence adverbials, are listed. For other uses of the suffix *-wise* (adjective compounds such as *streetwise*, manner adverbs such as *crosswise* or lexicalized items such as *likewise* and *otherwise*), see below 4.1 and 4.2.
4. The data are lifted from *The Guardian Unlimited* website (<http://www.guardian.co.uk>).
5. This peculiar deadjectival form found in one source in the corpus of East African English should probably be regarded as a true nonce-formation.
6. I owe this reference to Christiane Dalton-Puffer; see also Dalton-Puffer & Plag (2000).
7. There are 35 hapaxes among the 37 tokens in the about 11 million words of the synchronic corpora of the ICAME CD-ROM which were searched for the present study (about one million words per corpus). Unfortunately, there was no way to ascertain the total number of words in the British newspaper corpora; for the question of productivity, however, only the relation 'large corpus — high number of hapaxes' (81% BNC / 94% ICAME / 77% total corpus) is important.
8. In the new *Longman Grammar* (Biber et al. 1999), adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts are called, respectively, 'circumstance', 'stance' and 'linking' adverbials (Biber et al. 1999: 762 and elsewhere). The examples in this section are mainly taken from Bellert (1977), Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999).
9. For the restriction of these coinages to (Neo-)Latin and Greek bases, see below 8.2.



10. The terms 'adjunct' and 'subjunct' (instead of 'disjunct') seem to suggest that viewpoint adverbs are not regarded as sentence adverbials by Quirk et al. (1985). Apart from this source, however, they are generally described as one of the subclasses of sentence adverbials. The whole category of 'subjunct' has been repeatedly criticized; for a recent assessment, see Valera (1998: 267–270). Biber et al. (1999) return to a tripartite system (see fn. 8).
11. For a comprehensive comparative investigation of the distribution and productivity of the different patterns, see Dalton-Puffer & Plag (2000).
12. West-Germanic *wisa* was borrowed by the Romance languages and survives as French *guise* or Italian *guisa*. In medieval Spanish, *guisa* competed with the adverbial formatives *cosa* and *mente*, which in the fourteenth century ousted the other suffixes (cf. Paraskewoff 1976: 170).
13. All the examples in the diachronic sections are taken from the quotations in the *OED*.
14. Paraskewoff therefore even ceases to regard *-erweise* as an inflected form: he analyses *-er-* as a "Fugenelement" and accordingly wants to move *-erweise* to the category of modals (1976: 193–196, 211). This transfer is not necessary, however, when we employ the term 'disjunct', which intrinsically includes a certain modality.
15. The few doubtful cases belong to the field of discourse of religion or theology (*spiritually*, *ghostly*, etc.); for the relation of this field of discourse to scientific language, see below 8.4.
16. In Old French and hence in early English, *-ālem* became *-el* (cf. *mortālem* and *mortel*); in English (and to some extent in French), this was refashioned after Latin *-al*. The number of these adjectives increased immensely in medieval and Early Modern Latin and hence in Early Modern English, where the pattern is finally also extended to Greek roots (see *OED* s.v. *-al* suffix<sup>1</sup>).
17. In a semantically more detailed analysis, Quirk et al. (1985: 563–564) refer to them as adjuncts of respect, e.g. *she's advising them legally / with respect to law*. These predicational 'adjuncts of respect' are the natural bridge between the different uses in question because they fulfil the same role on the phrase level as viewpoint adverbials do on the sentence level.
18. The work of the lexicographers of the *OED* proved to be extremely reliable: the earliest use as a domain adverbial in quotations is usually also listed in the entry for the respective adverb.
19. For the properties of scientific discourse in the EModE period, see e.g. Nate (2001: 141–200).
20. The derivation of adverbs by an originally nominal suffix is not a problem; cf. the comparable case of Romance *-ment*, *-mente* which goes back to Latin *mens*, *mentis*.
21. I will here follow the terminology of Quirk et al. (1985). For the differences and similarities to other notational terms such as 'register' or 'style', see Lipka (1992: 9–26).
22. Whether this is a grammatical function and therefore a case of grammaticalization is doubtful because of the awkward status of adverbs as a grammatical class (for a fuller treatment of the question, see Lenker in progress).

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## The loss of the indefinite pronoun *man*

### Syntactic change and information structure\*

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#### 1. Introduction

Rissanen (1997) presents a detailed discussion of the collapse of the Old English system of indefinite marking with *hwa* 'who', *hwilc* 'which', *hwæthwugu* 'something', etc., and connects its loss to the generalization of the *wh*-pronouns as expressions of the relative pronoun. *Wh*-pronouns already had two functions — interrogative and indefinite — and an additional third use may have compromised the communicative function of the system. The old system was replaced by the *some/any* paradigm, with its clear contrast of assertive versus non-assertive contexts, and by the use of *one* as a 'proform', the lexical expression of the head of the noun phrase — a development which Rissanen connects to the levelling and loss of the nominal endings.

The loss of the indefinite pronoun *man* 'one' (cf. Swedish *man*, German *man*, Dutch *men*) by the fifteenth century has proved more difficult to account for, although various contributing factors have been identified. I will argue in this paper that there are two important factors that appear to have been overlooked: one is the competition between subjunctive *that*-clauses and *to*-infinitives, which affected *man* in that it entailed competition between the indefinite pronoun in such clauses and generic (or arbitrary) PRO. The result was a decline in the occurrence of *man* in subclauses. There was also a decline in main clauses due to the loss of verb-second in the course of the fifteenth century, after which only subjects could be 'unmarked themes' in an information-structural sense. The indefinite pronoun *man/me(n)* is unlikely to occur in this position as it cannot provide an anaphoric link with previous material, and its niche was increasingly taken over by the impersonal passive.