#### **Twentieth-Century English**

Standard English has evolved and developed in many ways over the past hundred years. From pronunciation to vocabulary to grammar, this concise survey clearly documents the recent history of standard English. Drawing on large amounts of authentic corpus data, it shows how we can track ongoing changes to the language, and demonstrates each of the major developments that have taken place. As well as taking insights from a vast body of literature, Christian Mair presents the results of his own cutting-edge research, revealing some important changes which have not been previously documented. He concludes by exploring how social and cultural factors, such as the American influence on British English, have affected standard English in recent times. Authoritative, informative, and engaging, this book will be essential reading for anyone interested in language change in progress – particularly those working on English, and will be welcomed by students, researchers, and language teachers alike.

CHRISTIAN MAIR is Chair in English Linguistics at the Universität Freiburg, Germany, with research interests in the corpus-based description of modern English grammar, and in the study of regional variation and ongoing changes in standard English worldwide. He is author of *Infinitival clauses in English: a study of syntax in discourse* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Cambridge University Press				
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century	English: H	listory,	Variation, a	and Standardization
Christian Mair				
Frontmatter				
Moreinformation				

STUDIES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

General editor: Merja Kytö (Uppsala University)

*Editorial Board*: Bas Aarts (University College London), John Algeo (University of Georgia), Susan Fitzmaurice (Northern Arizona University), Richard Hogg (University of Manchester), Charles F. Meyer (University of Massachusetts)

**Twentieth-Century English** 

Cambridge University Press					
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-(	Century English	History,	Variation,	and	Standardization
Christian Mair					
Frontmatter					
More information					

## STUDIES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The aim of this series is to provide a framework for original studies of English, both present-day and past. All books are based securely on empirical research, and represent theoretical and descriptive contributions to our knowledge of national varieties of English, both written and spoken. The series covers a broad range of topics and approaches, including syntax, phonology, grammar, vocabulary, discourse, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics, and is aimed at an international readership.

### Already published in this series

Christian Mair Infinitival complement clauses in English: a study of syntax in discourse Charles F. Meyer Apposition on contemporary English Jan Firbas Functional sentence perspective in written and spoken communication Izchak M. Schlesinger Cognitive space and linguistic case Katie Wales Personal pronouns in present-day English Laura Wright The development of standard English, 1300–1800: theories, descriptions, conflicts Charles F. Meyer English Corpus Linguistics: theory and practice Stephen J. Nagle and Sara L. Sanders (eds.) English in the Southern United States Anne Curzan Gender shifts in the history of English Kingsley Bolton Chinese Englishes Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta (eds.) Medical and scientific writing in Late Medieval English Elizabeth Gordon, Lyle Campbell, Jennifer Hay, Margaret Maclagan, Andrea Sudbury and Peter Trudgill New Zealand English: its origins and evolution Raymond Hickey (ed.) Legacies of colonial English Merja Kytö, Mats Rydén and Erik Smitterberg (eds.) Nineteenth century English: stability and change John Algeo British or American English? A handbook of word and grammar patterns

# **Twentieth-Century English**

History, Variation, and Standardization

CHRISTIAN MAIR



Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century English: History, Variation, and Standardization
Christian Mair
Frontmatter
More information

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521832199

© Christian Mair 2006

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2006

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN-13 978-0-521-83219-9 hardback ISBN-10 0-521-83219-5 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

The following authors and publishers have given permission to use extended quotations from their work:

Tom Leonard, from Intimate voices: poems 1965–1983, Etruscan Books Devon 2003 (for "i've not got a light")
India Knight/The Sunday Times, 11 November 2001 (for the extract from India Knight, "Speak proper? Not likely")

© Little, Brown Book Group (for the passage reproduced from Sarah Waters, *The night watch*, London: Virago Press, 2006)

© OUP (for Appendix 4, "Motswana-mussy")

Every effort has been made to secure necessary permissions to reproduce copyright material in this work, though in some cases it has proved impossible to trace or contact copyright holders. If any omissions are brought to our notice, we will be happy to include appropriate acknowledgments on reprinting or in any subsequent edition.

Cambridge University Press	
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century E	glish: History, Variation, and Standardization
Christian Mair	
Frontmatter	
More information	

# Contents

$L_{i}$	st of figures	page ix
	st of tables	xi
A	cknowledgments	XV
1	Setting the scene	1
2	Ongoing language change: problems of detection and	
	verification	12
2.	1 "Visible" and "invisible" changes	12
2.	2 The pitfalls of anecdotal observation	15
2.	3 Documenting change	21
2.	4 Outlook: a plea for methodological pluralism	33
3	Lexical change in twentieth-century English	36
3.	1 Introduction	36
3.	2 Case studies	38
3.	3 Major trends	
3.	4 Neologizing in its social context	69
4	Grammatical changes in twentieth-century English	82
4.	1 Introduction	82
4.	2 Review of the literature	84
4.	3 Aspect: twentieth-century changes in the structure	
	and use of the progressive	88
4.	4 The <i>going to</i> -future	95
4.	5 Modality: <i>must</i> and <i>shall</i> – two modals on the	
	way out, and possible replacements	100
4.	6 Further developments in tense, aspect, modality:	
	a synopsis of current research	108
4.	7 Current changes in the English voice system	111
4.	5	
	developments in the field of clausal complementation	n 119

vii

Cambridge University Press	
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century English: Histo	ory, Variation, and Standardization
Christian Mair	
Frontmatter	
Moreinformation	

## viii Contents

4.9	Nouns, pronouns, adjectives	140
4.10	Conclusion	154
5 Pr	onunciation	156
5.1	Introduction	156
5.2	A history of RP in the twentieth century	162
5.3	"General American": myth or reality?	173
6 La	inguage change in context: changing communicative and	
dis	scourse norms in twentieth-century English	181
6.1	Introduction	181
6.2	The colloquialization of written English in the	
	twentieth century	183
6.3	Americanization?	193
6.4	Analysis of selected sample texts	195
Conc	clusion	200
Appe	endix 1 Brief survey of the corpora used for the	
prese	ent study	206
Appe	endix 2 The OED Baseline Corpora	210
Appe	endix 3 Estimating text size in the newspaper	
archi	ves and the World Wide Web	213
Appe	endix 4 A quarterly update of the OED Online	
	v Edition) – 13 March 2003: Motsmana to mussy	217
Refer	rences	231
Indes	C	242

Cambridge University Press				
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century	English:	History,	Variation, and	d Standardization
Christian Mair				
Frontmatter				
Moreinformation				

# Figures

1.1	Languages of publication in five natural sciences	
	(1879–1980), (Tsunoda 1983)	page 9
2.1	Four matching one-million-word corpora of	
	written English	24
3.1	Frequency of use of selected computer neologisms in	
	The Guardian (and Observer) on CD-ROM	41
3.2	Frequency of use of selected military neologisms in	
	The Guardian (and Observer) on CD-ROM	44
3.3	March 2003 OED updates for words containing the	
	combining form <i>multi</i> -	55
3.4	March 2003 OED updates – out-of-sequence entries	56
3.5	Frequency of selected verbs of the $up/down + V$ type	
	in The Guardian (and Observer) on CD-ROM	65
3.6	Spread of three deverbal adjectives in The Guardian	
	(and Observer) on CD-ROM	69
4.1	Going to and gonna 1600-2000 - frequency as	
	n/10,000 citations	97
4.2	Get-passives according to age in the BNC	115
4.3	Nonfinite complements of remember in the	
	OED quotation base by century – normalized	
	frequency as n/10,000 quotations	127
4.4	Help + infinitive 1600–2000 – frequency as n/10,000	
	quotations	138
4.5	Analytical and synthetic comparison for four classes of	
	adjectives (Kytö and Romaine 1997: 344)	150
5.1	The decline of /uə/ (John Wells, source:	
	http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/)	166
5.2	Major dialect areas in the US based on the Dictionary of	
	American regional English (DARE) (Carver 1987) and the	
	Phonological atlas of North America (Labov et al. 2006)	

Cambridge University Press	
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century English: History, Variation, and	nd Standardization
Christian Mair	
Frontmatter	
More information	

# x List of figures

	(source: http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/ NationalMap/NationalMap.html)	178
5.3	Merger of the vowels in cot and caught (source: William	
	Labov, http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/	
	ICSLP4.html#Heading2)	180
A3.1	Textual growth in The Guardian (and Observer)	
	on CD-ROM	215
A3.2	Deep breath in top-level Web domains, December 2002	
	to March 2003	216

Cambridge University Press				
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century	English:	History,	Variation, an	d Standardization
Christian Mair				
Frontmatter				
Moreinformation				

# Tables

1.1	Population of major urban centers in the English-using	
	world	page 8
1.2	Percentage of languages in natural science publications,	
	1980 to 1996	10
1.3	Percentage of languages used in publications in the	
	humanities, 1974 to 1995 (adapted from a graph in	
	Ammon 1998a: 167)	10
2.1	Prepositions following <i>different</i> in four corpora	26
2.2	Prepositions following <i>different</i> in regionally stratified	
	Web material (Google, 30 May 2004)	27
2.3	Proportion of on/upon in four corpora	28
2.4	Proportion of <i>on/upon</i> in three samples from the OED	
	quotation base	29
2.5	Lexical items most characteristic of four groups of	
	speakers in a corpus of spoken British English (compiled	
	from Rayson et al. 1997)	30
2.6	Frequency of <i>wanna</i> in the BNC per age group	
	(x/1,000,000 words)	32
3.1	<i>Wicked</i> – frequency in the spoken-demographic BNC per	
	million words by age group	48
3.2	Massive – frequency in the spoken-demographic BNC per	
	million words by age group	49
3.3	OED Online – new words first attested in the twentieth	
	century	58
3.4	Nineteenth- and twentieth-century borrowings from	
	Yiddish in the OED	60
3.5	Twentieth-century borrowings from Spanish first attested	
	in the OED	62
3.6	Proper nouns consisting entirely of capital letters:	
	comparison of frequency in LOB and F-LOB	62
	1 11	

Cambridge University Press					
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century	English:	History,	Variation,	and Standardizat	ion
Christian Mair					
Frontmatter					
Moreinformation					

## xii List of tables

3.7	Prefixed verbs in up- and down- in the OED	
	(twentieth century) and the BNC (compiled from	
	information in Scheible 2005)	64
3.8	Up/down + V in four corpora – types (tokens)	64
3.9	Ongoing in four corpora	66
3.10	On/off/in/out/up/down + V + ing in four corpora - survey	67
3.11	On/off/in/out/up/down + V + ing in four corpora - type/	
	token ratios	67
3.12	Discourse frequency of <i>virtue(s)</i> , <i>value(s)</i> , etc. in selected	
	twentieth-century corpora	78
4.1	Progressive forms in the press sections (A–C) of four	
	reference corpora	90
4.2	Been being and be being on the English-language Web	
	(Google, 23 July 2003)	92
4.3	Going to-futures in four corpora (examples from	
	direct speech in brackets)	96
4.4	Going to - manually post-edited output for four	
	quarter-centuries	98
4.5	Will/shall- and going to-futures in four spoken corpora	
	(percentages, adapted from Szmrecsanyi 2003: 303)	98
4.6	Going to- and mill-futures in two age groups in the	
	spoken-demographic BNC (normalized frequencies/	
	words per million)	99
4.7	Use of the modal auxiliaries in four corpora	101
4.8	Shall-futures in four corpora	102
4.9	Have (got) to in four corpora (press texts, section	
	A–C only)	104
4.10	Have got to in four corpora	104
4.11	Have to in four corpora	104
4.12	Obligation and necessity in the Santa Barbara Corpus	
	of Spoken American English and the conversation	
	component of ICE-GB	105
4.13	Must and have to by function in ICE-GB (spoken),	
	adapted from Depraetere and Verhulst (forthcoming)	105
4.14	Get-passives in four corpora (examples from direct	
	speech in brackets)	113
4.15	Frequency indices for get-passives in the BNC	116
4.16	For + NP + to-infinitival clauses in four corpora	124
4.17	For + NP + to-infinitival clauses in three OED	
	Baseline Corpora	124
4.18	For + NP + to-infinitival clauses in three OED Baseline	
	Corpora and F-LOB and Frown (normalized, as	
	instances per million words)	125

Cambridge Universit	y Press				
978-0-521-83219-9 -	Twentieth-Century	English:	History,	Variation,	and Standardization
Christian Mair					
Frontmatter					
More information					

List	of tables	xiii
шы	or tubics	лш

4.19	Gerunds and infinitives after <i>remember</i> in the OED quotation base – normalized frequencies ("n/10,000	
	quotations," rounded to the first decimal, absolute	
	frequencies in brackets)	127
4.20	Notional subjects in gerundial constructions after	
	remember in the OED quotation base	128
4.21	Proportion of infinitival and gerundial complements	
	after <i>begin</i> in four corpora	128
4.22	Infinitive vs. gerund complements with <i>begin</i> in selected	
	British databases	129
4.23	Infinitive vs. gerund complements with <i>begin</i> in selected	
1.20	American databases	130
4.24	<i>To</i> -infinitive: V- <i>ing</i> after <i>start</i> in four corpora	130
4.25	Nonfinite complements of <i>prevent</i> in the OED	150
1.25	Baseline Corpus	131
4.26	Ratio of prevent NP from V-ing vs. prevent NP V-ing	151
1.20	in four corpora	132
4.27	Ratio of stop NP from V-ing vs. stop NP V-ing in	132
т.27	four corpora	132
4.28	Save NP V-ing in selected top-level Web domains	132
4.29	<i>To</i> - vs. bare infinitives with <i>help</i> in four corpora	135
4.30	Complementation of <i>help</i> in the "spoken-demographic"	150
4.30	BNC	126
4.31		136 142
	Whom in four matching corpora	142
4.32	Nominative vs. objective case for pronouns in specific	144
4 22	syntactic contexts (BNC)	144
4.33	'S-genitives in four tagged corpora	146
4.34	Use of genitive and <i>of</i> -phrase in the press sections (A–C)	1.45
	of two corpora (compiled from Raab-Fischer 1995)	147
4.35	Normalized frequencies (occurrences per million words)	
	for selected genitives in spoken and written text types	
	from the BNC	148
4.36	Femer vs. less with count nouns in selected corpora	151
5.1	Variably pronounced words in contemporary RP (John	
	Wells, Longman Pronunciation Survey)	168
6.1	Frequencies of say in selected genre categories of	
	four corpora	189
6.2	Verb and negative contractions in the four corpora	
	(from Leech and Smith 2005)	189
6.3	Contraction ratios (not-contractions) in journalistic and	
	academic prose	190
6.4	Decline in frequency of use of the <i>be</i> -passive in the four	
	reference corpora (from Leech and Smith 2005)	190

Cambridge University Press				
978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century	English:	History,	Variation, a	and Standardization
Christian Mair				
Frontmatter				
More information				

## xiv List of tables

6.5	Frequency of noun+common-noun combinations in	
	four corpora	192
A2.1	Composition of the OED Baseline Corpora	210
A2.2	The five most common words in Baseline, Brown,	
	LOB, Frown and F-LOB	211
A2.3	"Absolute frequencies (rank)" for selected function	
	words in five corpora	212
A3.1	Frequency of selected collocations in two corpora and	
	eight newspaper archival discs	214
A3.2	Frequencies of ten collocations in the BNC and	
	selected top-level Web domains	215
	selected top-level Web domains	

# Acknowledgments

When I started working on the corpus-based investigation of change in progress in present-day English in the early 1990s, writing a book on this topic soon began to seem an attractive idea, though one which was bound to remain rather theoretical for a long time. Now that the book is about to be published, I would like to take the opportunity to thank a number of organizations and people without whose help it is unlikely that *Twentieth-Century English* would have seen the light of day a mere fifteen years after the idea for the book was first conceived.

To the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) I owe thanks for generously supporting two corpus-related research projects from 1994 to 1996 and from 2003 to 2006. Without their funding, F-LOB and Frown, two corpora providing important evidence for the present study, would have been completed much later (if at all), and various laborious but extremely useful annotation schemes and other enhancements would not even have been attempted. If the DFG gave the money, more members of my team at Freiburg than can be named here have given their expertise and dedication over the years. If I single out Marianne Hundt, Andrea Sand, Stefanie Rapp, Birgit Waibel, and Lars Hinrichs by name, I hope that many others involved in the projects for longer or shorter periods of time will not take this amiss.

At CUP, I would like to thank Kate Brett, who, after discussing the idea of a history of twentieth-century English with me at the Edinburgh Late Modern English conference in 1998, encouraged me to formalize it by submitting a proposal to the Press. Helen Barton, who eventually took over from Kate, was equally sympathetic and additionally showed welcome patience in the final stages of completing the manuscript. Valuable suggestions for improvements were made by Merja Kytö, one of the series editors, who carefully went through the first version of the completed manuscript. At the very end of the production process, working together with Nikky Twyman as a copy editor was a pleasant and humbling experience, pleasant because of her quiet and goodhumored efficiency, and humbling because of the number of oversights she spotted in a manuscript which I thought I had proofread carefully.

xv

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-83219-9 - Twentieth-Century English: History, Variation, and Standardization Christian Mair Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

#### xvi Acknowledgments

I hope that the book will convey to its readers some of my own fascination with the "living history" of English, its recent past, its rich and diversified present, and its future, and that it will encourage others to keep researching the many questions which I have had to leave unanswered.

Freiburg, February 2006 CM