Systemic Functional Selection of *Those* in Middle English Texts in West Riding Yorkshire[1]

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ヨークシャー州ウエストライディングの中英語テキストに於ける 'those' の言語体系にもとづく機能的選択

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1. Introduction

Demonstrative *those* in the late Middle English period appears with a great number of variations as listed in the Linguistic Profile (LP) in volume three of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME). Maps[2] created from the LP data show snapshot pictures of the diatopic distribution of these variants. They also show the complex areas, notably border areas, with overlapping distribution of systems. One of the areas which exhibit a particular wealth of complexities and variances is the West Riding of Yorkshire (WRY), due to the interconnected elements of its topographical features and historical background. Its high mountain range in the west and low land in the east, extensive river systems and so on all constrained or affected the nature of settlement of various people, such as Celts, Angles and Scandinavians.

Examination of the demonstrative in various WRY texts shows such mixed and complex systems that it is difficult to pinpoint changes in process. Nonetheless, when frequently occurring variants are extracted (section 2) and incorporated into an analysis of those variants appearing in five copies of *Prick of Conscience* localised in the Riding (section 3), systemic functional selections of particular variants seem to emerge (section 4). In short, the selections might be able to consider therapeutic and made in order to systemically disambiguate *those* from other words. In this paper we seek to show that it is this systemic process, despite pessimism about explaining language change (see Lass 1980), which might be able to use as one of the explanatory tools for the evolution of language.

2. Prototypical variants and their functions

To seek the prototype various forms of the item THOSE are collected from forty-nine texts localised in WRY in LALME. All the forms are shown in Table 1[3]. The number in each bracket signifies the number of texts in which those variants appear[4].

Table 1: Variants of the demonstrative THOSE in WRY texts

tha(3), *thai*(1), *thei*(1), *tho*(5), *thoo*(1), *thos*(1), *those*(2), *ya*(16), *yaʒ*(1), *yaa*(4), *yaas*(1), *yai*(1), *yais*(3), *yaise*(1), *yas*(9), *yase*(6), *yha*(1), *yhaa*(1), *yho*(1), *yo*(24), *yo*(1), *yoo*(10), *yos*(11), *yos*(1), *yose*(12), *þa*(2), *þaas*(1), *þas*(2), *þase*(1), *þo*(9), *þoo*(4), *þoos*(1), *þos*(5), *þose*(7)

A great number of variants appear sporadically in a few texts. Among those, interesting are *thai* and *thei* which look to

be identical to third person plural pronoun, and *yais(e)*, which seems to have been created from analogy with the addition of *s(e)* to *yai*. These variants can together be termed as 'noise' (Smith: forthcoming) and it is this 'noise' which forms part of the story of systemic adjustment in process. Though important despite their scarcity in written texts, by eliminating these noises we can obtain the most frequent forms. From Table 1 the most frequent recorded forms for THOSE are *yo* and *ya* as underlined. Table 2 shows the text numbers in LALME containing those variants. When they are plotted on a map, a clear geographical tendency emerges as shown in Figure 1.

Table 2: Texts with the frequent variants *ya* and *yo* [5]

yo:	30 ((32))115 ((191)) 200 204 234 358 ((364)) 405 406 (454) 473 474 (477) (488) 494 ((496)) 500 592 (598) 601 603 605
ya:	4 ((18)) 32 ((115)) ((175)) 191 (358) 364 (406) (410) (473) (526) 592 598 603 1349

The appearance of the regular forms experiences a north-south division. *Ya* spreads in the north and *yo* in the south, and the two overlap in the northwestern areas. This *a/o* spelling division results from the different development OE /ā/. In the northern area it was fronted (spelled *-a-*, *-ai-* in ME) and ultimately raised to /iə/ or to /eː/, becoming /ei/ when the standard spelling pronunciation was introduced (Smith 1962: 80-81). In the southern area it became rounded to /ō/ in the early thirteen century (spelled *-o-*) and was ultimately raised to /uə/ or to /ɔː/, becoming /ou/ when the standard spelling pronunciation was introduced (Smith 1962: 80-81). This line roughly follows the Rivers Ribble and Wharfe.

Beside the general formal separation of northern *ya* and southern *yo,* a further interesting division can be observed in
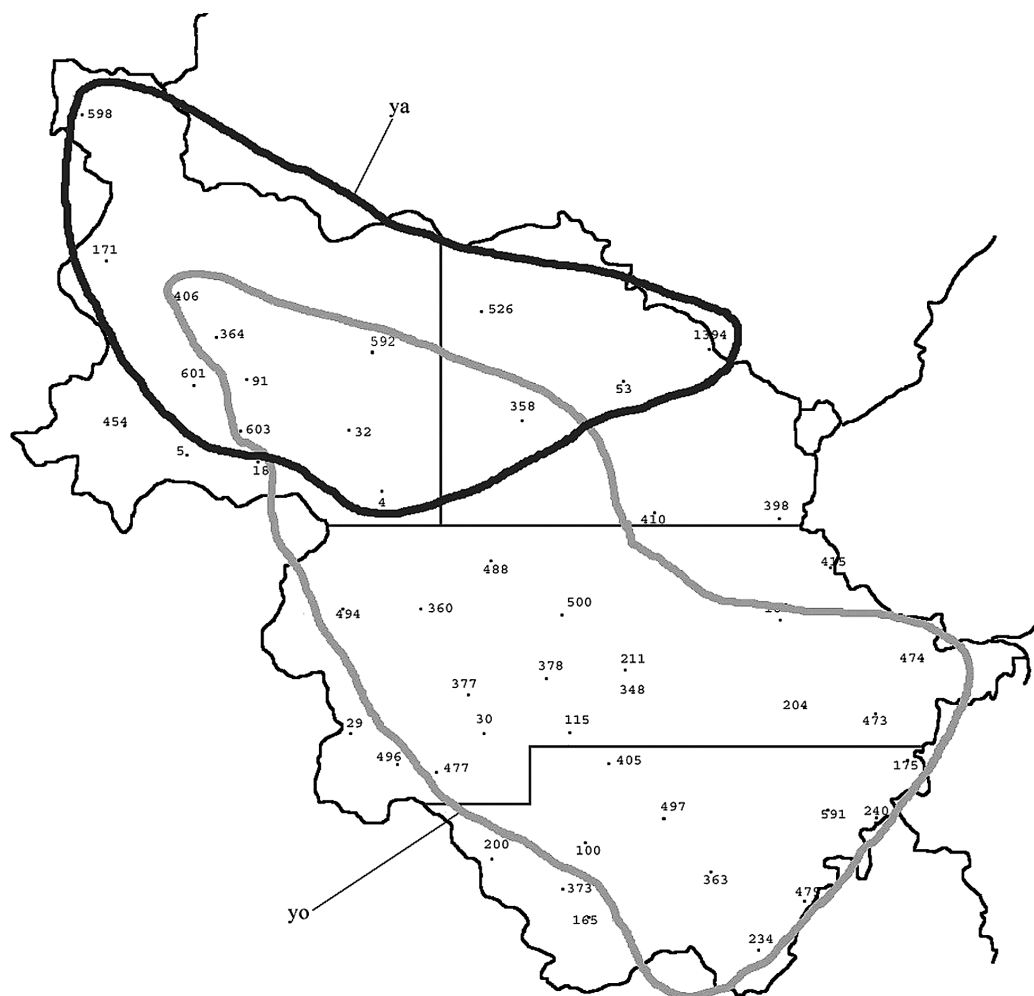

Figure 1: The distribution of prototypical THOSE variants

function. Table 3 is a list of text numbers in which *ya/yo* occur as pronoun and as determiner. Among these texts, those containing *ya/yo* as main form (that is, text numbers without a single or double brackets) are plotted on Maps 2 and 3.

Table 3: Texts with pronoun *ya/yo* and determiner *ya/yo*

Texts with pronoun *ya/yo*

ya: 32 ((115)) ((175)) 191 364 (406) (473) (526) 598 603 1349

yo: (30) ((32)) ((115)) 200 ((234)) 358 ((364)) ((405)) 406 (454) ((473)) (494) ((496)) 500 (598) 601 603

Texts with determiner *ya/yo*

ya: 4 ((18)) ((32)) (358) (410) ((473)) 598 ((603)) (1349)

yo: 30 115 204 234 ((358)) 405 ((406)) ((454)) 473 474 477 (488) 494 ((500))

According to Figure 2 and 3, pronoun *ya* regularly appears in the northern area whereas determiner *yo* appears in the southern area. The southern limit of the pronoun *ya* is somehow close to the *a/o* boundary. This implies that the boundary seems to be a functional division as well as formal one.

It is not certain why *ya* regularly appears as pronoun in the north. It is, however, possible that during the process of OE / ā/ being fronted and raised, it somehow underwent phonetical merger with the third person plural pronoun THEY. Hence, it might also have become semantically and functionally similar to THEY. The analysis of the determiner *yo* in the south has to include the fact that the very same form is also used as definite article THE. This produces an overwhelming number of *yo* there.
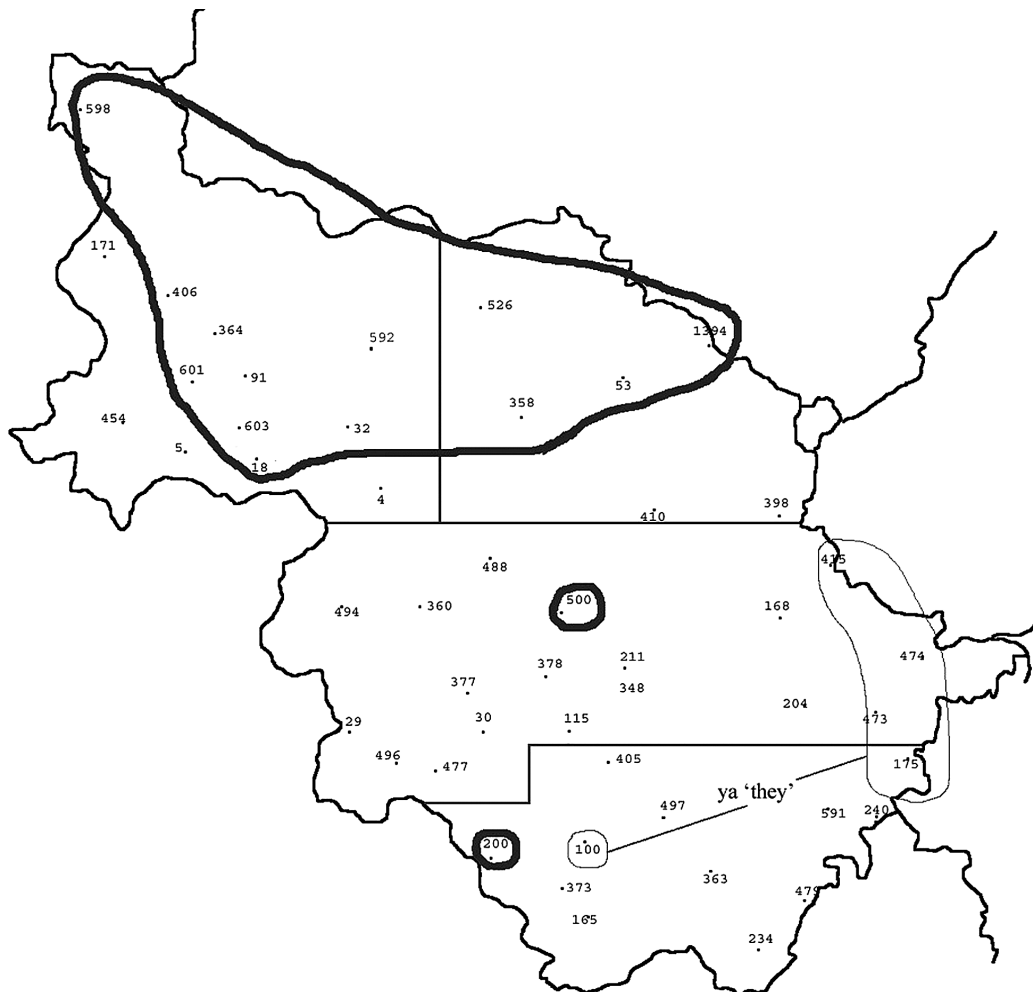

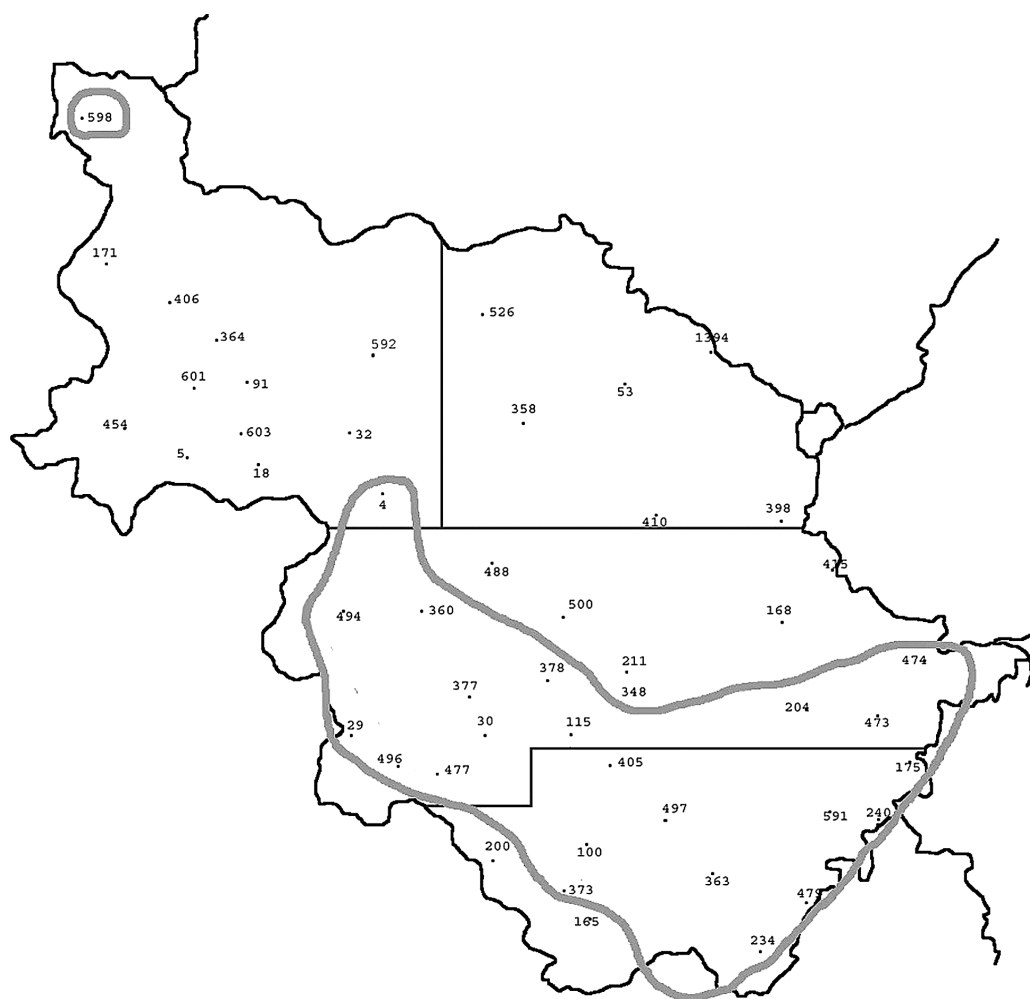**Figure2: The distribution of the pronoun usage of ya/yo**

Figure 3: The distribution of the determiner usage of yo/ya

This diatopically conditioned linguistic situation enables us to further speculate the emergence of distinct *yos(e)* type forms in the north and south of WRY when incorporated into examination of the various available texts of *Prick of Conscience* (PC).

3. Examination of the transmission in five PC texts

How THOSE is transmitted in corresponding lines in each of five PC texts in WRY is examined. The five texts are A, B, C, D and E[6]. The locality of each text is shown in Figure 4. The examination of the transmission is done by using Richard Morris' transcribed edition[7] as the base text since it is edited from two MSS[8] that are considered to belong to a group of texts closest to the original (Lewis and McIntosh 1983: 17). From this all the lines containing THOSE are first picked up, and lines corresponding to those lines in A, B, C, D and E are examined to see by what forms it is transmitted and by what alternative words are used in place if not transmitted.

A brief introductory remark on *Prick of Conscience* summarised from Lewis and McIntosh (1982: 1-25) would be useful for context. *The Prick of Conscience* is a lengthy religious verse text (the printed text contains 9624 lines) in rhyming couplets composed by an unknown author in the north of England, probably in Yorkshire, around the middle of the fourteenth century. Judging from the number of extant manuscripts (as many as one hundred and sixteen) and from its extraordinarily wide circulation (at least one copy found in nearly three quarters of England) we can say that it was arguably the most 'popular' English poem in the Middle Ages amongst those interested in reading vernacular texts. The nature and purpose of the poem strongly suggest that copies were produced by local scribes (e.g., parish priests) in order for them to read aloud to people in their own districts. The copiers, therefore, presumably chose linguistic features that reflected quite closely the speech of the place in which copies were made.
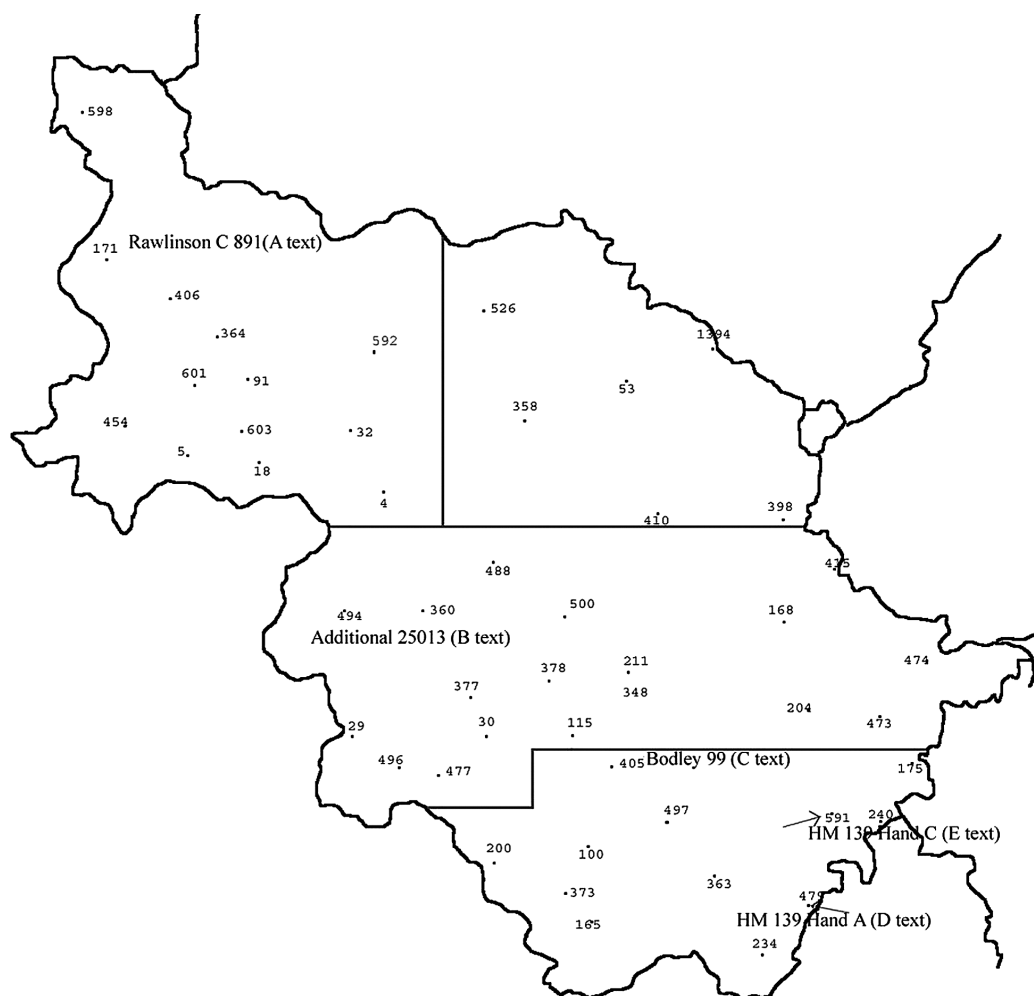
Figure 4: Geographical location of five *Prick of Conscience* texts

Table 4: Forms of THOSE and alternative words used in the corresponding lines [9]

	Morris		A		B		C		E	
			yase	12	yo	10	yo	11	yo	18
	ya	29	yo	1	**yai**	**17**	yose	4	yose	4
			ya	1	**ye**	**9**	yos	6	yoo	1
	yas	19	**yai**	**16**	yaim	3	yai	7	yai	6
Forms of			yaim	5	yam	1	**ye**	**9**	yame	4
THOSE			yat	1	yat	1	yaim	3	he	1
and			ye	4	yise	1	yat	3	yat	3
alternative			yese	6			yair	1	yise	2
words							alle	1	all	1
THOSE		48		14		10		21		23
Total		48		46		42		45		40

    Table 4 shows that *ya* and *yas,* two variants for THOSE, in Morris' version are often not transmitted as such but are often supplanted by functional equivalents such as forms of the items THEY, THEM, THE, THAT and even THESE in all the texts[10]. Among these, THEY appears quite often in A and B, whereas THE appears more frequently again in B and also in C. This might be because in the former texts pronominal THOSE is written down as THEY while in the latter texts adjectival THOSE as THE.

4. Examination of the system in five PC texts

Since the appearance of THOSE is not just limited to the corresponding lines, the more clear system in each text can be found by examination of all the analyzed lines in the individual texts. For this purpose eighty percent or more of available folios of each text are examined[11].

(1) A

Table 5: Forms and function of THOSE in A

| Forms | Function | | Total |
	Determiner	Pronoun	
yas	38	12	50
ya	7	10	17

(The detail numerals of each variant: yase *yo, yaas , ya , yas , yose, yoos*)

In A, as is expected from the previous table, *yas* types are much more prevalent than *ya* types and they are often determiner than as pronoun. The general rarity of the pronominal usage might be compensated by the overwhelming penetration of THEY as examined due to its phonological and, hence, semantic similarity.

(2) B

Table 6: Forms and function of THOSE in B

| Forms | Function | | Total |
	Determiner	Pronoun	
yos	2	3	5
yo	34	25	59
yoo	1	6	7

(The detail numerals of each variant: *yo, yoo, yose, yase, yaise*)

In B *yas* is not regularly used at all. The overwhelming variant is *yo.* It is used as determiner slightly more frequently than as pronoun. Though the definite article is *ye* in this text, *yo* is often used indiscriminately as well. This situation is much more strongly demonstrated in the text C. *Yoo,* on the other hand, appears as pronoun and exclusively as subject in that usage. This suggests that the difference between *yo* and *yoo* is not only orthographic but functional as well.

(3) C

Table 7: Forms and function of THOSE in C

| Forms | Function | | Total |
	Determiner	Pronoun	
yos	2	12	14
yo	34	16	50
yoo	0	1	0

(The detail numerals of each variant: *yo, yoo, yose, yos*)

In C *yos* are minor variants and usually pronoun. *Yo* is the predominant variant and is much more prevalent as determiner than as pronoun. It is generally used before plural nouns but it also occasionally appears before singular nouns similar to B. As pronoun it appears mainly in rhyming (seven instances) and antecedent positions (five instances), and when appearing as subject, it often accompanies *all* as in *And all yo may ancryste be calde* (f. 57r line 33) and *Ffor alle yo schal bere his*

merke (f. 61r line 5).

(4) D and E

Table 8: Forms and function of THOSE in D and E

Forms	Function		Total
	Determiner	Pronoun	
yos	1	7	8
yo	105	17	122
yoo	1	4	5

(The detail numerals of each variant: *yos,* yo, *yoo*)

In D and E the predominant form is *yo* and minor ones are *yose* and *yoo. Yo* is prevalent overwhelmingly as determiner. This great numerical supremacy is caused by the fact that the determiner THOSE and definite article THE are formally merged and expressed by the identical form *yo.* As a consequence, it appears before plural and singular nouns alike, hence, occurring much more substantially than in both B and C. As a result of this, what we regard as two separate words from the viewpoint of present-day usage, a more distinct form for pronoun THOSE would have been needed. This might be the one of the reasons *yose* and *yoo* are regularly apparent as pronoun, of which linguistic situation is also seen in C and B.

Yo still persists, albeit slightly, as pronoun. As subject it seems always to be combined with *all,* similar to C, as in *And all þo may be antcriste callede* (f. 164ra line 27), *Ffor all þo schall bere his marke* (f.165rb line 6) and *And turne all þo to hym holly* (f.165vb line 50).

5. Conclusion

The most frequent forms and functions are extracted and incorporated into the analysis of PC texts, a disambiguating system seems to emerge. Very simply put, the dual functions of THOSE in each text can be illustrated by two distinct forms as shown in Table 10.

Table 9: System of THOSE in each text

	Pronoun THOSE	Determiner THOSE
A	*ya* / ðei/	*yase*
B	*yoo, yo*	*yo*
C	*yoo, yos, yo*	*yo*
D/E	*yoo, yose*	yo

Table 9 demonstrates that pronoun THOSE and determiner THOSE seem to be somewhat formally differentiated. From this state of systems, a more dynamic explanation of the process of how certain forms have emerged as they did can be achieved by including THEY and THE in the discussion.

Table 10: Systemic relation of THOSE to THEY and THE in each text

	THEY	Pronoun THOSE	Determiner THOSE	THE
A	*yai*	*ya* / ðei/	*yase*	*ye*
B	*yai*	*yoo, yo*	*yo*	*ye*
C	*yai*	*yoo, yos, yo*	*yo*	*ye*
D/E	*yai*	*yoo, yose*	yo	yo

Table 10 shows that the merger of THEY and pronoun THOSE in the northern text A, as signified in the upper left box, might have caused the intake of *y-s* variants for determiner THOSE. A very different development, but for the same reason

of systemic disambiguation, emerged in the southern texts of D and E, where the formal merger of THE and determiner THOSE, as signified in the lower right box, encouraged the intake of *y-s* variants for pronoun THOSE. How the two distinct developments moved to central areas (texts respesened in B and C), if they ever did, from the north and the south is not known, but it would not be wrong to assume that general linguistic influence from the south is more strongly felt during the late ME period. In the central area, the demonstrative systems underwent different processes of reorganization due to the availability of different variants of THOSE, THEY and THE. Also, adding *all* to *yo* in order to emphasis its nominal function can be seen as other theraputic method to disambiguate the dual funcitons.

The functional account of language change is sometimes given pessimistic reception, but from these findings we might be able to regard the systemic functional selection as one of the key elements for language change and, therefore, we can interpret it as one of the explanations of the causes of language change.

註

1） This paper comprises some of the findings in the author's PhD dissertation submitted to the department of English at University of Glasgow in 2006. The theme and subject of the dissertation was inspired by a speech titled 'Why is *these* not *those*? Some implications of the history of the English plural demonstratives' given by professor Jeremy Smith of University of Glasgow at the Thirteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics held at University of Vienna from the 23rd to the 28th of August 2003. The author would like to express her deepest gratitude to her supervisor Professor Smith.

2） That is, Dot Maps 615-617 and 1145.

3） This list is supplemented by adding variants from the LPs, of which texts are not examined.

4） In the quest of the prototypical variants, Smith (forthcoming)'s methodology is used.

5） To indicate relative frequency, the bracketing conventions of LALME are used. Unbracketed forms, single bracketed forms and double bracketed forms indicate main forms, less frequent forms occurring around 33 % and rare forms.

6） A: LP171, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 891. Hand C. ff. 35r-111v(end). Fully analyzed.

B: LP494, London, British Library, Additional 25013. ff. 1r-136v. Analyzed from 5r-85v and 110r-130v(end).

C: LP405, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 99. ff. 1r-120v. Analysed from ff. 6r-90vand 110r-120v(end).

D: LP479, Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 139. Hand A.ff. 144r-149v. Fully analyzed.

E: LP591, Huntington Library, San Marino (California), HM 139. Hand C.ff. 156r-187r. Analyzed from 156r-174r and 183r-187v(end).

7） *The Pricke of Conscience* Berlin: A. Asher & Co, 1863.

8） That is mainly from British Library Cotton Galba E. IX and supplementarily from British Library Harley 4196 (line 1538 -1729 and line 6923-9210).

9） Variants of THOSE in rhyming position are not included in this examination.

10） Aside from this word by word replacement, sometimes noun phrases consisting of THOSE and plural nouns are replaced by personal pronouns such as *þa worldes* by *yaim/þaim* (line 971) and *þas fredes* by *yaim* (line 3626).

11） It is shown in below the range of lines corresponding to that of the Morris and the analysed folios in parentheses. Since A and E are in a quite limited, only lines from 3992 to 6490 are available in all the texts except for D. Since D is the shortest text and is with limited overlapping lines, it only dealt with, together with E, later section when we examine the individual texts.

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Morris  119-------------------------------------------- 6490
A                              3992(f.35r)------- 6490(f.69v)-------until f.111v (end)
B       119(f.5r) ------------------------------- 6490(f.85v)     and f.110r-130v (end)
C       119(f.6r) ------------------------------- 6490(f.90v)     and f.110r-120v (end)
D       119(f.144r)---961(f.149v)
E                              3992(f.156r) ----- 6490(f.174r)     and f.183r-187v (end)
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要旨

　統一した標準書き言葉成立以前の中英期には筆者は話し言葉をそのまま書き記していた．その為に方言の違いによる様々な語の綴り（異形）が非常に多いことで知られている．このような異形は言語を体系だてて調査をすると無秩序に現らわれているのではないことが判明する．本稿は中英語期後期にイングランド旧ヨークシャー州のウエストライディングで書かれた複数のテキストに使われている遠位複数を表す指示詞の THOSE の色々な異形を検討し，何故そのような形が誕生し拡散したかを追求した．またその誕生と拡散の過程に於いて明確な機能的選択がなされていることを立証すると共に，それがより大きな変化—つまり言語変化—へ繋がる可能性があることを論じた．