

Formulaic Language and Linguistic Change

A substantial proportion of our everyday language is 'formulaic', that is, it consists of oft-repeated chunks. From pause fillers such as *you know* to phrases such as *Many thanks! Is this seat taken*? or *strong tea*, they form a phenomenon central to language. This important new book investigates formulaic language from the point of view of language change. Employing a novel quantitative and data-led approach, it traces and analyses change in phraseology across twentieth-century German as used in Switzerland. Drawing on nearly 20 million words of textual evidence, this book shows that social and cultural change in the speech community is the predominant motivator of change, though other factors are also at play. This book demonstrates a close link between language change and the culture of the speech community, arguing that this has repercussions for the study of language in general, as well as the study of society and history.

ANDREAS BUERKI is senior lecturer at the Centre for Language and Communication Research, Cardiff University.





Formulaic Language and Linguistic Change

A Data-Led Approach

Andreas Buerki

Cardiff University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

 $314\!\!-\!321, 3rd$ Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi-110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108477468

DOI: 10.1017/9781108769976

© Andreas Buerki 2020

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 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Buerki, Andreas, 1974- author.

Title: Formulaic language and linguistic change: a data-led approach / Andreas Buerki.

Description: 1. | New York : Cambridge University Press, 2020. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019043061 (print) | LCCN 2019043062 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108477468 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108708739 (paperback) |

ISBN 9781108769976 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: German language—Written German. | Oral-formulaic analysis. | Linguistic analysis (Linguistics) | Linguistic models. | Discourse analysis.

Classification: LCC PF3087 .B84 2020 (print) | LCC PF3087 (ebook) |

DDC 437/.9494-dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019043061

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019043062

ISBN 978-1-108-47746-8 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.



To You-Jin





Contents

Lis	st of Figures	page ix
Lis	st of Tables	xi
Pr	reface	xiii
Lis	st of Abbreviations	XV
	Introduction	1
1	Formulaic Language	7
	1.1 Types of Formulaic Language	7
	1.2 Defining Formulaic Language	14
	1.3 Evidence for MWEs and Their Significance	20
	1.4 The Broader Theoretical Significance of MWEs	27
2	Cultural Context and Diachrony	32
	2.1 Linguistic Change and MWEs	32
	2.2 Culture, Society and MWEs	51
3	The Data, the Community and a Data-Led Identification	of MWEs 70
	3.1 The Data and the Speech Community	71
	3.2 Identifying MWEs	77
	3.3 A New MWE-Extraction Procedure	88
4	MWEs in Written German	101
	4.1 Background	101
	4.2 Examples of MWEs in Late Twentieth-Century German	105
	4.3 Type and Form	111
	4.4 MWE-Density	119
5	Culture As Motivator of Change	124
	5.1 On Culture and Motivation	124
	5.2 Identifying Instances of Change	129
	5.3 Case Studies	140
6	Cultural Motivation in Context	177
	6.1 Types of Motivation Considered	178
	6.2 Method, Data and Procedure	185
	6.3 Non-culturally Motivated Change	188
	6.4 Proportions of Motivations in the Sample	203
	Conclusions	209

vii



viii Contents

Appendix A	Filter Entries	218
Appendix B	Rater Guidelines on Semantic Unity	219
Bibliography		221
Index		247



Figures

I.1	Frequencies of dA Forderung nach [etwas]	2
1.1	MWEs and formulaic language types	20
3.1	A simple case of a frequency consolidation	96
3.2	Schematic representation of MWE-extraction procedure	99
4.1	Procedure followed in categorisation assignments	104
4.2	Proportions of MWE-types in the data	113
4.3	Lengths and frequencies of MWEs	117
5.1	Example of a change of type 4	132
5.2	Example patterns of change	137
5.3	Frequencies of wie-einst	142
5.4	Frequency patterns of MWEs related to wie-einst	144
5.5	Frequencies of in·unserem·Land[e]	146
5.6	Frequencies of schweizerisch[*]	149
5.7	Dative -e drop in in·unserem·Land[e]	150
5.8	Frequencies of blaue[n]·Augen	151
5.9	Frequencies of blaue[n]·Augen in Google Books	152
5.10	Frequencies of im·Himmel	155
5.11	Membership of religious communities and im·Himmel	157
5.12	Frequency patterns of MWEs related to im·Himmel	158
5.13	Frequencies of mit-dem-Auto	159
5.14	Historical statistics on vehicle registration	160
5.15	Types of relationship between MWEs and salient constituents	163
5.16	Frequencies of $dA \cdot Forderung \cdot nach \cdot X$	164
5.17	Frequencies of dA·Forderung·nach· ('the demand for') in Google	
	Books	167
5.18	Frequencies of $vom \cdot [ADJ] \cdot Standpunkt[e] \cdot [dA \cdot X]$	170
5.19	Multiple changes around vom·Standpunkt	172
5.20	Frequencies of Fräulein and Fräulein·NE	173
6.1	Motivation assignment procedure	186
6.2	Frequencies of darüber-hinaus	189
6.3	Frequency patterns of $z \cdot B$ and $zum \cdot Beispiel$	192
6.4	Stacked frequencies of z·B, zum·Beispiel and beispielsweise	193

ix



X	List of Figures	
6.5	Examples of dative -e drop	194
6.6	Dative -e drop outside MWEs	196
6.7	Frequencies of unter-allen-Umständen and its synonyms	197
6.8	Frequencies of in·vielen·Fällen and oftmals	198
6.9	Frequencies of vor·allem	199
6.10	Frequencies of in irgendeiner Form	201
6.11	Cases per motivation-subtype (MWE-types)	203
6.12	Motivations in the sample (types and tokens)	206
B.1	Rater guidelines on semantic unity used in Chapter 3	220



Tables

1.1	Selected definitional elements for formulaic language	15
1.2	Proportion of MWEs in language	22
2.1	Overview of motivations	44
3.1	Swiss Text Corpus in overview	73
3.2	Normalisation effects on extraction	92
3.3	Extraction parameters and their settings	92
3.4	Effects of cut-off frequencies	94
3.5	Precision and recall of proposed procedure	98
4.1	Example MWEs in four categories	106
4.2	Example MWEs in seven functional categories	109
4.3	Examples of core MWEs and extensions	110
4.4	Types and formal structure of MWEs	112
4.5	Examples of MWEs by structural type	114
4.6	MWEs with schematic elements	115
4.7	Examples of MWEs with SEs	116
4.8	Examples of long MWEs	118
4.9	MWE-frequency distribution	118
4.10	MWE-density over genres	122
4.11	MWE-density over time	122
5.1	Scores for six example patterns	138
5.2	Relevant change under four methods	139
5.3	Slots in dA·Forderung·nach·X, late 1960s to 1990s	165
5.4	Slots in dA·Forderung·nach·X, 1940s to early 1960s	166
6.1	Typology of motivations	179
6.2	Illustration of motivation assignments	181
6.3	Assignments to motivation types	205
6.4	Proportions of motivations	205
A.1	Lexico-structural filter	218

хi





Preface

To say that research into phraseological phenomena has exploded over the past quarter of a century has now itself practically turned into a cliché. Yet it is remarkable how this strand of linguistic research has developed. From being very much a niche interest with some of its leading centres of research having been all but obliterated in the aftermath of counter-revolutions in the Eastern Bloc, the field has since become a wonderfully diverse network, connecting an intriguing multitude of otherwise rather different and, in some cases, disparate areas with their own histories, philosophies and goals by a fascination for similar types of phenomena. A network of interests, I venture, that pervades almost all areas of purely theoretical as well as application-minded linguistic thought today and has arguably given birth to the most exciting one of the current grand theories of language – the in itself richly diverse family of constructionist approaches to grammar.

This book comes from a fascination with phraseological phenomena. It brings the study of formulaic language in contact with the study of language change and the relationship between language, culture and society to see how they might fit together and in fitting together, what these areas of study tell us about each other. This turns out to be a fair amount, of which this book can barely scratch the surface. Further to insights gained by (re-)connecting these three areas to allow them to enlighten each other from new angles, glimpses emerge on the nature of language itself. They strongly suggest that the reintegration of the study of language into its proper context of the study of history and culture is critical to solving the many puzzles that still remain in the understanding of what language is and how it operates.

I would like to thank Annelies Häcki Buhofer for her support from the very beginning of this project. I am indebted also to Anke Lüdeling and to colleagues at the Department of German Language and Linguistics at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin for their advice, to Alison Wray and my colleagues at Cardiff University, and to Heike Behrens and Angelika Linke for their thoughts and advice – all remaining mistakes are of course my own.

xiii



xiv Preface

I am grateful, also, to the Swiss National Science Foundation for providing the bulk of the finance necessary to carry out the research reported in this book. I would like to acknowledge the University of Basel for providing a workplace and equipment as well as access to corpus materials. Equally, I am enormously grateful for the support of friends and family and most especially the support of You-Jin whose expert piano tunes and faith in the book project made it happen at long last.



Abbreviations

British National Corpus BNC CVcoefficient of variance ELF English as a Lingua Franca MEU Morpheme Equivalent Unit MI **Mutual Information** Multi-Word Expression MWE MWU Multi-Word Unit NE named entity NGP N-gram Processor

NLP Natural Language Processing

NP noun phrase

NSP N-gram Statistics Package

NUM number

PP prepositional phrase SD standard deviation SE Schematic Element STC Swiss Text Corpus US Usual Sequence VP verb phrase

XML Extensible Markup Language

